

# **IQBAL REVIEW**

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**Editor**

**Bashir Ahmad Dar**

**IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN**

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# IQBAL ACADEMY, 1958-1968

## INTRODUCTION

Iqbal's poetry and thought played a very significant role in freeing the Muslims of the Sub-continent from much of their confused thinking and giving them a consciousness of their identity as Muslims.

From the very beginning of his career as a poet, Iqbal emphasised that political and social betterment of the Muslims demanded that they should maintain their separate identity in the political field. Even during the period which is usually designated as "Nationalistic," his poetry, if closely studied, reveals his love for his motherland and a human approach to the peoples of diverse faith and culture inhabiting this land and not an attachment to "Nationalism" as a western political concept. On coming back to Lahore he joined the provincial Muslim League because, as reported by Mirza Jalaluddin, it was the considered opinion of Iqbal that the Muslims must have their own separate political organization and should in no case merge themselves in any other political party. This was in 1908. In 1909, writing to Munshi Ghulam Qadir Farrukh of Amritsar, Iqbal stated that Muslims and Hindus should keep their separate national characters intact and that the idea of a common Indian nation might look charming and romantic but was totally impracticable. This was the lesson he had learnt from the experience of the great Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Iqbal stood for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement but did not think Hindu-Muslim *unity* a practical proposition. His whole political career was a vindication of the truth of his vision that the Muslims must retain their identity and should not fall prey to the illusion, however charming, of a common nationality which would lead to their extinction as a separate nation. In spite of pressures from different sides on several occasions, he had the courage to stand by his conviction. Even the emotional stress and storm of the Khilafat movement could not sway him. Wedded as he was to the ideal of a free India, to which his poetry bears ample testimony, he never even once envisaged a state of affairs in the Sub-continent in which the Muslims had a remote possibility of losing their national existence.

His Presidential Address at Allahabad in 1930 in which he unequivocally expressed that the destiny of the Muslims of this Subcontinent lay in the formation of a consolidated Muslim State, was the logical conclusion of all his efforts towards maintaining the separate identity of the Muslims in this Sub-continent.

Others may have expressed this idea, may be in some different form, but in most of these cases, the idea was a negative reaction, expression of frustration as a result of failure of efforts towards solving the Hindu-Muslim problem. In the case of Iqbal, however, this was a consistent elaboration of a socio-political system, that runs throughout his poetry and prose from the first to the last. It was this idea of his which later on culminated in the creation of Pakistan under the guidance and direction of the Quaid-i-Azam. In the Introduction to the *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, Quaid-i-Azam said, "His (Iqbal's) views were substantially in consonance with my own and *had finally led me to the same conclusion* as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problem facing India, and found, expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumbrated in the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League ... passed on 23rd March, 1940."

2. The inspiration that had gone into the creation of Pakistan had to be sustained in the building up of the new country. It was therefore in the fitness of things that, immediately after Independence, the Government decided that the teachings of Iqbal, which supply the *raison d'etra* of the emergence of Pakistan, be disseminated as widely as possible within the country as well as abroad. The Government of Pakistan therefore established the Iqbal Academy, under the Iqbal Academy Act of 1951. The Academy actually started work in 1954. After the Revolution of October 1958, the Government of Pakistan felt that the constitution of the Academy as envisaged in the Act of 1951 needed certain amendments. The old Act was accordingly repealed and with certain important modifications, re-enacted as the Iqbal Academy Ordinance, 1962.

The control and administration of the Academy vests in a Governing Body which is presided over by the Minister of Education (Kazi Anwar-al-Haq). It consists of an Honorary Vice-President (Mr. Mumtaz Hasan), an

Hony. Treasurer (Mr. A. Muhajir), the Director, Islamic Research Institute and Central Secretary of Education (Mr. Q.U.

Shahab), besides five members nominated by the Government of Pakistan and two members elected from among the ordinary and life members of the Academy.

There is an Executive Committee which is responsible for carrying on the day-to-day administration of the Academy . It consists of the Vice-President as chairman, the Hony. Treasurer, two members elected by the Governing Body from among themselves and a representative of the Ministry of Education.

### AIMS AND OBJECTS

3. The object of the Academy is to promote the study and understanding of the works of Iqbal. To promote this comprehensive objective fruitfully the work of the Academy is divided into two distinct parts:

- (i) Study of Iqbal's work, and
- (ii) Study of all those movements of thought, philosophical, political, literary, social, cultural, etc., that can help in understanding the works of Iqbal — movements of thought within the Islamic tradition as well as those belonging to traditions of other cultures that happened to influence the mind of Iqbal, positively or negatively.

4. In order to further the study of the works and teachings of Iqbal:

(i) four scholarships were instituted. Each scholarship was of the value of Rs. 250.00 p.m. and was awarded for two years in the first instance to the following:

- (iii) Mr. A.S. Nuruddin of Dacca. He worked for two years and a half and submitted his thesis in Urdu on Iqbal and Mysticism on which he was given a Ph.D. by the Karachi University. This

- book was later published by the Academy.
- (iv) (Mrs.) Jamila Khatoon. She worked for two years and four months as a research fellow under the guidance and supervision of the late Dr. M. M. Ahmad, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Karachi University. Her thesis, 'The Place of God, Man and the Universe in the Philosophic System of Iqbal', was later accepted by the Muslim University Aligarh for a Ph. D. and was published by the Academy.
  - (v) Miss Hasseina Shaikh. Her subject was 'The Concept of the Superman in Iqbal'. She worked under the supervision of Dr. M. M. Ahmad for two years and four months but unfortunately her thesis could not be completed. The type-script of the incomplete thesis is with the Academy. It will be printed as soon as the last (8th) chapter is completed.
  - (vi) Mr. Manzoor Ahmad. He was assigned to write on 'The Nature of Religious Experience in Iqbal' and worked for two years under the guidance of Dr. M. M. Ahmad. Unfortunately he has not submitted any part of his thesis so far.

(ii) It was decided to request different universities in Pakistan to establish chairs for Iqbal Studies. The universities, however, could not agree to this proposal due to non-availability of funds. The Academy, therefore, offered to contribute a sum of Rs. 10,000 a year for the creation of an Iqbal Chair to each of the two universities at Dacca and Peshawar. But the problem of a suitable person having the necessary qualifications for holding the chair of Iqbal Studies stood in the way. In the circumstances, the Dacca University proposed, as an alternative, the establishment of two research fellowships, each of the value of Rs. 400.00 per mensem for a term of two or three years, while the Peshawar University was willing to have one Iqbal research fellowship. The Academy, however, insisted on its original proposal and therefore the matter was dropped..

### **Prizes and Rewards**

5. The Academy announced the award of two prizes on an essay in English or Urdu:

- (a) A prize of Rs. 200.00 for a college student on the subject "Iqbal and the Pakistan Movement" ;
- (b) A prize of Rs. 100.00 for a school student on the "Message of Iqbal."

About 9 students of different colleges and 10 students of schools in Pakistan sent their articles. Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi, at present Vice-Chancellor, Islamabad University, acted as judge. The prizes were duly awarded. One of the prize articles by a college student on "Iqbal and the Pakistan Movement" (Urdu) was later published in the *Iqbal Review*, January 1967.

6. A prize of \$ 1000 (Rs. 5,000.00) was established by the Iqbal Academy at the instance of Pakistan's Ambassador in the U.S.A. for the best essay on Iqbal by a scholar from the United States.

7. The Iqbal Academy sponsored, at a cost of Rs. 4,200.00, the erection of an Iqbal Memorial in Munich where Iqbal studied and took his Ph. D. degree. The Memorial is 39 x 30 x 200 cm. large **and** was unveiled by the Bavarian Minister of Culture on 24.4.1968.

### **Lectures, Talks, Discussions, Study Groups**

8. A well known scholar, Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad al-Jamee, who was formerly Chairman, Department of Religion and Culture, Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan) was engaged by the Iqbal Academy to deliver lectures on Iqbal in different universities and colleges in West and East Pakistan at a honorarium of Rs. 600.00 per mensem. He was given all possible facilities, afforded travelling allowance and railway/ air fare which amounted to about Rs. 1,200.00 per mensem.

Dr. Zahiruddin prepared an elaborate programme of lectures on about 140 different subjects. He delivered 8 lectures at Karachi, 7 at Hyderabad, 22 at Peshawar, 11 at Rawalpindi, 9 at Lahore. Besides these main towns he visited and lectured in Campbellpur, Chakwal, Muzaffarabad, Mirpur, Jhelum, Gujrat, Sialkot, Lyallpur, Sahiwal, Multan, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, and other places.



In East Pakistan, he delivered about 23 lectures at Dacca, Narayanganj, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Sylhet.

He remained in the service of the Academy as an Officer on Special Duty for one year and a half. His lectures were highly instructive and evoked considerable interest everywhere. The Academy received letters of appreciation from several persons, including well-known scholars. The then Minister of Education of the Government of Pakistan who happened to preside over one of the lectures delivered by Dr. Zahiruddin at Karachi, as reported in the Dawn (17-5-1959), "praised the speech delivered by Dr. Zahiruddin and hoped, the Chairman of the Education Commission, Dr. S. M. Sharif who was also present at the meeting, and the Commission members would give due consideration to the points raised by Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad."

9. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, an eminent German scholar, who had translated Iqbal's *Javid Nama* into Turkish, was invited by the Iqbal Academy to deliver lectures on Iqbal at Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore and Peshawar.

10. At the invitation of the ISMEO (Institute of the Middle and Far East), Rome, Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, the Vice-President of the Academy, undertook a lecture tour of Italy. Two of his lectures were on Iqbal. The first lecture on "the political, economic and cultural background of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent at the time of Iqbal's emergence," was delivered at Turin. The second lecture on "Iqbal's Conception of Mysticism" was delivered at ISMEO'S headquarters at Rome. The third on "Western Influence in Urdu Poetry," was delivered at Naples.

11. Professor Said Nafici, the renowned Iranian scholar who had correspondence with Iqbal during his life time, was invited by the Iqbal Academy to deliver lectures on Iqbal. He presided on Iqbal Day function at Karachi. He visited Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Hyderabad and Multan and delivered a series of lectures on Iqbal and Pakistan.

12. Dr. Ali Nihad Tarlan, Professor of old Turkish Literature in the Istanbul University, was invited by the Academy to deliver lectures on Iqbal. After lecturing at Karachi, where he presided over Iqbal Day function, he visited the Punjab University, Lahore and delivered lectures on Iqbal there as well.

13. Dr. Yahya al-Kashab, Professor of Oriental Languages, Cairo University, was invited by the Iqbal Academy to participate in the Iqbal Day function at Karachi. He is a scholar of Persian and a pupil of the late Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam, formerly Ambassador of the U.A.R. in Pakistan and a great scholar, translator and lover of Iqbal.

14. The Director of the Iqbal Academy, Mr. B.A. Dar, was sent by the Ministry of Education as an unofficial delegate from Pakistan to participate in an East-West Conference in Jyvaskyala, a university town in Finland. He spoke on the "Socio-Religious trends in Pakistan" and his lecture was greatly appreciated by Professor Salonin, a scholar of Arabic who has translated the Quran into the Finnish language, and is well informed about Pakistan.

I fervently pray that God Almighty make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to make Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all the nations of the world.

— Quaid-i Azam

Id Day Message (1947)

## IQBAL MATERIAL

15. It is one of the primary objects of the Academy to procure as much original material about Iqbal as possible such as letters, writings and photographs.

(a) Iqbal was very particular in sending replies to his correspondents who lived in different corners of the Sub-continent as well as outside. Before 1947, two collections of Iqbal's letters were published. One is *Iqbal Nama* in 2 volumes edited by Shaikh Ataullah, containing about 500 letters. The other was *Shad Iqbal*, a collection of thirty two letters of Iqbal written to Maharaja Sir Kishan Parshad of Hyderabad Deccan, edited by the late Mohiyuddin Zur. In 1954 Bazm-i Iqbal Lahore published another collection of letters *Makatib-i Iqbal* written to Khan Niazuddin Khan, containing 79 letters.

The Iqbal Academy's efforts in collecting and publishing original Iqbal Material has met with considerable success. It has at present in its possession about 500 letters of Iqbal in his own handwriting. The details are given below:

Iqbal's letters to Syed Nazir Niazi	182
Iqbal's letters to Maulana Ghulam Qadir Girami	100
Iqbal's letters to Maharaja Sir Kishan Parshad	50
Iqbal's letters to Muhammad Din Fauq	24
Iqbal's letters to Ghulam Rasul Mehr	23
Iqbal's letters to Muzaffaruddin Quraishi	20
Iqbal's letters to Ziauddin Barni	8
Iqbal's letters to Akbar Shah Najibabadi	9
Iqbal's letters to other correspondents	40

(b) Iqbal's poems in his own hand.

The Academy has been able to acquire a fair number of such pieces.

(c) Some prose specimens.

The Academy has about four of Iqbal's letters in English, one of which is addressed to his late Highness the Agha Khan, written in London during the Round Table Conference Session. Besides these, the Academy has acquired a few specimens of his prose writings in English. One of these consists of notes on a proposed Introduction to the Study of the Quran, while the other consists of Notes of a lecture that he delivered in Rome on his way back from London to Lahore in 1932.

In Urdu there are two specimen of his prose writings. One is a note on Prophethood and the other is a memorandum about his election campaign when he stood as a candidate for the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1926.

Iqbal, in collaboration with certain other individuals, prepared certain text books which were later approved by the Punjab Text Book Committee for use in schools. Most of these text-books have been acquired by the Academy.

Besides, the Academy has first editions of almost all his works. Iqbal presented his works to some of his friends under his own signature. The Academy has acquired some of these.

16. The Academy has tried to make full use of this material. It has published:

(i) *Maktubat-i Iqbal* (Urdu) consisting of 182 letters of Iqbal to Syed Nazir Niazi. Besides being a collection of letters, it affords the reader an opportunity to have an insight into the working of Iqbal's mind during the period of correspondence. Mr. Niazi has given the background of the various letters which is by itself an important addition to the knowledge of Iqbal.

*Anwar-i Iqbal* (Urdu) a collection of about 182 letters, several comments on different books sent to him for opinion, important political statements, articles and scattered verses, most of them unpublished, and others not published in any collection so far. It contains fascimilies of several of Iqbal's letters and statements, etc. It has been regarded as an important contribution to source material on Iqbal.

(iii) *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (English) This is a collection of 41 letters, several statements and articles so far unknown, unavailable and unpublished.

(iv) *Ilm-al Iqtisad* (Urdu). This was the first book which Iqbal wrote as a McLeod Reader in Arabic. It was the first book in Urdu on modern Economics, which is valuable for his own personal comments at different places. Its language, particularly technical terms, as Iqbal himself says in the Introduction, were seen by Maulana Shibli.

The book was first published in 1903 and its copies were not available. With the help of a copy that existed in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, the Academy published it in 1960. Fortunately, it has been possible to acquire another copy of the first edition of the book for the Academy's library.

(v) Urdu translation of the late Begum Atiya Faizi's book *Iqbal* containing some of Iqbal's important letters and poems.

Some proposed books:

The Academy proposes to publish during the present year the following two books based on his letters:

(a) Iqbal's letters to Girami with Introduction and explanatory notes.

(b) Iqbal's letters to Sir Kishen Parshad with Introduction and explanatory notes.

17. The Academy has been able to acquire about 20 photographs of Iqbal some of which are very rare and still unpublished in any collection of Iqbal's photographs.

The Academy proposes to publish an Iqbal *Album* which will be a sort of pictorial biography of Iqbal, illustrating different periods of his life.

18. The Academy is making intensive efforts to procure as many letters and writings of Iqbal as are available. Information was recently received from a Pakistani student in the U. K. about the existence of some letters and photographs of Iqbal among the papers of the late Sir Thomas Arnold and the late Lord Lothian. Mr. Afzal Iqbal, Deputy High Commissioner, London, has very kindly promised to help the Academy to procure this material.

Through the courtesy of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, the Academy has obtained a facsimile of Iqbal's remarks in the Visitors' Book of the Muslim Library, Bangalore where Iqbal went during his lecture tour of South India in 1929.

19. Another aspect of Iqbal Material is the procurement of:
- (i) books which Iqbal acquired or wished to acquire for the preparation of his lectures ;
  - (ii) Journals in which his poems were published especially during the early period of his poetic career,
  - (iii) books to which he refers in his writings,
  - (iv) books and articles on Iqbal in all languages, as far as possible,
  - (v) books which contain translation of his poems,
  - (vi) books that Iqbal recommended to his correspondents to understand his thought.

These categories are dealt with below, seriatim:

(i) Among this category, mention must be made of two books on Time and Space which Iqbal was able to procure after great effort.

The first was a book called *Mabiyat al-Zaman* by Syed Barkat Ahmad, the eminent philosopher of the Khairabadi school of thought in the Sub-continent. In his letters to Syed Sulayman Nadvi, Iqbal enquired about this book. When he succeeded in obtaining a copy, Iqbal seems to have studied it with the help of some scholar of Arabic. He was also anxious to know about Ibn al-Arabi's view about Time (See *Iqbal Nama*, 1, 122, 164, 168, 178, 180).

The Academy has been able to procure a copy of this treatise. It has been translated into Urdu and with the addition of certain passages regarding time written by al-Arabi, has been published in book form.

The second is a book on Time and Space in Persian which Iqbal thought was written by Iraqi and which he obtained in a manuscript form from Sayyid Anwar Shah of Deoband (*Iqbal Nama*, 1, 443). The Academy has been able to acquire a published copy of this book. Its author is Ain al-Quzat Hamadani (d. 525/1131) and not Iraqi.

The Academy plans to publish this book in Persian along with an English translation and an introduction dealing, inter alia, with the problem of Time and Space.

(ii) Many of the Journals in which Iqbal's poems and articles were published have been acquired, such as Makhzan, Zamana, al-Nazar, Paisa Akhbar, Vakil, Ma'arif, Watan, Kashmiri, Punjab Review and others. The work of cataloguing this material has been started and it is expected that a complete list of Iqbal's poems and articles in these journals will be available shortly.

It may also be mentioned that certain journals like Awadh Punch published articles criticising Iqbal on linguistic and other grounds. Some issues of this journal have also been acquired.

(iii) There are several authors and books to which Iqbal refers in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, and in other prose writings and letters as well as in his poetry. The Academy has already acquired some of these books and is trying to obtain others. Besides several books acquired under this head, particular mention may be made of the *Kitab al-Tawasin* of al-Hallaj, the *Risala tul-Ghufran* of Abu'l ala al-Maari and the *Zakhiratul Maluk* of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. The first is rare and there is only one other known copy in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

(iv) The Academy has the largest collection of books and articles on Iqbal in many languages — English, French, German, Turkish, Czechoslovak, Finnish, Arabic, Persian, Urdu. Most of the journals and newspapers containing articles on Iqbal are available in the library.

(v) There are some collections of world poetry published outside Pakistan which contain Iqbal's poems in translation. Reference may be made only to one such book, *Musa Pervagans* of Dr. H. T. Sorley, which contains "translations, with original texts, of selected lyric poetry of over two thousand years from diverse languages." Through the personal efforts of Mr. Afzal Iqbal, Deputy High Commissioner in London, the Academy was able to acquire it for its library.

(vi) In some of his letters Iqbal refers to certain books that would

help in understanding his thought. One such book is *A Voice from the East* written by Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan. It was first published in 1921 and was not available. In view of its importance, it was published by the Academy in 1966.

20. To make all this material available to the scholars interested in the study of Iqbal, the Academy published two bibliographical studies, one in Urdu and the other in English, namely,

- (a) A Critical Survey of Iqbalica (Urdu) by the late Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar Junagarhi.
- (b) Bibliography of Iqbal (English) by Khwaja Abdul Wahid.

It is planned that after regular intervals supplements to these books should be prepared and published, embodying reference to books, articles, and lectures on Iqbal inside and outside Pakistan which continue to be published in ever growing numbers.

21. In this connection, mention may be made of the articles and speeches delivered by eminent foreign scholars at Iqbal Day functions held by the Pakistan Embassies abroad. Through the help of the Ministry of Education, the Iqbal Academy has been able to procure copies of such articles and speeches, on the basis of which it has published *In Memoriam-I* dealing with the record of 1966 and *In Memoriam-II* dealing with the record of 1967. It is proposed to continue this series, provided the material becomes available.

It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate the Pakistan of our dream into reality.

— Quaid-i Azam

July, 1948

IQBAL DAYS



22. Celebration of Iqbal Day every year in April had been an important feature of the activities of the Academy. Eminent scholars from Pakistan and abroad were invited to address the meetings. The names of scholars and the titles of their papers read at various functions are given below:

### 1st Iqbal Day

1. Dr. M.M. Ahmad (President)	
2. M. Yunus Saeed	
3. Mr. Hamidullah Siddiqi	Iqbal's Conception of Satan
4. Prof. Hamid Ahmad Khan	
5. Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar	Juristic Implications of Iqbal's Philosophy

### 2nd Iqbal Day

	Iqbal and the Universal Note
1. Prof. Said Naficy (President)	The Existing Literature on Iqbal
2. Kazi Ghulam Mustafa	
3. Syed Nazir A. Niyazi	
4. Mr. Mizanur Rahman	
5. Dr. K.A.H. Irfani	Mysticism of Iqbal
6. Dr. A.S. Nuruddin	Iqbal's Conception of an Ideal State

### 3rd Iqbal Day

	The Sayings of Iqbal
1. Dr. Ali Nihad Tarlan (President)	
2. Dr. Javid Iqbal	Iqbal's Political Ideals
	Iqbal in Iran
3. Syed Nazir A. Niyazi	The Perfect Man of Iqbal
4. Kavi. Ghulam Mustafa	
5. Syed Abdul Mamma	
6. Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Haq	
7. Prof. Ali Ahsan	
8. Pandit Hari Chand Akhtar	
9. Prof. Lutfullah Badvi	Iqbal's Contribution to Liberalism in Mo
10. Dr. Burhan Ahmad	Islam

	Iqbaliyat
	Iqbal as a Poet
	Iqbal and Modern Political Concepts
	Educational Ideas of Iqbal
	Influence of Iqbal on Bengali Poetry
	The Universal Ideas of Iqbal
	Iqbal in the light of his own Letters
	Sociological study of <i>Asrar-o-Rumuz</i>

Mian Ali Baksh (Life-long attendant of Iqbal) was also invited.

#### **4th Iqbal Day**

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Allama I.I. Kazi (President) | The Concept of Islamic Poetry Iqbal's                                       |
| 2. Prof. M.M. Sharif            | Idea of Time  |
| 3. Syed Nazir A. Niyazi         |   |
| 4. Kavi Ghulam Mustafa          | Iqbal's Intellectual Development A<br>Comparative Study of Iqbal and Tagore |
|                                 | Iqbal and the Modern  |
| 5. Dr. Syed Ali Ashraf          |   |
| 6. Maulana Abdul Qader          | Man Iqbal and Pashto Literature   |

#### **5th Iqbal Day**

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Mr. A.K. Brohi (President) | Iqbal as a Philosopher-Poet Iqbal's     |
| 2. Mr. Abul Husain            | Impact on Bengali Mind Iqbal's          |
| 3. Dr. Syed Abdullah'         | Philosophy of Education Iqbal's views   |
| 4. Dr. M. Shahidullah         | on Westernisation Iqbal and the Perfect |
| 5. Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad       | Man                                     |
| 6. Mr. Asad Multani (Poet)    |   |
|                               | Urdu Poem                               |

#### **6th Iqbal Day**

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Dr. M. Raziuddin Siddiqi |   |
| 2. Dr. Muhammad Baqir       | Rise and Fall of Nations                  |
|                             | A Study of Iqbal's Political Thought      |
| 3. Dr. Zahiruddin Ahmad     | Iqbal's Concept of Islamic State Iqbal as |
| 4. Mr. Abul Husain          | an Artist and Thinker                     |
| 5. Dr. Ghulam Jilani        |   |
| 6. Prof. S. Ali Ahsan       | The Thought of Iqbal                      |

#### **7th Iqbal Day**

- |                                    |                                |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Mahmud Husain (Presi- dent) | Poetry and Philosophy in Iqbal |
| 2. Mr. A.D. Azhar                  |                                |

1.	Dr. M.T.Moqtadcri (Prsident)	Iqbal's Conception of Strugglein Life
2.	Dr. Fazlur Rahman	
3.	Mr. B.C. Nandy	Iqbal and Progress Iqbal's Humanism
4.	Prof. M.A. Hai	
5.	Prof. Ziauddin Ahmad	Impact of Iqbal on-Bengali Literature
		Iqbal's Concept of the Development of S
6.	Prof. Muhammad Munawwar	
7.	Mrs. Z.K. Kakakhale	
8.	Dr. S.M. Yousuf	The Significance of 'Ajam in Iqbal
9.	Begum Sufia Kamal	Tauhid and Iqbal
		Reason and Love
		Smarance:In Remembrance (Bengali poe

Most of these articles were later published in the different issues of *Iqbal Review*.

### Iqbal Exhibition

23. The Iqbal Academy held an Iqbal Exhibition in the Frere Hall, Karachi, where Iqbal's original letters, writings and photographs were displayed. This exhibition was opened by Her Highness the late Begum of Janjhira, sister of the late Begum Atiya Faizi.

A few years later another exhibition was held by the National Museum of Pakistan, in which Iqbal Academy actively participated.

As the Iqbal Material acquired by the Academy during the last three years has increased manifold, it is proposed to hold another Iqbal exhibition in the not too distant future with the co-operation of the National Museum, Karachi.

Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God speed!

— Quaid-i Azam

14th August, 1948

### *Library*

24. The library of the Iqbal Academy by its very nature is of a special nature. The object is to collect books of Iqbal, on Iqbal and on subjects in which he was deeply interested, including Philosophy, Islamics, Muslim Art, History in general and the history of the Muslim people in particular, Comparative Religion and Mysticism.

The Academy has probably the richest collection of books on Iqbal not only in Urdu and English but also in other languages. Books on Western and Muslim Philosophy (in English, Urdu, Arabic and Persian), on the history of the Sub-continent, especially the history of the Muslims and their struggle for political freedom, on Islam as a religion, on comparative religion and mysticism are being collected. Most of the works of and on Nietzsche, Bergson, Kant, PringlePattison, Martinue and others to which Iqbal often refers, for example, in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* ; the works of Muslim Philosophers in Arabic and Persian like Ibn Sina, Suhrawardy, Ibn Rushd, Ibn al-Arabi, Mulla Sadra of Iran, the Khairabadi School of the Sub-continent; books on the history and culture of the Subcontinent; books dealing with individual mystics and the history of mysticism, have been and are being acquired for the library.

Standard Encyclopedias, such as Britinnica, Religion and Ethics, and Social Sciences have been added. The most recent acquisition is an 8 Volume *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, published in 1967 in the U.S.A. This Encyclopedia contains an article on Iqbal by the Director, Mr. B.A. Dar.

The total number of books in the library has increased from about 5000 in 1964 to about 8000 in 1968.

25. The following journals are received in the library in exchange 'or the Iqbal Review:

*India*: Ma'arif (Azamgarh), Burhan (Delhi), Indo-Iranica (Calacutta), Studies in Islam {Delhi), Islamic Culture (Hyderabad A.P.) (Kawnpur), Nida-i Millat (Lucknow), Sub-Ras (Hyderabad A.P.) Jamia (Delhi), Mujalla Uloom-i Islamia (Aligarh), etc.

*Pakistan*: Islamic Studies and Fikr-o Nazr (Islamabad), Meethaq Lahore), Tulu-i Islam (Lahore), Tarjaman al-Quran (Lahore), Faran Karachi), Afkar (Karachi), Urdu (Karachi), Qaumi Zaban (Karachi), 1-Ma'arif (Lahore), Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan (Dacca), ournal of the Research Society of Pakistan (Lahore), Oriental College Magazine (Lahore), Muslim News International (Karachi), etc.

*Foreign:* Univeristas (West Germany), Harvard Theological Review (U.S.A.), Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies (London), Bulletin of Finnish Oriental Society, East and West (Italy), Philosophy, Eastern and Western (Honolulu), R.C.D. Journal, Foro International (Mexico), Wahid (Iran), Sukhan (Iran), The Muslim World (U.S.A.), etc.

We have also acquired for the library some of the back issues of Burhan, Maaraf, al-Hilal, al-Balagh, Humayun, Mujalla-i Uthmania, Zamana, al-Nazar, etc.

Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent . . . If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction . . . In the words of the Qur'an, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well guided" (5: 105).

— Iqbal

## IQBAL IN EAST PAKISTAN

26. *Dacca Regional Office.* According to the Iqbal Academy Act, 1951, it was stipulated that the Academy would be empowered to establish its branches in Pakistan (vide clause 5 sub-clause 1). According to this provision, the General Council of the Academy decided by a resolution (No. 11, dated 9th October, 1961) that branches of the Academy be opened in Dacca, Peshawar and Lahore. In persuance of this, letters were written to Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, Maulana Abdul Qadir and Dr. Muhammad Baqir. Unfortunately, due to certain difficulties the proposal could not proceed.

Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, however, took up the matter most earnestly. He himself took the initiative, established a branch of the Academy at Dacca with the following gentlemen as the members of its Executive Committee:

1. Poet Ghulam Mustafa Chairman
2. Dr. Muhammad Enamul Haq Vice-Chairman
3. Dr. Qazi Motahar Hossain Secretary
4. Dr. Qazi Deen Muhammad Member
5. Dr. Govinda Dev (Dacca University)
  
6. Mr. Mizanur Rahman
  
7. Mr. A.M. Salimullah Fahmi
  
8. Poet Talib Hossain
9. Mr. Syed Zillur Rahman
10. Poet Jahanara Arzoo
  
11. Maulana Mujibur Rahman, M.M.
12. Mr. Shahabuddin Ahmed Asstt. Secy.

Rs. 1150.00 were sent to him to meet initial expenses. Due to disturbances in East Pakistan, however, the Iqbal Day celebrations had to be postponed. Subsequently, most unfortunately, Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, who had been ill for a long time, and had been hospitalised, died all of a sudden. The total amount of money sent to the Dacca branch was Rs. 6,150.00 of which about 555.00 had been spent, the balance of about Rs. 5,595.00 remained in the bank in the name of the late Kavi. Due to certain legal difficulties, this amount of money, in spite of all efforts, could not be recovered.



Mr. Mizanur Rahman, a member of the Governing Body of the Iqbal Academy, now took charge of the Dacca Branch. A new ad-hoc committee was formed with the following members:

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah             | Chairman      |
| 2. Mr. Mizanur Rehman                   | Vice-Chairman |
| 3. Mr. A.M. Salimullah Fahmi            | Vice-Chairman |
| 4. Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmad Khan            | Treasurer     |
| 5. Mr. A.Z. Khan, Director of Students' |               |

Welfare, University of Dacca	Secretary
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- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 6. Mr. Mumtaz Iqbal                    | Asst. Secy. |
| 7. Mr. Zainul Abedein                  | Member      |
| 8. Mr. Abul Hashem                     | Member      |
| 9. Mr. S. Ali Ahsan                    | Member      |
| 10. Prof. M.A. Hai, Head of the Deptt. |             |

of Bengali, University of Dacca	Member
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11. Mr. Munir Chowdhury, Secretary

Writers' Guild, East Pak. Branch	Member
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12. Prof. Saeedur Rahman, Principal,

Jagannath College, Dacca	Member
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A sum of Rs. 5,000.00 was made available to Mr. Mizanur Rahman.

Due to certain omissions in the Iqbal Academy Ordinance 1962 vis-a-vis Iqbal Academy Act 1951, the Governing Body "found that the resolution passed by the Academy in this regard (to open branches in East Pakistan) was not in consonance with the provision of the Ordinance and was void in law. It was resolved that establishment at Dacca should be treated as a regional office of the Academy." Action has been taken accordingly.

The money spent on the Dacca Regional Office is given below:

1963-64	6,150.00 (Kavi Ghulam Mustafa)
1964-65	15,200.00
1965-66	
1966-67	15,000.00
1967-68	15,000.00

27. *Iqbal in the Bengali Language.* Just after the establishment of the Academy, it was felt that in order to promote understanding of the spirit of Iqbal's message in East Pakistan, concrete steps should be taken to translate Iqbal's works, both prose and poetry, into Bengali.

(a) In pursuance of this objective a comprehensive plan was drawn up. The first project was to prepare a Bengali translation of selected pieces of Iqbal's poetry. A Sub-committee appointed by the Academy for the purpose decided that the following be translated in the first

instance:

<i>Name of Book</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Name of the Poem</i>
Asrar-o Rumuz	104	Tauheed
Asrar-o Rumuz	193	Ba Hazur Rahmatul lil Aalameen
Bang-i Dara	303	Tulo-e Islam
Bang-i Dara	141	Saqliyyah
Bang-i Dara	173	Watniyyat

Bang-i Dara	201	Shama aur Shair
Bang-i Dara	155	Balad-e Islamia
Bang-i Dara	78	Balal
Zarb-e Kaleem	19	Ilm aur Din
Zarb-e Kaleem	23	Quwwat aur Din
Zarb-e Kaleem	45	Madniyyat-e Islam
Zarb-e Kaleem	154	La Dine Siyasat
Zarb-e Kaleem	57.	Mard-e Musalman
Javed Namah	233	Khitab beh Javed (Sukhn ba Nazad-e Nau)
Payam-e Mashriq	125	Hudi
Payam-e Mashriq	151	Joo-e Aab

These 16 poems were translated into Bengali by the late Kavi Ghulam Mustafa and published under the title *Kalam-e Iqbal*.

(b) The second book published in Bengali is *Iqbaler Rajnitik Chinta Dhara* (Political Thoughts of Iqbal) written by Maulana Abdul Rahim of Dacca. The Reviewers expressed their appreciation of this work which deals "with the political thought of Iqbal correctly in a profound style and lucid manner."

(c) The third book called *Iqbaler Shiksha Darshan* (Iqbal's Educational Philosophy) is a Bengali translation of K.G. Sayyidain's book of the same name by Mr. S.A. Mannan.

(d) The fourth book called *Pakistaner Oitihāsik Patakhūmika* (Historical

Background of Pakistan) is a Bengali translation of two important political addresses of Iqbal (delivered at the Muslim League Session at Allahabad in 1930 and at the Muslim Conference in 1932), letters of Iqbal to Jinnah and Iqbal's Statement on Muslim Nationalism in connection with the controversy with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madni.

(e) The *Armaghan-i Hijaz* was translated by Mr. Ghulam Samdani Quraishy into Bengali verse under the title *Hijazer Sogat* and the reviewers spoke favourably about it.

(f) *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* was translated into Bengali under the title *Projman Charcay Iran* by the well known scholar Mr. Kamaluddin Khan who has also translated Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* into Bengali, published by the Pakistan Publications, Government of Pakistan.

(g) *Iqbal Desh Badesh* 2 volumes. It is a Bengali translation of *In Memoriam I*, published by the Iqbal Academy. *In Memoriam* is a record of speeches, lectures, and articles read at Iqbal Day functions held in 1966 by Pakistan Embassies abroad as well as different institutions in Pakistan.

The second volume of *Iqbal Desh Badesh* consists of articles read at the Iqbal Day function held at Dacca in 1967 by the Dacca Regional Office of the Iqbal Academy by eminent scholars of East Pakistan. It was presided over by Mr. Justice Abu Muhammad Abdullah.

28. Expected Publication. *Zarb-e Kaleem*. It was translated by Mr. Abdul Mannan Talib. To explain the text, the translator added explanatory notes here and there. The Bengali Academy Dacca approved the translation. It is expected to be published very soon.

It is proposed to take up the Bengali translation of other works of Iqbal as soon as the finances permit.

29. *Iqbal in text-books in East Pakistan Schools*. The Academy

desired that references to Iqbal's life and thought should be included in all text books in the field of the Humanities for different grades of schools. The Chairman of the Text Board at Dacca was approached in this respect.

The Board informed the Academy that references to Iqbal's life and thought are included in the text books. The details are given below:

- (i) In Bengali Rapid Reader for class VI there is an essay on the life, literature and philosophy of Iqbal.
- (ii) In Class VII Bengali Reader there is a poem by Iqbal in translation and there is reference to his life and philosophy in the annotation.
- (iii) In Class VIII Bengali Reader there is a poem by Iqbal (translation) and notes on his life and philosophy. There is yet another poem by Begum Sufia Kamal on Iqbal with an annotation on it.
- (iv) In the Bengali Selection for IX-X there is a quotation from Iqbal's poem in an essay by Ibrahim Khan and notes on it in the appendix.
- (v) Elective History for class IX and X.
  - (a) In Chap. 36 under the heading Naba Jugar Pathe Pak Bharat (Pak Bharat, on the way to a New Age) there is a section on Iqbal — his life and contribution towards the establishment of Pakistan.
  - (b) In Chapter 8 of the text book on Social Studies (History Portion) there is a reference to Iqbal's contribution to the origin of Pakistan under the chapter "Pakistaner Abhudaya" (Advent of Pakistan).
  - (c) In Chapter 11 of the text book on Social Studies for class VII, History portion, there is a reference to Iqbal, his life and contributions in the chapter on the "Pakistan Movement".
  - (d) In the text-book on Social Studies for class V, History portion, there is a reference to Iqbal under the chapter "Demand for Pakistan".

30. *Supplementary Readers on Iqbal.* The Text Book Committee Dacca was approached by the Academy in regard to supplementary Readers on Iqbal in Bengali which it proposed to prepare. The Board was willing to approve these Readers if they came up to the approved standard. The following plan was prepared for Readers for the middle classes in the first instance:

*Class VI* (pp. 48)

- (a) Biography of Iqbal 16  
pages
- (b) Stories from the Bang-e Dara rendered in lucid  
prose with simple explanatory notes. 20  
pages
- (c) Translation into verse of some children's poems 12  
pages

*Class VII* (pp. 56)

- (a) Some episodes from the life of Iqbal 16  
pages
- (b) Iqbal's patriotic and historical poems, or portions  
thereof, with simple narratives explaining the historical  
background 20  
pages
- (c) The image of a good citizen as it emerges from the  
poems of Iqbal 12  
pages
- (d) Translation into verse of some of Iqbal's poems on  
Nature. 8 pages

*Class VIII* (pp. 64)

(a) Iqbal as a poet; his role in the Independence

Movement and in the genesis of Pakistan

20 pages

(b) Iqbal's Explanation of the Rise and Fall of Nations (specially from poems such as the Shikwa, Jawab-e-Shikwa, etc.)

16 pages

(c) "National Character" as depicted in Iqbal's works with special reference to stories in the Asrar-o-Rumuz and other poems.

16 pages

(d) Selections from his poems relating to (c) above

12 pages

The Iqbal Academy has decided to seek the cooperation and help of the Board for the Development of Bengali, in the preparation of these readers.

31. Another important step taken by the Academy to popularise Iqbal in East Pakistan was to appoint some Bengali knowing gentleman as Research scholar/Deputy Director. The post was first advertised in January 1965 but no applications were received. It was advertised again in July 1965 but in the opinion of the Committee appointed by the Dacca Regional Office to interview the applicants, no suitable candidate came forward.

Mr. A. S. Nuruddin, an East Pakistani scholar, worked as a Research Scholar in the Academy for more than two years. He obtained his Ph. D. from the Karachi University on his thesis in Urdu "Iqbal and Mysticism" that he prepared as a research scholar.

The Academy has been inviting to its annual Iqbal Day functions at Karachi prominent East Pakistani scholars and poets, such as Dr. Shahidullah, Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, Mr. Mizanur Rahman, Syed Abdul Mannan, Dr. Ali Ahsan, Dr. Ali Ashraf, Mr. Abul Husain, Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Haq, Professor M.A. Hai, Begum Sufia Kamal.

I believe that Pakistan is destined to play a glorious role in the history of mankind and in particular in the advancement and progress of Muslims all over the world.

I believe that the people of Pakistan must move, as fast as possible, into the age of Science and technology, while steadfastly preserving the basic tenets of their faith, in order to attain a higher standard of living.

— Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan

## TRANSLATIONS OF IQBAL'S WORKS

32. The Academy decided to publish translations of Iqbal's works into Pashto, Sindhi, Gujrati, Punjabi, Kashmiri, etc., so as to make Iqbal's message available to all the people of Pakistan in their own languages.

33. *Pashto*. The Academy was able to have Iqbal's books translated into Pashto through the cooperation and help of Maulana Abdul Qadir, Director, Pashto Academy, Peshawar. It has been possible to publish the following translations of Iqbal's works in Pashto:

1. Zaboore-i Ajam by S.M. Taqvimul Haq.
2. Payam-i Mashriq by Shair Muhammad Mainosh.
3. Bang-i Dara by M. Rahat Zakheli.
4. Javid Nama by Amir Hamza Shinwari.
5. Bali Jibreel by Qazi Abdul Halim Asar.
6. Zarb-i Kaleem by S.M. Taqweemul Haq.
7. Armaghan-i Hijaz by Amir Hamza Shinwari.
8. Pas Che Bayad Kard by S.M. Taqweemul

Asrar-o Rumuz has already been translated into Pashto by M. Samandar Khan and published by the Pakistan Publications, Government of Pakistan. Thus the whole set of Iqbal's poetical works has been rendered into Pashto.

Translation of *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* and other prose works of Iqbal into Pashto is expected to be undertaken as the next step.

34. *Sindhi*. Translation into Sindhi was undertaken by Professor Lutfulah Badvi. So far the following books have been published:

1. Asrar-o Rumuz.



2. Javid Namah.
3. Armaghan-i Hijaz.

The fourth book *Pas Che Bayad Kard and Musafir* has been translated into Sindhi and will be published shortly.

Besides these, Professor Badvi has written a book in Sindhi on the life of Iqbal, entitled *Hayat-i Iqbal* which also includes several poems of Iqbal taken from different books, in Sindhi. It has been published by the Academy.

35. *Gujrati*. With the cooperation of certain philanthropic individuals the Iqbal Academy was able to have the following two works of Iqbal translated into Gujrati:

1. Zabur-i Ajam.
2. Payam-i Mashriq.

The translation was done by the great Gujrati scholar, Mr. S. Azimuddin Munadi.

### **Translation into Arabic**

36. *Asrar-o Rumuz*. The Academy requested the late Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam, formerly Ambassador of the U.A.R. in Pakistan and an ardent admirer of Iqbal, to undertake this work on behalf of the Academy. It was printed at Cairo (2000 copies). Copies were distributed free to scholars and libraries in the different Arab countries. M/S. Dar al-Maaraf, Cairo, are Academy's agents for its sale.

*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. An Arabic translation of this monumental book was done by Dr. Abbas Mahmud at the instance of the Ministry of Education, Government of Egypt. At the suggestion of the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, the Iqbal Academy undertook to finance the publication to the extent of Rs. 2,500.00 by way of subsidy to the publisher. 450 copies of the book were later acquired and distributed free to well known libraries in the Arab world through the Pakistan embassies at Damascus, Jedda, Baghdad and other Arab capitals.

## Translation into German

37. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, the well-known German scholar who was for some time in the Ankara University as Professor of Comparative Religion, was asked by the Iqbal Academy to translate the *Payam-i Mashriq* into German. The book has been published by M/s. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden (West Germany).

Pakistan should belong to a major constellation extending from Cassablanca to Djakarta . . . what is the origin of the Turks, Iranians, Afghans and many Pakistanis? We all have the same origin, **the** steppes of Central Asia . . . This particular constellation of ours — and the seeds are there in R.C.D. — would be a shining example for others, particularly the Arab constellation.

— Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan Friends not Masters, pp. 181-182

## R.C.D. AND IQBAL ACADEMY

38. The Concept of Regional Cooperation for Development (commonly known as R.C.D.) is an important step towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Muslims of the Sub-continent who nourished during the darkest days of their decline and still nourish the idea of a Commonwealth of Independent Muslim States. The President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, took the initiative in seeking the cooperation of His Majesty the Shahanshah of Iran and the late President Gursel of Turkey in "collaboration in the economic and cultural fields and in the field of development." It has been hailed as a milestone towards the ultimate goal which Iqbal has set for the Muslims:

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے

نیل کے ساحل سے لے کر تابخاک کاشغر

For the protection of the Holy Land of Islam

The Muslims from the valley of the Nile to the boundaries of Kashgar should stand together.

The Academy has tried its best, within its own limited sphere, to help strengthen the bonds of culture that already exist between the peoples of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. To promote this objective, the Academy has started a programme of translations of Iqbal into Turkish and Persian as well as to publish source books in Persian, the language which is a custodian of our common cultural heritage.

39. *Turkish.* Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* was translated by Madame Sufi Huri Hanum at the instance of the Academy. It was printed in Turkey and handed over to a bookseller in Turkey for sale. The book has an Introduction by Dr. Annemarie Schimmel in which she has traced the historic links among the peoples of Turkey and the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

Dr. Ali Nihad Tarlan, the famous Turkish scholar and writer, had published earlier, on his own initiative, Turkish translations of Iqbal's *Payam-i Mashriq* and *Asrar-o Rumuz*. They had been sold out. The Iqbal Academy undertook to bear the total cost of printing a second impression of both these books which were published accordingly.

Subsequently Dr. Ali Nihad Tarlan published *Selections from Zabur-i Ajam*. The Academy purchased 100 copies of this book as a subsidy. These copies were distributed free to libraries and well known scholars.

Similarly, the Iqbal Academy sponsored the Turkish translation of Mr. S.A. Vahid's *Introduction to Iqbal* (published by the Pakistan Publications, Government of Pakistan) by Madame Sufi Huri Hanum. It is expected to be out shortly. The Academy also sponsored the project of the Turkish translation of *Payam-i Mashriq* by Mr. Ali Ganjeli as well as its printing in Turkey like other Turkish translations of Iqbal. Due to certain difficulties, the project has not been completed so far.

A young Turkish scholar, Mr. Shaukat Bolo, has undertaken, on his own initiative, a Turkish translation of Iqbal's *Bali Jibril* and has asked for financial support from the Iqbal Academy. The matter is under consideration.

Besides these, other books of Iqbal have been translated into Turkish independently, the most important being the *Javid Namah* by Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, which, as already mentioned, has a detailed commentary.

40. *Persian*. The *Zarb-i Kaleem* has been rendered into Persian by Dr. Abdul Hamid Irfani. This is the only Persian translation of Iqbal so far.

On the occasion of the coronation of Their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and Shahbanu of Iran, the Academy undertook to publish, at the instance of the Pakistan-Iran Cultural Association, Karachi, certain books in Persian as its contribution to the Coronation celebrations. The following six books were published on this auspicious occasion:

- (a) Tadhkira Shura-i Punjab by Lt. Col. K.A. Rashid
- (b) Tadhkira Shura-i Kashmir by Mirza Aslah, edited by Syed Hussamuddin Rashdi.
- (c) Tadhkira Shura-i Kashmir Vols. 1,2,3, compiled and prepared by Syed Hussamuddin Rashdi.

Volume four of this book is in the press and will be out in a few months.

- (d) Coronation Issue of the Iqbal Review (October 1967).

These books were presented to His Majesty the Shahanshah personally, on behalf of the Academy, by Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, Vice-President, and Syed Hussamuddin Rashdi, member of the Governing Body, of the Academy when they were invited by the Government of Iran in May 1968.

A special function was held during the Coronation Week by the Iqbal Academy and Dr. Ahmad Tehrani, the Iran Consul-General, Karachi, was the chief guest. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan welcoming the guests spoke of the close historical and cultural relations that have existed through the centuries

between the two countries, and the role of Iqbal in reawakening the interest of Pakistanis in Persian language and literature and the culture of Iran. Dr. Tehrani thanked the Government and people of Pakistan for their goodwill and affection for the people of Iran and the way they had shared in the happiness of the Iranian people on the auspicious occasion of the coronation.

Man's greatest yearning is for an ideology for which he should be able to lay down his life. What it commits to is that the more noble and eternal an ideology, the better the individual and the people professing it. Their lives will be much richer, more creative and they will have a tremendous power of cohesion and resistance. Such a society can conceivably be bent but never broken.

Such an ideology with us is obviously that of Islam. It was on that basis that we fought for and got Pakistan.

— Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan *Friends not Masters*, p. 196

## PUBLICATIONS

41. *Books*, The Academy has so far published 55 books. A detailed list of these publications is given in the Appendix.

42. *Journal*. The quarterly *Iqbal Review* was started by the Academy in 1960 and since then, 33 issues have been published. It is published alternately in English and Urdu and its circulation has increased considerably, especially outside Pakistan. It is devoted to research studies on the life, poetry and thought of Iqbal and on those branches of learning in which he was interested, including Islamics, History, Philosophy, Sociology, Comparative Religion, Literature, Art and Archaeology.

43. *New Programme of Work*. In his letters, Iqbal sometimes expressed his desire to write on certain subjects himself and sometimes asked his correspondents to write on certain other subjects. On the basis of these suggestions, a comprehensive programme of work was prepared. This programme, which has the approval of the Governing

Body, is given as an appendix to this report. The subjects included in the list are expected to help in understanding the teachings of Iqbal, and serve as a commentary on his works.

To implement this programme, the following projects were taken in hand:

Translation into Urdu of certain philosophical treatises by eminent Muslim philosophers of the Sub-continent, especially of the Khairabadi school; namely,

- (i) Hadya-i Saeedyia by Syed Barkat Ahmad.
- (ii) Maaraf-i Ilahiyya by Syed Barkat Ahmad.
- (iii) Mahiyat al-Zaman by Syed Barkat Ahmad.

The first two works have been translated into Urdu and will be sent to the press shortly. The third has been published in the April, 1968 issue of the Iqbal Review and subsequently published in book form, with the addition of an Introduction, and some additional important notes on the subject.

44. *Books in the Press.* The following books are at present in the press:

- (i) Iqbal's letters to Girami ed. by Abdullah Qureshi.
- (ii) Asrar-i Khudi (Kashmiri translation) by Ghulam Ahmad Naz.

The second has been written by the calligraphist and will be sent to the press shortly.

- (iii) Malfuzat-i Iqbal ed. by Syed Nazir Niazi.

About 200 pages have been printed so far. The book as a whole will most probably consist of 500 pages.

45. *Manuscripts lying in the office:*

1. Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Saal (second impression).
2. Pas Che Bayad Kard — Sindhi translation.
3. Zarb-i Kaleem — Bengali translation.
4. Kashfal Abyat — Index of Iqbal's Persian Mathnavis.
5. Purtavey Iqbal, a book in Persian about Iqbal.
6. Concept of Culture in Iqbal.

46. *Books Under Preparation:*

1. Index of Iqbal's works.
2. Iqbal Album.
3. Political Thought in Islam.
4. English translation of a Persian Treatise on Time and Space.

Among the scholars of this part of the world the person whose writings have inspired me most is the late Dr. Iqbal, who is aptly given the epithet of the "Poet-philosopher of the East."

Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan

Sept. 13, 1968

### FOREIGN VISITORS TO THE ACADEMY

47. Since the shifting of the Academy to the new premises, a number of foreign scholars and different cultural delegations have visited the Academy. On most of these occasions, members of the Academy and other interested scholars were invited to participate in the discussions.

48. *U.S.S.R.* (a) Mr. Z. Baranov, Institute of Asian Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

(b) Madame Polonskya, The Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Moscow.

49. *U.S.A.* (a) Charles L. Geddes, American Institute of Islamic Studies, Denver, Colorado.

(b) Robert B. Fultan, Western Colledge, Oxford, Ohio.

50. *China.* (a) Mr. Jen Chi. Yu.

(b) Mr. Huang Hsin Chuan.

Both Professors of the Pekin University

(c) A cultural delegation from China led by Mr. Chi Wee Pei visited the Academy. The Director explained to them the role of Iqbal in the making of Pakistan and in the intellectual awakening among Muslims of the Sub-continent. The delegation was entertained to lunch at the Hotel Intercontinental.

51. *U.A.R.* Dr. Yahya al-Kashab, a member of the Supreme Council for Art and Culture, Cairo, who was invited by the Iqbal Academy to participate in the Iqbal Day function, 1967, was the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Academy at its premises.

52. *Iran.* An Iranian cultural delegation came to Pakistan on a good will visit in April, 1965. It consisted of Dr. Hussain Khatibi, Deputy Speaker of the Majlis, Chairman, Red Lion and Sun Society and leader of the delegation; Professor Lotfali Suratgar, Senior professor of English Literature, Teheran University and Secretary-General of the Royal Cultural Council; Dr. Hakopian, Director General of the Imperial Ministry of Culture and Art and Dr. Husain Shahizadeh, Head, Culture Department of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They visited the Iqbal Academy where Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, Vice-President of the Academy, received them. Welcoming the distinguished visitors, he recalled how the two peoples had inherited the same culture which had proved fruitful for both of them. As a result of the British occupation of the Sub-continent, however, a thick curtain had descended between Pakistan and Iran, and had separated them from each other. The presence of a cultural delegation from Iran, he concluded, was a testimony to the fact that "we are trying to repair the damage that history has done us." They were later entertained to dinner at the State Guest House, Karachi.



A Parliamentary delegation from Iran, led by Mr. Abdullah Riazi, Rais, Majlis-i Shura-i Milli, and about 10 other members visited the Iqbal Academy in February, 1967. They had a long discussion about different cultural problems of the two countries. Sets of Academy's publications were presented to them.

They were later entertained to a dinner at the premises of the Academy.

53. *West Germany.* A Parliamentary delegation from West Germany, led by Dr. Barthold, Chairman, Sub-committee on Foreign Cultural Relations, Bundestag, visited the Academy in September 1966. A very lively discussion ensued in which Mr. Mumtaz Hasan emphasised the role of Iqbal in the making of Pakistan. It was also pointed out that it was Iqbal who for the first time introduced German literature and the great literary figures of Germany, particularly Goethe, to the people of the Sub-continent. The members of the delegation were shown the original writings and photographs of Iqbal and the publications of the Academy were presented to every member of the delegation.

Dr. Annemarie Schimmel visited the Academy on 28th September, 1966. She was presented with the latest publications of the Academy.

54. *Somalia.* Mr. Kanadid Ahmad Yusuf, Education Minister of the Republic of Somalia, accompanied by Mr. M. Shinah, a senior officer of the Ministry of Education, visited the Academy. The history and background of the Iqbal Academy was explained to him and the publications brought out by the Academy were presented to them. Mr. Kanadid Ahmad Yousuf expressed the hope that "in our country such academies will be established to help the preservation of the life work of famous Islamic leaders and their thought."

55. *Turkey.* Professor Abdul Kadir Karhan, Faculty of Letters, University of Istanbul and president of the Turkish-Pakistan Cultural Association in Istanbul, visited the Academy in October, 1966. In February 1968, Dr. Zaki Validi Togan paid a visit to the Academy. Dr. Togan is one of the most eminent scholars of Turkey, and one of the most romantic figure of recent Turkish history. He is perhaps the only living person who has had the honour of working with another romantic figure of Turkey, Anwar Pasha,

under whole leadership he fought for the independence of the Muslims of Central Asia during and after the Russian Revolution. He is now engaged in academic work and enjoys world fame for his scholarship. The discussion with him ranged round the work he has done. He outlined briefly the work that awaits a team of research scholars to be handled and published. The few hours spent in his company were a source of inspiration. He was later entertained to dinner in the premises of the Academy.

Another visitor from Turkey was Miss Edibe Dolu who, as representative in Pakistan of a number of Turkish newspapers, was, at her request, supplied material for writing features on Iqbal for the Turkish papers.

56. U.K. Professor C. Philips, Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, visited the Academy in 1967 along with his wife and daughter. He was presented with a set of the publications of the Iqbal Academy, including translations into Bengali, Gujrati, Sindhi and Pashto for, as he said, the School of Oriental Studies in London had scholars of all these languages. He expressed his impressions thus: "I am glad to see the study of Iqbal's significance for today's and tomorrow's world."

57. *Italy.* The well-known Italian scholar, Professor Alessandro Bausani, visited the Academy in February, 1968. He has written many articles on Iqbal in English and in Italian. One of his articles, "The Concept of Satan in Iqbal," has been translated into English for the Iqbal Academy by a teacher of Italian in the Punjab University, Dr. A.R. Butler, and is published in the October, 1968 issue of the *Iqbal Review*. He has translated Iqbal's *Javid Namah* into Italian.

He was presented with a set of Academy's publications and was later guest of honour at a dinner given by the Iqbal Academy.

The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul.

Iqbal —

58. From the Government of Pakistan:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Annual Grant</i>	<i>Special Grant</i>
1958-59	75,000.00	
1959-60	75,000.00	25,000.00
1960-61	1,00,000.00	
1961-62	1,00,000.00	
1962-63	1,10,000.00	
1963-64	1,20,000.00	
1964-65	1,10,000.00	
1965-66	1,04,000.00	20,600.00
1966-67	1,30,000.00	3,876.00
1967-68	1,30,000.00	

59. From the Government of West Pakistan:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Annual Grant</i>
1958-59	8,000.00
1959-60	9,660.00
1960-61	8,000.00
1961-62	8,000.00

1962-63	8,000.00
1963-64	8,000.00
1964-65	8,000.00
1965-66	7,600 00
1966-67	7,600.00
1967-68	7,600.00

60. *Sale of Books.* For a long time the Iqbal Academy was forced, due to lack of proper accomodation, to keep its stock of books with some bookseller acting as its sole agent who, aware of Academy's inability to handle this side of work, often dictated terms which the Academy had to accept. The result, however, was that in most cases the Academy had to forego its dues. As a result, the system of granting sole-agency to booksellers was terminated, as by shifting to the new building the stock of books could now be easily accomodated in the Academy's own premises. Efforts are being made to explore means of increasing the sale of the Academy's publications. The results, as shown in the figures below, seem encouraging but there is still consider- able scope of expansion and contant efforts are made to reach the reading public as far as possible.

1958-59	247.50
1959-60	352.00
1960-61	3,025.75
1961-62	3,414.54
1962-63	2,290.39
1963-64	6,311.80

1964-65	10,626.47
1965-66	6,497.38
1966-67	7,492.58
1967-68	11,807.65

We have constantly to strive for a synthesis of material faith and spiritual needs. We have to preserve the basic principles of our and, in their light, work for material welfare through extensive which would use of Science and technology. We must develop a way of life enable us to fully borrow our material resources through scientific method without allowing this process to destroy

Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan

Independence Day, 1968

## I

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Iqbal's Original Works

Urdu	4
English	1

5

#### Bibliographical

Urdu	1		
English	1		
		2	
<b>Works (Languagewise)</b>			
Bengali	8		
Urdu	7		
English	7		
Sindhi	4		
Gujrati	2		
Pashto	8		
Turkish	3		
German	1		
Arabic	2		
Persian	6	48	55

### **Iqbal's Original Works**

#### *Urdu*

1. Ilmul Iqtisad
2. Maktoobat-i Iqbal
3. Iqbal Ke Khutoot Attiya Begum Ke Naam
4. Anwar-i Iqbal *English* 1. Letters and Writings of Iqbal

## **Bibliographical**

### *Urdu*

1. Iqbaliyat Ka Tanqidi Jaeza

### *English*

1. A Bibliography of Iqbal

## **Works (Languagewise)**

### *Bengali*

1. Kalam-i Iqbal
2. Educational Philosophy of Iqbal
3. Political Thoughts of Iqbal
4. Historical Background of Pakistan
5. Development of Metaphysics in Persia
6. Armaghan-i Hijaz
7. Iqbal Desh Bedesh Vol. I
8. Iqbal Desh Bedesh Vol. II

### *Urdu*

1. Iqbal Iranion Ki Nazar Men
2. Islami Tasawwuf Aur Iqbal
3. Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal
4. Iqbal aur Hyderabad Deccan
5. Iqbal aur Siyasat-i Milli
6. Iqbal Aur Jamaliyat
7. Asrar-o Rumuz par ek Nazar

### *English*

1. Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal

2. First Principles of Education
3. The Place of God, Man and Universe in the Philosophic System of Iqbal
4. A Voice from the East
5. In Memoriam Vol. I
6. In Memoriam Vol. II
7. Selected Letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi

*Sindhi*

1. Hayat-i Iqbal
2. Javid Namah
3. Armaghan-i Hijaz
4. Asrar-o Rumuz

*Gujrati*

1. Zuboor-i Ajam
2. Payam-i Mashriq *Pashto*

1. Zuboor-i Ajam
2. Bang-i Dara
3. Payam-i Mashriq
4. Armaghan-i Hijaz
5. Javid Namah
6. Zarb-i Kaleem
7. Baal-e Jibreel
8. Pas Che Bayad Kard

*Turkish*

1. Payam-i Mashriq
2. Asrar-o Rumuz
3. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

*German*



## 1. Payam-i Mashriq

### *.Arabic*

1. Asrar-o Rumuz
2. Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

### *Persian*

1. Zarb-i Kaleem
2. Tadhkira Shora-i-Punjab
3. Tadhkira Shora-i-Kashmir Vol. **I**
4. Tadhkira Shora-i-Kashmir Vol. **II**
5. Tadhkira Shora-i-Kashmir Vol. **III**
6. Tadhkira Shora-i-Kashmir by Muhammad Aslah

## II

### **NEW PROGRAMME OF WORK**

Iqbal in his letters at different places expressed his wish either to write himself or asks his correspondents to write on the following topics: —

*[References are to 'Iqbal Namah' published by Shaikh Muhammad Asbraf, (Lahore), Vol. 1 (n.d.) and Vol. 2 (1951) unless otherwise stated]*

1. Political and Social Conditions of 8th/14th Century Muslim World during the life of

Hafiz of Shiraz ... 1, 35-37, 43

2. Study of Iraqi's Lam'at and 'Time' I, 44, 443

3. Hallaj's Kitab al-Tawasin (He recommends

study of Massignon's explanatory notes) ... I, 54; II, 51, 79

4. A Tadhkira of poets of Kashmir after the  
pattern of Shibli's Shi'r al-Ajam ... I, 58
5. A study of Harith Muhasibi whose mysticism influenced Jewish and  
Christian mystics ... I, 68-9
6. A study of Buddhist influence on the life of pre-Islamic and post-  
Islamic central Asian and Arabian people ... I, 78
7. A study of Muslim contribution to philosophy:
- (i) in the field of Logic — criticism of Aris- I, 127, 128, 130;  
totelian logic ... II, 214
- (ii) regarding conception of time and space  
(A study of Mamonides is also recom- I, 122, 156, 164,  
mended in this respect — I, p. 156) ... 165, 166, 168, 443
- (iii) in the field of Mathematics ... I, 247
8. A study of Muslim contribution to philoso-  
phy by Indian Muslims I, 165, 180
9. Constitutional position of Iman (Khalifa) with reference to Turq al-  
Hikmiya of Ibn I, 145-150  
Qayyam and Ham al Mu'qi'in ... I, 152, 403
10. A study of Waliy Allah especially with regard to Irtifiqat ... I,  
160, 163

11. An Urdu translation of Waliy Allah's Taf-himat and Budur-i-Bazigha ... I, 188, 197
12. A study of the concept of Collective Security in the light of the Qur'an (ix, 49) ... I, 204
13. A detailed study of:
  - I — (a) religious and political history of... I, 202-203, 399
  - Islam (b) Mysticism; and (c) Jurisprudence
  - II — Cultural and Philosophical aspects of Islam ... II, 90
14. A study of Semitic Conception of Prophethood ... I, 420
15. A study of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind ... II, 48
16. A study of Tippu Sultan ... II, 89
17. A History of different sects among Muslims ... II, 218
18. A study of Muslim Moral and Political theories ... II, 221
19. A study of Shah Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior ... 11, 373
20. A study of Hadi Subzwari and Mulla

Sadra ... II, 157; 1, 156

21. An illustrated edition of Javid Namah ... I, 169, 178

22. A study of Ibn al-Arabi with ref. to Fusus I, 44, I, 164, 166,

al-Hikam and Fatuhat 180-181

23. A study of Shihab al-Din Maqtul ... I, 117

24. A study of Fakhr al-Din Razi ... I, 123, 158

25. A study of (i) Khushal Khan Khattak and

(ii) Sana'i ... I, 310; II, 163

26. A History of the Punjab during Muslim Maktubat (ed.) by

rule (pre-Sikh period) ... Mr. Niyazi, p. 283

27. A study of Muslim India during 1707-1857... Ibid., p. 284 [References are to S.A. Vahid (Ed.), *Thoughts and Reflections of Wan*

1. Conception of God in Schleiermacher 13

2. Vedanta of Sankara 13

3. (a) Islam as a moral and political ideal 29

(b) Study of Buddhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and

Manichaenism (as it influenced Christianity) 29

4. Slavery in Islam 40

5. Influence of Muslim Civilization on Modern Europe 45

6. Abdul Qadir of Algeria 45

7. Defensive and Aggressive wars in Islam 46

8. Political theories — Sunnite, Shiite, Kharjile 62-63

9. Shaikh Ahmad Rifa'i — a booklet translated by Maulana

Sharar 81

10.	Intellectual history of the Muslims of western and central Asia from the 10th century onward	82
11.	A study of S. Alexander (Gifford Lectures)	94
12.	Ethical issue involved in the question of Time	96
13.	Immortality	96
14.	Race ideal — its history and effects	98-99
15.	Germs of an economic and democratic organisation that lie scattered in the pages of the Quran and traditions.	100
16.	Ibn al-Arabi, Iraqi, Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani	101
17.	Humanist movement in Europe — its rise (the result of Muslim influence)	104
19.	Intellectual life in Muslim Spain and its effect on Europe	104
20.	Pringle-Pattison (Gifford Lectures)	112
21.	Einsteins's Relativity	114
22.	McTaggart	116
23.	Study of religious experience — expansion of what has been written in the first two lectures	
24.	Existentialist Thinkers — theistic Kierkagaard and Christianity, Martin Buber	
25.	Modern Christian Theologians like Tillich, Niebuhr, Berdievey, Barth, etc.	
26.	Whitehead	
27.	Spengler — a critical study of his views.	

# THE IMPACT OF ECOLOGY ON IQBAL'S THOUGHT

*Hafeez Malik<sup>1</sup>*

Iqbal's philosophy of ego (or activism) was not formulated until he abandoned the doctrine of *Wahdat al-wujūd*<sup>2</sup> (Unitarian Monism), which had been innovated by the Hispanic-Arab mystic Muhl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240).

There is a consensus that Iqbal subscribed to the doctrine of *Wahdat al-wujūd* until at least 1907, the year in which he submitted his doctoral dissertation, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, to Munich University. In the Introduction of his dissertation Iqbal paid a glowing tribute to Al-'Arabī<sup>3</sup>. However, Iqbal's admiration for Al-'Arabī was not the outcome of his two years of research for his dissertation in Europe, but was the product of the philosophical orientation inherited by him from his parents and from his early teachers. Probably he had completed the better part of his doctoral research before he arrived in Europe. It would have been almost impossible for him to complete his work in two years, especially since he was working simultaneously for two other degrees (*i.e.*, bachelor of Arts degree at Trinity College, Cambridge University, and he was also enrolled at the Lincoln's Inn,

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hafeez Malik, Professor of History and Political Science, Villanova University, Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the impact of Ibn al-'Arabī in India, and the general influence of his doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, see an excellent article by Professor Khalīq

Ahmad Nizāmī, Hadrat Akbar Muhy-ud-Din Ibn al-'Arabī", *Burhan* (Delhi : January, 1950) ; see also his collection of articles, *Tarkhi Maqalat* (Delhi : Nudwat al-Musannafin, 1966), pp. 14-38.

<sup>3</sup> Iqbal stated: "The student of Islamic Mysticism who is anxious to see an all-embracing exposition of the principle of Unity, must look up the heavy volumes of the Andalusian Ibn al-'Arabī, whose profound teaching stands in strange contrast with the dry-as-dust Islam of his countrymen." *The Development of Metaphysics In Persia*, (Lahore: Bazm-i Iqbal, 1955), p. x.

London, to qualify at the bar)<sup>4</sup>. Iqbal's subsequent researches carried him farther away from Al-'Arabī.

Writing in 1915 his Foreword to the first edition of *Asrār-i Khudī*, Iqbal repudiated Al-'Arabī and *Wahdat al-wujūd*. He complimented Ibn Taimiyya and Wāḥid Mahmūd for raising their voices high against the life-negating impact of Al-'Arabī. Also, he advised his readers to look to the western nations of Europe in order to learn the meaning of life. "By virtue of their will to action, the Western nations are pre-eminent among the nations of the world. For this reason. and in order to appreciate the secret of life, their literatures and ideas are the best guides for the nations of the East."<sup>5</sup> (This Foreword and his thirty five critical verses about Hafiz were eliminated from the subsequent editions of the *Asrār-i Khudī*.) Among the western nations he singled out Britain.

"The world is indebted to the British for their pragmatism. Their ability to comprehend situations is sharper and more developed than that of other nations. For this reason, no high-flown (*damāgh Bākhteh*) philosophic systems, which fail to stand up in the light of facts, have gained popularity in England. Therefore, the works of British thinkers have a place of their own in the world literature. After benefiting from them (*i.e.*, British philosophic ideas) the mind and the heart (*i.e.*, philosophy and literature) of the East must revise their intellectual legacy."<sup>6</sup>

Here, it is maintained that Iqbal graduated from the *Wahdat al-wujūd* of Al-'Arabī to the concept of the ecological struggle. He was aided in this evolutionary thinking by several thinkers of Islam including Ibn Taimiyya,

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<sup>4</sup> 'Abdul Majīd Sālik, *Dīkr-i-Iqbal* (Lahore : Bazm-i Iqbal), 1955, pp. 48, 57.

”مغربی اقوام اپنی قوت عمل کی وجہ سے تمام اقوام عالم میں ممتاز ہیں اور اسی وجہ سے اسرار زندگی کو سمجھنے کے لیے اُن کے ادبیات و تخیلات اہل مشرق کے واسطے بہترین رہنما ہیں۔“

"Deybacheh-i Asrār-i khudī", in Faqir Sayyid Wahid-ud-Din, *Ruzgār-i Faqir* (Karachi : Lion Art Press, 1965), p' 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Wāhid Mahmūd and Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Alf-i Thānī, and more significantly by Darwin, and European ecologists, including Ernest Haeckel (the German biologist who first used the term ecology in *History of Creation*, 1868) and their followers. In 1904, a year before he went to Europe, Iqbal demonstrated a sharp awareness of the ecological struggle even though he still subscribed to the theory of *Wahdat al-wujūd*. (It is, however, not suggested that Iqbal's system of philosophy was basically Darwinian ; he was influenced by the concept of the ecological struggle and that it was only one of the strands of thought which helped him formulate his own philosophic system.)

### The Theory of Ecology

The basis of modern ecology lies in the works of Darwin and Wallace. In particular, Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871) set the stage for a new era in biological research. Attention shifted from a preoccupation with cosmological problems, such as the ultimate meaning of each form of life for every other which followed from the assumption of inscrutability of species, to a search for specific causes responsible for the existence of species, based upon accumulated evidence of change in the organic world. Final causes were forsaken in favour of necessary and sufficient conditions.

Darwin formulated the basic ideas which were later brought together to constitute theoretical understructure, the frame of reference, of modern ecology. All life was his province and he perceived it as a moving system of vital relationships in which were implicated every organism and species of life. (This general conception he described metaphorically as the *web of life*.) Organisms are related to one another in the web, Darwin pointed out, on the basis of a struggle for existence. The term *struggle for existence* includes in it the competition among forms of life as well as the cooperation and mutual aid that develop among organisms. Through struggle for existence the *web of life* unfolds an order of biotic community as organisms become adjusted to one another and to the physical environment.

Scientific ecology, then, is indebted to Darwin for the main outlines of its theory, the essential conception being: (1) The *web of life* in which



organisms are adjusted or are seeking adjustment to one another, (2) the adjustment process as a struggle for existence, and (3) the environment comprising a highly complex set of conditions of adjustment. <sup>7</sup>Darwin's contribution to ecology has resulted in the creation of three phases of scientific ecology: plant, animal, and human.

Twentieth century human ecologists (including Robert E. Park and R.D. Mckenzie) say that "ecology conceives society as fundamentally a territorial as well as a cultural organization . . . it assumes that most, if not all, cultural changes in society will be correlated with changes in its territorial organization, and every change in the territorial and occupational distribution of the population will effect changes in the existing cultures."<sup>8</sup> To Park, the evolution of society is, in some respects, the evolution of a territorial organization. The phenomenon of European colonial expansion was also explained by Park from the view-point of human ecology. "This expansion has been made possible," maintained Park, "by a series of inventions which have, at different epochs in its history, revolutionized and transformed the prevailing methods of transportation and communication."<sup>9</sup> They are:

(I) The perfecting of ocean-going ships with which, in the age of discovery, Europeans extended their knowledge of the world outside of Europe.

(2) The steamships, by means of which a great commercial highway has

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. also, Robert Ezra Park, "Human Ecology", *The American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1936), Vol' XLII, No. I, pp. 1-15.

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Park, "Succession, An Ecological Concept", *American Sociological Review* (April, 1936), Vol. I, No. II, p. 178' McKenzie says : "Let us tentatively define human ecology as a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the *selective, distributive* and *accommodative* forces of the environment". R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community", *The American Journal of Sociology* (November, 1924), Vol. XXX, No. 3, pp. 287, 88-301.

<sup>9</sup> Iqbal's letter of May 28, 1937 to Jinnah is clearly an ecological statement.

For instance, he says : " . . . the enforcement and development of the *Sbarrat* of 1slam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India." *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore : Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1956), p. 18.

been established around the world and has made of the seas, with their seaport cities, the centre of the world.

(3) The railways, by which the continental areas have been penetrated and their resources transported to the seaboard, where they have entered into the world of commerce.

(4) The automobile, which have suddenly further transformed continental areas by spreading out over the land network of roads which permit rapid and unlimited transportation in every direction.

(5) Finally, there is the airplane, the possibility of which we are now just beginning to explore."<sup>10</sup>

Referring to the social, economic and political changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution of Europe, Park says: "These changes have literally plowed up the ancient landmarks, undermined the influence of the traditional social order in every part of the world, and released immense social forces which are now seeking everywhere a new equilibrium."<sup>11</sup>

Writing in 1904 an article on the theme of national life (exactly thirty-two years before Park's article was published) Iqbal adopted the ecological concept for the rise and fall of nations. "After observing the phenomena of nature, scholars have reached a conclusion," maintained Iqbal, "that among all organic beings, (including *homo sapiens* and varieties of animal and plant life), constant war is waged. . . In this struggle for existence (*Kamakash-i-Hayat*), all forms of life are engaged, final victory being achieved by those who have the ability to survive and who can adjust themselves to changed circumstances . . . The modern progeny of *homo sapiens* is a memorial to the long-gone national civilizations and cultures, which suffered death and destruction in their struggle for survival."

The law of natural selection, contended Iqbal, was equally applicable to religious and to national languages. "Hundreds of religions came into being in this world. They flourished and then eventually decayed. Why? The answer

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<sup>10</sup> Park, "Succession, An Ecological Concept", *op. cit'*, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.* For a survey of modern literature on human ecology, see, James A. Quinn, "Topical Summary of Current Literature of Human Ecology". *The American Journal of Sociology* (1940 : 46), pp' 191-226 ; this excellent article lists 347 studies on ecology'

is obvious. The intellectual development of man gave rise to new needs and wants, which these religions could not satisfy." Similar was the case with languages. "At one time, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit were living languages; they are now almost defunct. They lapsed into disuse because of the law [of natural selection]. . ."

Complimenting the Chinese, Hindus, Jews and Zoroastrians for their ability to survive the ravages of time, Iqbal deplored what he thought was the critical situation of the Muslims in India. He feared that they were on the precipice of extinction and needed to reform their entire national life. The modern struggle, Iqbal believed, was conditioned by trade and industry. "Among the Asian nations, the Japanese were the first to comprehend the secret of the revolution. They dedicated themselves to industrializing their national economy. They have achieved this distinction because of the highly industrialized economy and not because of the contributions of any national philosopher, poet, or *litterateur*."

His advice was unequivocal: Muslims must take to *industry* and *craftsmanship*. "In my eyes," declared Iqbal, "the hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar, which never carried more than the weight of a pen."

Since the Muslims were outnumbered four to one in the sub-continent, Iqbal came to believe that their culture did not have an even chance to survive. This realization became one of the motive forces for the formulation of his doctrine of *Khudi* (ego), the main arch of his philosophic system. *Khudi*, or self-affirmation, became the frame of reference for the analysis of Indian history. Political forces or persons who strengthened collective Muslim *Khudi* became the heroes, because they strengthened the Muslim's ability to survive in their ecological struggle.

Hence, Iqbal's lack of appreciation for the Mughal Emperor Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* (Religion of God) and its concomitant cultural syncreticism, and his approbation of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (Mujaddid Alf Thānī, who spent his life combating the legacy of *Din-i-Ilahi* during the reign of Akbar's son, Emperor Jehāngīr (1605-1628). By the same token, Emperor Aurangzeb

Alamgīr (1658-1707) was the builder of *Khudi* to Iqbal, because in Iqbal's judgement he understood the reality of the ecological struggle in India. Discussing in *Rumūz-i-Bekhudi* (*The Mysteries of Selflessness*) the personal fulfillment of the individual in society, Iqbal described Aurangzeb as:

درمیانِ کارِ زارِ کفر و دین

ترکشِ ما را خدنگِ آخرین

He the last arrow in our quiver left

In the affray of faith with unbelief and

چوں براهیم اندرین بت خانه بود

An Abraham in India's idol-house.

Iqbal's ecological orientation led him to the separation of Muslim India from Hindu India. Consequently, in practical politics he stood for separate electorates, other constitutional safeguards to protect the cultural identity of the Muslims and their eventual self-determination.<sup>12</sup>

In order to appreciate fully the impact of ecology on Iqbal's thought this author translated his article *Qawmi Zindgi*, which appeared in the October 1904 issue of *Makhzan*, Lahore<sup>13</sup>. Its full text is reproduced below.

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<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, *Asrār wā Rumūz* (Lahore : Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, 1959), pp. 112-113 ; A. J' Arberry, *The Mysteries of Selflessness* (London : John Murray, 1953), p' 17.

<sup>13</sup> During the summer of 1904 Iqbal visited his elder brother, Shaikh Ataullah, who was then sub-divisional officer at Abbotabad. At the request of the people, Iqbal delivered a lecture on this subject, a summary of which appeared in 2 issues of *Makhzan*, October 1904 and March 1905.

Reference to *Makhzan* October 1904, given in *Maqālat-i-Iqbal* edited by Sayyid Abdul Wahid Mu'ini (Lahore : Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1st. edition, May 1963), p. 62 is not exactly correct. (Ed.)

In the history of nations this is a very critical moment. It demands that every nation should examine not only her present situation, but also look upon the well-being of her future generations as a contemporary problem, if she wants to preserve her existence among the nations of the world. Each nation should adopt such a course of action that the cultural elements of its past generations are also preserved. There was a time when the outcome of conflict between nations was determined by the sword, and this weapon of steel was a formidable force in the history of the old world. But in this amazing contemporary world, the survival of nations does not depend on their greater number, nor on the strength of their muscles, nor on their steel weapons. Today their life is protected by the wooden sword (*Kathkē talvār*), which is given the name of *pen*. In today's battles, nations need not be fully armed to shed blood and to engage in warfare in designated battlefields. Nor is it any longer necessary that nations should invade their neighbours in order to conquer them. These techniques were the characteristics of the ancient times.

Today an invisible power (*Khāmosh Qumwat*)<sup>14</sup> makes the difference between the life and death of nations. Utilizing this power, one nation can wipe out the other the way a misspelled word is erased from the blackboard. The battle among elephants has become obsolete; now, only intellectual and ideological forces, and the conflict of civilization is in vogue. This conflict is so fierce and ruthless that the victims would never recover even with miracle drugs and ointments. The distance between nations, which previously precluded cultural diffusion, has virtually disappeared due to the railroads, and the wireless telegraphy. Those countries which were separated by the seas and were completely unknown to others, now appear to be two neighbourhoods of a city, thanks to the fast and superior techniques of navigation in the twentieth century. The nation of the world are being influenced by each other's culture and civilization. During the primitive stages of human culture, flashes of electricity often generated intense religious sentiments; today the same electric energy is instrumental in

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<sup>14</sup> *Silent power* would be the *verbatim* translation of *khāmosh qumwat*, but since Iqbal is referring to science and technology, and particularly electrical energy, *invisible power* would be more accurate.

transmitting human thoughts, and steam provides conveyance while the fan is moved [by the same invisible power]. The sun — whose grandeur and magnificence once deceived the prophet Abraham, and had deeply influenced the philosophical thought (*dil wa damagh*) of a civilized nation [probable allusion to the Hindus] now sheds its light and heat under the direction of scientists.<sup>13</sup> The manifestations of nature, which had remained unconquered for so long, and had succeeded in overawing the ancient nations so that they looked upon them as divine, and erected temples in their name, are now the slaves of man.

Thanks to the progress of modern sciences, man, whom angels described on the day of Creation as wretched and ignorant, is to-day rightly proud of his being the "best of creation" (*asbraf al-makhlūqāt*). His inquisitive mind is untying the tangled secrets of the forces of nature, and by means of his intellectual victories, he is ruling over mountains, oceans, moon, and sun, and stars. This amazing change of conditions distinguished the bygone ages from the modern times. All this points to the development of new physical and spiritual needs calling for the creation of new material wherewithal. This leads one to review the conditions of Indian nations, (especially the Muslims), in the light of changed conditions, and to highlight the obstacles in the rugged path of life. One could then make suggestion to alleviate the situation. (My aim is to draw the attention of the readers to the central and most important aspect of our national life. If I succeed in rousing the interest and thought processes of any of my readers, then this article would have achieved its purpose).

### [Ecological Struggle]

After observing the phenomena of nature, scholars have reached a conclusion that among all organic beings, (including *homo sapiens*, and varieties of animal and plant life), constant war is waged. In other words, the secret of nature is essentially struggle, which presents in a way a very painful spectacle, engaging all organic beings in war with their neighbours. In this struggle for existence (*Kashmakash-i hayāt*) all forms of life are engaged, final victory being achieved by those who have the ability to survive, and who can adjust themselves to the changed circumstances. In the long-past [geological] ages, varied species of animals and birds existed; today even their names are

extinct. As the environment and conditions of life changed, the animal life suffered destruction, because they could not adjust themselves to various stages of the [natural] evolution (*inqalab*).

The discovery of this law [natural selection] was made by modern scholars with utmost labour. This is a universal law, equally applicable to *homo sapiens*, and species of animals and birds, including other forms of organic beings. I want to demonstrate the impact of this overpowering law on the evolutionary development of human beings in the past and in the present. Was the man of our times, [*homo sapiens*] always in his present biological state ? No, never. The modern progeny of *homo sapiens* is a memorial to the long-gone national civilizations and cultures, which suffered death and destruction in their struggle for survival. Their destruction was so complete that not a faint trace of them is left behind. Thousands of years have elapsed since the death of Egyptian pyramid builders. The philosophy of the ancient Greeks has survived but they are no more. Where is today that African nation [of Carthage] whose brave military officers devastated the West, and then finally attacked the magnificent Roman Empire? Is there a trace of this nation anywhere? Hundreds of nations came into being in this world; after flourishing and prospering in their own times, they eventually disappeared unto dust.

The progress of mankind, as history teaches us, was not achieved in an easy way. Hundreds of nations were sacrificed in the pursuit of educational and cultural. development ; and thousands of individuals made the offering of blood at the altar [of progress]. Wars, epidemics, and famines are obviously the outcome of this universal law [of struggle for survival]. Viewed in the light of human evolution, these phenomena, which appear to be a divine scourge, are blessings in disguise. They are meant to lend order to the web of life (*niẓām-i Oudrat*). The law of [natural selection] is not only applicable to mankind, but its impact equally envelops other aspects of life. Hundreds of religions came into being in this world. They flourished and then eventually decayed. Why ? The answer is obvious. The intellectual development of man gave rise to new needs and wants, which these religions could not satisfy. That is why the theologians had to invent new dialectics in order to strengthen their religion. This is why they endeavoured to dress up their religious teaching so that it might be their guide in temporal (*'amli*) and

spiritual aspects of life. At one time Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit were living languages ; now they are almost defunct. They lapsed into disuse because of [the law of natural selection] ; Punjabi, which we use for daily intercourse, is likewise subject to this law. Hundreds of words currently being used by the educated strata of society are not to be found in Punjabi. Modern expressions of thought have developed owing to an increase in human intelligence. Punjabi is incapable of expressing them. Against this background, Punjabi is likely to meet the same fate which the ancient languages met. Looking at the conditions of some contemporary nations, one would realize that the original inhabitants of America and Australia have fallen victim to the onslaught of superior civilization and culture. Nations of Central Asia, and Iran, and China are also under the pressure of the laws of natural selection. Scholarly view regards their future prospects as very bleak.

History points up the indispensable role of the struggle for survival as a boost to human development. This mighty oak of human progress flourishes at the expense of numerous saplings. Just as it is necessary that various nations be sacrificed in the interest of collective human progress, similarly it is necessary that the individuals may be disregarded in order to ensure the growth and development of a nation. Here we face a novel and difficult question: If an individual does not have a vested interest in the intellectual and cultural development of the future generations, or if he is not specially interested in their distant economic well-being and political prestige or grandeur why should his personal interests be subordinated to those of his national progress ? Will I live a hundred years from now ? Then why should I sacrifice myself at the altar of national interest, or spend sleepless nights worrying about the distant national progress ? This is a very discomfoting question, yet an inevitable one, defying all rational answers. Religion rescues us from the dangers of doubt. It teaches us that the principle of self-sacrifice for the interests of others is not based on rationality. The virtue [of self-sacrifice], which is indispensable for human evolution and national advancement, finds its justification in super-natural (*Fuq al-'adat*) principles.

[The concept of prophecy can be explained in a similar manner]. The prophetic mission (*awāz-i Nubbūvai*) and its significance cannot be explained in rational terms. A prophet enjoys spiritual experiences with the help of his extra-ordinary faculties (*gher ma'mūli Qawā*). They lend him divine grandeur



and overwhelming power before which all claims to human superiority pale into insignificance. This is the secret of religion not comprehended by simple minds. Very erroneously, they have considered the principles of religion as contributory factors for international bloodshed and world wars. Very similar is the concept of [self-] sacrifice, which was adopted by all nations of the world at different times and situations in their history. Discerning observers appreciate the fact that if tribes of men were not inculcated with the [virtue of] sacrifice, the lack of it would have hampered the evolutionary growth of man, preventing civilization and culture to acquire its present form. If the evolutionary development of civilization and culture is the tree, then religion is its fruit. Just as water, air, and food are essential to human nourishment, similarly, religion is indispensable for national development. The religious value of sacrifice not only helps in human evolution, but there is another aspect of it, which cannot be overlooked. In the ancient world, slavery was considered to be an integral part of the social structure. Even Plato declared it permissible in his book, *The Republic*. There was a rationale for this position. The concept of employment was not yet regarded as a free contract. Therefore, payment for the services rendered was inconceivable. Since a social structure cannot be maintained without an agreed principle of employment, acceptance of slavery became mandatory. Consequently, a large number of human beings became mere articles of possession, and were denied a role in the struggle for survival, so essential for human progress.

The Prophet of Arabia was the first to teach the lesson of natural liberty (*Fitiāzādī*) for all individuals. In declaring the equality of rights between the slave and the master, he laid the foundations of the cultural revolution, the impact of which is being felt by the world. This action amounted to involving a large segment of humanity, *i.e.*, slaves, in the process of struggle, which really generates higher forms of civilization and culture, and strengthens them. What was the consequence of this teaching of the Wise Man of Arabia ? Among Muslims, slaves rose to the position of sovereigns and ministers. Education made the slaves philosophers and *littérateurs*. Humiliating restrictions were abolished, thus enabling a slave to compete on individual merits with privileged members [of society], and to achieve the highest position in the state. The best specimen of this social revolution was presented in the conduct of Caliph 'Umar, especially during his journey to take possession of Jerusalem. As far as I know the national history of no

other people presents such an example ; Muslims can be rightly proud of it. The question of female's rights is also a delicate issue. Regarding women, the Prophet preached their freedom (*azādana t'alim di*). However, this vast subject demands thorough investigation ; instead of discussing it in detail, I would merely allude to it at an appropriate place.

Regarding life, a thought-provoking question demands an answer: Is it within the means of a nation to organize the material conditions of its national existence in accordance with its plans? In other words, can a nation exercise control over its destiny ? Or perhaps human beings, like animals and vegetation, are equally subject to uncontrollable forces of nature? The essence of life in human being is not different from that in other forms of life, yet *homo sapiens*, because of his God-given intelligence, is superior to all other forms of life. Man is endowed with a great power of intelligence, which enables him to appreciate the prerequisites (*sh't'ail-i-zindagā0*) and other vicissitudes of life. Man can comprehend the laws of nature, benefit from this knowledge, and thus determine the direction of his evolution. When he sees that the productivity of land is not in proportion to the increase in population, he combats the natural forces with his [mechanical] invention. The struggle for the advancement of civilization and culture would have been of no avail if man did not possess intelligence. Then our life would not have differed from animal life and that of other organic beings. Like those beings, who are unable to mould the twists and turns of life, our existence and survival would have depended upon the forces of nature.<sup>15</sup>

[Nations which survived the ravages of Time]

So far I have discussed the problems of life in terms of theory. Now, I would discuss facts, drawing conclusions from them most helpful for the country and our nation.

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<sup>15</sup> In this rhetorical style Iqbal is slightly imprecise, particularly in this sentence. Instead of using the word scientist, he simply says *badrat-i Insān* (respected man)' For greater clarity of expression *scientists* has been substituted.

If we view the past and present history of the civilized world, we find that of all the ancient peoples, only four nations have survived the sharp sword of the laws of nature [i.e., natural selection]: Chinese, Hindus, Jews, and Parsees [Zoroastrians]. Realizing the meaning of change, the Japanese in Asia, and the Italians in the west, have recently endeavored to change their morals and politics in order to come to terms with modern forces of civilization. Since the national backgrounds of Hindus and Chinese are entirely different from those of Jews and Zoroastrians (and their analysis within the framework of this article cannot be helpful), I would not even allude to their amazing but interesting past. However, it is significant that notwithstanding periodical external invasions of their homelands, hundreds of years of [political] slavery, and other natural and super-natural calamities [*ardhī wa samāny āfāt*] which were endured by these four nations, they have survived to this day.

*Bani Israel.* The history of the Jews is a pathetic story, too painful to be heard. But their spirit of endurance is so intense and man ellous that of all the nations of East and West only Hindus can be compared with them. The first law-giver, and the first teacher in the world emphasizing absolute unity of God was Moses. Similarly, in modern times the *philosopher* who propounded [the doctrine of] the unity of being (*tawhīd-i wujūd*) was a Dutch Jew [i.e., Spinoza]. It is amazing that these two principles [i.e., *tawhīd i mulaq* and *tawhīd-i wujūd*] of the reality of existence (*Haqiqat i ashya*), which are the most powerful forces for the progress of civilization and culture, (though appear superficially to be contradictory), are the intellectual creation of the same nation, i.e. the Jews. Although the philosophy of the unity of being (*tawhīd i wujūd*) had been very well developed by the Asian off-shoot (i.e., Hindus), of the Indo-European family, it can be safely said that the philosophy of Spinoza (1632-1677) was not in the least influenced by the intricate *Vedanta* philosophy.<sup>16</sup> Hundreds of prophets rose in the fold of this

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<sup>16</sup> Hindu sacred literature includes four different types, namely the *Sambita* as collection of verses (*Sam*, together, *bita*, put ; they are *Rg-Veda*, *Sama-Veda*, *Yajur-Veda* and *Atharva-Veda*), *Brahmanas*, and the *Upanishads*! According to the Hindu belief the Vedas "were revealed as commandments and prohibitions to show the true path of happiness. The *Upanishads* only revealed the ultimate truth and reality, a knowledge of which at once emancipates a man!" The *Upanishads* are also known by another name *Vedanta*, as they were believed to be the last portions of the *Veda* (*Veda-anta, end*!) More than two hundred *Upanishads* are said to have

[Jewish] exalted nation. Numerous kings and jurists contributed to the perfection of its civilization and culture. At last, divine punishment in the form of natural laws of existence descended upon the Jews, forcing them into Diaspora and dreadful alien subjugation. Their old glory, political independence, and prestige were gone. Their culture decayed, and the Jewish Nation disintegrated in the western world. It is still suffering oppression at the hands of other nations.

*Afghans, the offshoots of Jews.* Undoubtedly an offshoot of the Jews, the Afghan nation is still independent and sovereign in the rocky highlands of Asia. Historians, who keenly study the dynamics of national rise and fall, are apprehensive that if the Afghans failed to understand the significance of modern revolution, and failed to utilize their political independence for cultural improvement, they would decay like the rest of the Central Asian nations. The most amazing characteristic of the BaniIsrael is their physical survival, their tenacity to defy the ravages of time. They have lost their state and national identity, yet the biggest States in the world borrow money from them. Because of their affluence, they are busily working to implement their national programme of buying land in their ancestral home in order to recreate their bygone glory.

Consider the national history of the Parsees [Zoroastrians]. At one time they were magnificent. Like the Jews, prophets were born among them. Iranian civilization reached the zenith of development, succumbing eventually to the Arab swords during the reign of Emperor Yezdigird III [634-652]. The Sassanian refinement completely vanished; Zoroastrian clergy were silenced, and their fire-temples were thoroughly destroyed. Some Zoroastrians, who failed to accept Islam, took asylum in India. Did this nation suffer total annihilation? No. The fact is that both Zoroastrians and the Jews have understood [the power of] modern revolution, which lies in industry and trade. The lion's share of the world's trade is in their hands, which is the real cause of their national rejuvenation.

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been composed, although the earliest *Upanishads* (no more than thirteen) were composed by 500 B.C. They continued to be written during the Muslim rule. In 1917, one hundred and twelve *Upanishads* were published by the Nirnaya- Sagara Press in Bombay' Cf. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge : At the University Press, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 13, 28-30, 39.

In addition to the Italians, (who are part of the Western World), the Japanese are progressing with amazing speed. Only forty years ago this nation was almost dead. The first educational council in Japan was established in 1868. Four years later (1872), the first educational law was promulgated. On this occasion the Japanese Emperor made the following remark: "It is our desire to spread education in Japan. So that no family in any village should remain uneducated." Copying the techniques of the Western Nations, this Far Eastern Nation, (which was the disciple of India in religious matters), has progressed so rapidly in worldly matters within thirty-six years that today it is considered to be an equal of more civilized nations. Western observers simply marvel at the fast pace of Japanese development. The discerning eyes of Japan comprehended the secret of this magnificent revolution, adopting an indispensable programme of national survival. Education and social reforms changed the national character of Japan. Since of all the Asian nations Japan has grasped the secret of life, it should be, therefore, in worldly matters, our ideal to emulate. We must thoroughly investigate the causes of Japanese metamorphosis, copying those aspects of it which are most suited to the conditions of our country.

#### [Conditions of India and Muslims]

In the light of these circumstances, the conditions of India make us sad and pessimistic. Just look at the decorative articles and furnishings in our houses. For little things we depend on other nations, and this dependence is increasing daily. The (oil) lamp was manufactured in Germany, its bulb in Australia, the oil for it imported from Russia, and the match, utilized to light the lamp, came from Sweden or Japan. The clock which hangs on the wall of your living room, was made in the United States, and the little watch, safely tick-ticking in your pocket, is an excellent sample of the handiwork of the artisans of Geneva. Similarly, material for our clothes, even walking sticks, knives, scissors, drapes, and other articles of daily use, reach us from the factories of foreign countries.

How can we succeed in the race of life while its scope widens daily, if the country is entirely impervious to the development of its trade and industry ? Undoubtedly our country exports raw materials, including cotton, tea, coal. But unfortunately our country is only a source of raw material for

other countries, and is completely dependent upon them for manufactured goods. An agricultural country like India can neither win the race for progress, nor escape from periodic famines and epidemics unless it adopts entirely new methods to fulfil the needs of its people. Unless India is industrialized, and its people learn to stand on their own feet, nature will continue to chastise us with famines, enfeebling us physically and morally.

Among the Indians, our Hindu compatriots have grasped to some extent the secret of success. Since they are temperamentally suited to industry and trade, a very wide scope of progress (*taraqqi kē ayk nāsī' maydān*) lies ahead of them. Very regretfully must I say that in this respect the prospects of the Muslims appear to be highly uncertain. This unfortunate nation has not only lost political power, but also (the ability) for industry and trade. Wounded by the sharp sword of poverty, it is hanging on to the meaningless so-called will of God, and is completely impervious to the dictates of time. What else can it do? It has not yet quite settled the religious polemics. Almost daily a new sect is born, claiming to be the exclusive heir of the heavens while condemning the rest of mankind to perdition. The sects among Muslims are so hopelessly divided that the prospects for national solidarity and unity appear slim indeed.

Look at the religious teachers. Should coincidentally two of them happen to be in one city, they would challenge each other to debate the issues of Jesus Christ's birth and those passages of the Qur'an, which abrogate each other. During the debates the propriety of scholarly argumentation would be utterly disregarded. The qualities of scholarship, which were the hall-mark of Islam, are sadly missing. God help us; these religious teachers daily add new names of "Muslim-infidels" to their personal roster. The story of upper class indulgence in luxury is also truly novel, With the blessings of God, a man has sired two daughters and two sons, yet he is in pursuit of a third wife. Behind the back of the first two wives, secret but indirect messages for the third marriage are sent to the family of eligible girls. If the sire achieved temporary truce in the family conflict, he would only utilize the time to flirt with the street beauties. If someone had the courage to mildly advise him, the sire would loudly retort: Busy-body ! why don't you mind your own business.

What can be said of the common folks? Some squander their lifelong savings on the circumcision rites of their sons. Rather than cajoling their children to go to school, some parents would keep them home to nurse their fears of teachers. [What an example of frugality!] The one who earns his living in the day spends all in the night, thinking that God would take care of tomorrow. On very minor issues, litigations are started, and in the process, estates disappear because of the exorbitant legal expenses. Culturally, they are backward; girls are uneducated, boys are ignorant, unemployed, and shirk all manual work. The crime rate is on the rise among them. The Muslim lower classes with little or no money incur expenses *a la* Emperor Shah Jahan (*damāgh shah. jabani, amadenyan qalil*). Looking at their poverty, one could remark that the month of Ramadhan suits most the conditions of the Muslims.

We are passing through the most critical time. Nothing will be achieved unless the whole of the Muslim nation reforms her total national life. Great achievements are not made without commensurate hard work. Even God does not change the fate of a nation unless its members endeavour to change it.

An English author says that hard work done with honesty is the highest form of divine worship, whether it benefits the individual or the whole nation. In reality, the nation cannot be conceived of without the individual. Individual action, therefore, envelops the entire nation, making an individual's labour truly a national task. The good and reprehensible nature of individual labour will effect the national life accordingly. The first individual obligation is the honest discharge of his duties assigned to him by the nation. It should be properly appreciated that the progress and decadence of an individual signifies the national rise and fall. This kind of labour has been described as an act of divine worship. Very appropriately a Persian poet has said:

جز به محنت نشود پا به ره عشق رواں

اشک من خون جگر خورد و دویدن آموخت

Without hard work one could not even walk in the direction of love;

Before it could drop, my tears had to nourish on the blood of liver.

No nation in the world can be reformed unless its members reform themselves, because individual actions are truly actions of a nation. The life of an individual is not his exclusive possession, it is owned by the nation. Why is suicide an offense? Superficially it would seem that punishment for an attempt at suicide is against the principle of justice. Law has accepted in principle that an individual life is in reality the life of society. An individual does not commit violence merely against himself by suicidal attempt, but he endeavors to destroy the vitality of national culture, of which his personal self is a part.

#### [Muslim Social Reforms]

If we want to benefit from the Japanese experience (presently Japan is the only best model for us), then we must undertake national social reforms, and widen the educational system. Among Muslims, the problem of social reforms is intertwined with religion, because Muslim culture is really the practical aspect of Islam. No contour of our cultural life can be separated from religious principles. Although I do not want to discuss this issue within the framework of religion, I would want to point out that the modern revolution in our national life has generated new cultural needs, calling for the revision of our legal principles, the collection of which is generally known as the *Shari'a*. There are no inherent defects in the established principles of Islam. The jurists of bygone ages, however, had drawn certain principles from the Qur'an and the Traditions, which were suitable to particular situations and were practicable in general. But they are no longer adequate for modern needs.

Undoubtedly the *Shi'a* commentators of the Qur'an demonstrated an amazing range of comprehension in the interpretation of certain principles. But, according to my understanding, the interpretations of the *Shari'a* offered by Abu Hanifah have remained unsurpassed in their depth and excellence. If Islam had permitted the practice of raising statues in the honour of outstanding leaders and scholars, Abu Hanifah would have been the first



jurist deserving this honour. His contribution to the interpretational analysis of the philosophy of *Shari'a* will never be forgotten by the Muslims, even though it ranks second to the contributions of Caliph 'Ali.

Modern life demands that new techniques of dialectics (*jadid 'ilm-i-kalam*) should be devised in order to reaffirm the principles of our religion. Therefore, the time calls for the emergence of a great jurist who may accomplish a modern interpretation of the Islamic laws. This jurist should possess not only rich imagination, but also command a very high level of intellect in order to codify Islamic laws on modern style, capable of coping with contemporary cultural requirements. As far as I can see such an accomplished jurist has not emerged in the world of Islam. Perhaps the task is too big for one individual. It might even need one century to complete.

This is a fascinating discussion. Since the Muslim nation is not yet ready to debate these issues cool-mindedly, I stop here very reluctantly. Nevertheless, I would like to call the attention of the readers to a few cultural problems. The rights of women, to begin with, is the most delicate issue in the realm of social reforms. Related to it are the problems of polygamy, education, and the wearing of the veil (*pardah*). Western scholars have unjustly criticised Islam about the rights of women. Actually their criticism is erroneously directed against Islam, while their real target is the body of legal precedents created by the jurists from the general and broad principles of the Qur'an. (Regarding them, it can be said that the individual Ijtihad<sup>15</sup> cannot be considered as an integral part of Islam). The motive of [the western critics] is to allege that the status of women in Islam is merely that of slaves. This invites speculation. How could the Prophet of Islam, who elevated the slaves to the status of the masters, relegate the most important segment of humanity, woman, to the position of slaves, especially when he described them as one of the three most beloved objects in the world? The present conduct of Muslims [*vis-a-vis* women] conforms merely to the personal reasoning of the old jurists. No doubt they need to be amended, provided these amendments do not contravene the principles of Islam.

If peripheral matters are discarded in favour of particular issues, then the issue of female education appears to be the most deserving of attention. Woman is the root of any culture. Mother and wife are two sweet words

embodying all the spiritual and temporal virtues. If affection for mother begets patriotism, love of wife leads to divine love. This lights up the need to strengthen the roots of our culture by adorning our women with education. Educating a woman means educating the entire family, while male education remains pretty much of a personal matter. No nation in the world can make progress if half of its members remain uneducated. Should our women be exposed to western education, or should perhaps, an altogether new policy be adopted, making it possible for our women to retain the traditionally polite manners (*sharifanā atwār*) so characteristic of eastern up-bringing? I have thought over these problems but since I have not been able to work out any practical plan, I would not want to offer an opinion.

Also, polygamous practice among Muslims needs reform! It is true that polygamy was legally allowed on account of certain basic spiritual considerations. Besides, in early Islam, economic as well as political factors necessitated it. As far as I see now, there is hardly any need for polygamy among us. Insistence upon its retention in modern times amounts to overlooking the poor economic conditions of our nation, and to providing a legal excuse to the well-to-do among us for sexual indulgence.

The *pardab*, wearing of the veil by Muslim women, is another controversial but thought-provoking issue. The westernized Muslims are against this custom, saying that neither in contemporary Muslim countries, nor in the milieu of early Islam, was *pardab* ever observed in its present Indian style, covering the female body from head to toe. In India, *pardab* was initially emphasized for ethical reasons! Abandoning it now by a *coup* would hurt the nation because the nations of India (*aqwām-i-Hindustān*) have not progressed very much in improving their morals. If, however, our nation's morals were to improve to the level of early Muslims, then, of course, *pardab* could be de-emphasized, making it possible for women to exchange freely ideas with male members of the society.

In addition to these problems, some very objectionable Muslim marriage customs should be reformed. Marriages without the consent of the spouses are a daily occurrence. Complaints of husband-wife clashes are heard from 99% of Muslim families. Engagement could be a very useful custom if the couple is allowed to visit each other in the presence of their parents. This

would give them the opportunity to examine their habits and temperaments. If, for instance, they found themselves mutually incompatible, then the engagement could be called off by agreement. The current engagement custom defeats its own purpose. A boy may be a regular visitor to his future in-laws, but the moment his engagement is announced, he is made to stay away from his future wife's house the way a pious man shuns bars. Among the Afghans, the couple is allowed to visit each other. This practice, however, is of Jewish origin, pointing to the Jewish descent of the Afghans.

Engagement has also created certain reprehensible practices. For instance, among certain Muslim families, a great deal of money is spent from the announcement of the engagement to the day of marriage, causing bad blood among the families and plaguing the future husband-wife relations. If this aspect of the engagement custom were reformed it could be a very useful social institution, combining all the qualities of Western courtship, but none of its defects.

In addition to other national vices, more well-to-do Muslims are addicted to the vice of ostentatious displays of their affluence. An interesting and thought-provoking incident comes to my mind. A saintly individual named Kayser Shah lived in the town of Wazirabad, (which is not too far away from our city, Sialkot). He was a believer in the doctrine of *Wahdat al-mujid*, and had the reputation of working miracles. Respectable people in the surrounding areas, including the Hindus, admired him.

One day a landlord came to visit him after having celebrated the marriage of his only son. The landlord started telling tall tales about the magnificence of the marriage ceremonies. Very patiently, the pious man listened to the story of his conspicuous consumption, entailing fantastic expenses on his son's marriage. Just then a *derwaish* (an ascetic) interrupted their conversation saying that the pious man's lunch was ready, which consisted of only a dry loaf of bread. Addressing the landlord, the pious man said: "Why don't you go to the bazaar to buy me some curry?" Coincidentally, the landlord had no money on him at that time. Flushed with embarrassment, the landlord asked him to spare a few pennies scattered in front of him. The pious man retorted why he could not buy him a *mull* with his reputation for ostentation. How could that be? inquired the embarrassed

rich visitor. In his usual light-hearted manner, the pious man remarked that if one could not buy even a *muli* with one's notoriety for ostentation, then what is the use of it? The affluent visitor was really put to shame, and promised not to behave like this again.

[National Choice: Industrialization or Annihilation]

Next to social reforms, our paramount need is mass education. Muslims believe that the real aim of education is intellectual grooming. To date, our leaders have organized our education with this aim in mind. After a careful review of this problem, I conclude that the real purpose of education is to enable young men to fulfil their cultural obligations. It is not implied here that those who have the innate ability for scholarly investigation should be thwarted. I maintain that national education should be organized to cater to those national needs, which are created by changed circumstances. [For instance, take the case of Britain]' The English are geared to trade ; Napoleon often described them as a nation of shopkeepers. Historically, this description fits the English people more now than it did in the days of Napoleon. This country imports all raw material, including her food, and exports in return manufactured products. In other words, Britain is a gigantic store from which other nations purchase necessary merchandise. The British national economy needs a personnel trained in modern trade. Consequently, British education is geared to creating commercial know-hew.

The modern revolution has been conditioned by trade and industry. Among the Asian nations, the Japanese were the first to comprehend the secret of this revolution. They dedicated themselves to industrializing their national economy. Today they are recognized as one of the civilized nations of the world. They have achieved this distinction because of their highly industrialized economy and not because of the contributions of any national philosopher, poet, or *litterateur*.

The contemporary struggle for survival among nations would inevitably ruin some nations. The outcome of this conflict, however, is not determined by armed soldiers. In fact, the soldiers of this combat are those trained workers who are quietly engaged in productive labour in the factories of their nations. Today, if you want to evaluate the national power of a country, you

need not examine its guns and rifles; instead, you better visit its factories with a view to determining its dependence on foreign countries and relative economic and industrial self-sufficiency. In view of this, I recommend that education of the Indians, and that of the Muslims in particular, should emphasize industrial training. World events impel me to say that any nation found lacking in industrial education would suffer degradation and humiliation and [in the long run] would not be able to survive. Unfortunately, the Muslims are impervious to these dangers. I fear that they may have to pay for their indifference. Muslims must take to industry and craftsmanship. In my eyes, the hands of a carpenter, rough and coarse due to the constant use of the saw, are far more attractive and useful compared to the soft and delicate hands of a scholar, which never carried more than the weight of a pen. This subject rouses in me a glow of emotions which cannot be described in words ; surely these disjointed and broken thoughts cannot reveal the depth of my feelings. [Perhaps a Persian verse would say it more eloquently]:

از اشک می‌رسید که در دل چه خروش است

ایں قطره ز دریا چه خبر داشته باشد

Why ask a tear [rolling down my cheek] the inner stirrings of my heart ;

What could this [mean] drop tell you about the depth of a river!<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The right of interpreting the Quran and the *Sunnah* or of forming a new opinion by applying analogical deduction.

# SATAN IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHICAL AND POETICAL WORKS

*A. Bausani*

Translated into English

by

*R. A. Butler*<sup>18</sup>

E. Hardy, a Sanskritist and historian of religions, wrote in the first issue of *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* whose founder he was: "The religions of the civilized peoples are also the very frame of the science of religions."<sup>19</sup> More than half a century of extremely fruitful research in the field of the "Primitive" religions have of course modified the views of the scholars in religious science a good deal. Nonetheless I do not think it unfit to quote Hardy's above statement as a methodological excuse, should I say, for the present study. By examining an element of the religious thought of a modern thinker and artist of Pakistan, I indeed intend to trace those lines of his philosophical and poetical construction that lead us back into older and deeper zones. Perhaps this way offers a greater chance for security: for to proceed from what is known and liable to experimentation towards what is less known and more difficult to experiment, proves, of course, much easier than the opposite way.

The special shape which Muhammad Iqbal has given to Satan's figure, has prompted a few articles from Pakistani writers, whereas to my knowledge no European author has written anything on Iqbal's Satan. The most substantial of the articles from Pakistanis, as far as I can see, are: Abdur

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<sup>18</sup> Dr. Alessandro Bausani, well-known scholar of Italy who has translated *Javid Nama* into Italian. Mr. R. A. Butler is attached to the Punjab University as teacher of Italian.

<sup>19</sup> E. Hardy, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vol. I, 1898, p. 41 (cit. in Schmidt, *Manuale di Storia Comparata delle Religioni*, ed. ital. 1938, p. 126).

Rahman Tariq, "Iqbal kā tasawwur-i Iblīs", in *Jabān Iqbāl*, Lahore 1947, pp 399-420 (in Urdu) ; Bashīr Ahmad Dux, "The Idea of Satan in Iqbal and Milton", in *Iqbal*, Bazm-i Iqbāl, Lahore, Vol. I, July 1952, N. 1. pp. 83-108 (in English) ; Tāj Muhammad Khayal, "Iqbal's Conception of Satan" in Vol. II (July 1953, pp 1-17) of the same Journal (in English). Statements from the above authors will, when quoted, correspond to the following abbreviations:: Tāriq, Dār, Khayāl. Mention must also be made of A. Ahmad Surūr's study on the Iqbalian Satan, "Iqbal our Iblis", in *Na'e our purāne charāgh*, Delhi 1946, pp. 31-62. The same volume contains also other studies on Iqbal. Surūr's article also contains interesting remarks about other Urdu poets who wrote poetry on Satan.

In what follows I am going to present in chronological order, the full translation of those basic texts (some of them have not been translated, so far, into European languages) of Iqbal's work that are significant of his conception of Satan, excluding only: (a) the passages in English prose from the *Lectures*<sup>20</sup>, which can be understood also by reader unacquainted with Oriental languages, and (b) single verses or groups of verses which do not present any consistent context. They will be quoted as foot-notes or in some other place in the course of the article.<sup>21</sup>

(A) From *Payām i Mashriq* (1923, in Persian):

*Taskhir i fitrat* (The Conquest of Nature, p. 97-101)

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<sup>20</sup> I quote as *Lect.* in what follows, the reprint made in Pakistan of the second Oxford edition of 1934: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore 1951. As is known, the first Lahore edition is of 1930. *Note of the translator.* The translations reproduced here are taken from V. G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal*, London 1955 and from Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, *Pitgrimage of Eternity* (Jāvid Nāma), Lahore 1961. The translation of (A) (Payām-i Mashriq) and of (E 1 and E 2) (Armugān-i Hījāz) is due to the kindness of Mr. Mahmud Ahmad, advocate, Lahore.

<sup>21</sup> The titles of the works will be abridged as follows. *Payām*, *Jav,Bāl*, *Darb*, *Armaghan*. Dates between brackets refer to their first Lahore edition. They of course also contain short poems which were written a little earlier. *Armaghan* was published posthumously. It contains verses in both Urdu and Persian. The language of the other works will be given between brackets. The meaning of the various titles is: "The Message of the East", "The Book of Jāved" (Poema Celeste), "The Wing of Gabriel", "The Rod of Moses", "The Gift of Hījāz".

*(a) Birth of Adam*

Love vociferated: Lo! a fervid adorer is born;  
Beauty shuddered: Lo! a percipient is born.  
Nature plunged into consternation that  
From the dust of a powerless world,  
A self-maker, self-demolisher, self-regulator is born.  
Out went a news from the sky to the Eternal Abode;  
Beware, ye veiled-ones! a veil-ripper is born.  
Desire — unaware of itself, in the sanctum of life,  
Opened the eyes, and yet another world was born.  
Quoth Life: "I sweltered in the dust all my life,  
Until (at last) a gate hath appeared in this Olden Vault."

*(b) Refusal of Satan*

I'm not (like) the naive Light-Being<sup>22</sup>, that  
I prostrate before Adam;  
By origin, he's dust, by descent I'm Azar.  
From my ardour sweltereth blood in the veins of universe;

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<sup>22</sup> The "Light-Beings" are the angels. On the epithet 'naive' see foot-note 39. The episode refers to well-known Quranic passages as VII, 12; XXXVIII, 76, etc.



In my run, I'm a gale, in my rattle, I'm thunder.  
I'm the liaison for Atoms (of Matter), I'm the code for Elements<sup>23</sup>,  
I'm fire and (yet) I grant harmony —  
I'm (indeed) the fire of the Alchemist.  
My own structure do I break into pieces ;  
Until from the dust of old, I bring forth a new form.  
Owing to my stream, the wave of sky deigneth no rest ;  
I'm the painter of the world, I'm the lustre of the gem.  
The embodiment of star is from Thee, the movement  
Of the star from me;  
I'm the Soul in the World, I'm the occult life.  
Thou imparteth life to the body, I grant rebellion to Life;  
Thou robbest the calm, I guide with ardour.  
I've not begged for prostrations from the lowly-ones;  
I'm wrathful even with't the Hell, I'm just,  
Even with't the Doomsday.  
Adam — of earthy descent, mean and infantile,

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<sup>23</sup> *Ummahāt* (Mothers). The term comes in this sense from Goethe (cf. the well known passage in *Faust II*, v. 6173 to 6306) whom Iqbal held in great admiration.

Born in your lap, groweth old in my embrace.

(c) *Temptation of Adam*

Life (full) of suffering and conspiracies is better

Than everlasting repose;

A ring-dove becometh a Falcon through fretful

Struggle under the Net.

Nothing art thou capable of except prostrations of humility:

Rise like the tall cypress-tree, O thou (who art)

Slow-paced in action.

*Kauthar* and *Tasnim* take away from thee the pleasure of action,

Extract thou mirror-like wine from the grape-vine.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The 'Mirror' that shows the secrets of the world is a well known "archetypal" image in various religious traditions. It is interesting to find it here connected with Satan: it symbolizes intuitive knowledge outside time. It springs from the "Gaal" motive of the half-mythic Persian king Khusrau or Jamshid of whom it is said in Firdausi's *Shahnama*: . . .

thence Kai Khusrau took up the cup and gazed.

He saw the seven climes reflected there,

And every act and presage of high heaven,

Their fashion, cast, and scope, made manifest.

From Aries to Pisces he beheld

All mirrored in it — Saturn, Jupiter,

Mars, Leo, Sol and Luna, Mercury,

And Venus. In that cup the wizard-king (*afsūngar*)

Was wont to see futurity . . .

(ed. Beroukhim, Tehran, vol. IV, p. 1099, translated by A. G. and E. Warner, vol. HI, p. 318, London, 1908).

In the Persian lyric-mystical tradition followed by Iqbal this type of Cup-Mirror is in its turn connected with *wine*. In this context the idea of the anacreontic cup in the Western

Good and Evil is but the offspring of the imagination Of thy God ;

Get thou the taste for action, step boldly ahead,

Seek thy Objective.

Rise that I show thee a new World;

Open the World-describing eye, stroll around for a prying view,

Thou art an insignificant drop, be thou a sparkling gem;

Get thee going from atop thy sky, take the place in the Ocean.

Thou art a shining sword, ravish thee thy soul of a whole world;

Show thou thine own quality, come out of thy shield.

Open thine Eagle-wings, spill the blood of doves;

It meaneth death for the Hawk to live in ill-repute.

Thou Bost not know it yet . . . The desire dies when it is united to the Goal.

Eternal life is nothing else than to live in ever inflamed passion.<sup>25</sup>

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mysticomagical tradition should not be forgotten. (See the interesting material collected by Jung in *Psychology and Alchemy*.) Apropos of Satan who in Iqbal's poetry offers such an esoteric cup to Adam, the connection between the chalice and the horn (of the moon) as brought out by Jung, is also of great interest, especially in consideration of the fact that certain Islamic traditions about Satan speak of "Satan's horn" which rises from the East. They also say that the sun "rises and sets between the two horns of Satan" (of. *Akām al-Marjān*, pp. 187 fl. quoted in foot-note 52).

<sup>25</sup> This anti-pantheistic and anti-mystical idea that dialogue in separation is better than indifferenciation in union, occupies a central place in Iqbal's philosophy. In his short poem *Gulshan-i rā ʿi Jadid*, e.g., which is an interesting and relatively little known *Jawāb* (not translated so far into European languages) to ahabistri's *Gulshan-i rāʿ*, Iqbal makes the

(d) *Adam coming out of Paradise sayeth::*

What a pleasure is it to devote entire life

To infatuation and harmonization;

To melt the heart of the mount, the plain and the desert awhile.

From the cage to open a door to the openness of a garden;

To traverse the path of sky, to confide with the Stars.

With raptures latent, with submissions manifest;

To throw a cognizant glance towards the threshold of the beloved.

Sometimes seeing nothing but One in a bed of tulips;

Sometimes distinguishing a prickly thorn from the rose.

I'm all an unsatiated rapture, I'm the agony of desire;

I surrender conviction to doubt since I'm a martyr of inquisitiveness.

(e) *The Morn of Doomsday* (Adam in the presence of the Creator)

O Thee! From Thy sun the star of Soul seeketh light;

From my heart Thou hast lit up the lamp of the benighted World.

My skills created an ocean with (just) a single channel of water;

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archangel Gabriel speak thus to God: "I renounce eternal union, now that I see the pleasure that is in complaints and sighs, allow me to share Man's proud imperfection, give me the ardour of Adam" (p. 206 of the Lahore edition, 1929).

How this idea is to be justified, will be seen more clearly in the course of the article.

My adze bringeth forth milk from the liver of the hard rock.

Venus is my prisoner, Moon is my worshipper;

My versatile intelligence hath sway over the Universe.

I go deep down the Earth, I rise high onto the sky;

The atom and the 'shining moon are captives of my magic.

Although his spell led me astray from the righteous path,

Overlook Thou my mistake, accept the excuse of my sin.

The World doth not yield unless we conjure up his spell;

Except for the lasso of will-power the Universe

Doth not become subjugated.

That from the hot sigh this stony image becometh pliant;

The wearing of his Sacred-Thread (*zunnūr*)<sup>26</sup> became unavoidable for me.

Intelligence bringeth into net the wily nature;<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The *zūnnār* is the well known *kosti*, the wound ritual cincture of the Zoroastrians, which under Islamic rule became the distinctive mark of the protected non-Muslims (*dimmi*). In the tradition of the Persian lyrical mysticism the *zūnnār* symbolizes heresy, non-Islamic belief, but at the same time (it was made of the significant number of *seventy two* threads of white wool etc.) it alludes to more esoteric, profound meanings.

<sup>27</sup> Akin to this beautiful short poem are, as regards the similarity of concepts, two other poems found in *Hāl*: "The Angels take leave of Adam quitting Paradise" (p. 117) and "The Spirit of the Earth bids welcome to Adam" (pp. 178-179). The former re-affirms that Adam's *restlessness* as a consequence of his vivifying contact with Satan is good and productive ("One does not understand whether you are of earth or of mercury; it is said that you are of earth, but star, the moon-light are also part of your nature!"; in the latter poem,

The flame-born Ahriman doth prostration unto dust!

(B) From *Jāvednama* (1932, in Persian)

(1) *Ahriman tests Zoroaster*

Because of thee, all my creations wail,

To January thou hast my April turned.

Thou mad'st me reprobate; thy paintings all

Are coloured with my blood. Thy shining hand<sup>28</sup>

Doth spell my death and thy Sinaic light

Props and perpetuates thy God of men.

The dupes alone can trust the word of God,

Who goes His way save the misguided ones!

He proffers rosy poison for a drink,

His presents are the saw, the worms, the cross.

Save prayer no refuge did Noah have

And prayer that availed him naught!<sup>29</sup> Now dwell

---

the Earth (*The Spirit of the Earth*, see also foot-note 86) foresees the supreme dignity of man grown sovereign after "the cruel torment of the days of separation" ("Yes, Fate will understand the silent winking of your eyes; from far the stars of sky will see you . . . The sparking of your sighs will rise to the Firmament!")

<sup>28</sup> *Yad-i baydā*, "the white hand", is a Qur'anic term referring to Moses' famous miracle. "And thrust thy hand within thine armpit, it will come forth white without hurt" (Qur. XX. 22). Iqbal uses the term very often as an ideogram of "prophetical power", as a symbol of *nubuwwa*.

In caves, in angel's company, and quit  
The town, turn with a glance the earth to gold,  
And scorch the sky with songs.<sup>30</sup> In mountains like  
A Moses wander burnt by radiant sights . . .  
But prophethood abjure, whose priestly breed  
Are Mullahs. Lowly company perverts  
A man, to ashes turns his nature's fire  
Let saintliness suffice thee; for to love  
A headache is what prophethood entails.  
Arise and gather back thy scattered threads,  
And live alone, renounce all multitudes.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Refers to Noah's unsuccessful prayers for saving his impious son (not mentioned in the Bible) from destruction in the deluge (cf. Qur. XI. 36-49) Satan here refers to the presumed uselessness of prophetic humility in front of the eremitic pride of the Saint.

<sup>30</sup> This satanic hint at the "overcoming and nullifying of the *earth*" will be explained more clearly further on.

<sup>31</sup> This description of Zoroaster's temptation by Ahriman is, from the point of view of the concepts, the most important of four parallel images of prophecy as opposed to anti-prophecy in *Jāy*. The "temptation" of Ahriman trying to deter Zoroaster from his prophetic vocation is already found in the Avesta (*Vendidad*, XIX, 1 fi.) which Iqbal must have known through some translation, since in substance there is similarity of concept. (See F. Muller's translation, "Zarathustra's Versuchung" in *WZKM*, III, 1889, p. 20 fi.). The other images are those of Buddha: Gautama is confronted with the Dancer; of Christ: the evils of the European civilisation, worse than Judas' deeds themselves, are put in front of Jesus ("What I did with His humanity, says Judas, His followers have done with His divinity!"; and of Muhammad: the antiprophetic temptation is symbolized, in the pagan Abū Jahl's complaint, by the aristocratic and racist mentality of the pre-Islamic paganism. *Jāy*., pp. 48-60).

*(2) The Song of Baal*

Man could behold no God beyond the sky

Although this blue veil he did tear,

What dwells within his heart save fleeting thoughts

Like waves that rise and disappear?

The tangible alone gives his soul bliss,

Old days, O Hope! will now return;

Live long, O West! thou of the East aware,

Out of our graves hast made us turn.



Our age has come, O ancient gods, our age!  
The Unitarians' gathering's broken now,  
With hearts untouched by thrill divine,  
Their company's hushed, forsaken are their cups,  
They who once quaffed but Gabriel's wine.  
Torn from the Lord, bound to the fatherland,  
Thus have the free their freedom sold;  
The Haram's keeper wears the denier's thread —  
Whose glory on him takes its hold.  
Our age has come, O, ancient gods, our age!  
The blissful days have to the world returned.  
No faith, but race and state shall glow;  
No fear have we now of Muhammad's lamp,  
At which a hundred Bu Lahabs blow.  
Although the sound 'no god save God' still comes,  
The mouth 'll be mum if sealed 's the soul;  
Charm of the West gives Satan life anew,  
God's brilliant day in gloom doth roll.

Our age has come, O ancient gods, our age!  
Men free from cords of faith are our men,  
So snap the cords, cut them away;  
We gave a prayer devotionless to them,  
Till hard it is for them to pray.  
They thrill enough now get from music gay,  
What bliss is there in prayer?  
Much more than for the Lord intangible,  
For idols visible they care.<sup>32</sup>

Our age has come, O ancient gods, our age!

*(3) Satan's apparition in the firmament of Jupiter*

*Living Stream:* He who regarded himself much above  
The rank of man (=Satan); his flagon nor his jar  
Contains e'en dregs. Our dust doth fly in skies,  
Where lies the fire of that impoverished one?

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<sup>32</sup> In this song of Baal the element that appears satanic to Iqbal lies in the return to ancestry, in the nostalgia for the eternal return, which to Iqbal's mind had been revived by the studies of European scholars on the most ancient civilisations. Concepts such as the return to the pre-monotheistic origins, the *monarchy*, the racialist *aristocracy*, the nationalistic *patriotism* and even the plastic idolatry of *art* as pure beauty, are here brought under one unique satanic denominator.

*Hallāi*: Say little of that leader of all souls  
With unfulfilment anguished; sore athirst,  
His primeval cut is filled with blood. We are  
But ignorant; he knows reality  
And nothingness. His old revolt has taught  
To us this secret that the fallen know  
Delight of rising and that from the pain  
Of less flows forth the joy of more. To burn  
In his fire is to love; without his flame,  
No burning be. He is antecedent  
In service and in love ; therefore unschooled  
Man in his mysteries remains. Tear off  
The cloak of orthodoxy that constrains;  
And from him learn the unity of God.<sup>33</sup>  
But in a while the world went dark, all space  
To bounds of spaceless regions somber turned.

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<sup>33</sup> i.e. Statan, when refusing to prostrate himself before Adam, appears as the absolute protagonist of *taubūd*. It is not by chance that the idea is put into the mouth of Hallāj: it was wide spread among Islamic mystical circles. Cf. Massignon's and Nicholson's works quoted in foot. note 27.

And out of this pervading night did flash  
A flame, from which appeared an aged man,  
He was attired in black and smoke around  
His person coiled. The sage of Rum informed,  
"He leads all those with separation sore,  
He is all fire and holds a cup of gore.  
An ancient one who seldom smiles, speaks less,  
Has eyes that pierce the flesh and search the heart.  
A drunkard and a theologian both,  
Philosopher as well, at once he is;  
Dressed as an anchorite, and diligent  
Like priests in prayer busy. Union's bliss  
Is foreign to his stuff, so he forsakes  
Eternal beauty, chooses to live like  
An eremite, but since it is so hard  
To tear away oneself from beauty, he  
Cannot but spurn obeisance too.<sup>34</sup> Do look

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<sup>34</sup> What Iqbal wants to say here, not without a remarkable sense of psychological and religious intuition, is that the first step on the way to Satan is the giving up of the "institutions" (*sujūd* is here the symbol of the canonical prayer). On the primeval ground of

And realise his spiritual throes,  
Watch how he doth travail, how he endures.  
Immersed he is still in the blazing war  
"Twixt good and evil, and though he has seen  
A hundred prophets, yet he dares deny."  
His anguish seared my soul. A silent sigh  
In endless woe, I saw escape his lips.  
He arched a glance at me and thus addressed,  
"Who always dwells in action more than me?  
It is such toil that for one Sabbath I  
Have not been free. I have no seraphin  
Nor slaves, unaided by apostles is  
My message sent.<sup>35</sup> I have tradition brought  
Nor testament — though what a mortal blow  
To those seep in faith's lore! None snaps the thread  
Of faith as sharply as they do, none leaves

---

the tragedy between God, Adam and Satan, the prostration before Adam was tantamount to the ritual and institutional obligation, i.e. to the material (earth-Adam) side of religion, the one Satan could not understand. See *passim*, in the whole course of the article, and compare with the defence of the institution in the significant verses I, 2624 fl. of Rūmī's *Mathnavi*.

<sup>35</sup> See the same concept in B 1.

Like them the Ka'ba but a heap of bricks.<sup>36</sup>  
And my faith is not founded in the way  
They know, because in it there is no sect.<sup>37</sup>  
I left prostration off, and wrought a tune  
Out of the clash of good and bad. But I  
Am no denier of God, be not deceived  
By my exterior; see my inner self.  
I would be mean of intellect if I  
Denied the Lord, since in his Presence once  
I stood. When I deny I but affirm  
And what I say is better than what I  
Withhold. To share man's misery I for him  
Accept the wrath and fury of the Lord,  
I let flames shoot out from my field and make  
Man reach volition from fatality.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The fact that the Ka'bā is made of earth (bricks), is precisely the main argument used by the supporters of the earth against the fire in their interesting controversy between earth and fire. This verse seems to me a confirmation of the contrast between the two.

<sup>37</sup> This is a paraphrase of a fairly wellknown *hadīth*.

<sup>38</sup> It means that basically Satan acted out of affection for Adam. He wanted to rid him of God's constrictive *jabr* and make him free, i.e. the apparent hatred shown to Adam in his refusal to bow before him, was hiding affection for him. The idea of Satan as the "bearer of Adam's sins" is also found in E 2. See foot-note 32.

My evil I display that thou mayest swoop  
On it or isolate thyself as thou  
Mayest will. O man, release me from my flame  
And straighten up my knotted task. O thou  
Who in my noose art caught and giv'st me leave  
To sin, live with the mettle of a man within  
This world. If thou compassion feelest for me  
Remain a stranger to myself, my sweet  
And bitter disregard, no sombre make  
My scroll. Pursuers in the world exist  
On preys: till thou allow thyself to be  
A sport, all arrows I do point on thee.  
Who soars need feel no fall; the hunter too  
Can be frustrated by a watchful prey."  
"Transcend thy cult of isolation now,"  
I said to him, "Divorce is in my eyes  
The worst of things".<sup>39</sup> "Disunion's day is filled

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<sup>39</sup> It is the well known juridical *hadith*: *abjadu 'l-ashya'indi 't-talāq*, here in metaphysical adaptation.

With rapture," he replied, "its ache and throb  
And quiver do compose life's music sweet.  
Of union I shall breathe not even a word,  
For fusion if I seek, nor I survive  
Nor He remains." Thus talk of union made  
Him look distraught and strange, and anguish new  
Assailed his heart, he fumbled in his fumes,  
In which he in a while dissolved himself,  
And from these winding vapours rose a wail;  
How happy is the soul that feels its smart.

*(4) The Wail of Satan*

O lord of good and bad, man's company  
And commerce has degraded me. Not once  
My bidding dares he to defy; his self  
He realises not. And never feels  
His dust the thrill of disobedience;  
Unlit as it is by the ego's spark.  
The victim himself to the hunter says,



"Entrap me"; from his pliancy I seek  
Refuge. Release me from this chase, recall  
My fealty of but yesterday. 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 planks  
And impish play suit not an aged one.  
This Adam's son is just a heap of hay,  
Whom my 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 pilling 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 "Be gone",  
Who will not weigh me by two oats. O God!<sup>40</sup>  
Confront me with a single faithful man,

May I perchance gain bless in my defeat!<sup>41</sup> (C) From *Bāl-i Jibril* (1935 in Urdu)

(1) *Dialogue between Gabriel and Satan* (pp. 192 *if.*)

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<sup>40</sup> The oversight occurred in my translation *Poema Celeste*, p. 123, should be thus corrected. Which was the scarcely specified forbidden tree of Paradise, has been much discussed between Islamic exegets : the more common opinion, which then became a *leitmotiv* in the Persian lyrical and mystical poetry and which is given here, is that it was a corn plant. Cf. Tabari, *Tafsir al-Qur.*, II, 35, vol. I, p.178. He quotes also the other opinions, among the one holding to grapes, or, more rarely, to the fig-tree. The apple-tree is entirely missing. The traditions quoted by Tabari attribute the corn plant version clearly to the Hebrews (*abl at-tūrāt*). In primitive cultures the end of the golden age is also connected with corn or grains (cf. Pettazzoni, *Miti e Leggende*, Turin 1948, I, p. 314), and it might be that the introduction of agriculture was felt as a decadence when compared with the "uncivilized" state of beatitude enjoyed by nomads, hunters or fruit-gatherers. On the beginning of agriculture as connected with a sexual act see the material collected by M. Eliads, *Traite d'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1959, p. 286 fl.

<sup>41</sup> In the same poem, in principle the most ambitious of Iqbal, the author asks (pp. 185-186) why Satan was created, and gets from the saint *Shāb-i Hamadān* the altogether Fichtean answer that Satan serves as a stimulus for man's fight: from fighting evil man grows strong and hardens himself in a sane manner.

*Gabriel:* Comrade of ancient days! How fares the world of sight and sound?

*Satan:* In fire and rage and grief and pain and hope and longing drowned.

*Gabriel:* No hour goes by in Paradise but your name is spoken there; Is it not

possible that rent robe be mended that you wear?

*Satan:* Ah, Gabriel! You have never guessed my mystery; alas Maddened for ever

I left upon Heaven's floor my broken glass.

Impossible, oh! impossible I would dwell here again; Silent, how silent all this realm — no palace, 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 God's word?<sup>42</sup>

*Gabriel:* Your mutiny has put our high estate in Heaven to shame; In the Creator's eye what credit now can angels claim?

*Satan:* 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? Your ministers and prophets are pale shades: the storms I teem

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<sup>42</sup> Refers to Qur. XXXIX, 53: Despair not of the mercy of Allah. Satan retorts that if creative and productive action springs from anguish and despair unsatisfied with quiet ecstasy, then it would be better to say: "despair"! In this whole dialogue one cannot but recognise Iqbal's great sympathy with Satan, and the extremely positive role which he assigns to him.

Roll down ocean by ocean, river by river, stream by stream!

Ask of this 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 he Almighty like a pricking thorn I lie;

You only cry for ever (Allāh hū)<sup>43</sup> oh God, oh God most high!

(2) *Satan's Petition* (p. 215)

To the Lord of the universe the Devil said:

A firebrand Adam grows, that pinch of dust

Meagre-souled, plump of flesh, in fine clothes Trussed,

Brain ripe and subtle, heart not far from dead.

What the East's sacred law made men abjure,

The casuist of the west pronounces pure;

Knowest Thou not, the girls of Paradise see

And mourn their gardens turning wilderness?

For fiends its rulers serve the populace:

Beneath the heavens is no more need of me.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> "He is God" a very common dhikr-sentence in use in the mystical fraternities against which Iqbal had a heart-felt antipathy, at least at this phase of his thought.

<sup>44</sup> This is only one of Iqbal's numerous and often unjust attacks against democracy and in general against the European civilization, understandable only in consideration of the fact that Iqbal had above all been acquainted with the "imperialistic" and colonial aspects of this civilization. For more evidence see examples in *Bal*, p. 222, where the freedom of thought is

(D) From *Zarb-i Kalim* (1937, in Urdu)

(1) *Fate* (pp. 42 ff.)

*Satan*: Oh God, Creator! I did not hate your Adam.

That captive of Far-and-Near and swift-and-Slow;

And what presumption could refuse to You

Obedience ? If I would not kneel to him,

The cause was your own fore-ordaining will.

*God*: When did that mystery dawn on you? before,

Or after your sedition ?

*Satan*: After, oh brightness

Whence all the glory of all beings flows.

*God*: (to His angels): See what a grovelling nature taught him this Fine theorem! His not kneeling, he pretends, Belonged to My fore-

---

called a "satanic invention", and p. 210 where the cinema is deprecated not only as being "not an art, but impiety and magic" [sic!]; in *Payam* where he condemns the League of Nations (p. 233) and looks with distrust at the invention of the airplane (p. 162: "before worrying about the sky it would be better to settle the organisation of this earth !"); democracy is aspersed with over-simplified criticism (p. 158 : "from the sum of two hundred asses never a man will come out !"); Europe is "the centre of assassination devices" (pp. 146-147) etc. Khayal, in order to explain the contradiction between such sweeping statements and the activist philosophy of Iqbal, maintains that they are only one-sided, and he tries to justify them in principle. To me it seems more natural to take them simply for a biased view, psychologically understandable; it leads him to condemn Europe for the same conquests which he would have hailed if they had come from the Islamic sphere. (In *Lect.*, p. 7, he even claims them to be originally Islamic).

ordinance; gives his freedom Necessity's base title; wretch! his own Consuming fire he calls a wretch of smoke.<sup>45</sup>

(2) *Satan's Order to his Political Offspring* (p. 148)

Enmesh in politics the Brahmin — from  
Their ancient altars the twice-born expel  
The man who famine-racked still fears no death  
Mahomed's spirit from his breast expel!  
With Frankish daydreams fill Arabia's brain  
Islam from Yemen and Hejaz expel!  
The Afghan reveres religion: take this cure  
His teachers from their mountain-glens expel!  
Tear from the true-believers their traditions  
From Khutan's meadows the musk-deer expel!  
Iqbal's breath fans the poppy into flame  
Such minstrel from the flower-garden expel<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Iqbal himself adds in a foot-note: "taken from Ibn 'Arabi". He probably refers to *Fusus al-hikam* (ed. with comm. of `Abdur-Razzāq Kāshānī), Cairo 1321 H., p. 166. (From Ibn 'Arabi also Rūmī has probably taken similar considerations in *Mathnavi*, I, 1488 fl. and other passages quoted below). On the same concept see also Hallāj, *Kitabu 'l-Tawāsin*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1913, pp. 41 fl., 87 fl. L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj*, Paris 1922, pp. 712, 934 fl. R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, Cambridge 1923, pp. 31 fl. Satan accuses God of having deceived him by using Adam as a bait and pretext also in a passage of the great mystic Sanā'i (d. 1141).

(E) From *Armughān-i-Hijāz* (1938)

(1) *Satan Earthy and Satan Fiery* (in Persian, pp. 180 ft.)<sup>47</sup>

Corruption of the modern age is manifest;

The Sky is ashamed of its ugliness.

Shouldst thou develop a taste for Vision,

Two hundred satans are at thy beck and call.

On every side are robbers of the eye and the ear;

They are vehemently active in pillaging the heart.

Invaluable sin (is available) for just a farthing!

B'cause these merchants are (such) cheap-sellers.

O what a devil! his gait is chiasitic;

He blindeth thine eyes through sorcery.

I rank him as an impotent Devil,

Since he catcheth a weak prey like thee.O

what a poisonous drink is it in his cup;

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<sup>46</sup> It is to be noted how Iqbal in his anti-European feelings goes as far as to defend the *mullābs* (for whom he had usually no soft corner, especially not for Afghan *mullābs* of the day), when wrongly or rightly he saw English manoeuvres in the efforts made to "chase" them. As is known (cf. *Islam and Ahmadism*, Lahore 1936), Iqbal also made English underhand dealings responsible for the rise of the Ahmadiyya sect. He maintained (cf. *Rumūz-i Be-khudi*, Lahore 1948, 3rd ed., pp. 143 fl., translated by Arberry, London 1953, p. 40) that in periods of decadence *taqlid* is better than theological free-thinking.

<sup>47</sup> On the mythico-religious relationship between Fire and Earth see below **pp.** 49 fl.

It extracteth the soul while the body is unaware.  
Thou see'st but the noose of the net visible;  
Not the net that's within his seed.  
Eversince Man hath fallen from his position,  
To the extent of firmness he has a scope.  
The sin too becometh tasteless and cold,  
If thy Iblis is of earthy origin.  
Don't be thou a prey to the Satans of this age;  
Their flirtation is suitable for the degenerate alone.  
To the virtuous ones, that Iblis is welcome;  
Who hath viewed God and is a master of his art.  
The rival of his blow is the Perfect Man;  
For he is descended from fire and hath a lofty position (*illā*)<sup>48</sup>  
Neither is every earthy-being worthy of his lasso;  
For a weaker prey is prohibited unto him.  
E'en though 'tis far afield from the comprehension

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<sup>48</sup> Taken from the *shabāda: lā ilahā'illā allāh*. The necessary *lā* stage is that of negation. For Iqbal it is (cf. Khayal, p. 9) positively satanic. It has to be transcended into the UN stage, i.e., the affirmation of God, of the true God of the classical monotheism. Iqbal often uses this antithesis, e.g. when speaking of the communists (*Jāy*, p. 88): they have reached the /ā stage, and rightly so — , but now they have to rise to the *illā*, etc.



Of the abject ones;

But this point must surely be told:

"With these new-born Satans doth not contend,

The sinner who hath a nature proud."

(2) *Say unto Iblis* (in Persian, pp. 177 fl.)

Say unto Iblis a message from me;

How long (your) sweltering underneath a net.

To me this earthy abode doth not appeal,

Since its morn is not with't the prelude of an eve.

Until they raked the World out of Nothingness,

Its inner self was cold and with't (any) commotion.

With't our Soul, when was there any fervour?

They created thee from our fire.<sup>49</sup>

Separation brightened the vision of Eagerness;

Separation surred th<sup>e</sup> pursuant urge of Eagerness.

I know not the state of your circumstance;

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<sup>49</sup> In Iqbal's thinking there often emerge immanentistic lines of thought: remains of his Hegel studies under his master, the Neo-Hegelian McTaggart. This passage is one example. It falls little in line with transcendent theism. A yet clearer example is found in the last verse of the beautiful poetry quoted in my *The concept of Time in Iqbal's religious philosophy*, pp. 171-172. See also foot-note 4 on p. 168 of the same.

To me this (admixture of) water and earth made

Aware of myself.

They drove thee from their Porte;

They named thee wretched-one and infidel and transgressor.

I'm fretful right from the morn of Eternity;

Owing to that thorn which they planted within the heart.

Thou knowest my right and my wrong;

The seed doth not grow from my bad tilth;

Thou didst not prostrate and out of compassion ;

Thou art owning countless sins on my part.<sup>50</sup>

Come, let's play the backgammon (*nard*)<sup>51</sup> in a regal manner,

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32. <sup>50</sup> This idea, which is most remarkable in this context, has a very ancient origin. The bivalent character of Satan — Logos is present in the Talmud (see interesting examples in A. Frank-Duquesne, "Reflexions sur Satan en marge de la Tradition judeo-chretienne" (p. 251) in *Satan, Etudes Carmelitaines*, 1948. The idea that Satan is the brother of the *Logos* is also found in the *Divinae Institutiones* of Lactantius (II, 9). The relevant passage has recently been made accessible to the Italian public by Papini in his recent and much discussed book *I Diatolo*, (Florence, 1953).

It is also known that certain Gnostic sects attributed to Satan a role of redeemer, precisely in the meaning that he gives man freedom and impels him to action. Here, however, the sentence seems to come out of a simpler concept: Satan, assuming the role of *tempter*, takes on the responsibility for man's sins (cf. Qur. XXXVIII, 83-84; VII, 16-17).

32. <sup>51</sup> *Nard* corresponds to the well known trick-track game. Iqbal suggests that Satan should run the risk of taking this world "as it is, as a juvenile creation of God" while at the same time he creates a better one, a paradise on earth. This is according to Iqbalean doctrine, exactly what God wants from man (cf. *Jān.*, p. 225: "whoever has no creative power, God says to the poet, is an atheist and a blasphemer — Be glowing with passion, be creator, embrace, as we Ourselves do, all hori-

(Let's) melt the World all around (us).

With the spell of (our) skill, from its (mere) grass-leaves,

(Let's) fashion out a Paradise this side of the Sky.

(3) *Satan's Parliament* (written 1936 in Urdu, p. 213 fl.)

*Satan*

The elements weave their ancient dance. Behold

This wild world, dust and ashes of the hopes

Of Heaven's exalted dwellers! That Creator

Whose 'Let there be' made all things, today stands

Ready to annihilate them. I it was

Who drew in Europe's brain the fantasy

Of empire, I who snapped the spell of mosque,

Of church, of temple; I who taught the homeless

That all is ruled by Fate, and filled their guardians

With capitalism's hot frenzy. Who shall quench

The devouring blaze in him whose paroxysm

---

zons of the Cosmos", etc. Once more, Satan, as the instigator of action, comes to be identical with the Qur'anic God. These beautiful, even though at first sight rather unassuming, verses belong to the most significant elements for an understanding of Iqbal's "satanism".

The fires that rage in Satan's soul have fed,  
Or bow the crest of that time-weathered palm  
Whose branches I have watered into greatness!

*First Counsellor*

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 (*qiyām*)<sup>52</sup>  
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 medicinal to Asia; had we needed,

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<sup>52</sup> The *qiyām* is one of the phases of the Islamic canonical prayer (*salāt*), exactly the *statio*. The order established by Satan is therefore the cowardly prostration before the tyrants. To be noted is the contrast — also verbal — between Satan who is such because he does not want to prostrate himself (the Satan whom we will call the Satan Divine) and the one who impresses on men a faint-hearted taste for prostration before the "monarchs". By the way it may be noticed that for Iqbal are imbued with *monarchic* spirit, in spite of contrary appearances, not only the properly speaking monarchy, but also democracy and Communist socialism. Theocracy alone is for him truly democratic (cf. *Khayal*, p. 12).

The sophist's art lay ready, no less potent  
Than droning 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 newfangled  
Canon: anathema, the Muslim who  
In this age draws his sword in holy war<sup>53</sup>!

*Second Counsellor*

The many-headed beats bellows for power;  
Is this our bane, or boon? You have not learned  
What new-hatched mischief are about the earth.

*First Counsellor*

I have learned; but my scrutiny of the world  
Assures me of no danger in what is only  
A fig-leaf hung to lust of empire.

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<sup>53</sup> Iqbal did not share the pacifist tendency of certain Muslim modernists as regards the holy war. He thought it to be absolutely justified in certain cases which he practically identified with the insurrection movement against authorities illegal from the religious points of view: see his interesting comment on Qur. IV, 59 in *Jāv.*, p. 192 where the Qur'anic *minkum* is understood as "those *of you* who are in authority", therefore not the colonial rulers who are not *of you*.

Was it not we, who dressed autocracy  
In democratic costume? The true power  
And purpose of dominion lie elsewhere,  
And do not stand or fall by the existence  
Of Prince or Sultan. Whether parliaments  
Of nations meet, or Majesty holds court,  
Whoever casts his eye on another's field  
Is tyrant born. Have you not seen in the West  
Those Demos — governments with rosy faces  
And all within blacker than Chengiz' soul ?<sup>54</sup>

*Third Counsellor*

While tyranny's spirit lives on no fear should come  
To trouble us! But what answer shall we give  
To that accursed creature, that vile Jew,  
That Prophet of no Sinai, that Messiah  
Without a Cross — no messenger of God,

---

<sup>54</sup> These are precisely the political friends of the "true" Satan: hereditary monarchy which means tyranny of the one by right of birth; indistinct liberal democracy which means tyranny of capitalists by right of wealth; and (more clearly specified below in i) and in other passages of Iqbal's work, cf. also *Jān.*, pp. 6970; communism which means the tyranny of abstract material interests. All this together is "monarchy".

Yet in his claps a Book?<sup>55</sup> How shall I tell you  
How many a veil those godless eyes have shrivelled,  
Heralding to the nations east and west  
Their day of reckoning? What dire pestilence  
Could outgo this! the slaves have cut the ropes  
That held their lord's pavilions.

*Fourth Counsellor*

In the halls  
Of mighty Rome behold the antidote.  
We have revealed once more the dream of Caesar  
To Caesar's offspring, whose strong arms enfold  
The Italian sea and make its tumbling waves  
Now soar like the pine, now like the rebeck sob!<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Refers to Marx. "No messenger of God, Yet in his claps a Book" is an expression dating from before Iqbal and applied to certain famous Muslims, in particular to Maulānā Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī.

<sup>56</sup> Means another possible danger threatening Satan's "sheepish" order: Iqbal identifies here this danger with Fascism and Mussolini. In view of the events which occurred after the last war this piece is interesting. But even fascism for which Iqbal had some sympathy, is in his view insufficient to awake the world from satanic sleep: the true danger for Satan is the prophetic and theocratic community of Islam. (See below)

*Third Counsellor*

He! — when he casts the future, I do not trust him;  
He has stripped Europe's statecraft all too naked.

*Fifth Counsellor* (to Satan)

Oh you whose fiery breath fills up the sails  
Of the world! You when it pleased you, brought to light  
All mysteries; in your furnace earth and water  
Became a planet panting with hot life.  
We, once Heaven's simpletons,<sup>57</sup> with you for teacher  
Have come to knowledge; and no deeper skill  
Than yours in Adam's nature has He whom men,  
Poor innocents! magnify as their Preserver —  
Whilst they on high whose only thought was prayer  
And sanctification and the rosary  
May hang their heads in everlasting shame,  
Mean beside you. But though you have for vowed  
Disciples all the shamans of the West,

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<sup>57</sup> There exists a well known *ḥadīth* quoted by Ghazālī (Iḥyā', IV, 322), reading thus: *akṭharu abl 'l-jannati al-bulb* "Most of the dwellers in paradise will be the fool", which of course means the poor in spirit, etc.



Their wits lose credit with me. That rebel Jew,  
That spirit of Mazdak come again! Not long,  
And every mantle will be rent to shreds  
And tatters by his fury. The desert crow  
Begins to plume itself among the hawks  
And eagles: dizzily the face of the world  
Goes altering! what we blindly thought a handful  
Of blind dust has blown whirling over the vast  
Of the skies, and we see trembling, so deep sticks  
The terror of to-morrow's revolution,  
Mountain and meadow and the bubbling spring;  
Oh Master ; on the brink of chaos lies  
This earth whose sole reliance is your sceptre.

*Satan* (to his counsellors)

Earth, sun and moon, celestial spheres, all realms  
Of matter, lie in the hollow of my hand.  
Let me once fever the blood of Europe's races,  
And East and West shall see with their own eyes

A drama played out! With one incantation  
I know how to drive mad their pillars of State  
And princes of the Church. Tell the wise fool  
Who thinks our civilization fragile like  
A glassblower's workshop, to destroy its cup  
And flagon if he can! When nature's hand  
Has rent the seam, no needleworking logic  
Of communism will put the stitches back.  
I be afraid of socialists ?--street-bawlers,  
Ragged things, tortured brains, tormented souls!  
No, if there is one monster in my path  
It lurks within that people in whose ashes  
Still glow the embers of an infinite hope.  
Even yet, scattered among them, steadfast ones  
Come forth who make lustration of their hearts  
With contrite tears in the pure hour of dawn;  
And he to whom the anatomy of the age  
Shows clear knows well, the canker of to-morrow

Is not your communism: it is Islam.  
I know its congregation is the Law's  
Upholder now no more ; the Muslim runs  
With all the rest, makes capitalism his creed;  
I know that in this dark night of the East  
No shining hand that Moses raised to Pharaoh  
Hides under his priest's sleeve. Yet none the less  
The importunities of the hour conceal  
One peril, that somewhere the Prophet's faded path  
Be rediscovered. A hundred times beware,  
Beware, that Prophet's ordinance, that keeps safe  
The honour of women, that forges men and tries them,  
That bears a death-warrant to every shape  
Of servitude, admits no Dragon Thrones,  
Knows neither emperor nor roadside beggar.  
It cleanses wealth of every foulness, making  
The rich no more than stewards of their riches;  
What mightier revolution could there be

In thought or deed than it proclaims — earth's soil  
Belongs to no earth-monarch, but to God?<sup>58</sup>  
And well for us if those enactments still  
Lie buried smugly out of sight and mind!  
Felicity it is, that the Believer  
Himself has lost all faith. Long may he halt  
Entangled in the maze of divinity  
And glozing comment on the sacred Word!  
May daybreak never invade the obscure night  
Of that God-meditating folk whose creed  
Might burst the spells of all the finite world!  
Whether the Son of Mary perished once,  
Or knew no death: whether the Attributes I  
Of God from God are separate or are God's  
True essence: whether 'He who is to come'  
Betokens the Messiah of Nazareth or  
Some new Reformer clothed with Christ's own vesture:

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<sup>58</sup> "Earth's soil belongs to God" is a *badith* (based on the Qur'anic passages) often quoted by Iqbal. For more commentary see Jāv., pp. 80 fl.

Whether the words of Scripture are late-born

Or from eternity, and which answer holds

Salvation for the chosen People — let<sup>59</sup>

These theologians' graven images

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<sup>59</sup> With this criticism of speculative theology, or at least of certain loquacious features of it, Iqbal combined a remarkable respect for the *shari`a*, even though giving it an interpretation that had little in common with one spread by the manuals of the faqih. In addition to two of the best known problems of the Islamic speculative theology (the question of the identity of the divine attributes, *sifāt*, with the divine nature, *dāt*, and that of created or uncreated character of the Qur'an) we find here also two problems listed which were of a special interest in the Sub-continent of Iqbal's days, taking into account the development which the *Ahmadiyya* movement had taken there. (Cf. Iqbal's severe criticism in the already mentioned *Islam and Ahmadism*.) As is known, this movement, contrary to the Islamic orthodoxy, maintains that Jesus has really died and that in the coming *Mandi* one ought not to see Jesus himself, but a Renovator embodying Jesus' qualities (on the teachings of the Ahmadiyya, see the summary given in Pareja-Bausani Hertling, *Islamologia*, Rome 1951, pp. 588-590). According to Iqbal these discussions were apt to deter the Indian Muslims from their more concrete task, namely that of fighting the oppressors and re-establishing true Islamic theocracy.

In an article which says much more and also much less than its title announces "The Persian Conception of Artistic Unity in Poetry," in *BOS*, XIV, 2 (1952), p. 242, Wickens gives as a characteristic of Islam that it absorbs theology into law, and he maintains that this phenomenon has not yet been explained by the orientalists. Thus far I agree with him, but I am not convinced by the explanation he proposes and which is exactly contrary to what e.g. Iqbal affirms in his whole work regarding the rejuvenation of Islam: "The God we meet in Muslim Theology is central and timeless (?), not only himself unchanged (?) but changing nothing else since the beginning of Time. Such theology has thus virtually never concerned itself with the very stuff of its Christian counterpart: those vital subtle questions of Person, Nature, Hypostasis and so on . . ." The Qur'an, (and not only the Qur'an as interpreted by Iqbal) seems to me fully in contradiction with these assertion of Wickens (cf. Qur., L, 15; LV, 29; XXXV, 1; XXIX, 19, etc.).

The reason for giving precedence to the *shari`a* over theology in Islam seems to me to lie rather in the impossibility to reason about God because of his being to an extreme degree "personal", immobile and arbitrary. It is possible to reason about an *Ens*, a *Motor Immobilis*, but not about a personal being. But since this personal being has a certain plan for mankind, since through the Prophet it gives origin to States and attaches a special importance to *this* earth, the only thing in which man, with regard to God, can take interest, is to keep ready to march at his orders, In general, it is the very much other-worldly oriented religions which give special importance to theological disquisitions (Christianity, Manichaenism, gnosis, etc.).

Content the Muslim of this country!  
Keep him a stranger to the realm of action,  
That on the chessboard of existence all  
His pieces may be forfeit. Good, if he  
Lie down in slavery till the day of doom,  
Relinquishing to others what he calls  
A transient globe, and hugging such belief,  
Such minstrelsy, as serve to keep his eyes  
Well bandaged from the theatre of life.  
For yet with every breath I dread that people's  
Awakening, whose religion's true behest  
Is to hold watch and reckoning over all  
The universe.<sup>60</sup> Keep its wits bemused with dawn  
Potations of its dregs of thought and prayer;  
And tighten round its soul the monkish bonds!

To the above texts considerations from the *Lectures* (pp. 81-88) on the myth of the Fall and Sin must be added. They are of great importance for a better understanding of Iqbal's idea of Satan. He affirms that (1) unlike the

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<sup>60</sup> *Iḥtisāb-i kā' ināṭ* i.e. being *mubtasib*, spiritual "police inspector" of the inner world. This relates to a tradition.

Biblical story of the Fall (which is linked with pre-monotheistic conceptions<sup>61</sup> and is also found in Babylonia, etc.), the Qur'an makes no mention of the serpent (phallic motive) nor of the rip (also a pre-monotheistic symbol motive); (2) Adam ate from the fruit either of the tree of good and evil, or of the tree of life; (3) whereas the Old Testament curses the earth for Adam's act of disobedience, the Qur'an declares it to be the 'dwelling place' of man and a source of profit<sup>62</sup> to him, for the possession of which he ought to be grateful to God. Man is not "a stranger on this earth". Paradise (*jannat*) means a primitive state in which man "is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants, the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture." Thus, far from being "fall" and "nostalgia for an initial paradise", Iqbal asserts clearly, "the fall does not mean any moral depravity; it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal causality in one's own being ." Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice, and could therefore, according to the Qur'anic narration, easily be forgiven. In this interpretation of Iqbal, every remaining link between the legend of the Fall and pagan myths of nature — whose "deeper" meaning has been revalued by certain

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<sup>61</sup> Since the term "pre-monotheistic" is used several times in the course of this article, it may be useful to say more precisely that by means of this term I intend to make a clear differentiation between the monotheistic religions in the strict sense and all other types of religion. Monotheistic religions in the strict sense are fastened upon the conscious negation of the ancestral gods, which is the work of some great founder personality (the prophet). He feels himself called upon by the unique God to carry his Message, — a Phenomenon which, as Pettazzoni (*Saggi di Storia delle Religioni e di Mitologia*, Roma 1945, p. 7) has noted, is extremely rare, or even almost unique in the religious history of mankind, if one considers that Christianity as well as Islam are derived from Hebraic monotheism. The prefix pre of *premonotheistic* has a very broad value since premonotheistic religions also subsist naturally in today's world.

<sup>62</sup> Iqbal's deductions and distinctions between the two Qur'anic episodes of the fall (compare VII, 11-27 with XX, 115-123), however interesting they are from the point of view of his theology, do not in all respects seem acceptable from the point of view of a textual criticism of the Qur'an. Nothing indeed impels us to think that the indetermined "tree" of the first Qur'anic account is the Tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil as distinct from the Tree of life clearly specified in the second account. It would rather seem that in the Qur'an the two trees are fused into one, the Tree of Life which would be — contrary to the account of Genesis — the one whose fruit Adam ate.

modern psychologists<sup>63</sup> --is resolutely cut off, to the advantage of an interpretation radically "futurist", anti-pagan and optimistic: no nostalgia for an "eternal return"<sup>64</sup> to the past, but joy in thrusting oneself forward into the creation of new realities that lies in the future and are entirely different from those of the past. "That God has taken this risk shows his immense faith in man." Satan's act (whose purpose, Iqbal says, is to arouse doubts in man's mind, and one could add, quite fruitful doubts) is therefore in a certain sense an excellent deed. Then returning to somewhat more orthodox view of things, Iqbal adds that God had forbidden Adam to taste from the fruit of the tree, which Iqbal, (quoting Madame Blavatsky), considers the symbol of occult knowledge, "because his finitude as a self, his sense-equipment, and his intellectual faculties were, on the whole, attuned to a different type of knowledge," i.e., the type gained by slowly accumulated observation. Adam yielded to Satan's whispering, not because he was elementally wicked, but because of his being "hasty" (*'ajul*)<sup>65</sup>, a characteristic which the Qur'an attributes to man's nature.

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<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note how little the monotheistic *Weltanschauung* (Biblical and Qur'anic) appeals to the heart of modern man in comparison with the remarkable favour enjoyed by recent rejuvenation of myths and magic etc. To point out only one example we may refer to Mircea Eliade's beautiful *Le Mythe de l'Eternel Retour*, Paris 1949. Although on pp. 154 fl. he shows with perfect clarity that the Jewish monotheistic prophetic religiosity is the first real *novelty*, i.e. the destruction of the traditional cyclical mentality, and although on pp. 236-237 he recognizes that faith of the monotheistic type, "une philosophic de la libert  qui n'exclut pas Dieu", is the only system capable of overcoming "the horizon of archetypes and recurrence" fully and without danger, his whole book nonetheless breathes an air of nostalgia for that world of archetypes and the lost ontological paradise and manifests a heartfelt antipathy against the history-conscious type of thinking. (See in particular pp. 218 fl.). Since it touches our concern closely, we take the freedom to rectify his interpretation of Qur. XXIX, 20 (not IV, 4 as erroneously quoted by him): "Allah est celui qui effectue la Creation, *done il la repete*" (?). He thus attributes a conception of the "eternal return" (cyclical) type also to the Qur'an, whereas the sentence, when translated exactly ("... see how He originated creation, then bringeth forth the later (second) growth"), proves just the contrary, i.e. what Iqbal calls the "anti-classical" and futuristic conception of the "monotheistic" mentality.

<sup>64</sup> How deeply the nostalgia for the "eternal return" is rooted also in the minds of those who have been brought up on lines of a religion as strictly monotheistic as Islam, appear from the statement — unjustified in my view — of one of Iqbal's learned followers. M. D. Siddiqi. It is found in a thoughtful though lengthy article of his: "Iqbal's Concept of Evolution" (in *Iqbal*, vol. II, 1954, P. 27): "He seems to believe that the world process is the self-realisation of an *original unity broken up* into its components."

<sup>65</sup> The term refers to Qur'an XVII, 11.



The only way to avoid this intuitive occult knowledge for which he was not fitted, and by which he would have lost the balance of his faculties, was of course to place him in an environment in which he could exist only by an extremely hard method of trial and experience. Satan thus is the one who induces man to seek an unsuitable and dangerous "short cut to knowledge", depriving him of the joy of growth by experience for which alone the latter is suited. But for Iqbal who emphasizes the fact that, according to the Qur'an, Adam ate from the Tree of Life<sup>66</sup>, Adam's temptation and alleged fall have yet another meaning: they signify the desire for eternity which man can only satisfy through the sexual act of multiplication which pre-supposes sex-differentiation. Yet the emergence and multiplication of individualities, each fixing its gaze on the revelation of its own possibilities and seeking its own dominion, inevitably brings in its wake the awful struggle of the ages. The Qur'an's "Descend ye as enemies of one another"<sup>67</sup>, rather than to mean a proper punishment for wickedness, is actually a logical consequence of man's choice of eternal life (which for him is only possible as an eternity by multiplication), and painful struggle is the means to "harden" and purify man's self. Of all this, to say it once more, Satan is the author.

These texts are basic for any understanding of Iqbal's Satan. Before proceeding to a closer examination of this interesting figure, it will be good to give an outline of its main features.

Even a rapid reading of the above presented texts permits the following considerations:

(1) Satan appears under two (seemingly irreconcilable) aspects: on the one hand Satan is essentially man's enemy<sup>68</sup>, the one who induces

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<sup>66</sup> See foot-note 44.

<sup>67</sup> Qur. VII, 24. But also Satan's traditional enmity with man assumes for Iqbal's a positive value in the Fichtean sense. In another passage he says e.g.: "To be true the enemy is also your friend, his existence gives an active brightness to your Enterprise. He who is conversant with the degrees of the self, considers it a grace of God to have a powerful enemy." And again: "Refuse living in a faded world which has a God without having a Satan".

<sup>68</sup> Satan is, in Islam as well as in the Jewish religion, essentially the *enemy of man*, of Adam, not the enemy of *God*. Also Rumī opposes Adam to Iblis, just as Abraham is opposed to Nimrod and Moses is opposed to Pharaoh. The New Testament with its conception of the

him into sheepish attitudes, into slavery, into a rough sort of mystical gnosis (all these concepts are for Iqbal closely connected); on the other hand, he is substantially man's friend; the one who gives him taste for action, for growth and for risk; the Satan who supports and eulogizes the idea that separation, i.e., living as a human person 'in contact with', but 'detached from' the objective world and from God himself, is a superior and more beautiful way than 'union' which is undifferentiated, sterile and emasculating.

(2) Satan has above all one enemy: it is the *prophetic* conception of life which considers the prophet superior to the saint, law superior to theology, social institution superior to mysticism.

(3) Unlike the "European" Satan (in fact Christian, even as regards his modern, rather morbid forms), Iqbal's Satan has nothing to do with the concepts of "death", "flesh", or even, partly, of "sin" which are usually associated with him. The Iqbalian hierarchy of values (fairly different from that customary to the Western Christian) has at its top the personal creative action opening on the future, for which death, flesh and even sin can be constructive elements, and at its bottom has the servile quiet, and docile return to the Principle, to the undifferentiated, even though the one who is at work, be an ascetic and what certain people call a saint.

(4) In the old controversy between the fire and the Earth which Satan provoked himself by his refusal to bow down before Adam, Iqbal seem to hold that in the end the Earth, in order to be worshipped by the Fire, needs purification and transformation through the very Fire. There exists however dust-coloured Satans (*khakī*) as well. They are not worthy of a man who has been purified by the fire of a worthier and mightier Satan.

(5) Satan represents the strength of logic, of intellect, of systematic doubt as against love (*'ishq*). To this aspect of Satan relates also his being "the first predestinationist."

Let us now examine the above mentioned points in more detail, trying to trace the threads that link such conceptions of Iqbal with his sources in

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two kingdoms, God and world, gives to Satan a far greater importance, under the manifest impact of Persian and gnostic influence. On this point see the interesting considerations of A. Frank Du Quesne, op. cit., p. 208 and 290. They seem however somehow biased by his desire to vindicate by all means absolute originality of Christianity.

Islam and the West. Beginning with point 1): Satan's bivalent character is more or less clearly found in many religious traditions. It is well known that the Rosicrucian tradition, nowadays revived e.g. by Steiner, distinguishes two demoniac powers, Ahriman and Lucifer, being a "materializing" power comparable, to a certain extent, with Iqbal's and the latter being a dissolving force by which any material substance is made to go up in subtle intellectualism.<sup>69</sup> But is there in the Islamic tradition any such bivalent notion of the Satanic? The *hadith* on Satan are for the most part extremely plain; one could hardly see there any possible source of Iqbal's

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<sup>69</sup> Besides, there is also in the iconography a great difference between certain representations showing Satan as a horrible heavy monster, and others where the fallen angel appears in a posture of a noble self-restraint (cf. E. Kirschbaum, "L. Angelo Rosso e 1, Angelo Turchino" in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XVII (1940), pp. 209-227.

Besides, the oldest roots of this bivalent character can be historically traced back to the so-called primitive cultures. On the one hand, there is the serpent-Dragon (symbolizing the primordial chaos, abyss) to which we briefly refer in foot-note 62, and on the other hand, the well known figure which appears — and this is particularly interesting for us here — especially in the myths about the creation, the "countercreator" like the Coyote in the myths of hunters and gatherers of California (see some passages in Pettazzoni, *Mitt e Legend*, vol. III, Turin 1963, pp. 89 fl. and also the brief study of D. Satolli, T. Tentori, *Mitt e legende sulla creazione dei primitivi nordamericani*, Rome 1941, pp. 28-32.) In a cosmogonic myth of the Algonkian tribe (Lenape) it is spoken of (quoted in Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, II, pp. 417-419) either as a counter-creator who among other misfortunes brought death into the world, or as a thick snake causing a great flood. I do not think that it is possible to identify the two beings, as Henninger does ("L' adversaire du Dieu bon chez les primitifs", in *Satan, Etudes Carmelit*, Paris, 1948, p. III). On the contrary, they represent very strikingly two different aspects of the "Satanic" also as regards its evolution in history. Also in other myths (cf. that of the Maidu quoted in Satolli-Tentori: op. cit., pp. 28-32) "Coyote" and the serpent are quite distinct from each other.

To make myself clear: it is somewhat the same as the difference between the ambivalent Germanic Loki (see F. Stanton Cawley, "The Figure of Loki in Germanic Mythology" in *Harvard Theol. Review*, XXXII, 1939, pp. 309-326) and the dragon, the serpent of Midgardhr, the former being lively and "faber", true Iqbalian *iblis nari*, the latter dull and "material" like an *Iblis kbaki*.

As regards the "counter-creator" (sometimes also *assistant* creator), Pettazzoni thinks him to be a creator belonging to a different mythology. He is supposed to have been supplanted amongst the vicissitudes of history and successive strata of peoples etc. (Cf. "Mythes des origines et mythes de la creation", in *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religion 1950*, Amsterdam 1951, pp. 67 fl.).

conception. Nearly all Islamic Satans are *kebaki*, even if in theory they are created of fire.<sup>70</sup>

The main sources of Iqbal's Satan, as regards his bivalent nature as well as in many other respects, are principally two: Rūmī and Milton. There exists on Milton's Satan a good many well-founded studies which Zwi Werblowski<sup>71</sup> has recently summarized and discussed in an interesting thesis. But I know of no specific study on the Satan of Rūmī. It will therefore be necessary to speak of him at some length by way of *excursus*.

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<sup>70</sup> The reading of the chapters related to Satan in Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections of traditions, or in other texts as *Akām al-marjān* (quoted below), can at best yield some interesting starting points for historical and religious comparison with post-biblical Judaic sources, or serve as an amusing pastime because of the stories contained in such collections. In the main, Satan appears there — as also in the Hebraic texts — as God's instrument with only a very relative autonomy. However, for a fuller historical understanding of Iqbal's Satan one must bear in mind not only the considerations of the mystics of which we have given examples here and there, but also the interesting chapter on "temptations" in al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* (Cairo edition of 1312 H. part III, pp. 20 fl.): It reads there e.g. (p. 21) that God, as the Qur'an says, created all things by pairs. So the devil is the angel's counter-part. A little further he explains the well known tradition: "The heart of the believer is between the two fingers of God" affirming without hesitation that Satan is one of the two fingers. (He therefore is an *aspect of God*, he is *musakbar* to God like all other creation!) Apropos of the famous tradition: "The Prophet said: No one of you is without a Demon. They asked him: You also? Yes, I too, but God has assisted me against him. He has become Muslim and does not command but what is good", the great theologian shrewdly explains its meaning so that the passions (*shahawāt*) are not evil in themselves. In the case of the man of God, on the contrary, they become themselves stimuli of good. Al-Ghazālī (with whom Iqbal felt perfectly in line, cf. foot-note 42) showed in his whole work a vivid sense of the superiority of moral action over speculative theology. Of this the following closing passage of the great Teacher of Tūs (op. cit. p. 23) gives a testimony: "The servant of God must always be bent on chasing (*daf'*) the Enemy from his soul, rather than on wondering what the Enemy's origin, genealogy and dwelling-place might be. He ought above all to ask what sort of weapons the Enemy uses; so as to keep them more effectively away from his soul: they are the passions (*hawā*) and the lustful pleasures (*shahawāt*). This suffices for him who is wise."

In his most useful review *Notes on Islam* Fr. Courtois S. J. has started publishing instalments of a well informed and objective study on "The Islamic Conception of the Devil" (first instalment on pp. 2 to 12, vol. VII, No. 1, March 1954). But on p. 2 only a hint is given to a passage in Iqbal's *Lect.* and it remains entirely unnoticed that the figure of Iblis assumes a far greater importance in the author's poetical work in Urdu and Persian.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Werblowski, *Lucifer and Prometheus, a Study of Milton's Satan* (Thesis of the Faculty of Arts, Geneva), Lodon 1952.

Satan's sinful error takes on various aspects in Rūmī: pride, envy, dry reasoning, — the whole worsened by Satan's *excuse* in the very words of the Qur'an *bi-mā aghwaytani* ("because Thou, O Lord, Nast sent me astray") which sets about a dangerous and sinful fatalism (cf. Iqb. D.1.) in front of Adam's submissive *rabbānā ẓalamnā*<sup>72</sup> (I, 1488 fl.; IV, 1389 fl ; V, 3077 fl.; VI, 405). Both, Adam and Iblis, know equally well that in a certain way God is the sovereign author of every thing, but whereas Iblīs gets enraged with God and makes him responsible for his "slip", Adam, even though he is basically of the same mind as Satan, tries always to excuse his master and, as a good servant, to give the fault to himself alone.<sup>73</sup> Iblīs' sin is to have placed himself exclusively at God's point of view, the absolute *tanhīd*, — at the side of the Fire, forgetting earthly humility, neglecting to look at things as they are from below. Thence the great importance given in Islam to the Earth (Adam), from the point of view of the *Earth* (See below).

Envy is another aspect of Satan's sin: his "*ana kbayr*" ("I am better" I, 3216; I, 429) is Satan's malady. God's order is the *cause* of Satan's sin. Before that order he had been for 10,000 years a saint and perfectly pious angel. In the same way, the sun is the cause of the stench of dung. At night, dung does not smell (I, 3283 fl.). Satan's sin expresses itself by way of logical reasoning: he is the father of *qiyās*. He indeed reasons thus (1,3397-98): "Fire is, no doubt, superior to earth: now I am of fire whereas he is of filthy earth: let us therefore judge from the comparison between the secondary and the primary: he is of the darkness whereas I am of radiant light." God's answer to this argument is: "No, on the contrary, *there will be no comparisons any more that*

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<sup>72</sup> The sentence which forms the *radīf* of a most beautiful *ghazal* in Rūmī's *Diwān* (cf. V. von Rosenzweig, *Auswahl aus den Diwanen des... Mevlānā Dschelaleddin Rumi*, Wien 1838, pp. 18-21) is a quotation from Qur. VII, 23 (*rabbānā Ẓalamnā ānfusānā*, "Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves . . .").

<sup>73</sup> This important concept arises still more clearly from an anecdote cited in a foot-note by Nicholson (Commentary on the First and Second Books, p. 109, v. 1493), and taken from a Commentary on the *Fusūs al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Arabī: "A certain mystic in conversation with God said: 'O my God, You have decreed that sin should be, You have willed it, You have created it in my soul!' Then a voice answered him: 'This is precisely what is held by those who believe in My unity (*tanhīd*, — here therefore Satan defends the absolute *tanhīd* from yet another angle), but what is it that those who profess to be my servants, should say?' The mystic answered: 'It was my fault; it is I who committed sin, who did wrong!' And I, — the Voice continued answering — I have pardoned, I have shown mercy! "

count (Cor. XXIII, 10) ; devotion and piety alone will be the *mihrāb* directing towards pre-eminence." That means that God's plan is always un-foreseeable: "The son of Abū Jahl became a true believer, the son of Noah<sup>74</sup> was among those who went astray" (ibid., 3402). And elsewhere (II, 1620) Rūmī still says further that God in his sovereign power can lift Adam, against all law of nature, from the earth to beyond the skies, and keep down the fire of *Iblīs* even beneath the earth.<sup>75</sup> Satan, replete with logic and thus leaning towards pantheistic and anti-personalist views, is incapable of seeing beyond Adam's *form* (clay) which he compares with his own fire, that more real *substance* which is the sovereign act of God's personal will which creates and moulds every form without any necessity. With a precipitate and shallow conclusion (III, 2299 fl.; IV, 1616; IV, 1709) he stops the search. He has only one eye (IV, 1616), sees only one half of the reality, sees tin, but not *din*,<sup>76</sup> sees clay and earth, but not the act of the creative will which is beneath. *Iblīs* therefore means reason against love (*'ishq*), love being something more, something different from "sentiment", "a faculty" I should say, "with which the personal

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<sup>74</sup> Cf. Foot-note 11.

<sup>75</sup> This concept of God as transcendent and arbitrary, above nature and above its law, is often found in Rūmī's *Mathnavī*; in this same episode one meets with a verse which is properly speaking a declaration of explicit anti-pantheism; God says: "*chār tab'u ellat-e ulā na-y-am, dar tasarruf dā-`imā man baqi-y-am*". On the problem of pantheism in Rūmī see Nicholson's already quoted work *Idea of Personality in Sufism* and also "Theism and Pantheism in Rūmī" an article of mine in *Pakistan Quarterly* (Karachi), III, 4 (1954), pp. 36-41; 60-62.

<sup>76</sup> The verse reads (IV, 1617): *did tin-i Adam as dinish na-did; in Jabān did ān jabān-binish na-did*. Nicholson translates: "He saw the clay of Adam but did not see his *obedience to God*: he saw in him this world but did not see that (spirit) which beholds yonder world." If one compares this passage with those quoted a little earlier where Satan's failure is not to perceive God's active decision, — and with fragment on the controversy between earth and fire, quoted on p. 41, foot-note 15, where Satan sees only the *naqsh al-madda* and not the *karmal an-nihāya* — and if in addition one considers the parallelism of the second *misra'* of this same verse (where *tin* corresponds to *jabān*, and *din* to *jabān-binish*, the translucent perception of the material world which is proper to God and to the transcendent beings, the *fravashī*, to put it in terms of Mazdaism), then a — to my view — better interpretation and translation of *din* in the present passage comes spontaneously to one's mind. It means "the more real and profound personality of Adam", in a certain sense his *fravashī* personality, that of the "true" Adam, not directly dependent on the earth, but on the finality of God's creative act. Besides, Corbin (op. cit. in foot-note 70, on p. 143 and *passim*) has shown how the conception of the Mazdaic *daēna* is found present in certain Islamic circles. In the same study, the problem of *daēna* is also given a semantic solution which sounds a little more acceptable than the one proposed by Duchesne-Guillemin in *Ormazd et Abriman*, Paris 1953, p. 67.

action of the ever new God, *badi 'us-samān<sup>u</sup>ti wa'l-ardi*, (and therefore lovable-as a person, and adorably unforeseeable — as the ever new one) is perceived beyond the rigid rationality of the laws of nature." In the *Mathnawi* this contrast is pointed out repeatedly (e.g., IV, 1389 fl.), and in an interesting passage (I, 3283) the emaciated face and cyanotic (kabūdī) complexion of the rational philosopher who sneers at Satan as a rude superstition, means to Rūmī the incarnation of Satan himself. Doubt and perplexity, which characterize philosophy as against faith, are inspired by Satan. But Rūmī's theism, in as far as Satan himself is concerned, does not even give him the satisfaction of radical, absolute rebellion. In an interesting passage (I, 3893 ft.) Adam mocks<sup>77</sup> at Satan's shameful damnation. Immediately God interprets Adam's malicious joy as a falling back into the realm of the "given", of the "natural", of the "accepted": Adam is not even for an instant allowed to accept as a natural phenomenon what in fact is a positive act of divine will. At once a Voice rises (V. 3897): "God would be able to disgrace 100 Adams and to convert 100 Satans to the purest Islam." From this point of view, although there is always scope for an exception and Satan still could become a cherubim again (IV, 3496), his being Satan does not go against God's will, but is part of his personal providence (II, 2120). "If *Iblīs* worshipped Adam, Adam would no longer have been Adam, he would have been another." Satan, it is said in explicit words, depends directly on one of the attributes of God's power: that of *mudill* (V, 953). One could go as far as to say that in this manner a Satanic element is indirectly introduced into God himself (see below). The dialectic between Satan and Adam (rather than between Satan and God, also in Islam), between Pharaoh and Moses, between Evil and Good, — the evacuation of evil taken as absolute, runs like a shining thread through the whole *Mathnawi*. We have given an account of this elsewhere.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> This forms a curious contrast with Luther's injunction to laugh at Satan *quia est superbus spiritus et non potest ferre contemptum sui* (Werblowsky, op. cit, p. XI).

On the prohibition of laughter in certain situations reported by myths and fables see the interesting study of Propp in *Uchenye Zapiski Gos. Leningradskogo Universiteta*, Kl. Filolog. N., III, 1939. The hero, when penetrating into the throat of the dragon (Satan) which he should kill, may not laugh, otherwise he is defeated.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. A. Bausani, 'Aspetti del misticismo islamico' *Ricerche Religiose*, vol. XX, 1949, pp. 1 fl.; and of the same, "11 pensiero religioso di Maulāna Gialālād-Dīn Rūmī" in *O. M.*, XXXIII, 1953, pp. 180 fl.

But in spite of Rūmī's deep sense of the dialectic between Good and Evil, God and Satan, as it vibrates through the *Mathnavi*, the great mystic of Balkh would alone scarcely have sufficed to inspire Iqbal's image of Satan. It is true that in some places Rūmī's Satan may appear to be a superior being, (as e.g. in the beautiful dialogue with Mu'āwīya)<sup>79</sup>, and still more, some of Satan's earthly incarnations, as e.g. Pharaoh, may seem full of glorious power, but Iqbal's Satan would certainly be unthinkable without the undisputable influence of Milton who in his turn stood under a strong influence from pre-Christian Prometheus. The bivalent nature of the Miltonian Satan — closely resembling that of Iqbal's *Iblis* has very deep roots. I fully agree with Werblowski (op. cit., p. XIV) when he asserts that "while originally the Hebrew culture (and in the case of Iqbal the Islamic culture too), being based on the experience of a vocation, of an election on the part of God, could easily assert itself as willed by God, in its post-exiliar developments it underwent more and more the influence of pagan thought, i.e. Greek and Persian. This led naturally to a complete dissociation of spheres: good and evil, God and anti-God, power, i.e. activity and inactivity and suffering, heaven and earth, spirit and matter, grace and nature, Kingdom of God and of the World. As a consequence, Satan becomes the holy exponent of power in this sublunar universe after the Fall and is thus the prototype of man's cultural striving." Iqbal would have perfectly subscribed to Werblowski's statement that "the sense of trespass and sin inherent in the dynamism of human life which, to our modern consciousness, is typically Christian, is in fact essentially Greek." To this, other considerations could be added which are only partly developed by Werblowski (Milton was substantially Christian) and which offer a special interest for the understanding of the dualism of Iqbal's Satan. In a pantheistic-antipersonalist conception, the Evil par excellence is the *principium individualionis* i.e. the getting off from the undifferentiated unity of the happy world of the "origins".<sup>80</sup> On the contrary, that which for such a culture is Satanic, for the monotheistic religions which

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<sup>79</sup> Summary in the above quoted article on Rūmī, p. 187.

<sup>80</sup> Mysticism of all times is full of this motif. In the myth the serpent-dragon motif e.g. (which generally symbolizes the primordial chaos, the abyss of the waters, the undifferentiated One) has developed, as Propp has shown (*Le radici storiche dei racconti di fate*, Ital. edit., Turin 1949, pp. 343-446), from an initial stage of "useful serpent" whose stomach is believed to give magical abilities to the one who dwells in it, into a stage of "evil serpent" which is "the fruit of a higher civilisation". The good serpent is still very much alive in the



Islam represents in the most radical manner, is the most distinctive characteristic of the Divine. Here, as in Hebraic thinking, what is considered as good is precisely the future and the origins, i.e. the deepening of the conscious distinction, the emergence from the undifferentiated. God is personal and the principle of personification. He himself, through Vocation and Covenant, instigates action. Thus action is not hybris, but *imitatio Dei*. Satan's speech *eritis sicut dii* etc. is in fact divine, not satanic (besides, is it not said, in the Gospel as well as in the Old Testament: "be saints as God himself is saintly?"<sup>81</sup>). The fact that in the legend of the Fall similar words are put into Satan's mouth, is the best proof that such a legend reflects strata of premonotheistic religiosity preserved in the traditions of the Old Testament and the Qur'an. Satan in Iqbal's poem (A, 1) is in reality God himself, God shown as the instigator of action, as the voice. In a radically theistic-personalist culture the truly evil Satan is the one who insinuates returned and undifferentiated quiet,<sup>82</sup> the Satan of "vile nature" of the poems D 1, 2, E 3, 1. Thus the dualism of Iqbal's *Iblis* (which Khayāl perceives clearly, but cannot explain historically) on the one hand through Milton, and on the other through the Islamic tradition, in particular Rūmī, traces back historically to the inextricable mixture, — also in the tradition of the great

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Chinese civilisation (dragon), but remains of the good serpent motif exist even in the Bible (cf. John III, 14-15 where Jesus refers to Num. XXI, 8-9). One may also remember the famous gnostic sect of the Ophites.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Lk VI, 36; Mt V, 48; Lev. XIX, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Also in the Christian tradition has Satan the aspect of the one who spreads "confusion" who "obnubilates". Cf. the terms employed in I Tim., III, 6; VI, 4; II Tim., III, 4; they are all derived from *typhus*, smoke, steam. So also the *mataiotes* of II Peter. II, 18; Rom. VIII, 20 (but "the work of him who so subjected it" in this passage means for many exegetes *God*); Eph. IV, 17 seems to refer to the idle metaphysical disorder which Satan tries to create. Frank-Duquesne (*op. cit.* p. 238) cites also a curious passage from Jeremiah on the effect of the Fall as a return to the indetermined. In Frank-Duquesne's learned and interesting study any distinction between the two aspects of Satan is however missing. For this reason his criticism (pp. 303 fl.) of the doctrine of Satan as "aspect of God" (of the personal God) appears only partly justifiable.

This aspect of Satan as Chaos explains why in the Islamic tradition he is also connected with the water (abyss, tehom, chaotic primordial waters). There exists more than one *ḥadīth* collected in *op. cit.* pp. 164 fl., 175-176) according to which "Iblis' throne is on the sea", or Solomon, riding an *ʿifrit* in search for iblis, finds him on *bisat* on the sea. Whence it is not by chance that in the Christian apocalypse *the sea will be abolished* at the end of times (Apoc. XXI, 1). In Is. XXVII, 1, God will "kill the serpent which lives in the sea".

prophetic religions, — of premono theistic legends on Satan (doing works worthy of God or of a Prophet)<sup>83</sup> and the new divine dignity arising from the individuation (where Satan becomes for man a giver of "opium" ). Instead, an aspect truly satanic of the theistic type of Satan is his being instigator of magics (*Hārūt and Mārūt*, cf. the Qur'ān II, 102) understood as a pseudo-action. This action is satanic because it has its roots down in the depth of an impulse originally pre-monotheistic and not in a call from above.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> See e.g. E 2) and foot-note 32. According to Saint-Victor (*Les deux Masques*, III, ed. 1883, p. 342) Prometheus is the *permanent prophet*.

Going back beyond Milton and his immediate sources, one should recall, as regards the role of Satan as initiator of "technique", the many legends of genii or devils working underground: cf. the dwarfs of the Northern mythology. G. Agricola, in *De animantibus subterraneis*; Hephaestus (a pagan god, whence a demon), identified e.g. by Vossius (*De Origine et Progressu Idolatriae*, 1688 cit. in Max Muller *Chips from a German Workshop*, IV, p. 203) with Tubalcain etc. etc.

Agricola's page on the under-ground devils is so interesting that I reproduce it from an old translation into Italian of the dialogue *11 Bermanno* by M. Tramezzino (in Vinegia, MDL, fol. 430 v.; the little book contains the translation of G. Agricola's main works).

*Bermanno*: "Joking apart, in some mines certain kinds of Demons happen to be found: some of them do not cause any harm to the miners, but they go roaming around the wells and, without doing anything special, seem to exert themselves much in hard work, now digging the vein together with the others, now emptying the buckets from the material they have dug, now operating the lift, or teasing and vexing the workers. This happens specially in wells from which much silver is being raised, or where there is hope of finding much of it. Some others of the Demons are very tiresome and cause harm, as was the case (which is well known to many) of one who a few years ago harassed so much a mine of Anneberg called the Crown of Roses that he murdered no less than twelve miners. Whence that well had to be given up, although it contained a lot of silver.

*Ancone*: Psello, among the six kinds of demons he lists, mentions the one which is usually found in the mines, and he says, if I am not mistaken, this is the worst of all, being garbed in the thickest stuff that can be found. (On earth, as being heavier"stuff than fire, see below).

*Bermanno*: As I said, some of them are so wicked that the miners flee from them as from a deadly pestilence: some others, on the contrary, are so pleasant that the miners not only do not mind meeting them often and listening to their difficulties, but they even desire for them and take them for people bringing good luck".

<sup>84</sup> The *magical* aspect of Satan (of the "true" Satan) is parallel and connected with his traditional aspect as "liar", as creator of vampires and of confusion, as Golem and as *homunculus* using from below the proteiform and abstract cosmical energy which is quite different from the *fiat* of the divine Creator. Rumi has in his *Mathnawi* (III, 1191 fl.) a few master-pieces — true witnesses to his deep psychological experience — on the difference between "magic" and "creation", between Prophet and Magician, between "true" and "false

It is not by chance that the Qur'an and its earliest commentators lay not so much stress on Satan's pride as rather on his *disobedience* towards God's order. The real Satan's sin lies therefore not in the hybris of Action, but in his intent to operate apart from collaboration with God, in a sterile autonomy (magics). It counts among Iqbal's great merits that in his reconstruction of an absolute prophetic theism he has perhaps unconsciously singled out the most genuine element from among the Scripture traditions of the prophetic religions (interpreting them with not a little freedom), and that he has finally put a little bit of Satan also into God (cf. e.g. verse "I am in God's heart like a thorn" of C1) giving thus a poetical form to a theory which some modern authors have formulated in scientific prose.<sup>85</sup>

Sooner or later ti a wayfarer on the path of religion feels the need for a criterion of the Satanic and the Divine which at times take on shapes of an extreme resemblance.<sup>86</sup> In prophetic theism this criterion is the *obedience to the prophet*. From obedience spring those values which for such a religious *Weltanschauung* are supreme: the deepening of the believer's distinct consciousness as a person, and deepening of his personal integrating contact with God. Such an obedience already viewed by Rūmī (cf. my above cited articles) with an acute psychological and religious insight as the only way of salvation from the danger of satanic pride and, metaphorically speaking, from the danger of relapsing into the "mothers" (the *ummahāt* of Islam), i.e. the

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miracle", a distinction over which only those do smile who are wanting in real religious experience. One may also remember his verse *har ke to-rā balā kasid,ān sadā mi-dān k'e'az balā rasid*. The sure proof that an inspiration comes from God and not from Satan, is that it has an elevating practical effect; it never depresses.

<sup>85</sup> I refer to works as e.g. that of P. Volz, *Das Damonische in Jahwe*, 1924; R. Scharf, *Die Gestalt des Satans im Alien Testament*, in Jung, *Symbolik des Geistes*, 1948. Frank-Duquesne is however perfectly right in noting (*op. cit.* pp. 303-305) that the idea which recent writers have given a scientific formulation, is not at all new, and he quotes many interesting precedents (forgetting however the rather important *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* by Blake.)

<sup>86</sup> The question of the dangerous resemblance between Divine and Diabolic, and that of the practical means for discriminating between them has occupied all mystics and religious minds. Rūmī's solution (cf. the above quoted articles) consists in the humble veneration for the Prophet-Saint, the Visible Master who preserves man from falling back into the undifferentiated Satanic; for Ghazālī (Ihyā,III,p.24) the "doors of the devils" are numerous whereas "the door of the angels" is only one and is mostly mistaken for those of the devils. The instrument that serves as a criterion, is the *Book of God* (the revealed prophetic Scripture and its Laws) and the heart (*qalb*) enlightened by piety (*taqwa*).

undifferentiated. The existence of a prophet bars radically the road to the undifferentiated and an undifferentiating *unio mystica* with God, to the *unio* understood as "eternal return". It is therefore the prophet, and his office as a prophet, that are Satan's worst enemy. On this point Iqbal improves the theory of who perhaps was not aware of the social and institutional value of the *nubuwwa* (prophethood) which he, as can be seen from various passages, seems to have brought very near, if not altogether confused, with the *wilāya* (sainthood). Instead, the two terms (*nubuwwa* and *wilāya*) are given by Iqbal as explicitly opposed in B 1 which is a piece of great importance for his idea of Satan. There Satan (Ahriman) specifies with great care those religious concepts which Iqbal considers as poles apart from one another:

(1) The concept of covenant (*mthāq*) and that of union (*wisāl*). The former concept is a characteristic element of the prophetic religions and in a certain sense Satan replaces it by the *wisāl* of mysticism. The *mthāq* is unthinkable without having a strong sense of the person of God. The very sense of it is a barrier against any possible undifferentiated mixture of the human with the divine. These two beings that enter into "covenant" with each other, are clearly distinct and gain in a certain sense equal dignity and value;

(2) *bar murād-as rāb caftan*: "going" i.e. acting "according to His will". The action of the believer as a soldier in God's service, is not individualistic and magical and so is in absolute opposition to that of the "true" Satanic;

(3) sociality. Satan like eremitic monachism, meditation dissociated from social action, the getting off from the earth as the earth, so to

speak, is made to fade into the state of the philosopher's stone از نگاهے

<sup>87</sup>(کیمیا کن خاک را). This absence of sociality in the satanic comes out plainly in Zoroaster's protest against Ahriman's words:

*Khalvat* as well as *jalvat* are both necessary for a complete religious life, but *Khalvat e ghāz-ast ū jalvat intihā-st*. "How beautiful, to walk in the caravan on the road of God, to pulsate like the soul through the veins of the world !"

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. H. Corbin, *Terre celeste et corps de resurrection d'apres quelques traditions iraniennes*, in *Eranos*, XXII (1953), pp. 97-194.

It is however useless to quote the innumerable passages from the theists whose involuntary religious inspiration is substantially pre-monotheistic and for whom the satanic is in the *mass*, in world, flesh and earth.<sup>88</sup>

(4) The concept that places *nubuwma* higher than *wilāya*. The prophet is the one who, having reached heaven (Iqbal in no way denies the mystical experience of the prophet: cf. *Lect.*, pp. 23, 125), does not disdain to descend to earth again, to take up social work, to found nations and communities, to give laws, to guide the beings — the individuals by now fully emerging from the matrice — towards a divine aim becoming steadily higher and more conscious, an aim for the future. The saint is the one who aspires to reabsorption in God (خبیز و در کاشانه وحدت نشین) Ahriman gives as advice to Zoroaster), who undergoes the sweet appeal of the primeval nest (an appeal which for Iqbal's radical theism is deeply satanic) rather than dedicate himself, as God's helper, to the building of quite different nests, to the conquering of quite different positions.<sup>89</sup> And finally, let us come to still another characteristic of Iqbal's and of the Islamic Satan: his being not correlated, or at least not essentially correlated, with concepts such as "flesh" and "death" which in Christianity<sup>90</sup> and in other prophetic religions<sup>91</sup> are almost naturally connected with Satan.

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<sup>88</sup> It may suffice to think of certain aspects of the Christian tradition more or less strongly imbibing gnosticism. It is interesting that some people, like the individualistic Kierkegaard, who are considered as forerunners of the rebirth of the orthodox biblicism, under-went deep gnostic influences, as Martin Buber has shown among other things in *Dialogisches Leben*, Zurich 1947. On the "Demonic" in Kierkegaard see E. Paci, "Ironia, Demoniaco ed Eros in Kierkegaard", in *Archivio di Filosofia*, Roma 1953 (II). To the ferocious tirades of Kierkegaard against the mass Iqbal replies with the well known *hadith*: "Satan is with him who is alone, but the hand of God is upon the Community."

<sup>89</sup> According to Iqbal (see one of his Urdu verses quoted in *The Concept of Time*, *op. cit.*, p. 177) the classical call for "giving up the world" to the Quranic believer must mean that he ought to thrust himself forward towards new worlds and to conquer them actively. It is in this sense that he paraphrases the famous tradition that there is no monachism in Islam. Monachism in Islam means "holy war".

<sup>90</sup> It may suffice to quote Paul's letter to the Romans. The whole classical Christian theology with its ideological link between sin-death-flesh-redemption is unintelligible for the convinced Muslim not so much for reasons of possible inconsistencies he would be able to discover from the point of view of logic (this is only the outside of certain polemics), but because instinctively he feels it to be too anthropomorphic; too great seems to him the

On the contrary it is precisely man's flesh that the Islamic Satan hates: according to a curious, but interesting tradition (from Talmudic sources), Iblis himself, as God's secretary and on his order (when he was still an angel) is supposed to have kneaded Adam's body. This body, it is said, remained flabby and lifeless for 40 days. Iblis then used to come prying about him, "to enter noisily through his mouth, to get out from his behind and to make fun of him in front of the Angels, saying: 'Don't be afraid of this fellow: he is hollow (*aghwaf*), while God is full (*samad*, solid, complete)."<sup>92</sup> Death too, not only as a part of God-willed natural order, has nothing satanic about it, neither for Islam nor for Iqbal. On the contrary Iqbal, inquiring deeper into concepts which are fundamentally Islamic, makes of it a thing of supreme goodness, a source of values. The death of a martyr is divine and glorious, the death of the (spiritually) weak, abject, useless and annihilating.<sup>93</sup> However death has in itself nothing demonic nor is it related to any idea of sin. Death is the inevitable consecration of that Iqbalian principle in which — contrary to all types of mysticism — "liberation from finitude is not the highest state of human bliss" (*Lect.* p. 117). It is good to die because being fully "achieved", determined as a personal being, and thus having the power of speaking with God, is better than being infinite, i.e., deprived of individual consciousness and become de-personalized. If there is anybody, it is precisely Satan who is *divine* (A 1 c, B 3), he who invites to *fīrāq* which is linked with the concept of death. Continuous negation, *sūkbtan-e n<sup>a</sup>-tamām* (A 1 d) on the

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importance attached to the sin of a poor man. Such importance appears prejudicial to the absolute liberty of God's will which the Muslim wants to safeguard at any cost.

<sup>91</sup> The dragon-serpent briefly discussed in foot-note 62 is generally connected with the realm of the dead.

Interesting in this respect is a Japanese myth (Kojiki, XXXVIII, 115) which says that in order not to die man should have married a horribly ugly woman. But he refused, and as a result men are "like flowers" and like flowers they die. Death is the wages one pays for doing or not doing something *ugly* (cf. "the wages of sin is death" of Paul).

One may also consult the material on the origin of Death given in the article 'Fall (Ethnic)' in *ERE*, V, p. 706 fl.

Cf. Badr ad-Din Abū `Abdallāh Muhammad b. Abdallāh ash-Shibli (d.769 H.), *Akām al-marjān fi ahkām al-jānn*, Cairo 1326 H., p. 197. On the meaning of the important term *smad* (Qur. CXII, 2) which here with all evidence means "solid" "compact", see other opinions as given in Rosenthal, *Some Minor Problems in the Qur'an*, New York 1953 (Reprint from the Joshua Starr Memorial Volume).<sup>92</sup>

<sup>93</sup> On the redeeming death of the Brave in Iqbal see Bausani, *The Concept of Time*, op. cit., pp. 173-177.

part of this Satan is an indispensable basic element of the Iqbalian theistic philosophy and figures clearly as good in the hierarchy of values.

In a certain sense even sin itself is not satanic. In one of his Iqbal studies, Fr. Courtois wonders how Iqbal would solve the problem of evil. His answer is that he does not solve it at all.<sup>94</sup> This may be said, but only if the contrast between good and evil is viewed as a contrast between heaven and earth, God and World. This however is not Iqbal's dualism, nor is it his hierarchy of values. If ever there is a contrast in Iqbal's thought, it is between Personal and Indistinct, Powerful and Weak, Heaven and Earth seen together as God's creation and Primordial Chaos, prophetically organised religious Society and individualistic anarchy and monachism. From this point of view also sin can be good, and source of good:

از گناه بنده صاحب جنون

95 کائنات تازه برون

Besides, Satan's disregard for the flesh is narrowly linked with his unsocial character. Basically he is like the member of a great religious community, who thinks he has understood the idea of the Superior better than others and knows better what ought to be done; for in his heart he despises the companions who are less intelligent than he is (i.e., the other angels, cf. A 1 b). In turn the Superior, even though he agrees with Satan in a certain sense (as Iqbal somehow admits in E 2), is obliged by his unintelligent inferiors to follow much more *terre a terre* ways and methods in the providential work of his *kehalq* and *amr*: this is why he creates Adam out of flabby flesh ("filthy clay"). The way a true religious being ought to follow,

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<sup>94</sup> Courtois, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 345. Any trace of a tragical "Dostojevskian" vision of evil and of the "Satanic" is indeed absent from Iqbal as well as from Islam as a whole. (I refer to visions as Stavrogin's confession in *Besy* and that of Hippolyt in the *Idiot*).

<sup>95</sup> "The sin of an ecstatic soul begets a younger universe". These words are laid in Jāv. into the mouth of the heretic heroine. *Tabira* in the firmament of Jupiter (Jāy., p. 144).

would have been the one actually leading to social asceticism, i.e., to the admission that historically and with regard to the actual level of reality of the First Creation, the best possible way was that shown by God, namely to become a fool with the fool, i.e., to understand the requirements of the earth and the flesh<sup>96</sup>, to understand (see A 1) that man's way of redemption passes through the flesh (cf. especially the last verse of the above mentioned poem).

In comparison Satan is also enemy of the earth. He belongs to the "race of fire". In Islam the controversy between Earth and Fire is fairly old and offers considerable historical and religious interest. Already in the days of the *zandaqa* and *shu'ubiyya*, some gave glory to the Fire above the Earth, supporting Iblīs in his act of negation. On the other hand it seems that the Semitic world (or rather the world of the monotheistic and prophetic religions) have given preference to the earth over the fire. Professor Mo'in, a Persian scholar of remarkable worth, thus writes on the fire in an excursus of his most valuable study on the influences of Mazdeism in Persian literature<sup>97</sup>: "After Islam had spread in Iran and the fire-temples were destroyed, the Fire little by little forfeited the respect and veneration it enjoyed among the Persians, although the enlightened intelligentsia of Iran and the partisans of ancient culture especially the *shu'ubiyya* and the protagonists of national awakening, always strove in various ways to kindle again the flame of national sentiment and to preserve a sense of veneration for the fire. In one of his *qasida* Bashshar ben Burd<sup>98</sup> gives preference to the Fire (holy to the Persians) over the Earth (which, instead, is venerated by the Muslims as it served to

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<sup>96</sup> Christianity goes still further in this direction, teaching the incarnation even of God himself. This conception is repugnant to Islam because of central affirmation of God's absolute freedom of will, which in the case of incarnation would be subjected to necessity. See Muhammad Mo'in, *Mazdayasnā va ta'siree ān dar adabiyat-e fārsi*, Tehran, 1326 solar (1948), (pp. 36, 623, XX). In my view this is one of the best achievements of the young generation of Persian scholars. Conducted with European scientific method and richly provided with analytical indices and registers of names etc., it would be worth while a translation or a broad summary in languages that can also be read by non-Iranologists. Prof. Corbin who rightly points out its remarkable value, has given of it a summary in French by way of an introduction of about 30 pages. The passage here translated is from pp. 408 fl.

<sup>97</sup>

<sup>98</sup> The well known "free-thinker" and devoted panegyrist of caliph alMandi, executed in 783-784 A.C. on the charge of heresy.



build the Islamic *Ka'ba*. God also used it to knead Adam's body) and declared Iblis (made of Fire) higher than Adam (made of Earth):

Earth is dark and Fire shining

And Fire was worshipped ever since it existed.<sup>99</sup>

Satan is better than your father Adam:

Wake up, you throng of wicked!

Satan is of fire and Adam of mud

And the Earth will never rise to the loftiness of the Fire!

In his *Shālināma*, Firdausī also calls fire which represents divine splendour, 'the *qibla* of the Persians', and earth and stone 'the *qibla* of the Arabs.'<sup>100</sup>

Elsewhere Firdausi considers Fire as the first element of creation, from which the earth came forth (the elements appear in this order: warm-dry-cold-humid). This attitude of Firdausī contrasts with Asadī's<sup>101</sup> curiously energetic plea in favour of the Earth (which implies that the controversy must have been rather lively). At the beginning of the *Garshāsp-nāma* (ed. Yaghma, Tehran, p. 7 fl.) Asadī displays a wealth of arguments on the relative excellence of the elements. In brief they come **to this**: it seems evident to the poet that as instruments and forms created by God, all four basic elements are worthy of praise, but whoever takes guidance from sound reason (*kebirad*) must admit that the most praiseworthy is the Earth. God's grace takes its way

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<sup>99</sup> Interesting idea that the monotheistic *Weltanschauung* is a "novelty", something stranger and intrusive that breaks into a "tradition".

<sup>100</sup> Mo'in, *op. cit.*, p. 40, where the Persian text of Firdausi is given and mention made of a similar contrast in the *Shāhnāma*, but now with regard to Christians.

<sup>101</sup> It is the younger Asadī (CAR Asadī) who completed his poem *Garshāsp-Nama* in 1016 A. C. and also composed the well known dictionary *Lughat i Furs*. He should not be mistaken for Abū Nasr Ahmad Asadi, his father and master of Firdausi. (Cf. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 272 fl.)

from heaven, but the earth is the gate to which the way leads; it is in the shade of the earth upon the sun that the sky's innumerable stars are seen shining; on earth all great men and prophets have lived where they brought their Sacred Books and delivered their message; the earth is like a loving mother, its vegetation are her breasts; the earth is man's place of repose, God's house (the *ka'ba*) itself is made of earth. It is also the *qibla* of the angels since they were ordered by God to worship Adam made of earth. It is from the mines of the earth that man raises the precious stones; the earth is the animals' refuge. It harbours the living and the dead. In patience it endures every burden. It is the place which, in the act of canonical bowing, man touches with his head. The stars themselves, while turning round the earth, offer it worship; and it is the place where the other three elements are found. It is not greedy and lets nothing perish: deposit one seed only in its bosom and it will give you back a thousand; it is like a horn of plenty; it is Muhammad's *qibla* (the *Ka'ba*) from which one's gaze should never be turned. What does it matter if the sorcerer is attracted by the Fire? Iblīs was made from fire, and Adam from earth. This alone would be sufficient proof that the one is superior to the other.<sup>102</sup>

It is interesting to compare these arguments in favour of the earth with those given (on the basis of traditions of various ages) by the author of the curious little book (which we have already cited) *Akām al-marjān fi abkām al-jān* (pp. 158 fl.). His claim is that Satan, however distinguished and sagacious a logician he may be held by certain people, nevertheless failed from a rational point of view, when he spoke the famous *kbālaqtani min nār*, etc., because for 15 reasons of "sound logic" the earth is superior to the fire. The reasons are as follows: (1) unlike the earth, fire by nature dissolves and destroys all it touches; (2) the nature of fire is thinness, mobility, acuteness while the nature of earth is peace and quiet; (3) from the earth, Providence takes the food (*arzāq*) of animals and men, their ornaments, their tools, their houses: nothing of all this is found in the fire; (4) earth is needed for life, but not fire which can be done without; (5) any food entrusted to the earth is

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<sup>102</sup> Further on in this poem (pp. 134-139) Asadī puts into the mouth of a Brahmin in discussion with Garshāsp an account of the creation of the world which begins with heat and fire, and then, almost as an apology, he states another theory, that of the "Greek philosophers" which is nearer to the Islamic concept and in which at least the air is better than the fire.

given back twofold and more whereas fire destroys it; (6) fire is not *qā'im binafsi-hā*, needs a place where it can burn, but the earth needs no support (*hāmīl*); (7) the satanic flames flash up here and there just as the winds blow, while Adam's earth is solid. The wind hardly moves it from its position and then returns to the Lord who "chose it and relented towards it" (Qur. XX. 122); (8) the *hawā'*<sup>103</sup> which was blowing on the Adamic earth, was accidental and soon dropped whereas the earth was solid (*raḥāna*) from the beginning (*asli*). The substance of Iblīs was the opposite: each one returned to what he was at the origin, Adam to good, Satan to evil; (9) the fire, even if it is good for something, always harbours evil whereas the earth harbours good and blessings; (10) in the sacred Scriptures (the Qur'ān) God often speaks of the earth, and invites one to meditate upon its usefulness, etc. On the contrary he mentions fire only when he wants to speak of punishment, terror and torture; (11) in the Qur'ān God explicitly gives his blessing to the earth; (12) it is on the earth that God has erected his temples (*buyūt*), in particular the *Ka'ba*. This alone would suffice to establish its superiority over the fire; (13) God has placed on the earth such a variety of products, jewels, animals, etc. as he has not placed in the fire; (14) fire behaves as the *servant* of all things that are on earth; (15) the Accursed One has only seen the exterior form (cf. Rūmī, *op. cit.*) of the clay, but not its end (*nihāya*). Thus even on the absurd assumption that Fire was better than Earth, it would not follow that what is *created* from fire is better than clay, for God can create from everything. He can create from inferior matter a better thing than that created from superior matter. What therefore is of importance, is to consider the *kamāl an-nihāya*, not the *naqs al-mādda*. But Satan's realization has not gone thus far.

Taking altogether, this last argument is the essential one. One could scarcely express more clearly, more synthetically, what makes the essential difference between the creationist mentality of Islam and that of any other pre-monotheistic religion. The true value resides not in the original matter, but in the creative intention of the personal God. The hierarchy of values is not one given by nature, but results from creation, in view of an end. In Iqbal who certainly must know this controversy between fire and earth, the fire

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<sup>103</sup> Cf. the demon as *exusia tat aëros* in the Christian gnosis. In the esoteric doctrines the air represents and symbolizes the "lower level of the mind". The double meaning of the Arabic root *hawā'* and *hawā'* ("passion" and "air") suggests this assimilation.

appears as nobler than the earth almost "by nature" (A 1 e, C 2, E 1, E 2 etc.) and the superiority of the earth over it appears clearly as paradoxical (A 1 e). The fire even seems to be the proper characteristic of that Satan whom previously we have called the Divine Satan, whereas "satans of dust" is the name given to the degrading satans, the counsellors of non-resistance, the "true satans" of theism (cf. E 1). The complete man who has reached the stage of the *iliā* is also of "fiery extraction" (ibid.). The contradiction which develops between the images of the dual Satan, the one Active (Divine) and the other Passive (Satanic) seems to find a solution in the important final verse of *Taskbir-i fitrat*, inadequately interpreted by Khayal. "The flame-born Ahriman doth prostration unto dust"! It must be read in the light of *Jāvednāma* (B 3): "When I deny I but affirm and what I say is better than what I withhold . . . O man, release me from my flame and straighten up my knot-ted task." The fire has given to the earth a special "translucency", its external denial was needed for a "redemption of the earth."<sup>104</sup> We are here in a dialectic of images which perhaps cannot be understood without remembering the ancient Mazdaic tradition in which the earth itself is divided into its archangelic image (*zām*) and its reality as brute matter (*zamik*). To put it in Mazdaic terms, Adam, as regards his outer appearance, is created from *zamik*, but hidden in his *zamik* there is that *zām* which will be his "body of resurrection" once it has become transparent and *mēnōk* under the action of a purifying energy which is (the) *x'arena* i.e., fire. Once again: Iqbal's philosophizing imagery takes us back, through very thin, but historically easily discernible threads, to that Mazdaic religiosity which has so much influenced Islam in all its forms, orthodox and

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84. <sup>104</sup> On these aspects of the "earth" see the fascinating and learned considerations that form the core of Corbin's precious article (quoted above). In one of his interesting poems, the Turkish mystical poet Yonus Emre (I want to thank my friend Prof. A. Bombaci for having brought it to my knowledge) says this on the subject of the "earth":

. . . No clouds do ever darken the light of my Moon,

Never does its fulness disappear;

*From the earth* its light is poured on the sky.

*On the earth* have I discovered my Moon, why should I seek in the sky.. ?

*On the earth* I must prostrate my face,

*From the earth* is mercy showering on me!

(Text in Yunus Emre, ed. by A. Golpinanlı 2289) The supremacy of the earth takes here the meaning of the Saint, the Spiritual Guide rising from the earth and exercising his mission on the earth. (The "Moon" by Rūmi is called 'Ali.)

heterodox.<sup>105</sup> For Iqbal, at any rate, any superiority proves erroneous, be it that of the earth or that of the fire. He substantially agrees with the above quoted booklet of as-Shiblī and considers the true superiority to belong to the *act* of God whom fire and earth serve as his instruments. Besides Adam and Satan are dialectically brought still closer in a beautiful verse of Iqbal's *Armagān* (E 2):

بغیر از جان ما سوزمے کجا بود

ترا از آتش ما آفریدند

With't our Soul, when was there any fervour?

They created thee from our fire.<sup>106</sup>

In the same short poem Satan takes on the garment "of the one who carries man's sin" garbing himself thus as a redeemer (see note there). The final quatrain exalts that constructive civilisation based on logic and

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seems to

<sup>105</sup> Duchesne-Guillemin in his already cited *Ormazd et Abriman*

exaggerate in his attempt to minimize the importance of the Iranian influence on the Greek as well as the Hebraic, Christian and Islamic culture. Even though a proper discussion is here out of place, let us nonetheless note that apart from the *Hārūt* and *Mārūt* legend (but its identification by Dumezil with *Harvatāt* and *Amrtāt* is far from being approved unanimously by the islamists) and the two other points of detail quoted on p. 150, the Islamic tradition and the Qur'ān itself seem to have taken something more from Mazdaism. (The very pre-historic covenant between God and future men, and the "choice" they take (see Qur. VII, 172) seem clearly to derive from the well known "choice" of the *fravashi* spoken of in *Bundahishn*, II, 10-11).

<sup>106</sup> See foot-note 31. On the other hand one can quote a verse of Iqbal in which man takes on a particularly striking attitude of "praiseworthy rebellion" after the manner of Iblis:

I am servant, it it true, and seek for no other pleasure (*riẓā*) than Yours,

And I go no other Way than the one ordered by you,

But if you should enjoin this ignorant man:

'Say that an ass is a horse of purest race', I never would obey !

(*Armaghan*, p. 10)

technique which Iqbal seems only to deplore when he sees the Europeans build it up.<sup>107</sup>

Iqbal's (passive) Satan is thus also pro-European, but only in this sense that he takes advantage of Europe in order to lull the Orient and especially Islam to sleep.

It is no wonder that Iqbal connects the Europeanizing, narcotic Satan with the intellect.<sup>108</sup> But this has not to be taken in the extremist Christian sense of a Chestov. To understand Iqbal's anti-intellectualism one must remember, I believe, this important statement from the *Lectures* (p. 58): "The result of an intellectual view of life is necessarily pantheistic"; it is therefore a Satanic result; it tends to dissolve the individualities in an abstract undifferentiated Cosmos. The divine Satan, instead, represents *juda'i*, *firaq* (separation), he therefore is anti-pantheist par excellence, and therefore still a master in *'ishq* (love). (In *Jāy.*, B 3, Hallāj calls him "more advanced than we in the art of love"). This love is unthinkable without the separation of the two lovers and their autonomous individuality. *Ishq* as an insight that sees — beyond the *masnū* — God's personal sun<sup>109</sup> rather than the abstract *essence* of things, does not lead to pantheism, but to parsonalism. The Iqbalian *'ishq* is thus *amor* in the sense of a super-intellect, not in the sense of an infra-intellect. It is the *'ishq-less*, purely logical Satan who is the first advocate of predestination (D 1). Fatalism, absolute Logic and pantheism are for Iqbal to some extent equivalent.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> See foot-note 26 and 28. It should however be borne in mind that Iqbal's way of arguing in the passage where he condemns "freedom of thought" can also be of value: "not every heart," he says, "is the seat of an Angel Gabriel; not every thought is fit for hunting the Bird of Paradise." In other words, the world gets its light only from thoughts *coming from God, centred in God*, not from the indiscriminate confusion of selfish thoughts of this or that. Once again, Iqbal stands for a theoretic- prophetic conception (not "monarchic and dictatorial") against the vague humanism of those who are separated from the Source; the motivation of his anti-liberal criticism is therefore deeply religious, not political.

<sup>108</sup> In a letter to Saiyidain, quoted in his *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* Lahore 1945 (IV ed.), p. 136, he even declares explicitly: "the intellect is satanic".

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawi*, III, 1360 fl.

<sup>110</sup> Of Iqbal's ideas about fatalism and freedom of will, see my *Concept o, Time*, pp. 170-173. Besides, the Islamic tradition has it also that Satan was the first to use *qiyās* in the famous

Our description of Satan's image in the poetical and philosophical work of Iqbal leads us to try also an approach to the "problem of evil" which in the *Lect.* (p. 76) Iqbal rightly calls the "crux of theism". I would add that it is "the crux of theism" not only in the well known meaning of (*Lect.* 76): "How is it then possible to reconcile the goodness and omnipotence of God with the immense volume of evil in His creation?" but also in a deeper sense which Iqbal often skims over in his work without giving a definite expression, even though he points quite clearly to the problem's solution, — the consequences of which perhaps frighten him. I mean to say that once it is granted that God is persons!, or even, as Iqbal declares explicitly, "limited" (*Lect.* 79/80) precisely because he is *living*, it is unavoidable to suppose in him an element of what we call "evil". That this is not merely the outcome of a mental exercise, the abstract logical consequence of the theistic position, but arises as a historical certitude from the very texts of the great monotheistic religions, has been set forth with brilliancy in Miss Scharf's interesting study on *Die Gestalt des Satans im Alten Testament*.<sup>111</sup> Her principal conclusion is that the genuine God of the Old Testament, with his attributes of power and bounty, undergoes a process of dissociation in the course of which he finally loses the attributes of power which, at a certain period at least, were felt as derogatory to divinity, etc. This dissociation culminates particularly in the New Testament where a part of what God was before, is detached from him, and where the Devil who in the Old Testament enjoyed a very relative autonomy and was not more than one of God's servants, become what the psychologists call an "autonomous complex" and reigns as "the Prince of this world". In the same process God becomes a loving Father to such a degree that in the average *pietas* of the Christian commoners his image takes on "the features of a kindly grandmother rather than those of a father."<sup>112</sup> Besides, already the Old Testament contains a few texts where the beginning of the split can be seen with great clarity: it suffices to compare e.g. II Sam. XXIV, 1: "Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he incited David against them, saying: Go, number Israel and Judah!" with the later

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sentence *khalaqtani min nay* etc. He is therefore the first "logician". (Cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. *Kiyas* and *Shiblī*, *op. cit.*, p. 174).

<sup>111</sup> *Op. cit.* in foot-note 67.

<sup>112</sup> The witty point is of Reinhold Niebuhr, one of the best noted Protestant theologians with a fairly orthodox outlook (cit. in Werblowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

account of the same event in Chron, XXI, 1: "Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to number Israel."<sup>113</sup>

In comparison, Islam, as is well known, has maintained a remarkable fidelity to the ancient concept of God as also 'powerful'. An interesting episode related by Browne<sup>114</sup> shows how in the sphere of Islam God's bivalent nature (powerful and bounteous) is also consciously felt as a more adequate notion than is the case in other religions, where, as in Christianity, stress is merely laid on God's bounty. A sharp mind (and particularly an advocate of such an absolute theism) as Iqbal's was, could of course not remain unaware of how this amounted, from a human point of view, to the negation of a good and of an evil, both abstract and absolute, and to the insertion of the thorn of evil into the very heart of the Living God. That Iqbal was conscious of all this, i.e. that a certain type of Satan represented the demonic element in God, is quite clear from this verse of his short poem *Pas the bāyad kard ai aqwām-i sharg*; especially if such a verse is compared with those in which Iqbal makes Satan the representative of the *lā* against the *illā*<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> One may add still this curious fact noted by Frank-Duquesne (*op. cit.* p. 251): *sar bā- 'olām* which in the Talmud (Yebhamoth 16 B) is "the Angel of Yahwe" of Ex. XXIII, 20 and which is identified by Philo with the Logos, is on the contrary Satan in the Christian tradition (cf. II Cor., IV. 4; John XII, 31), and in the reported passage of St. Paul even "the God of this world".

It is of interest that in a tradition reported by Shiblī (*op. cit.*, p. 214) Jesus is looking at Iblis and says: "this is the *arkūn* of the world" etc. Perhaps the Greek term is here kept for the sake of this lesser clarity so as not to hurt the Islamic conscience by attributing such vast power to Satan.

<sup>114</sup> In *A Year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, p. 144, the discussion between Browne and some Bā bīs runs thus: "They seemed — writes Browne — to have no conception of Absolute Good or Absolute Truth: to them Good was merely what God chose to ordain, and Truth what he chose to reveal, so that they could not understand how anyone could attempt to test the truth of a religion by an abstract ethical or moral standard. God's attributes, according to their belief, were two. fold--"Attributes of Grace" (*Sifāt-i Jamal* or *LW*), and "Attributes of Wrath" (*Sifāt-i Jalal* or *Qabr*): both were equally divine and in some dispensations (as the Christian and Bābī) the former, in some (as the Mosaic and the Muhammedan) the latter predominated."

<sup>115</sup> See foot-note 30. The short poem has a casual and political character and has not been translated into European languages.



نکتہ میگویم از مردان حال

امتان را لا جلال الا جمال

If Satan is the representative of the 1ā<sup>116</sup>, he is, as a consequence, also representing the attributes of jalāl (power, force, etc.) in God, i.e. that "Dāmonische in Jahwe" which has been studied so many times in Europe.<sup>117</sup>

Nor could evil be more clearly attributed to God than as Iqbal does in the following verse:

روز حساب جب مرا پیش ہو دفتر عمل

آپ بھی شرمسار ہو مجھ کو بھی شرمسار کر<sup>118</sup>

But for various reasons it is Iqbal as a *poet* who reaches these penetrating insights which seem to be withheld from him as a thinker (e.g. *Lect.* p. 80: "no doubt wrong-doing is confined to man only"). Against the Manichean solution of the problem of evil through dualism, or that of Hinduism through renunciation (escaping from world-evil-māyā), or that of Christianity through moralism (originalism), Iqbal chooses a solution which he himself calls "meliorism" (*Lett.* p. 81) and which is based on the concept of the perfectibility of the universe of *Dasein*, of the non-finiteness of creation (cf. Qur. XXXV, 1), of the "growing universe". In one of his poems, man, in a dialogue with God, says: "Hundreds of worlds are bursting into bloom from the fields of our thought, and you have made only *one* world, a world stained with desire and blood! Lay now the new foundations of a more serious world, for we have grown serious now: what then is this amazing gallery of

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<sup>116</sup> See foot-note 30.

<sup>117</sup> See foot-note 67.

<sup>118</sup> "On the Day of the last Accounts, when the book of my deeds will be opened before me, disgrace me, God, yea, but disgrace also Thyself!"

days and nights, of present, past and future"?<sup>119</sup> And in Bā/ God accepts the criticisms of the Angels (and of Lenin ! "Oh Eternal Painter! your work is still unfinished") and issues orders for the completion of his first creation. In *Armaghān* (p. 22) man, in a beautiful dialogue<sup>120</sup> with God, addresses thus the Creator: "Now make this world eternal (Satanic temptation!). Don't you see how magnificently we who were born from earth, have adorned this globe of dust?" In reality, Iqbal says, there exists, already prepared in the heart of this world, another world, God's recent work (ibid., 72): "In this world there is a paradise in full bloom, and the tears we shed are like pearls of dew hanging at its branches. But still it is motionless and without life, — waiting for an Adam!"

Iqbal's most intimate thought on the problem of evil in the world could perhaps be summed up in this way: "The world as it is, certainly contains evil, plenty of it, and, to speak frankly, this is also God's fault. To deny this to him would almost give offence to His power. But he is not because of this an evil God, the wicked Demiurge of the Manicheans. Good and evil are such in relation to man: the present world is a *first exercise* in God's creation. As he is a living God, he has other worlds in preparation in his creative consciousness, worlds ever more beautiful and mighty, in the achievement of a plan which to us on the whole remains unknown. Thorns and roses both help to give perfection to the ever growing tree of the cosmos which divine impulse drives forward. On looking back with a longing for returns, one sees the evil as well as the good, and one blames God for it, the youthful God of the first creation. It is when looking forward that one catches a glimpse of the ever more beautiful splendours of God's evolving plan":

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<sup>119</sup> Translated in my article: "Sette poesie inedite di Muhammad Iqbal". in *Il Punto nelle Lettere e nelle Ara*, Rome, II, 3, 1953, p. 18. In a brilliant essay in novel form on Noah (in *Montaggio*, II, 3-4, 1954) M. Brelich has poetically developed his excellent intuition of the value of what collaboration between God and man in absolute theism means. His sentence: "Noah remained dear to the Lord, because he suggested to him ideas as to how ably to modify the original plan without destroying it" (p. 63) sounds like an echo to Iqbalean passages as this: "If your heart is bleeding for a Destiny, then ask God to order for your another one" (*Jav.*, p. 101 of the translation) and others like this.

<sup>120</sup> The "dialogue" with God is not only a theoretical principle repeatedly asserted by Iqbal but is very often also used by him as a literary genre.

Summing up what precedes, it can be said that in Iqbal's Satan there is a confluence--if not in his philosophy, at least in his poetry — of the following elements:

(1) the Greek element of Prometheus",<sup>122</sup> of action and "technique" as "hybris", seen through the filter of Milton's work which Iqbal knew well;

(2) the ancient Hebrew and the genuine Islamic element of Satan as God's instrument and intendant, which Iqbal drew from his traditional Islamic education;

(3) the Christian and gnostic element of Satan as the positively evil power, which comes from ancient Iran. Iqbal took it from those elements that are found in Milton, and also from readings he made of New Testament and Zoroastrian texts (we already mentioned his knowledge of the Avesta and of the main tenets of Mazdaism);

(4) a personal development of Iqbal of the concept that in the Hebraic-Islamic God there is an element of what Christianity calls "satanic". This concept is also implicitly found with authors of the Islamic mystical tradition, (cf. certain passages from Ghazālī, Rūmī and others), but it could not have taken on sufficiently explicit and "modern" forms in Iqbal's consciousness without the influence of the post-Kantian idealism (especially Fichte)<sup>123</sup> which he had studied in Europe;

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<sup>121</sup> "Thorns and roses can be *seen* upon the branch, but on its inside there **is** neither rose nor thorn!"

<sup>122</sup> A noteworthy recent interpretation of the Promethean myth is found in Kerenyi, *Miti e Misteri* (Ital. ed.), Turin 1950, pp. 179-262.

<sup>123</sup> In a yet unpublished doctoral thesis of the Roman Antonianum on, Iqbal's philosophy, the Pakistani Franciscan Father Augustin Fernandes has tried to point out a few immanent Fichtean aspects of Iqbal's philosophy which are usually neglected by the Muslim scholars. In order to establish the exact role of these immanent elements which are (as shown by me in *Concept of Time*, foot-note 4 on p. 168) in a striking contrast with Iqbal's theism — which in my view appears far more characteristic —, it would be necessary to study thoroughly the God-World relationship in his "poetical" works.

(5) a further Pragmatic-political development, typically Iqbalian, of Satan as "opium of the people"<sup>124</sup>, which is logically deducible as the true opponent of the Complete God (Power+Love, Satan + God) of the Biblical and Islamic theism. This development on the one hand feeds on anti-European and anti-mystical polemical motive, and on the other springs from profound meditations on the metaphysical consequences of the Islamic God as personal. To these meditations the writings of certain irrational Protestant theologians which Iqbal had read in Europe, must also have added their contribution.<sup>125</sup>

To have attempted an elucidation of these elements by showing their historical connections and their fusion in the interesting metaphysical and poetical world of a modern Islamic personality belonging to two cultures, — one of the few who have studied and remarkably well penetrated European thought — seems not to be purposeless, even from a practical point of view: it indeed endeavours to serve a wider and deeper exploration of those areas between various *Weltanschauungen* which in our dwindling world are growing every day more varied and frequent.

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<sup>124</sup> It is of interest to notice that Plato, whom with some over-simplification, Iqbal makes the great master of the mystical world, in *Asrār* (pp. 34 ff.) is declared head and guide of the "sheep" and opium of the nations etc. He therefore is substantially "satanic". Considering that Plato has also recently been called "the philosopher of the primitive mentality" (cf. M. Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 64), it is undeniable that the intuition of Iqbal, whose aversion in particular towards that type of mentality has been exposed above, is psychologically correct — leaving its historical exactitude out of consideration.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Courtois, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

# ILLUMINATION OF THE SPIRIT

by

*Mir Waliuddin*<sup>126</sup>

In the terminology of the Sufis the term *tajliia-i-Rub*, or, the Illumination of the Spirit, means the filling of the human spirit with the effulgence of the Vision of God, and the fervour of His love. Before we proceed to elucidate this subject, let us first consider the problem of the quiddity, or, nature of the Spirit.

For the gnosis of the human spirit, first, we must see what the Qur'ān has to say about it. According to the Qur'ān, the human spirit is an *Amr* or "Command of the Lord" (XVII: 85). Traditions report that the Prophet of Islam was asked whether the spirit was created by God, or, it is an eternal being. He replied that the spirit is a created and originated being. As the word *amr* also signifies 'action', it may mean that the spirit is an "act of the Lord," that is to say, is created and thus contingent (hādith), originated and non-eternal.

This is how the above verse is interpreted by Sayyid Murtūdhaa in his famous book entitled *Dūrar-i-ghūrar*. Among the ancient philosophers, Plato believes that "the soul resembles what is divine, simple and indissoluble and possesses consequently the same qualities" (*Phaedo*). "She is drawn of herself to what is pure, eternal and immortal and, being of the same nature cleaves there unto" (*Ibid.*). Thus, Plato taught not only the immortality of the soul, but its eternity also. But, none among the Muslims believes in the eternity of the soul, for, according to them, the only eternal being is God and none else besides Him.

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<sup>126</sup> Mir Waliuddin, formerly head of the Department of Philosophy, Osmania University, Hyderabad, is a well known scholar of Islamic mysticism

The verse under consideration is also interpreted to mean that the spirit is an abstract (*majarrad*) entity. "My Lord's Command" is taken to mean that it belongs to the, "World of command" ('Ālam-i-amr) and Everlastingness (baqā) and not to the World of creation and extinction ('*Ālam-i-Khalq wa fanā*). The World of Command is also named as (*Ālam-i-ghayb*, or the Invisible world, "*Ālam'l-ākhirat*," or, the world of the hereafter. It is said in the Qurān (VII. 54): "His verily is all creation (*kehalq*) and command (*amr*)." This means that the corporeal and spiritual worlds are both created by God. In the terminology of the Sufis, the world of command' is created by God, but not from matter and is not in time. It was brought into existence by God directly, by His word of command "Be"; while the 'world of creation' is fashioned from something already existing and is in time and space. Therefore, the meaning of "Say, the spirit is my Lord's Command", seems to be that the spirit belongs to the World of command which has come into existence by the command of God and is incorporeal and non-temporal. It follows that, the spirit is an abstract substance. In the terminology of the philosophers, an "abstract substance" is defined as an entity that is neither the locus of any substance, nor does it inhere in any substance nor is it composed of any such substances.

A great majority of the learned Sunnite 'Ulamā is against this view. They deny the existence of abstract entities in this originated world. According to their belief, God alone is abstract and none else besides Him. Most of the Shiā ūlamā also hold the same view. For example, Sayyid Ne'matūllah Jazairī, the author of *Anwār-i-Nu'māniya* and Mukiadith Mujlisī belong to this school of thought. Fakhr-ud-Dīn al-Rāzī is also a staunch supporter of this view. In *Sharah-i-Ishārāt* he has refuted the philosophers' view (that the rational soul is abstract) with cogent arguments. And in his *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr* (the great commentary of the Qur'ān) he has attempted to prove that the spirit is a heavenly body composed of a subtle and light substance.

In our view, there is no valid argument against the existence of abstract entities. But the belief in the eternity (*qidam*) of any abstract entity is certainly false, both from reason and authority (*fides implicita*). The argument advanced to refute the abstractness of the spirit is that

abstractness (*tajjurrud*) is a special attribute of God, and therefore, none else can partake of it. But, the truth is that the special attributes of God are self-subsistence (*wujūb-bi-Dhāt*) and absolute eternality (*qidam-i-mīlay*). Now, if one believes in an abstract entity that is contingent, temporal and non-eternal there can be no objection to this belief.

Consequently, there are not a few Sunni 'ulamā like Ghazālī, Dawwānī, Rāghib of Isfahān and the Shiites, like 'Tao, Shaykh Ajal Mūfid, Shaykh Ibn Bābwaih, Kalini' and Sayyid Mūrtudha and even, as recently as the days of Mīr Damād and Sadr-ud-Dīn Shīrūzī, and, among the early M'utazalities, M'uummar-b-Ibād Salmī and many dialectecians (*mūtakallamīn*) all have held that human spirit is a substance that is free from all matter, but, it works in material environment and that is the reason why it is related to a body. But it is related to a body to the extent that it manages and controls it. By itself, it belongs to the invisible world, or, the world of command and not to the visible world, or the world of creation; it is neither rational nor sensuous, is neither in the body nor outside the body; it is neither joined to the body, nor, separated from it. It has the same relation to the body as God has with the Cosmos.

Most of the Sufis and the Illuminati (*Isbyāqin*) also hold that, spirit is an abstract entity. Shaykh-al-Ischrāq, in his book *Hiākal i-Nūr* expresses astonishment as to "how this holy entity (i.e., the spirit) has been regarded as a body!" He says, "When it goes in ecstasy, it seems that it will leave the world of material bodies and soar towards an infinite world...Were you merely a body, or, a part of it, your ego would have changed all the time and there would have been no continuity in the perceiving self." What the Shaykh means is that the body (and its parts) are in constant change from their very birth and this process goes on incessantly till death ; and, yet the ego, the subject, remains identical with itself. As Kant has, in recent times, argued, we are conscious of the identity that holds between our experiences. The consciousness of the identity of the present with the past, is in truth, the essence of recognition. Kant lays stress upon this "Synthesis of recognition", as he calls it. We have, as he points out, the "consciousness that what we think is the same as that which we thought a minute ago." Thus, consciousness of identity is really the consciousness of the one and identical self and indicates the spiritual nature of the soul.

The Ishrāqia believe that the soul is eternal or without beginning. The Sufis, on the other hand, believe that the soul is originated or created and contingent. According to the Peripatetic school (*Mushāiah*), when the *sperma hominis* attains the highest reach of its capability, it is endowed with the soul by the Supreme Being. This may have some affinity with what has been said in the Qur'an (XV. 29): "I breathed into him of My spirit." An attempt has been made to reconcile the points of view of the Illuminati, the Peripatetics and the Sufis. The Supreme Being may be regarded to have the same relation with the individual souls or spirits as, for example, the cloud has with the drops of rain. If we call the cloud eternal, we also have to call the drops eternal for, the cloud is the quintessence of the drops. And the drops may also be regarded as originated (*hādith*), for they assume their form when they are separated from the cloud and not before. There is no doubt that the Supreme Being is eternal and, hence the souls or selves are also eternal in one sense, but, they are also originated in another sense, as they have limited forms and are determined.

As we have stated above, the Sufis believe that the spirit is an abstract non-spatial substance and has been originated before the creation of the body. Sufis of the Naqshbandiyya Order regard the *Latā'if* above the *Arsh* (the throne). This does not mean that the spirit resides above the Divine Throne ; it merely indicates that the spirit is non-spatial. As the *Arsh* is the furthest end of all spatial bodies and the spirit is non-spatial, it was said to be above the *Arsh* !

What the philosophers call "rational self" and "animal soul" the Sufis call the 'spirit' (*rūh*) and 'self' (*nafs* .) Kāshi explains these terms thus: "The spirit in the terminology of the Sufis, is a human *latifa* and is an abstract entity; and in the terminology of the philosophers, it is a fine vapour which arises in the heart. It has the potentiality to receive life, sensibility, and heat; and this they have called *Nafs* (self). The one that occupies the middle stage between spirit and the self having consciousness of universals and particulars is called the *Qalb* or the heart. Philosophers have made no distinction between the heart and the human spirit and have called them both the rational self (*Nafs-i-nātiqa*)."



Sayyid Sharīf Jūrjānī has elaborated in his book *Tā'rifāt* thus: "The human spirit is a human *latīfa* which knows and perceives and is borne by the animal soul. It has descended from the world of command. The intellect is incapable of knowing its essential nature, and this spirit is sometimes abstract and apart and sometimes it enters into a body."<sup>127</sup> And this is how he defines the 'Great Spirit' (or *ar-Rūb-al-Āẓam*): "The Great Spirit is what is called the human spirit. It is a manifestation of the Essence of God, and an expression of His aspect of Care and Providence (*rūbūbiya*). That is why nobody can acquire its gnosis. It will remain an arcane secret. God alone knows it."<sup>128</sup> Qaisarī has said: "The rational self (the spirit) is immanent in the body in the same way as the Absolute Reality is immanent in all beings. In one sense, it is other than the body." Maulanā 'Abd'l 'Alī in his *Shara-i-Mthnawī* says:

"The human spirit is a divine *latīfa* or a particular mode of it, without matter, in the form of the animal soul, or, you may put it this way, that the animal soul serves as a mount or conveyance for the human spirit. The human spirit has the same relation to the animal soul as the determinations have to the Absolute Essence. Though the human spirit in the absolute world has knowledge of things and is totally free from pleasure and pain, yet when it assumes a determinate form, it becomes the animal soul, and in this form it is stripped of all knowledge and is attributed with pain and pleasure. It acquires knowledge through reason, as it has the innate capacity to gain knowledge. At the time of death this soul leaves the body and assumes a similitudinary body and with this body it is questioned in the grave . . ."

Ghazlī says that, the human body is like a lamp, the human heart, like the wick, the animal soul, like the fire, and the human spirit like the light. The only difference is that the light of a lamp depends on fire, but the human spirit does not depend on the animal soul. The human spirit is the real thing and the animal soul depends on it. It is like a lamp lit from the lights of the unseen Domain. From this example, it may be understood that God has attributed certain things with a quality that when a reflection of

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<sup>127</sup> Ash-Sharif al-Jūrjānī, al *Tā'rifāt*

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

opposite things falls on them, it assumes a definite shape in them. So also, the animal soul is gifted with the attribute that when the lights of the Unseen world cast their reflections on it, it become luminous and assumes a new form. Now this reflection, together with that part of the animal soul on which the reflection has fallen, is called the human spirit. When this new form is established, the animal soul (which is a name for the vapours issuing from the fine humours of the human body), becomes a mount for the human spirit. The body is mortal, but as the lights of the Unseen are eternal, their reflection will necessarily also be eternal and, hence, the human spirit is also without end (*abadi*). It has a permanent, constant relation with its Source. As the ray of the sun has a perpetual relation with the sun, and, as, after the demolition of a house, the reflection of the sun still persists, so also, after the annihilation of the body or of the animal soul, the human spirit is not annihilated, it still persists and endures. It has some connection with the external world as it contains an element of the animal soul within it. Therefore, after the extinction of the body, the human spirit survives in a similitudinary world (which is between the world of the spirit and the world of the bodies).

"The spirit comes in the external world with an aptitude to acquire knowledge. If it acquires discursive knowledge alone, i.e., knowledge proceeding from argument or reason only, and not intuitive, it remains imperfect. But, if, by austerity and self-discipline, it purifies itself so much that it acquires a direct perception of God ('ilm-i-shahūdi), it becomes perfect . . . ." <sup>129</sup>

Let us now turn to Ghazālī and learn what he has to say about the nature of the human spirit. In his epoch making work, *Ihya ul ulūm-al dīn* (Revivification of the Religious Sciences), he says:

"The word 'Spirit' has two meanings. According to the first meaning, it is a subtle body having its source in the vacuum of the bodily heart and from here it permeates the entire body through the arteries. Its permeation in the body and giving life and the five senses to it is just like placing a

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<sup>129</sup> Quoted from Shah Ali Qalandar, *Al-Qual al Mūwajjah fī tabaiq-i-man `arafa nūfsabo faqad `arafa rabbabo*, Lucknow, 1330 A. H., pp 181-182.

lamp in a house from which light spreads into the four corners of the house. So also, the spirit is like a lamp, and life is like the light. The moving of the spirit and its permeation through the body is just like moving the lamp in the house. This is what the physicians mean by the word spirit. I do not wish to go into these details. This is what the physicians say and they treat the body. But the physicians of the spirit, who wish to lead the spirit to the *sanctum Sanctorum*, do not accept this meaning. What they mean by the spirit (and this is the second meaning of the word spirit referred to above) is that it is a *latifa-i-mudrika*, or an organ of knowledge and this is what is meant in the Quranic verse: Say, the spirit is my Lord's Command. We have dealt with this meaning when we dilated on the second connotation of the word *Qalb* (or, heart). It is a wonderful divine entity whose quiddity, reason is unable to grasp."

The second connotation of the heart as given by Ghazālī is as follows:

"The heart is a receptacle of God's grace and is spiritual in substance. This spiritual substance is the essence of man. It alone has perception, knowledge and gnosis. It is the heart which is admonished, reprimanded and punished. It has the same relation with the pine-shaped piece of flesh as an accident has with the body, as an attribute is related to the substance attributed, a spatial object to the space which it occupies, or an instrument to the man who uses it. The reason why we do not propose to enquire into its essential nature is two-fold: first, this is a matter pertaining to inspirational knowledge *eilm-i-mukashafa* and is an arcane secret, and we are dealing in this book with the knowledge of practical affairs. Next, it will be divulging the secret of the spirit, about which the Prophet of Islam has observed silence. It is better not to open our lips and remain quiet".<sup>130</sup>

Thus, it is clear that for Ghazālī the word "spirit" and the word "heart" connote the same sense and that it is not possible to comprehend them by any intellectual effort. The Sufis seem to agree that it is not possible to attain the gnosis of the essence of the spirit through discursive reason. Reason is unable to perceive abstract *lights(annwār-i-mujjarada)*. They

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<sup>130</sup> Madhāq-ul Arifin, VOL.3, (Urud tran. Of Ihyā al-ulūm), Lucknow, p.304.

may be perceived by spiritual unveiling or, by the Grace of God. And, this is possible only when one closes the door, not only to the external senses but also to the injunctions of the internal senses and frees the heart from all bodily entanglements with a view to engage it in the apprehension of abstract spiritual matters. In this way alone, the essence of the spirit is revealed to the Sufis and in this way alone they attain its gnosis, which they express in some such words as "pure light and entire purity" and intuit the same sense from the verse(XVII.85): "Say, the spirit is my Lord's Command; Of knowledge it is only a little that is communicated to you."

And by "a little knowledge" they understand knowledge acquired by discursive reason. By such partial reason, entangled in worldly relations and involved in thoughts of *meum* and *teum*, the essence of spirit is not disclosed. That is why an adept prayed:

Help me, O God ! that I may subjugate my carnal self,

And intoxicate my reason with the wine of Thy love !

That I may become void of self to gain Thy awareness,

That the self may "pass away" and by thus dying live in Thee !

Rūmī has made use of two illustrations to explain what he understands to be the essence of the spirit:

(1) The invisible lights which emanate from the Universal Spirit are like an ocean and the individual souls are like waves. If we look at the ocean we find that all waves are in the ocean and in reality they are all one. And if we look at the waves we find that they are many in number and separate from one another.

(2) The Universal Spirit, the real source of all the invisible lights, may be conceived as the sun and the individual souls inhabiting the bodies of the individuals as the rays of the sun which penetrate through the windows in every house. Now, if we look at the sun, it is one and if we look at the rays entering into several houses they are multiple and

separate. The gnostic knows this truth and fully understands what this unity or diversity implies. But he who is not a gnostic and has no knowledge of reality feels puzzled and fails to understand what really the human spirit is. Says Rūmī

Difference exist only in animal souls,

Human souls have a common source,

And are fundamentally one!,

Animal souls are like stray bits of inorganic clay.

This is what the Sufis of the order of the Unity of Being maintain. According to them, God alone has the Absolute Ego and the Absolute Spirit. In all individuals the same Ego or Spirit manifests itself according to the aptitudes of the individuals. They are like mirrors wherein God reflects Himself.

In this way, the spirit may be conceived as one, from one point of view, and many from another point of view. Since the gnosis of the essence of God is impossible, it has been said that nobody can know the essence of the spirit, or, in other words, it is unknown and unknowable.

In all individual human souls the same Universal spirit has manifested itself according to the dispositions of the individual essences. In the well

known book *Mūtummimā-i-Jāma' l-Usūl* there is a comprehensive statement on the human spirit:

"The human spirit is a knowing, perceiving *latīfa* of man. Its mount is the animal soul. It has come down from the world of Command. Reason is incapable of knowing its quiddity. It is sometimes abstract and self-subsisting and sometimes enters into a body. The animal soul is a fine, subtle substance and is produced in the vacuum of the heart and permeates through the entire body through the veins. The Great Spirit is the same human spirit, being a manifestation of the Essence of God and

an expression of the aspect of His Care and Providence. That is why nobody is able to acquire its gnosis. God alone has it. It is the First Intelligence (*al-' aql l-anwal*), and the Reality of Muhammad (*al-Haqīqatu 'l Muḥammadiyya*) and the Reality of the Names (*al-Haqīqat-l-Asmā'iyya*). It is the "First of all beings" whom God has Created in His own form. It is the "Great Vice-regent of God" (*Khalīfa-i-akbar*). It is a spiritual substance and, in view of its substantiality, it is called self (*nafs*) and in view of its being light it is called the first Intelligence. As it has many Names and manifestation in the macrocosm, such as the First Intelligence, the Pen (*al-Qalam*), The light, the Universal Self (*al-Nafs l-Kāliyya*), the Preserved Tablet (*al-Lawḥu mahfūz*) ; similarly, it has many names and manifestations in the microcosm. In the terminology of the Sufis they are called *Sirr, Khafi, Akhfa, Qalb, Kalimah, ra'um, f'ūwād, Sadr, 'aql* and *safs*.<sup>131</sup>

Now, let us turn to the subject of the "illumination of the spirit" and try to understand its meaning and the manner in which it is done.

The Sufis maintain that, the perfection of the spirit consists in illuminating it with the attributes of God's Providence (*rūbūbiyya*) so that it may become fit to be the vice-regent of God on earth. There seems to be some difference of opinion among the sufis, as how best to illuminate the spirit. According to some of them, it is not possible to purify the self (*nafs*) without first illuminating the spirit. But there are others who hold that this can be done even otherwise. It may be achieved by first cleansing the heart. However, according to the Kūbrawiyya School of Sufism, if a person spends his entire life in purifying his self, he will not succeed and will not find time to illuminate his spirit. The best method appears to be, and on this most of the Sufis agree, that the evil-prompting self (*nafsu 'l-ammāra*) should first be subjugated and brought under the prohibitions of Shari'a ; and one should engage oneself in cleansing the heart and illuminating the spirit at the same time. Now, as the Tradition has informed us about what God has said: "He who moves a foot towards Me, I advance towards him an arm-length" (Būkhārī); grace in abundance begins to descend; and, again, in accordance with the promise, "He who walks towards Me, I come to him running (Būkhārī)"; the self is purified, in a short time, to such an

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<sup>131</sup> 5. *Al-Qual Al-Muwajjah*, p. 189,

extent that even life-long austerity and self-remonstrance cannot achieve the same result, for "A Divine pull takes one nearer to God more than the combined worship of the jinn and human-kind". He who is the patron, friend and helper of the self can only purify the self and that is why the Prophet has taught us to pray thus: "o God, purify my self and make it righteous. Thou art the best who canst purify it. Thou art its patron and its friend."

Shaykh Najm-ud-Dīn Kubra (d. 618 A.H.) has shown at great length in his well-known book, *Mirsād'l Ibad*, how to illuminate the spirit by means of the love of God:

"For the illumination of the spirit, it is necessary that every relation that the spirit after entering the body has established with this world through sense, perception and knowledge should gradually be severed, for it is these relations and attachments with the world that form a veil and keep the spirit remote from God. Every thing to which it gets attached and in whose love it is imprisoned makes it its bondsman. The spirit exclaims: 'I but know that I love thee, whatever thou art.' Thus, it loses the zest of witnessing God. But, when these worldly relations are gradually severed, and the chains that bind the spirit with the ephemeral objects of the world are cut asunder, the spirit 'pure from self as flame from smoke' sets forth upon its journey to God, renouncing all but Him, and shows attachment to Him alone. Now, it occupies itself wholly with the thought of God, in the spirit of intense humility and restless yearning.

In this state it wails:

A breeze scented with the fragrance of my friend

Blows and adds freshness to my rusting love;

O breeze, thou hast the sweet scent of my friend,

I beseech thee not to blow towards any stranger."

Here, two mothers nurse the baby spirit. On the one hand, it is fed by the breast of Mystic Path (*Tariqa*) with the milk of the renunciation of heart's desires and lust and passion. On the other hand, Reality (*Haqiqat*) feeds it with the milk of divine light so much so, that filled with the spiritual illuminations of the divine splendour, the spirit is freed from the shackles of relations of body and attributes of flesh and returns to its primary pure and uncorrupted nature, now having competence to listen to what God had said, "Am I not your Lord?" and to affirm in reply "Yea, verily"! When the spirit thus sheds human frailties and emerges from their robes, it gains freedom from the supremacy of whim and fancy also, it observes what happens in the 'world of dominion' (*'alamu'l-malakūt*) and perceives in the mirrors of the external and internal worlds the signs of God.

"At this stage love becomes pure and clean. Affinity grows between love and spirit, love pervades the spirit and the spirit finds in itself nothing but love. As a lover has expressed this condition in his own way:

I pined a lot in the love of a beautiful face,

Now, I find myself wholly enveloped in  
love.

"So far the life of the body depended on the spirit, but from now on the life of the spirit depends on love alone. Another lover has said:

O Disciple of love, if thou seest me alive,

Do not believe that life is still left in me.

Love is keeping me alive and not the  
spirit,

I have risked my life to keep my love  
alive.



"At this stage, love takes the place of the spirit in the body and performs its functions, while the spirit moth-like hovers round the shining Face of its Beloved and exclaims in ecstasy:

Thy Beautiful Face is like a flame and the moth is me,

My heart has befriended Thee and is in Thy pursuit, the person left alone is me.

Put the chain of thy tresses which is round thy neck

Round my neck, for the mad man in thy love is me

!

"At this stage, abundant Divine favours welcome the spirit and fill its being with ecstasy and loving converse with the Beloved begins. The spirit is also reprimanded thus:

If thou desirest to advance in My direction,

Think not what the world thinks of thee.

Thou canst win My love, if thou art ready

To burn thy self into its flame.

"When the intoxicating wine of: 'We shall charge thee with a word of weight (Qur'ān, LXXIII. 5); fills the heart to the brink, the very being of the spirit is naughted ! This mystic state of effacement is expressed by an ecstatic in symbolic language thus:

It was reported yesterday that an old man entered a bar,

And with tears in his eyes started hobnobbing with his wine glass,

The wine turned into honey and the bar into a place of worship,

Oh God ! what miraculous powers the visitor had !

"The spirit is kept for a few days in a place which lies between the heaven of Divine Attributes and the hell of worldly existence and by administering the wine of direct observation of the Beloved, the remaining existential attributes are naughted. This is how the sufis interpret the following verse of the Qur'ān (VII. 43): 'And we remove whatever rancour may be in their hearts.'

"And, then, as indicated in the verse (XXXI. 20): (God) has made His bounties flow to you in exceeding measure, (both) seen and unseen, the spirit is loaded with divine favours both without and within, and it exclaims involuntarily:

Oh God, I sacrifice myself in gratitude for Thy boon!

What a boon ! My sacrifice is hardly a recompense.

"But, if the spirit, having attached itself with these bounties and favours, forgets the Bestower thereof and 'turns on its heels' it is simply lost. But if it sticks to the path of servitude, swerve not, nor does go wrong, greater revelations of its Lord await for it.

"This is of course a very perilous stage. Many sincere lovers slipped here. They fell down and were lost forever. Thus many true travellers on the Path to God began to feel proud of their occult and mysterious powers, they turned away from the path of love for God and fixed their gaze on the flattery of ephemeral creatures of this fleeting world. In this way, they lost the very disposition to have direct observation of God and consequently fell in the deepest depth of degradation. How nicely a true lover admonishes these folks in an indirect way:

O thou, the *qibla* of all those who enter Thy  
lane,

All good souls hanker after Thee!

He who turns his eyes away from Thee  
today,

How will he be able to see Thee tomorrow?

"But, those who are eternally 'blessed' and about whom it has been said in the Qur'an (XXXI. 101): 'Lo! those unto whom kindness hath gone forth before them from us, they will be far removed from thence', they keep their eyes fixed on the Bestower Himself not on the blessings bestowed; and know that thanksgiving means remembering Him, the Bestower of the blessings. And they, in accordance with the proclamation of the Lord (XIV. 7): If ye give thanks; I will give you more, become entitled to receive many more blessings and favours." An ecstatic has depicted their mental condition thus:

Never shall my heart abandon Thy thought,

Or, think of befriending some another one.

If it gives up Thine love whom shall it love?

And if it leaves Thy lane where will it go?

"At this stage, it is the bounden duty of the spirit to seek one, say one, know one, and desire one." It should divorce and eschew the two worlds. It should not look at lofty positions of this world, nor should it go after the comforts of the Heaven. It should lay its head on the threshold of its Beloved and say (in the words of Shaykh Najm-ud-Din Kubrā):

As long as we enjoy Royal patronage,

The entire universe is at our beck and call.

Heaven itself is just a land-mark on the road to our destination,

As our goal is further away from the universe.

"If a thousand arcane secrets, revealed to the prophets, are disclosed to the spirit, it should pay no attention to them; if it is asked a thousand times to show what it likes to have it should only say: 'an *'abd* (bondsman) has no desire', as the presence of desire indicates that it still exists, while it has negated itself.' This path is not traversed easily. If the Beloved pays no attention for a long time, do not lose patience, do not turn your thought from Him. Here, even the prophets and saints feel bewildered. Human steps alone unaided by the divine grace cannot tread the path. As an ecstatic has said:

Thy vision is a treasure and every human being is searching for it.

Let us see who will be the lucky recipient?

"This is the stage of the Beloved's caprice (*nāz*) and the lover's constancy (*niyāz*). To attain it, the spirit is stripped off all relations, becomes humble and humiliated and fights even with its life to attain it. The adepts have already warned:

Fight for the prize with thine life, because it is not going to *Dustan* in any case.

Milk from the cup of Shari'a is not given to those who are not composmentis.

Where, persons dead to themselves have a drinking bout,

Self worshippers cannot expect even a peg!

"When the spirit smells the scent of divine favours, like Jacob it raises the cry: 'I do indeed scent the presence of Joseph: Nay, think me not a dotard (XII. 94)', or, as a lover has exclaimed in his yearning for the beloved:

When the beloved with Joseph-like beauty strolls in the parterre,

A scent from *Zulikha* comes to me.

Like Jacob my heart wails:

'I can smell the apparel of Joseph.'

"Now, the spirit feels the yearning for the Beloved and the pang of His love so much that it gets tired of this existence, tries to kill itself and like Hūsayn Munsūr wails:

Kill me, oh ! my good friends, surely in my death is my life,

My life is in my death and my death is in my life.

"During this period, when the spirit is not allowed to enter the Sanctum and is left pining for its Beloved undergoing the pang of separation, it is filled with pain and anguish; patience and reason leave it and it wails:

All devices to attain my goal I have tried,

Now the stage of lunacy is reached.

"In this state of distraction, supplication, and humiliation, it dawns upon the spirit that 'the quest is a failure, the road is blocked, and restlessness is necessary.' It bewails of its misfortune and exclaims:

Due to separation from thee my heart was bleeding, last night,

(The star) *Pervin* alone sympathised with me, last night,

Till early morning my only cry was:

Hearken, my God, Thou who listens to all !

"When the spirit shows its humility, distraction and helplessness before its Beloved and complains of the distraction caused and anguish suffered, crying:

Everyone in this world has someone to look after him,

I have none, but thee, thee and thee alone;

then, as it is wellknown (Qur'ān, XXVII. 62): 'Who listens to the (soul) distressed when it calls on Him and who relieves its suffering?' Veils are lifted, the spirit of the distressed lover is loaded with divine favours and bounties flow to it in exceeding measures. It hears a voice calling it to rise:

The house is well decorated to receive thee,

All curtains have been raised in anticipation of thine advent.

"When the Illumination of the Divine Essence is revealed, moth-like the spirit dashes into it and vanishes. It loses the consciousness of its individuality and a Divine substance with Divine Attributes is put instead. Under this mystic state an ecstatic has exclaimed:

In Thy love, the sense of pain and pleasure all are lost,

On meeting Thee my pangs of separation are over.

A ray of the light of Thy revelation has obliterated,

All distinctions between more or less or good and evil.

"At this stage, by abiding in the Divine illumination, the spirit feels peace and ataraxia. The Qur'ān informs us (LVIII. 22): As for such He hath written faith upon their hearts and hath strengthened them with a spirit from Him.

"If a life is lost in attainment of goal, a new life is given instead which will never be lost. As a gnostic of this rank has said:

When the spark of love was ignited, my life was surrendered  
to the Beloved,

It was the Beloved who restored life to me from His own life.

"This is the threshold of annihilation and the beginning of a life everlasting ! Thereafter, the spirit is trained by the Illumination of Divine Attributes. Every moment of this life equals the combined worship of the jinn and humankind!"

Now, we proceed to give a detailed exposition of the various stages which the spirit has to pass in its love journey to God, which has been briefly discussed by Najm-ud-Dīn Kubrā above. For a more comprehensive statement we are drawing upon the epoch-making work of Rūmī's Mathnawī. The cry of love that Rūmī has raised in this work is without parallel in the world of Sufism.

First we have to consider the problem of the quiddity or nature of

of love (or ardane love)<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> "But those of faith are overflowing in their love of God" (Qur'ān, II. 165.)

God has attributed Himself with love. So says the tradition: "I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to become known. So I created the world in order to be known. I dealt with them lovingly, so they came to know me." The Qur'ān also speaks about those righteous elects who have cut asunder the chains of limitations and cast aside the veils of relations and have made their hearts a mirror for the illuminations of the Unseen: "Soon will God produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him" (Qur'ān V. 54).

There is no doubt that the love that God has for the expression of His own perfections is personal and it proceeds from the love of His own Essence. This love is the basis of His attributive love and is the root cause of the manifestations of all beings. The Love of His own Essence is due to the perception of His own Essence and perfections. But it should be noted that this love is not an addition to the state of Abstract Unity (or *Abdiyyat*). This unity is the state of dropping of all modes, adjuncts, relations and aspects. It is the state of Pure Essence, in which there is no name, no quality, no relation, no adjunct or anything else and hence we cannot speak of love, or regard it as something different from the Pure Essence or external to it. The love that God has for His own Essence will, therefore, remain unknown and unknowable. The quest to acquire its gnosis is of no avail. Reference is made to this in the Qur'ān (III. 29): "Allah biddeth you beware of Him." And the Prophet has warned the thinkers: "Don't indulge in speculating on the Nature of God, speculate on the signs of God (manifested in nature)."

With regard to this Love it has been said:

Love surpasses human ambitions,

It can neither be duly commended nor  
grasped.

When a thing is beyond the realm of  
thought,



It can neither be conceived nor  
comprehended.

Rūmi has also understood love in the sense of the Love of God  
for His own Essence. Says he:

Whatsoever I say in exposition and explanation of love,

When I come to Love (itself) I am ashamed of that (explanation).

Although the commentary of tongue makes (all) clear,

Yet tongueless love is clearer.

Whilst the pen was making haste in writing,

It split up in itself as soon as it came to love.

In expounding it (Love), the intellect lay down (helplessly) like an  
ass in the mire ;

It was love (alone) that uttered the explanation of love and  
loverhood.

If thou require the proof, do not avert thy face from him.<sup>133</sup>

Now we consider the quiddity of love in the state of *Wābdiyyat*, or the  
Second Epiphany, or, Reality of Humanity, the Holy Breath. When the  
gnostic contemplates the Essence of God in the sense that It possesses  
knowledge in all its details covering Its Names, Attributes and Ideas, together  
with all their aspects, their interrelations and mutual distinctions, this plane is  
termed *Wābdiyyat*. This is the plane of the Names and Attributes. Here, love  
is differentiated from the Essence and Its Names and Attributes, as every  
attribute is differentiated from the reality attributed to and from other  
attributes also, and the reality of love is expressed in the plane of God's

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<sup>133</sup> *Mathnawi* (Nicholson's translation), I, p. 10.

knowledge and its manifestations realised in the external world. But the quiddity of love in the plane of *Wabdiyyat* and also in the external world is revealed to those only who have quaffed the wine of love and are intoxicated with it, though it may be the love for the Absolute Beauty or the love for any corporeal or spiritual manifestation of It. Now as it is not possible to describe the pleasure derived from music or the pleasure enjoyed by coition before one who has not experienced them, so also it is impossible to explain or expound love to one who is not struck by love.. The same idea is expressed by an Arab gnostic in these couplets:

He who is not struck by love cannot realise it,

While he who has experienced it, cannot explain it.

To describe the sun before a blind man is a folly,

So is an attempt to describe beauty before one who lacks the taste to appreciate it.

The same idea is expressed by another lover in this way:

He who does not love the Beloved as I do,

Cannot understand what love connotes.

Mere description of shapes and forms,

Does not impress a blind person.

What is perceived by intuition cannot be described by mere conceptions. Love is a matter of intuition or taste. It can neither be expounded, nor the mere idea of love can apprise us of the reality of love. Is it possible to feel hot by the mere thought of fire? Is our thirst quenched by thinking of water? This idea is beautifully expressed in the following couplets:

Thinking of fire does not make thee hot,

Thinking of water does not quench thy  
thirst;

Fragrance of scented stuff,

Does not reach one by merely thinking of  
them.

He who has not tasted wine,

Cannot feel intoxicated by talking about it.

The lover alone knows what love is, it is an arcane secret which cannot be disclosed. "Love is a treasure to be concealed ; where the treasure lies cannot be revealed." We have to learn from the lover himself what is love and what is a beloved:

What is called love is nothing but grief and ignition.

The Beloved is another word for pain and  
frustration.

Let him who does not value his life,

Face the call to the slaughter house.

Rūmī has thus eulogised love:

Hail, O Love that is our best bargain,

Thou that art the physician of all our ills,

The remedy of our pride and vainglory,

Our Plato and our Galen!

Through love the earthly body soared to the skies,

The mountain began to dance and became nimble.

Love inspired Mount Sinai, O Lover,

(So that) Sinai (was made) drunken and Moses fell in a swoons<sup>134</sup>

According to Rūmī, "sickness of love" is preferable to health and healing. "It is the very soul of health. Its pains are the envy of every pleasure."<sup>135</sup>

The melting (wasting) away of lovers is (the cause of their spiritual) growth:

Like the moon, he (the lover) hath a fresh (shining) face whilst he is melting away.

All the sick hope to be cured.

But this sick one sobs, crying, "Increase my sickness".

I have found no drink sweeter than this poison!

No state of health can be sweeter than this disease,

No act of piety can be better than this sin!

Years in comparison with this moment are (but) an hour.<sup>136</sup>

Reason cannot understand this state of affairs. It denies love, but the lovers regard reason as an ignoramus. As Rūmī says:

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., I, 11. 23-26.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., VI, 1. 4594.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, VI, 11. 4597-4601.

He that is blessed and familiar (with spiritual mysteries),  
Knows that intelligence is of Iblis, while love is of Adam.

Intelligence is (like) swimming in the seas!

He, (the swimmer), is not saved; he is drowned at the end of the  
business.

Leave off swimming, let pride and enmity go;

This is not a *Jayhūn* (Oxus), or, a lesser river, it is an ocean,

And moreover, (it is) the deep ocean without refuge:

It sweeps away the seven seas like straw.

Love is as a ship for the elect;

Seldom is calamity (the result); for the most part it is deliverance.

Sell intelligence and buy bewilderment:

Intelligence is opinion: while bewilderment is (immediate)vision.

Sacrifice your understanding in the presence of Mustafa  
(Muhammad).<sup>137</sup>

Say: *hasbiya llab*—for God sufficeth me.

Reason busies itself in argumentation and love burns itself in the  
resplendent light of the beloved's beauty. Reason ties itself with the six  
dimensions of this phenomenal world, enchained in earth and water, and  
love in the proximity of the beloved annihilates itself in the flame which

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., IV, 11. 1402-8. except his beloved.

flares upon the face of the beloved. Love has nothing to do with crown and scepter, it craves for gallows and gibbets.

It is said that each one has a goal toward which he turns. This goal may be a material one or a spiritual one. The Qur'ān also indicates: "To each is goal to which he turns (II. 148)." But, it is love alone that negates and abolishes all goals; it turns the face of the lover from every thing save the beloved; it destroys his pride and egotism. It closes his eye from every body save his beloved and clears his heart from everybody

Having severed his connections with all, the lover desires none save his beloved. If the treasure of both the worlds are placed at his feet, he does not cast even a glance at them.

This characteristic of love is illustrated by Rumi in another way:

God spoke to Moses by inspiration of heart, saying, "O Chosen one, I Love thee."

He (Moses) said: "O Beautiful One, (tell me) what disposition Is the cause of that, in order that I may augment it."

He (God) said, Thou art like a child in the presence of its mother ;

When she chastises it, it still lays hold of her.

It does not even know that there is any one in the world except her;

It is both afflicted with headache (sorrow) by her and intoxicated (with joy) by her;

If its mother gives it a slap,

Still, it comes to its mother and clings to her;

It does not seek help from any one but her; She is all its  
evil and its good.

Thy heart, like wise, in good or evil (plight) Never turns  
from Me to other quarters.

In thy sight all besides Me are as stones and clods, Whether  
(they be) boys or youths or old men.<sup>138</sup>

In fact, the isolation of the lover from all else save the Beloved, the annihilation of his desires and wants and the effacement of all knowledge and reasoning is the result of the extinction of his being and the naughting of his very existence. As Rūmī says:

There is no way (admittance) for any one,

Till he becomes naughted, into the audience chamber of (Divine) Majesty.

What is the means of ascension to Heaven? This not-being.

Not-being is the creed and religion of the lovers(of God).<sup>139</sup>

To make this point clear, Rūmī has related the story of Majnūn and his she-camel. Majnūn riding on her started in the search of Layla. But her foal was left behind. Whenever she saw her toggle slack, she would at once perceive that Majūn had become heedless and dazed, and would turn her face back to go in search of the foal without delay. When Majnūn came to himself again, he would see that she had gone back many miles. In these conditions Majnūn remained going to and fro two to three days. At last Majnūn threw himself down from her back and said to her: "O camel, since we both are lovers, therefore we two contraries are unsuitable fellow-travellers. It behoves me to choose parting from thy companionship."

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., IV, 1i.2921-28.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., VI, 11. 232-33.

Rūmī remarks: "These two fellow-travellers—the reason and the flesh—are brigands waylaying each other ; lost is the spirit that does not dismount from the body." When Majnūn flung himself violently to the ground from the camel's back his leg broke. He tied up his leg and said: "I will become a ball, I will go rolling along in the curve of Layla's bat."<sup>140</sup> After relating this story Rūmī remarks:

How should love for the Lord be inferior to love for Layla?

To become a ball for His sake is more worthy.

Become a ball, turn on the side which is sincerity,

And go on rolling and rolling in the curve of the bat of love.<sup>141</sup>

Rūmī explains why this body is a hindrance in the way of Union with God:

"Tis a house filled with pictures of imagination and fancy,

And these forms (ideas) are as a Veil over the treasure of Union(with God).

"Tis the radiance of the Treasure and the splendour (of the spiritual gold)

That cause the forms (ideas) to surge up in this breast.

"Tis from the purity and (ceaseless) agitation of the precious spirit,

"Tis from the purity and translucence of the noble water,

That the particles of foam have veiled the face of the spirit. That the bodily figure has veiled the face of the spirit.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., IV 11. 1545-47.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., IV, 11. 1557-58.



Hearken, then, to the adage that issued from the mouths(of men).

"This which befalls us, O brother, is due to our doings,"

Because of this veil, these thirsty ones who are (so) fond of the foam,

Have got out of reach of the pure Water.

O (Divine) sun, notwithstanding (that we have) a *qibla* (object of adoration) and Imam like Thee,

We worship the night and behave in the manner of bats.

Make these bats fly towards Thee,

And redeem them from this bat-like disposition, O Thou whose protection is implored.<sup>142</sup>

This means that in love the real task for the lover is to efface and annihilate his separate being, and this annihilation and extinction is the key to real existence.

The effacement of the being of the lover in the being of the Beloved, or, in the terminology of the Sufis "ittihād" (*Einswerden*) of the lover with the Beloved and their being coloured in one and the same (Qurān, II. 138): "Colour of Allah and who is better than Allah at colouring?" and such other technical terms should not incline us to hold that the Sufis use them in their literal or primary meanings. In Sharīah, oneness with God (*ittihād*), if understood in the literal sense, is sheer unbelief and blasphemy, for the lover and the Beloved are opposed to each other in form. One is contingent, limited and determined; and the other is Infinite, Necessary and Absolute. And in *Haqīqat* (or Truth), oneness or identity with God is worse than unbelief or blasphemy. For, to those who look behind the veil, nothing other than God exists. God is the only Being and none exists besides Him. And "Ittihād" (*Einswerden*) implies the existence of two

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., VI, 11. 3425-31.

separate beings and then the identification of these two beings. But for 'one of Truth' (ahl-i-Haqiqat).

What is there in the two worlds except the Single Essence

Nothing exists in the entire universe except He.

As Jāmi has boldly declared:

Raze the words 'this' and 'that', duality

Denotes estrangement and repugnancy ;

In all this fair and faultless universe,

Naught but one Substance and one Essence  
see.

In the terminology of the Sufis what is meant by *Ittibād* is the state of the lover in which he is absorbed completely in the thought of his beloved and in that state he does not behold anybody except his beloved (hālat-i-istighrāq). This is the highest reach of love's journey. Hallāj expressed this idea in his own way:

I am He whom I love and He whom I love is "I".

Rūmī has also given the same meaning to *Ittibād* and it is clear that all the eminent sufis agree that the connotation of this term is not what the heretics and those who have deviated through unbelief have taken to mean. The true sense is that in the mirror nothing but the beauty of the Beloved is observed. Rūmī has expressed this sense in his own way thus:

The reflexions that are seeking the Light

Are naughted when His light appears.

Before His Face existent and non-existent perish:

Existence in non-existence is in soothe a marvellous thing:

In this place of presence all minds are lost beyond control;

When the pen reaches this point, it breaks.<sup>143</sup>

To explain this mystic state, Rūmī relates the story of Majnūn. This sets forth "the real oneness of the lover and the beloved, although they are contrary to each other from the point of view that want is the opposite of no want. So a mirror is formless and pure, and, formlessness is the opposite of form, yet in reality they have a oneness with each other which is tedious to explain ; a hint is enough for the wise."<sup>144</sup>

It is clear that lover who is purified from vicious and animal attributes is dead to carnal pleasures, and thus through abandonment of self and naughting of all that is not God, becomes resplendent with the Divine Light and obtains eternal existence after extinction, can never be compared to a person, who is engulfed in the darkness of his self-hood and thus lives in depths of darkness. The Qur'an (VI. 123) has thus indicated the difference between these two: "Can he who was dead, to whom We gave life, and a light whereby he can walk amongst men, be like him who is in the depths of darkness from which he can never come out ?"

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., III, II.4160-63.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., I, II. 1999-2019.