

IQBAL REVIEW

Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Pakistan

April 1984

Editor

Mirza Muhammad Munawwar

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN

Title : Iqbal Review (April 1984)
Editor : Mirza Muhammad Munawwar
Publisher : Iqbal Academy Pakistan
City : Lahore
Year : 1984
DDC : 105
DDC (Iqbal Academy) : 8U1.66V12
Pages : 160
Size : 14.5 x 24.5 cm
ISSN : 0021-0773
Subjects : Iqbal Studies
: Philosophy
: Research



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IQBAL ON MUSLIM FRATERNITY

A. Shakoor Ahsan

Muslim fraternity forms one of the fundamental themes of Iqbal's poetry. He believes that Muslims all over the world form one united community based on common religion and tradition. Throughout his works rings the note of this distinct unity. He exults in the universal Islamic heritage to which all Muslim peoples have made magnificent contributions over the centuries. He cherishes this precious heritage as common and indivisible and completely identifies himself with the mainstream of Muslim ethos and shares the common joys and sorrows of Muslims as an integral part of the great universal Islamic brotherhood. The Muslims whether from Hejaz, China or Iran are like the dewes of the same smiling morn:

از حجاز چین و ایرافیم ما
شبم یک صبح خندانیم ما¹

We hail from Hejaz, China, Iran,

We are the dewes of the same smiling morn.

This concept is essentially based on the unity of God and the doctrine of Prophethood which forged scattered groups of people into a universal fraternity and inspired them with a common ideology. The poet has laid special stress on Prophet-hood and argues that if an individual survives

¹ Asrar-o-Rama, Lahore 3rd ed. (1948) D. 21.

through God, the nation survives through Prophet. Our common creed, aims and ideals, he says, all derive their inspiration from Prophet hood:

از رسالت همنوا گشتیم ما
هم نفس هم مدعا گشتیم ما
کثرت هم مدعا وحدت شود
پخته چون وحدت شود ملت شود
دین فطرت از نبی آموختیم
در ره حق مشعلی افروختیم
این گهر از بحر بی پایان اوست
ماکه یکجانیم از احسان اوست²
مست چشم ساقی بطحاستیم
در جهان مثل مے و میناستیم³

Prophet hood turned us into a community inspired with unity of expression, mode and ideal.

A multitude inspired with one aim and ideal merges into unity, When the unity is complete it turns into Millat.

We learnt the religion of nature (Islam) from the Prophet,

And kindled a torch in the path Divine

² Asrar-o-Rumuz, Lahore 3rd ed. (1948) p. 117.

³ Ibid., p. 21.

This gem has emerged from his immeasurable ocean,
By his grace do our hearts throb in unison.

We are enamoured of the eyes of the Saqi of Batha,
We exist together like wine and goblet all the world over.

Again, the poet has given the word Millat a new connotation. For him it always stands for the Muslim Ummah and not for a single, particular group of Muslim people.

The disastrous political and moral decline of the Millat engaged his thoughts in his early poetic career. When he presented his philosophy of the self in *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915, he was already seized of the problem of the Millat which, he sadly commented, had been cut off from its moorings. He subjected it to scathing criticism for its neglect of Islamic ideals and attitudes and the consequent process of disintegration, and admonished it to rediscover its identity and lost unity:

از سواد کعبه چون آہو رمید
ناوک صیاد پہلویش درید
شد پریشان برگ گل چون بوے خویش
ای ز خود رم کرده باز آسوی خویش
امین حکمت ام الکتاب
وحدت ہم گشتہ خود بازیاب⁴

⁴ Ibid., p. 78.

When the gazelle fled from the environs of the Kaba,

His bosom was ripped by the hunter's arrow.

The rose-petal fell apart like its very scent,

O you fleeing from yourself, come back unto yourself.

O trustee of the wisdom of the Book!

Rediscover your lost unity.

The doctrine of Khudi, which he systematically and assiduously preached in this book, is inextricably linked with power and domination. No wonder that the hanging pall of gloom over the Muslim world evoked the poet-philosopher to present the concept of Khudi, or self realization, self-expression and self-affirmation, in which struggle, action and power play a dominant role. The Millar has constantly influenced his thoughts and significantly, the poet's second Persian work Rumuz-i-Bikhudi opens with an address to Millat-i-Islamiyat ⁵ that is, the Muslim nation, and not to a specific nation, race or group of people.

Contrary to his ideals, however, the poet found that the world of Islam was fast capitulating to an exclusive nationalism. It could not but corrode the fraternal bonds of Muslim peoples. All his life, therefore, he -waged a crusade against this new concept based on race and territorial boundaries, which, he believed, was alien to the spirit of Islam. He was not averse to patriotism and love of one's habitation. But, as he contends in a letter to Prof. Nicholson, the structure of groups and nations on the basis of race and territorial frontiers is merely a passing phase in the development of collective life. He does not object to this phase but he is opposed to the theory that it is the ultimate goal of human activity.⁶ Thus, while he justifies patriotism, he hates exclusive territorialism, not to speak of chauvinism. People may be

⁵ Asrar-o-Rumuz, Lahore 3rd ed. (1948) p. 93.

⁶ Abdul Majid Salik, Zikr-i-Iqbal, Lahore, 1955, p. 59.

associated with a certain territory, but it should not stop them from rising above parochial limits and prejudices. In this connection the poet cites the fascinating example of the sun which rises from the east and is proverbially associated with it, but which traverses the heavens and humbles all horizons.⁷ In a similar fashion a Muslim should loath to confine himself to limited space. One who flouts the sense of confinement, he says, becomes supreme and universal:

پر که از قید
جهات آزاد
شد
چون فلک در
شش جهت
آباد⁸

One who transcends the limits of directions overwhelms all the six directions like the sky.

The Muslims may have different nomenclatures and manifestations of local cultures, but in this diversity lies their essential unity. Their real country is Islam:

قلب ما از هند و
روم و شام نیست
رز هوم او بجز

⁷ Javid Namah, Lahore, 2nd ed. (1947) p. 68.

⁸ Asrar-o-Rumuz, Ibid., p. 132.

Our heart does not belong to India, Rum (Turkey) or Syria, Our only habitation is Islam.

In an exceptionally original interpretation of Sura-i-Ikhlās he observes that a Muslim is the son of Islam,¹⁰ who is related to fellow Muslims through the unbreakable bonds of close spiritual affinities. The poet admonishes the Musalman to live free and detached like a fish in the sea. Nationalism leads to destruction, deception and rivalry between nations, and division between man and man, and cuts at the roots of the Millat.¹¹ Only the elimination of racial and national distinctions can save this enfeebled universal brotherhood.

بتان رنگ و خون کو توڑ کر
ملت میں گم ہو جا
نہ تورانی رہے باقی نہ ایرانی نہ
افغانی

12

Break all idols of colour and blood and merge yourself into Millar,
Because the Turanians, Iranians and Afghans have lost their past glory.

In an exquisite quatrain he has refuted the concept of territorial nationalism by claiming that Muslims are neither Afghans nor Turks nor Tartars. They have bloomed in the same garden and belong to one branch. The distinction of colour and odour is forbidden them, because they are the products of one happy spring.

⁹ Asrar-o-Rumuz, p. 129.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 188.

¹¹ Bang-i-Dara, Lahore, 14th ed. (1952), p. 174.

¹² Ibid., p. 308.

نه افغانيم ونے ترک و
تتاريم
چمن زاديم وازيك
شاخساريم
تميز رنگ و ف، بر ما
حرام است
که ما پرورده يک ني
بهاريم¹³

A dervish, who for Iqbal is an ideal Muslim, belongs neither to the east nor to the west. His home is neither Delhi nor Isfahan nor Samarqand.

درويش خدا مست نه
شرق ہے ، نه غربی
گهر میرا نه دلی ، نه
صفاهان ، نه سر قند¹⁴

One who is destined to voyage through immeasurable seas cannot be bounded by the Ravi, the Nile or the Euphrates:

¹³ Payam-I-Mashriq, Lahore, 7th ed. (1948), p. 52.

¹⁴ Bal-I-Jibril, Lahore, 7th ed. (1947), p. 34.

رہے گا راوی ، نیل و فرات
میں کب تک ؟
ترا سفینہ کہ ہے بحر
پیکراں کے لیے¹⁵

That is why he has given the Muslims the name of Millat-i-giti navard¹⁶ or the globe-traversing nation. Thus he visualizes a limitless field of exploits for a Muslim and invests him with a global vision and vast human sympathies. As he once wrote to Prof. Nicholson he wished to remind his fellow Muslims that their real interest lay in the progress of the entire humanity.¹⁷

There are certain vital historical factors which engaged Allama's constant attention to the Muslim world and impelled him to preach the gospel of Muslim unity and fraternity as it had been conceived and vehemently advocated by the revolutionary-reformer Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Afghani during the 19th century. The poet found western colonialism riding roughshod over the east, especially the Muslim countries. The region now known as the Middle East was the main target of ruthless imperialist onslaught and caused deep consternation amongst Muslims of the subcontinent on account of their close spiritual, cultural and emotional links with it. The four nations of the Middle East, namely, the Turks, Arabs, Iranians and Afghans became the focus of the poet's attention and he pursued their fortunes with infinite concern and anxiety. While making impassioned appeals to all Muslim countries to unite, reassert, revive the

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁶ Asrar-o-Rumus, Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁷ Ataullah, Shaikh, Iqbal Namak, Lahore, (1951), p. 469.

Islamic spirit and build up their future on the traditions of their great past, he also addressed to each of these nations separately.

Turks

Turkey was the first country to engage his attention on account of its shifting fortunes. In the eyes of the Muslims of the subcontinent the Ottoman Caliphate was the guardian of Muslim faith and tradition and the symbol of Muslim pride and unity. The western nations, however, frantically conspired to oust the Turk, whom they scornfully called the sickman of Europe, from that continent. Turkey was involved in the Tripoli and Balkan wars in 1911. The end of World War I successively saw the dismemberment of the Turkish empire, a heroic and victorious war of liberation by the Turks, the establishment of the republic of Turkey and the abolition of the Caliphate. Iqbal wrote many poems throughout this period highlighting the desperate courage and heroism of the Turkish nation. Of these *Khizr-i-Rah*¹⁸ and *Tulu-i-Islam*¹⁹ are the monumental examples. These are imbued with robust optimism and rising' hopes.

When Turkey overcame its political crisis, Allama continued to pursue new developments in that country with his characteristic concern. He supported the new constitutional developments in that country in his lecture on "The Principle of Movement in the structure of Islam" and justified the Turkish concept of Ijtihad in regard to the institution of Khilafat²⁰. Again, fully agreeing with the Turkish national poet Zia on an international ideal of Islam he says:

¹⁸ BanBag-i-Dara, Ibid., p. 288.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 303.

²⁰ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, reprint.(1971), p, 157.

“For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics.”²¹

While concluding his discussion on the subject of re-evaluation of intellectual inheritance and reconstruction of religious thought, Allama again pays homage to modern Turkey in the following words:

“The truth is that amongst the Muslim nations of today, Turkey alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber, and attained to self-consciousness. She alone has claimed her right of intellectual freedom. She alone has passed from the ideal to the real, a transition which entails a keen intellectual and moral struggle. They (Muslims countries) are mechanically repeating old values, whereas the Turk is on the way to creating new values. He has passed through great experiences which have revealed his deeper self to him. In him life has begun to move, change and ‘amplify, giving birth to new desires, bringing new difficulties and suggesting new interpretations.’”²²

This is a great compliment paid to modern Turkey by the poet of the East. Later developments in Turkey, however, seem to have disillusioned the poet. He became rather critical of the adoption of the western style of living and western culture by that cherished land of Muslim hopes. This modernization, he remarks, has no streak of originality. What the Turk deems to be new is nothing but obsolete in the western eye. Imitation (talid) he adds, does not lead to a fuller and richer life, as the creative process in the universe does not owe itself to imitation. By imitation life is bound to lose its intimate touch with reality. For a Muslim the quest for creativity receives its fulfilment in Quranic guidance, because each verse of this holy book is the repository of a hundred new worlds, of which only one can suffice the modern age:

²¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Lahore, reprint. (1971) p. 157.

²² Ibid., p. 162.

ترک را آهنگ نو چنگ

نیست

تازه اش جز کهنه

افرنگ نیست

طرفگیمها در نهاد کائنات

نیست از تقلید تقویم

حیات

چون مسلمانان اگر

داری جگر

در ضمیر خویش و در

قرآن نگر

صد جهان تازه در آیات

اوست

عصرها پیچیده در آفات

اوست

یک جهانش عصر

حاضر را بس است

گیر اگر در سینئه دل

The Turk lacks new tunes in his harp,

His new is but the old of the Frank.

The new and original in the universe is not possible by imitation in life, If you have the heart of a Muslim look into your consciousness and the Quran.

A hundred worlds abound in its contents,

Epochs are epitomized in its moments.

Only one such world does suffice the modern age,

Know, if you have an understanding heart.

Again, he is extremely critical of the superficial social changes introduced into eastern countries under the western impact. Without naming Turkey, he lashes at eastern nations exposed to such influences in the following words:

قوت مغرب نہ از چنگ
و رباب
نے ز رقص دختران بے
حجاب
نے ز سحر ساحران لالہ
روست

²³ Javid Namah, Ibid., p. 7?

نہ زعریان ساق و نہ از
قطع پوست
محکمی او را نہ از
لادینی است
نہ فروغش از خط
لاطینی است
قوت افرنگ از علم و
فن است
از ہمین آتش چراغش
روشن است²⁴

The strength of the West does not lie in the harp and the rebec, Nor in the dance of immodest girls.

Nor does it lie in the magical charm of its dazzling beauties, Nor in the bare legs and short hair styles.

Its stability does not lie in irreligiosity,

Nor is its advancement the outcome of the Latin Script.

The power of the West flows from its knowledge and science From this fire has it kindled its lamp.

Arabs

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 208-9.

The poet reminds the Arab of the revolutionary character of his religion and brings into bold relief his historic achievements in the early days of Islam in the background of his present downfall. He wants him to probe into the causes of his decline and fall, and be aware of the superficial glamour of the 'West. Allama underscores the all-pervading importance of religion which had once equipped the Arab with faith, will, purity and determination. He tries to awaken in him the spirit of the great Islamic heroes Umar and Khalid, so that he may resurrect his dominant role in the present-day world:

خاک بطحا خالدی
دیگر بزمے
نغمہ توحید را دیگر
سرامے
ای نخیل دشت تو
بالندہ تر
ہر نخیزد از تو فاروقے
دگر؟²⁵

O land of Batha! raise another Khalid,

Sing once again the song of Divine unity.

May the date-palms of your desert sway in lasting bloom, Will not another Faruq arise from your soil?

In a fervent appeal to the Arabs he wishes them to become once again the creators of history and revive their ancient glory by the undying flame of

²⁵ Javid Namah, p. 110.

love, a burning passion for quest and an unshakable faith in their historic role. It saddens him to observe that they have created nations out of one people:

امتے بودی امم
گردیدہ
بزم خود را خود ز
ہم پاشیدہ²⁶

You were one nation, but have multiplied into nations, You have torn apart the bliss of a happy society.

He persistently warns them against total dependence on others and a static existence:

زندگانی تا کجا
بی ذوق سیر
تا کجا تقدیر تو
در دست غیر²⁷

How long will you live without the joy of movement, How long will the strangers control your destiny?

He reminds them of the words of the Holy Prophet that for a man the day of adversity is the day of purity:

²⁶ Pas chill bayed kard ma' Musafir, Lahore, 3rd ed. (1447), p. 54.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 110.

از بلا ترسی حدیث
مصطفی است
مرد را روز بلا روز
صفاست²⁸

Are you afraid of calamity? The Prophet observes! “For a man the day of calamity is the day of purity”.

The poet has eulogized the early role of the Arabs as the pioneers of modern civilization. Their creative endeavours brought light and progress into the world. They are bound by destiny to revive their predetermined role and master the sweep of history²⁹.

In his address to the Arab poets³⁰ he proudly reveals the light he has received from the Quran. With its blessings, he says, he has turned the long dark night into dawn. He exhorts them to draw inspiration from their own conscience:

مجو غیر از ضمیر
خویش یاری³¹

Do not seek aid except from your own conscience to stir the heart of the reader with a restless passion, inspire him with revolutionary zeal and

²⁸ Pas chili bayed kard ma' Musafir, Lahore, 3rd ed. (1947), p. 110.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 53-55.

³⁰ Armughan-i-Hijaz, Shaikh Mubark All, Lahore, n.d., p. 114.

³¹ Ibid., p. 115.

ideals and last but not least nourish a deep concern for their Muslim brethren. He stresses the imperishable value of creative effort and of the passion to master the future:

بدست آور رگ فردائے
خود را³²

Hold your grip on the artery of tomorrow,

He further wishes them to cultivate a proud sense of *faqr*, that is, a total disdain of worldly temptations. With the virtue of *faqr*, he says, even the destitute can spark off revolutions and rock the world.³³ The poet disseminated this message when the

Arab world was singularly devoid of material resources and the liquid gold had not yet started flowing from the deserts.

Iran

He turns to Iran again and again with an equal concern. Attached to its mighty intellectual past and hopeful of its eventful future, he was nevertheless disillusioned by its contemporary political and social trends, especially its narrow concept of territorial nationalism and its fascination for the glamour of western life. A people who had created civilization, the poet regrets, had been lost to the West without getting into the roots of its thought and mainsprings of its intellect. The national ego had let loose a spate of racial prejudices, the Arabs being its main targets. This trend ran

³² Armughan-i-Hijaz, Ibid., p. 119.

³³ Ibid., p. 120.

counter to the Islamic concept of fraternity. The nearer modern Iran got to the Achaemenian and Sasanian tradition, the farther it moved from its fraternal Islamic moorings. Thus the poet laments:

کشتته ناز بتان شوخ
وشنگ
خالق تهذیب و تقلید
فرنگ
کار آن وا رفته ملک و
نسبت
ذکرشاپور است و
تحقیر عرب
روزگار او تهی از
واردات
از قبور کهنه می جوید
حیات
با وطن پیوست و از
کود در گذشت
دل به رستم دار و از
حیدر گذشت³⁴

³⁴ Javid Namah, Ibid pp. 203.4.

Victim of the gay, vivacious beauties,

Creator of civilization; and yet blind imitator of the West!

The craze of that possessed nationalist and racist is to celebrate Shahpur and condemn the Arab.

His life is bereft of spiritual experience,

He seeks it in ancient graves.

Dedicated to the fatherland, he has lost himself,

Infatuated with Rustam, he has severed ties with Haidar!

He painfully recalls that the people of Iran had become oblivious of the debt they owed to the Arabs who had brought them new life and vitality when their own ancient culture had become decadent. Islam, he says, saved them from moral and cultural collapse. Nevertheless, the poet is not despaired of this gifted nation and he visualizes the possibility of its vital role in world politics:

تہران ہو گر عالم مشرق
کا جنیوا
شائد کرئہ ارض کی
تقدیر بدل جائے³⁵

If Tehran becomes the Geneva of the East,

The destiny of the world may well take a turn.

³⁵ Zarb-i-Kalim, Lahore, 7th ed. (1947), p. 149.

But this dream, he knew could not be realized in the near future, for Reza Shah was not the man who could come up to his high hopes and aspirations. Nor was, for that matter, Kemal Ataturk, the leader of modern Turkey. They fell far short of his supreme ideals. Says he:

نه مصطفیٰ نہ رضا شاہ میں نمود اس کی
کہ روح شرق بدن کی تلاش میں ہے ابھی³⁶

Neither Mustafa (Kemal) nor Raza Shah signify the soul of the East
Which is still in quest of a body.

Constantly following their destiny the poet identifies himself with the people of Iran ; acknowledges his debt to the fountainhead of Iranian thought and gives them the tidings of a life of real freedom in the following couplets:

غوطہ ہا زد در ضمیر زندگی اندیشہ ام
تابدست آورده ام افکار پنهان شما
فکر رنگینم کند نذر تھی دستاں شرق
پارٹہ لعلے کہ دارم از بدخشان شما
میر سد مردے کہ زنجیر غلامان بشکند
دیدہ ام از روزن دیوار زندان شما³⁷

My mind fathomed the depths of life before

I could lay hand on your hidden thoughts.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 144.

³⁷ Zabur-l-Ajam, Lahore, 4th ed. (1948), pp. 176.77.

A man will come and break the shackles of the slaves. This vision I've had from behind your prison walls. My glowing thought offers to the destitute of the East

The lone ruby which I have acquired from your ruby-land.

Afghans

The poet has devoted profound attention to the Afghan nation and made a sustained effort both in his Persian and Urdu works to awaken it to new realities and possibilities of life and arouse its dormant capabilities and talent. He, therefore, returns to this theme time and again to stir the Afghans to a sense of self-consciousness and self-affirmation:

بدلے، شامی بدلے، بدلا ہندوستان
مے فرزند کہستان اپنی خودی پہچان³⁸

The Turks have changed, so have the Syrians, and so has India, You too,
O son of the mountains, know yourself!

Again:

از مقام ذوق و
شوق آگاہ شو
ذرئہ صیاد جہر و

³⁸ Zarb-i-Kalim, Ibid., p. 171.

Perceive the dignity of love and ecstasy,

From the position of a particle rise to be the captor of the sun and the moon.

The poet visualizes for the Afghan people a pivotal role in the history of Asia:

آسیا یک پیکر
آب و گل است
ملت افغان در آن
پیکر دل است
از فساد او فساد
آسیا
از کشاد او کشاد
40 آسیا

Asia is a body of water and clay,

Of which the Afghan nation forms the heart.

Its decline is the decline of Asia; Its rise is the rise of Asia.

³⁹ Pas chih bayed kard ma' Musafir, Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁰ Javid Namah, Ibid.. p. 208.

Apart from his other works, Iqbal has devoted exclusively one book to Afghanistan, namely, *Musafir*, which was published after his visit to Afghanistan in Oct-Nov. 1933. Significantly, this book deals less with description and observation and more with his specific philosophy of self in the context of the conditions in Afghanistan. He acts as friend, guide and philosopher most of the time, acquaints the Afghans with the secrets of the self and urges them to determine their own fate in the complex realities of the times. 'There is a land, he tells his Afghan brethren, which produces valour and is the home of intrepid heroes, but which suffers from lack of cohesion, order, perfection and devotion to ideals':

لیکن از بے
مرکزی آشفته روز
بے نظام و ناتمام
ولیم سوز
آہ قومے بی تب
حیات
روزگار ش بے
نصیب
از واردات⁴¹

But he is groaning under centrifugal trends, He lacks system, perfection and spirit.

Woe betide the nation which lacks the urge for life,

⁴¹ Pas chili bayed kard ma' *Musafir*, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

A nation which is bereft of spiritual testacy.

He is painfully conscious of the inadequacies and limitations of the Afghans, and his heart aches for lack of creative endeavour amongst them:

آه از امروز بے فرد
ائے او ⁴²

Alas for his today which has no tomorrow.

He admonishes the Afghan to equip himself with a sense of purpose and direction and enliven his soul with constant creation of desires and ideals. The motive force in life he tells him, is desire which awakens life to ever new possibilities and gives it colour and substance. The worth of an individual is known by the desire he cherishes:

زندگی بر آرزو
دارد اساس
خویش را از
آرزوئے خود
شناس
چشم و گوش و
هوش تیزاز آرزو
مشت خاکے لاله

⁴² Ibid. p. 6.

The foundation of life is desire,

Measure your worth by the desire you cherish.

The eyes, ears and understanding are all sharpened by desire,

Astir with desire, a handful of dust can raise tulips.

Like other Muslim nations, he guides the Afghans to meditate over the Quranic wisdom and assimilate it as the Holy Book is the repository of a hundred and one new worlds:

صد جهان باقی

است در قرآن

هنوز

اندر آیاتش یکی

خود را بسوز⁴⁴

A hundred and one worlds still live in the Quran,

Soak yourself a little in its contents.

Besides, he wishes his Afghan brother to master sciences and knowledge because it is the harmony of the spirit and the matter which can bring strength and dignity to the Millar. He reminds him that it was the Muslims

⁴³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁴ Pas chih bayed kard ma' Musafir, p. 39.

whose creative love of knowledge and quest for the unknown laid the foundation of modern sciences. To wit:

برگ و ساز ما کتاب و
حکومت است
این دو قوت اعتبار
ملت است
آن فتوحات جهان ذوق و
شوق
این فتوحات جهان
تحت و فوق
حکمت اشیا فرنگی زاد
نیست
اصل او جز لذت ایجاد
نیست
نیک اگر بینی مسلمان
زاده است
این گهر از دست ما
افتاده است⁴⁵

Our entire wealth is the Book and Knowledge,

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

The Millar derives its stature from these two forces,
The former implies victories in the world of ardour and eestasy,
The latter brings victories in the world around.
The material knowledge is not a product of the West,
Its origin lies in the joy of creativity.
If you make a deep probe, it too is a creation of the Muslims,
It is a pearl which has dropped from our hands.

His distrust of superficial western style of living and social habits is as evident in his address to the Afghans as it is in his advice to other Muslim peoples. The cause of a myopic attitude by Muslims towards the western civilization, says the poet, is love of ease and laxity. But this love of an unenviable nature, he warns, is a sinister indication that the soul has left the body:

سهل را جستن در
این دیر کهن
این دلیل آن که
جان رفت از
بدن⁴⁶

To seek the easy way in this hoary world denotes
That the spirit has departed from the body.

⁴⁶ Javid Namah, Ibid., p. 210.

These imploring to the Muslim people had the one objective of rehabilitation of true Islamic values and the renaissance of the Muslims the world over. These individual implorings often merge in unison and rise in a mighty crescendo of revolt and resurgence. The wit:

خاور همه مالند غبار سر راهے است
یک نالئہ خاموش و اثر باخته آھے است
ھر ذرئہ این خاک گرہ خورده نگاھے است
از هند و سمرقند و عراق و همدان خیز
از خواب گران، خواب گران، خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز
فریاد ز افرنگ و دل آویزی افرنگ
فریاد ز افرنگ و دل آویزی افرنگ
فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزی افرنگ
معمار حرم! باز به تعمیر جهان خیز
از خواب گران، خواب گران، خواب گران خیز
از خواب گران خیز⁴⁷

The entire East is like dust on the pathway,

It is a silent cry; it is a barren sigh;

Each particle of its dust is sullen glance.

⁴⁷ Zabur-I-Ajam, Ibid., pp. 117.18.

Arise from Ind, Samarqand, Iraq, Hamadan!

Arise from deep slumber, an endless deep slumber,

Arise from deep slumber !

O help against the West and its ravishing charm,

Against its Shirin-like seductive sweetness.

And its Perviz-like Imperial character,

And its Chengiz-like vandalism which has laid the world waste. O architect of the Haram. arise to build a world anew ! Arise from deep slumber, an endless deep slumber,

Arise from deep slumber.

The poet was fully conscious of the weaknesses and infirmities of the present day Muslims and he never ignored or condoned them. He found Muslims lacking in creative frenzy and dynamic passion. Thus the picture of the Muslim world which emerges through this searching criticism, spread over his entire life, does not appear to be wholly bright. He is fully conscious of the distance that lies between the ideal and the real. Moments of despair betray themselves in his private correspondence as well. For example, in a letter he laments that the heart of the coming Muslim generations totally lacks the spiritual perceptions which constitute the basis of his ideas.⁴⁸ But these moments of gloom are dissipated by the poet-philosopher's reformatory drive. Even in the darkest moments of the Millat's misfortunes he played the role of an unflinching optimist and a prophet of hope and resurgence. The martyrdom of Fatima blast Abdullah during the war of Tripoli brought him the tidings of a new morn and the birth of a new nation

⁴⁸ Iqbal Namah, Ibid., p. 370.

whom the mortal eye could not yet see.⁴⁹ In Khizr-i-Rah he gave the happy news of a new era because a bright day had dawned even though at the cost of a hundred thousand stars. He radiated undying faith in the survival of the Millat. While discussing its destiny he says that nations have fallen and withered. The Muslims have themselves passed through fire and blood and faced unprecedented catastrophes and upheavals like the sack of Baghdad. But they are one nation, he asserts with profound conviction, which is destined to survive and live. The Muslim, he says, derives his light from the flame of La ilah which will not extinguish. Extinction of the Muslim will mean the extinction of the universe itself. This nation transcends the limits of time and space. Nations may rise and fall, but the nation of Islam will live for ever.⁵⁰ “Death cannot touch a Muslim” he wrote in a letter to poet Girami “for his inherent strength absorbs both life and death and effaces the contradiction of existence and non existence”.⁵¹

Allama presents a guiding programme for Muslims to revive their old self. This consists of firstly, devotion to the Quran:

چون مسلمانان اگر
 داری جگر
 در ضمیر خویش و در
 قرآن نگر
 صد جهان تازه در
 آیات اوست
 عصرها پیچیده در آلات

⁴⁹ Bang-i-Dara, Ibid., pp. 239-40.

⁵⁰ Iqbal Namah, Ibid., p. 14.

⁵¹ Javid Namah, Ibid., p. 72.

If you have the heart of a Muslim,
 Look into yourself and the Quran.
 A hundred new worlds live in its contents,
 Epochs lie hidden in its moments.

and secondly, dedication to the historical Islamic tradition. The poet confidently observes that when a nation is about to disintegrate it can survive through dedication to its old traditions and institutions. That is why he lays repeated stress on the pristine glory of Islam. Thirdly, he calls for compliance with the religious law. The Muslim, according to Allama, lost the secret of his earlier dynamic character and sank into apathy and inaction the moment he failed to live up to the standards and values set by the Holy Prophet. Fourthly, the poet lays stress on the presence of a physical centre of national life. In the case of a Muslim, he says, it eminently exists in the form of Baitul-Haram or Ka'ba. It forms the nucleus of a unifying and binidng force for all Muslims. In the beginning of his poetic career he prayed to the Almighty

بھٹکے ہوئے آہو کو پھر سوئے
 حرم لے چل⁵³

Lead the astray gazelle to the Haram
 and at the end he again exclaimed:

جز حرم منزل ندارد

⁵² Bang-i-Dara, Ibid, p. 237.

⁵³ Javid Namah, Ibid., p. 86.

کارواں

غیر حق در دل ندارد

54

کارواں

There is no destination of the caravan but Haram

It has naught but Truth in its heart.

Deep and lasting love for the Muslim nation and Allama's soft-repeated prayers for the progress and solidarity of the Millat and the restoration of its old glory colour his entire poetry. This emotion is imbued with rare intensity and total dedication.

Prayers for the collective good of the Millat have significantly found precedence over his supplications for himself or for the dearest of his kith and kin. In these prayers he has invariably wished the Millat to share his pangs and yearnings, his hopes and aspirations, the fire of his heart, the frenzy of his soul, his emotion and intellect, and his unswerving faith in the face of the gathering storm of skepticism. To wit:

مرے دیدئے ترکی بے

خوابیاں

مرے دل کی پوشیدہ

بے تائیاں

مرے نالئہ نیم شب کا

نیاز

⁵⁴ Bal-i-Jibril, Ibid., p. 169.

مری خلوت و انجمن
کا گداز
امنگیں مری، آرزوئیں
مری
امیدیں مری،
جستجوئیں مری
مری فطرت آئینہ
روزگار
غزالان افکار کا
مرغزار
مرا دل مری رزمگاہ
حیات
گمانوں کے لشکر،
یقین کا ثبات
یہی کچھ ہے ساقی
متاع فقیر
اسی سے فقیری میں
ہوں میں امیر
مرے قافلے میں لٹا دے

اسے
لٹا دے ٹھکانے لگا دے
55
اسے

از آن آتش کہ جان من
بر افروخت
نصیبے ده مسلمان
زادگان را⁵⁶

ز سوز این فقیر ره
نشینے
بدہ او را ضمیر آتشینے
دلش را روشن و پاینده
گرداں
ز امیدے کہ زاید از

⁵⁵ Armughan-i-Hijaz, Ibid. p. 83.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 55.

The sleeplessness of my moist eyes,

The hidden restlessness of my heart.

The humility of my midnight cry,

My anguish both in moments of aloofness and association.

My ambitions and my desires,

My hopes and my quests,

My mind, the mirror of the time,

And the meadow of the gazelles of ideas.

My heart, the battleground of my life,

Where storms of scepticism rages but faith stands steadfast.

This, O Saki, is the be-all and end-all of my life, This makes me rich in poverty.

Bestow it upon my caravan,

For in this bestowel lies its true goal.

Of the fire which enkindled my life,

Give a taste to Muslim progeny.

⁵⁷ Armughan-i-Hijaz, Ibid., p. 75.

Of the burning frenzy of this humble faqir
Grant him a fiery conscience,
Illumine and immortalize his heart,
With the hope that is born of faith.

The role of a great sage, visionary and guide which I played in the service of the Millat is eloquently summed up the following quatrain which in a sublime spiritual state I thus recited before the Holy Prophet:

حضور ملت بیضا
تپیدم
نوائے دلگدازمے آفریدم
ادب گوید سخن را
مختصر گو
تپیدم، آفریدم، آرمیدم

I lived restlessly amongst the Bright Nation of Islam, And I produced a heart-melting song.

Veneration demands that I wind up my words in brief:

I agitated, I created, I rested.

IQBAL'S ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS TIME- CONCEPTS AND HIS OWNVIEW OF TIME

Riffat Hassan

Time is a central concept in Iqbal's philosophy. From various accounts we know that the tradition "la Tasubbu ad-dahr" i.e. "Do not vilify Time (for Time is God)" accompanied Iqbal all his life.⁵⁸ He even surprised Henri Bergson with it when he visited the French philosopher in Paris. "He took his prophetic word for a designation of that over-whelming reality of which time and space are only aspects"⁵⁹ In 1933, he wrote, "If dahr is continuous and extended and it is Allah himself-what then, is space ? Just as if time is a kind of reflection on dahr, so space must also be a kind of reflection or dahr".⁶⁰ Iqbal emphasizes time more than space. Time is more fundamental than space, it is related to space as soul is to the body. It is the mind of space.⁶¹ Pure duration is the matrix of the whole universe.⁶²

Newton: absolute time

Newton conceives of time as he conceives of space, as a kind of actually subsisting framework in which objects are set, and so as belonging to the actual in the same fashion for every kind of individual observer, however he may observe and without reference to any condition.⁶³ According to Newton, all motion may be accelerated or retarded, only the flow of absolute time cannot be changed. The same duration with the same persistence occurs in

⁵⁸ Schimmel, A. M. *Gabril's Wing*, Leiden, 1963, p. 290.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁶¹ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahor, 1962, p. 137.

⁶² Kbatoun, J. *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the Philosophic System of Iqbal*, Karachi, 1963, p. 103.

⁶³ Haldane, V. *The Reign of Relativity*, London, 1922, p. 42.

the existence of all things, whether the motion be rapid, slow or zero.⁶⁴ Iqbal refers to Newton's description of time as "some-thing which in itself and from its own nature flows equally" and says that the metaphor of stream implied in this description, suggests serious objections to Newton's view of time. "We cannot understand how a thing is affected on its immersion in this stream and how it differs from things that do not participate in its flow. Nor can we form any idea of the beginning, the end, and the boundaries of time if we try to understand it on the analogy of a stream. Moreover, if flow, movement, or 'passage' is the last word as to the nature of time, there must be another time to time the movement of the first time, and another which times the second time, and so on to infinity".⁶⁵ Thus, according to Iqbal the notion of time as something wholly objective is beset with difficulties.

The Ash'arites: atomic time:

Time, though it cannot be regarded as objective, is not to be regarded as something unreal. Iqbal also admits that although we possess no sense-organ to perceive time, it is a kind of flow, and as such has a genuine objective or atomic aspect.⁶⁶ Modern quantum theory which assumes the discontinuity of matter, confirms the Ash'arite theory of atomic time. Iqbal quotes Professor Rongier in support: "Contrary to the ancient adage, Nature non facit saltus, it becomes apparent that the universe varies by sudden jumps and not by imperceptible degrees. A physical system is capable of only a finite number of distinct states. Since between two different and immediately consecutive states the world remains motionless, time is suspended, so that time itself is discontinuous: there is an atom of time."⁶⁷ According to the Ash'arites then, time is a succession of individual "nows". It follows that between moments

⁶⁴ Siddiqi, R. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space" in Iqbal as a Thinker, Lahore, 1966, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

of time there is an unoccupied moment of time or a void of time.⁶⁸ Iqbal finds the idea of atomic time unsatisfactory⁶⁹ The idea is due to the ignorance or neglect of the psychologically subjective aspect of time and considers time almost as a created, objectively given fact, whereas a personal, living, creator is posited. Now if this creator is living one must somehow be able to predicate a time of this creator.⁷⁰

In Iqbal's words, "we cannot apply atomic time to God and conceive Him as a life in the making, as Professor Alexander seems to have done in his lectures on Space, Time and Deity."⁷¹ A better understanding of Divine Time can be obtained through introspection, seizing that experience of appreciative time which alone can account for creativeness. In this way, time precedes space psychologically, and is the source of space.⁷²

Time and Relativity

As we have seen, Iqbal is in general agreement with the theory of relativity as regards the concepts of space and time but he raises one objection to it. Iqbal thinks that Einstein's theory considers to be unreal. "A theory which takes time to be a kind of fourth dimension of space must, it seems, regard the future as something already given, as indubitably fixed as the past. Time as a free creative moment has no meaning for the theory it does not pass, events do not happen we simply meet them".⁷³

According to an eminent mathematician, Iqbal has a misconception about the theory of relativity which regards time as a fourth dimension not of space, but of the space-time continuum. Thus the theory gives as much

⁶⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 73.

⁶⁹ Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal" *Die Welt Des Islams* (N. S.) Leiden, 1954, Vol. III.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 75.

⁷² Bausani, A. "The concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", p 180.

⁷³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 30-39.

reality to time as to space.⁷⁴ It is to be pointed out that Iqbal did not presume to understand the implications of the theory of relativity, since he was not a mathematician. “It is not possible”, he said, “for us laymen to understand what is the real nature of Einstein’s time.”⁷⁵

Ouspensky: time as the fourth dimension of space:

Iqbal objects to the conception of time held by the Russian writer Ouspensky in his book *Tertium Organum*.⁷⁶ Ouspensky regards time as a fourth dimension of space and conceives the fourth dimension to be the movement of a three-dimensional figure in a direction not contained in itself. Just as the movement of the point, the line and the surface in a direction not contained in them gives us the ordinary three dimensions of space, in the same way the movement of the three dimensional figure in a direction not contained in itself must give us the fourth dimension of space. And since time is the distance separating events in order of succession and binding them in different wholes, it is obviously a distance lying in a direction not contained in the three-dimensional space. It is perpendicular to all directions of three-dimensional, space and is not parallel to any of them, Ouspensky describes our time-sense as a misty space-sense and argues that our psychic constitution is such, that to one-dimensional, two-dimensional or three-dimensional beings the higher dimension always appears as succession in time.⁷⁷ In other words, what appears to us as time is really space. This means that time is not a genuine creative movement, and what we call future events are not fresh happenings but things already given and located in an unknown space. Iqbal points out that in his search for a fresh direction Ouspensky needed a real serial time, i.e. a distance separating events in the order of succession. Thus time which was viewed as succession, at one stage. is reduced, at another stage, to what does not differ in anything from other

⁷⁴ Siddiqi, R. “Iqbal’s Conception of Time and Space”, pp. 29-30.

⁷⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p 39.

⁷⁶ Ibid.. pp. 39,40.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

lines and dimensions of space.⁷⁸ Ouspensky regarded time as a genuinely new direction in space because of its serial character. It is divested of this character. In Iqbal's opinion it cannot be regarded as an original directions.⁷⁹ Iqbal has another objection to Ouspensky's viewpoint. Razi-ud-Din Siddiqi writes, "Iqbal is right when he objects to the theory of serial time put forward by Ouspensky...that on the basis of this theory, it would be possible, by a careful choice of the velocities of the observer and the system in which a given set of events is happening, to make the effect precede the cause".⁸⁰ "It appears to me", writes Iqbal, "that time regarded as a fourth dimension of space really ceases to be time."⁸¹

Time as relative: Dawani and Iraqi:

Mulla Jalal-ud-Din Dawani and 'Iraqi take a relativistic view of time. According to the former if we take time to be the kind of span which makes possible the appearance of events as a moving procession and conceive this-span to be a unity, then we cannot but describe it as an original state of Divine activity, encompassing all the succeeding states of that activity. Dawani adds that a deeper insight into the nature of succession reveals its relativity, so that it disappears in the case of God to whom all events are present in a single act of perception.⁸²

Iqbal finds Iraqi's view of time even more satisfactory.⁸³ 'Iraqi conceives of infinite varieties of time, relative to the level of being intervening between materiality and pure spirituality. The time of gross bodies may be divided into past, present and future, and until one day is over the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings also possesses a serial character but

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁸⁰ Siddiqi, R. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space", p. 30.

⁸¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 39.

⁸² Ibid., p. 75.

⁸³ Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", p. 131,

its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more than a day in the time of an immaterial being. Rising to the highest level we reach Divine time which is absolutely free of the quality of passage, and does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change. It is above eternity, having neither beginning nor end. The priority of God is not due to the priority of time; on the other hand, the priority of time is due to God's priority. The Quran describes Divine time as the "Mother of Books" in which the whole of history freed from causal sequence, is gathered up in a single super-eternal "now".⁸⁴

As has been pointed out, Iqbal's conception of "time in God" differs. in fact, even from Iraqi's viewpoint, being based on psychological experience unknown to the Muslim philosophers.⁸⁵ According to Iraqi's conception of Divine Time, divine knowledge is the same as "omniscience in the sense of a single indivisible act of perception which makes God immediately aware of the entire sweep of history regarded as an order of specific events, in an eternal "now".⁸⁶ Iqbal does not hesitate "to carry the robust anthropomorphic conception of God in the Quran to its farthest consequences. Denying God this "passive omniscience' of traditional theology"⁸⁷ Iqbal says, "By conceiving God's knowledge as a kind of reflecting mirror, we no doubt save His fore-knowledge of future events, but it is obvious we do so at the expense of His freedom. The future certainly pre-exists in the organic whole of God's creative life, but it pre-exists as an open possibility, not as a fixed order of events with definite outlines."⁸⁸

Razi and the debate on time:

⁸⁴ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 75-76.

⁸⁵ Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammed Iqbal". p. 181.

⁸⁶ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 78.

⁸⁷ Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", pp. 181-182.

⁸⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 79.

For Iqbal, Fakhruddin Razi sums up the debate on time in Muslim thought with a declaration of skepticism concerning the real nature of time.⁸⁹ Razi's book is mainly explanatory.⁹⁰ This does not surprise Iqbal since Razi's method was, on the whole, objective, and "a purely objective point of view is only partially helpful in our understanding of the nature of time. The right 'course is a careful psychological analysis of our conscious experience which alone reveals the true nature of time."⁹¹

McTaggart: the unreality of time:

Iqbal refers to Dr. McTaggart's argument relating to the unreality of Time. According to McTaggart, time is unreal because every event is past, present and future, "Past, present and future are incompatible determinations. Every event must be one or the other, but no event can be more than one. But every event has them all. If M is past it has been present and future. If it is future, it will be present and past. If it is present, it has been future and will be past. Thus all the three incompatible terms are predicable of each event, which is obviously inconsistent with their being incompatible, and inconsistent with their producing chance"⁹² The illustrate the point let us take a concrete example. Queen Anne's death is past to us, it was present to her contemporaries and future to William III. Thus the event of Queen Anne's death combines characteristics which are incompatible with each other.⁹³

In Iqbal's opinion, McTaggart's argument proceeds on the assumption that serial time is final. "If we regard past, present, and future as essential to time, then we picture time as a straight line, part of which we have travelled

⁸⁹ Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", p 181.

⁹⁰ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 76.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 76.

⁹² McTaggart, J. E. "The Unreality of Time", *Mind!*, London, 1908, Vol. XVII. New Series, No. 65, p. 468.

⁹³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 57.

and left behind, and part lies yet untravelled before us. This is taking time, not as a static absolute holding the ordered multiplicity of fully-shaped cosmic events, revealing serially, like the picture of a film, to the outside observer”.⁹⁴ Iqbal refers to C.D. Broad who points out that a ‘future event cannot be characterized as an event Before the death of Queen Anne the event of her death existed only as an unrealized possibility.’⁹⁵ Iqbal’s answer to McTaggart’s argument is that the future exists only as an open possibility and not as a reality. When an event is described as being both past and present it cannot be said to combine incompatible characteristics.⁹⁶ The fallacy is in regarding ‘E is occurring now’ as analyzable in a way similar to the analysis of ‘X is red’, not only is ‘now’ regarded as a quality like ‘red’, but a confusion is made between E, an event, and X, a substance”.⁹⁷ Iqbal states that when an event X does happen it enters into an unalterable relation with all the events that have happened before it. These relations are not at all affected by relation of X with other events which happen after X by the future becoming of Reality. Hence there is no logical difficulty in regarding an event as both past and present.⁹⁸ Iqbal admits, however, that McTaggart’s argument “requires much further thinking” even though it does not touch real time or pure duration to which the distinctions of past, present and future do not apply.⁹⁹

Nietzsche: cyclic time:

Iqbal criticises Nietzsche’s view of time as it appears in connection with his doctrine of Eternal Recurrence¹⁰⁰ in the third book of Thus Spake Zarathustra. Nietzsche introduces the theme of Eternal Recurrence. This doctrine states “that all things recur eternally, and we ourselves with them,

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

⁹⁷ Cleugh, M.F. Time, London, 1937, p. 152.

⁹⁸ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam, p. 58.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 114.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 114.

and that we have already existed an infinite number of times before and all things with us.”¹⁰¹ So for Nietzsche, “everything goes, everything comes back: eternally roll, the wheels of being”.¹⁰² Whatever is happening now will happen again and has happened before. The great things of the world recur, but so do tile small. The return is “not a new life or a better life or a similar life: I shall return eternally to this identical and self-same life in the greatest things and in the smallest”.¹⁰³ according to Nietzsche, time is not a subjective form ; it is a real and infinite process which can only be conceived as “periodic”.¹⁰⁴ On the principle of the conservation of energy, the quantity of energy in the universe is constant. The world is a closed off unity in which there can be no, dissipation of energy. The amount of energy being fixed, various combinations of energy-centres recur an infinite number of times.”¹⁰⁵ Time is thus pictured by Nietzsche as repeating itself in identical cycles. It has no beginning or end. Iqbal regards Nietzsche’s viewpoint as a kind of mechanism based on the hypothetical constancy of quantity of energy.” According to Iqbal, Nietzsche does not “seriously grapple with the question of time. He takes it objectively and regards it merely as an infinite series of events returning to itself over and over again.”¹⁰⁶

Iqbal points out the difference between Nietzsche’s concept of time and his own concept as described in *Asrar-e-Khudi*. Life to Nietzsche is repetition, to *Asrar-e-Khudi* creation. The perfection of the Ideal Person according to Islam consists in realizing this aspect of time which can be described only as the eternal “now”. To Nietzsche there is no such thing as the eternal “now”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Nietzsche quoted in Holingdale, R. J. Nietzsche, London, 1965, p. 199.

¹⁰² Nietzsche quoted in Magill. F. N. *Masterpieces of World Philosophy*, London, 1963, p. 690.

¹⁰³ Nietzsche quoted in Holingdale, R. J. Nietzsche, p. 199.

¹⁰⁴ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁵ Enver, I. H. *The Metaphysics of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1963, p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Siddiqi, R. “Iqbal’s Conception of Time and Space”, p. 21-22.

¹⁰⁷ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 115.

Ibn Khaldun: time as movement:

Iqbal commends the work of the Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun who broke away from the magian conception of time as a circular movement and regarded the historical process as a free creative movement and not as a process which had already been worked out with definite landmarks.¹⁰⁸ This view has been put forward with greater accuracy in modern times by Bergson.¹⁰⁹ Bergson “linked the solution of the problem of time with such vital problems as liberty and personality, thus forestalling Iqbal’s active valuation of time as a sword. Iqbal corrects Bergson in a theistic sense, pointing to a direction that Bergson himself was eventually to follow in the course of his religious evolution.”¹¹⁰

Bergson: serial and non-serial time:

In his view of time, Iqbal comes nearest to Bergson of whom he says “among the representatives of contemporary thought Bergson is the only thinker who has made a keen study of the phenomenon of duration in time”.¹¹¹

Bergson uses “time” in two senses. In its narrow or superficial sense it means spatialized or clock time. In its wider or real sense it is conceived as “duree”¹¹² which is not mere blank lastingness, enduring through a hypostatized, spatialized Time ; it is cease-less continuous flow in which all things live and move and have their being.¹¹³ Like Heraclitus, Bergson insists that the notion of ceaseless change is fundamental, but unlike him he does

¹⁰⁸ Vahid, S. A (Editor) Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, Lahore, 1964,p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 251 and 296.

¹¹⁰ Bausani, A. “The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal”, p. I83.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² The Reconstruction of Religions Thought in Islam, p. 46.

¹¹³ Cleugh, E. M. Time, p. 109.

not stultify the notion by permitting cyclic repetition. For him, *duree* evolves ever new and newer forms, that is, it is genuinely creative.¹¹⁴

Like Bergson, Iqbal distinguishes between the serial and non-serial aspects of time. The former is associated with what Iqbal calls the efficient self and the latter with the appreciative self. The efficient or practical self is related to the spatial world. While retaining its unity as a totality, the efficient self reveals itself as a series of discrete (quantum) states. The time of this efficient self is just a dimension of the space-time continuum. It is of the serial character postulated by the Ash'arites.¹¹⁵

The time in which the efficient self lives is the time of which we predicate “long” and “short”. It is hardly distinguishable from space. Time, thus regarded, is not true time, according to Bergson.¹¹⁶ the appreciative ego lives in pure duration, i.e. change without succession According to Iqbal, the unity of the appreciative ego is like that of the germ in which the experiences of its ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in’ which every experience permeates the whole. There is no numerical distinctness of states in the totality of the ego, the multiplicity of whose elements is wholly qualitative. There is change and movement but they are not divisible. Their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character. The time of the appreciative self is a single “now” which the efficient self spatializes into a series of “nows”.¹¹⁷

Bergson also points out the difference between time as infected by the idea of space and pure time: “When we speak of time we generally think of a homogeneous medium in which our conscious states are ranged alongside one another as in space, so as to form a discrete multiplicity. Would not time, thus understood, be to the multiplicity of our psychic states what intensity is

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Siddiqi, R. “Iqbal’s Conception of Time and Space”, pp. 32-33.

¹¹⁷ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 47.

to certain of them—a sign, a symbol, absolutely distinct from true duration? Let us ask consciousness to isolate itself from the external world, and, by a vigorous effort of abstraction, to become itself again. We shall then put this question to it: does the multiplicity of our conscious states bear the slightest resemblance to the multiplicity of the units of a number? Has true duration anything to do with space? ...If time as the reflective consciousness represents it, as a medium in which our conscious states form a discrete series so as to admit of being counted, and if on the other hand our conception of number ends in spreading out in space everything which can be directly counted, it is to be presumed that time, understood in the sense of a medium in which we make distinctions and count, is nothing but space it follows that pure duration must be something different.”¹¹⁸ It has been pointed out that Bergson does not deny succession to pure duration. For him the flow of pure duration is a succession of interpenetrating states. Iqbal takes away succession to pure duration. For him the flow of pure duration is a succession of interpenetrating states. Iqbal takes away succession altogether. For him pure duration is eternity in the sense of change without succession.¹¹⁹

Bergson: pure duration known intuitively

Iqbal agrees with Bergson that pure duration is known intuitively rather than intellectually. Bergson points out the barrenness and artificiality of intellectual abstraction which cannot perceive the organic unity of life. “Instead of attaching ourselves to the inner becoming of things, we place ourselves outside them in order to recompose their becoming artificially. We take snapshots, as it were, of the passing reality”.¹²⁰ Iqbal’s distinction between intellect and intuition, like Bergson’s is in alignment with his distinction between spatialized time and *duree*. In “Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid,” Iqbal says:

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 48,

¹¹⁹ Bergson, H. *Time and Free Will* (translated by Pogson, F. L.), London, 1910, pp. 90-91.

¹²⁰ Sharif, M. M. “Iqbal on the Nature of Time”, *Iqbal Review*, October, 1960, p. 37.

ابد را عقل ما نا
سازگار است
'یکی' از گیر و دار او
هزار است
چولنگ است او
سکون رادوست دارد
نیند مغز و دل بر
پوست دارد
حقیقت را چو ما سع
پاره کر دیم
تمیز ثابت و سیاره
کردیم
خرد در لا مکان طرح
مکان بست
چو زناری زمان را بر
میان بست
زمان را در ضمیر کود
ندیدم

Unable to perceive infinity,
The intellect just multiplies pure unity.
Lame, it likes to stand still ;
And blind, gives up the kernel for the shell.
The stars and plants that we see
Are fragments of reality
Creations of the intellect
Which must dissect.
We never saw Time with our inner sight
And have invented year and month and day and night.

(Translation by Husain, H. “The New Rose-Garden of Mystery”, p. 7)

and again he comments upon the inadequacy of the intellectual approach to the question of time:

خرد بھر ابد ظرفی ندارد
نفس چون سوزن
ساعت شمارد

¹²¹ Cleugh, B. M. Time, p. 116.

تراشد روزها، سحرها
نگیرد شعله و چنید
122 شررها

The Intellect counts every breath With a clock's hand,
As if breath were 'Time's unit So it can never comprehend
And take the measure of Infinity.
It only fashions night and day,
Imaginary parts of 'Time.
Afraid to seize the flame,
It gathers sparks alone.

(Translation by Husain, H. "The New Rose-Garden of Mystery", p. 13)

He compares the intuitive and the intellectual mode of perceiving reality:

ضمیر زندگانی
جاودانی ست
به چشم ظاهرش بینی،
123 زمانی ست

Life's essence is eternal, though

¹²² Bergson, H. Creative Evolution (translation by Mitchell, A.), London, 1911, p. 322.

¹²³ Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 216.

Seen with the body's eye

It is a part of Time

(Translated by Husain, H. "The New Rose-Garden of Mystery", p. 13)

Thus for Iqbal, it is "only in the moments of profound-meditation when the efficient self is in abeyance, that we sink into deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience."¹²⁴ However, it is to be remembered here that Iqbal does not agree with Bergson in thinking that thought only spatializes living process. For him, in its deeper movement, that is "in its true nature", thought "is identical with life"¹²⁵.

Bergson: time as creative

Iqbal shares with enthusiasm an idea found both in the Qur'an and in Bergson's philosophy, namely, that time is creative. Bergson vehemently opposed the old idea expressed in Ecclesiastes that "there is nothing new under the sun".¹²⁶ On the contrary, he urges, that if we picture duration as a ceaseless flow, we are bound to hold some kind of an evolutionary view in conjunction with it.

Time is not static, it is a process continually working towards ever new forms which cannot be predicted.⁵ He takes the example of a painter. "The painter is before his canvas, the colours are on the palette, the model is sitting—all this we see, and also we know the painter's style: do we foresee clearly what will appear on the canvas? We possess the elements of the problem: we know in an abstract way, how it will be solved, for the portrait will surely resemble the model and will surely resemble also the artist ; but

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 229.

¹²⁵ Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 228.

¹²⁶ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 47-48.

the concrete solution brings with it that unforeseeable nothing which is everything in a work of art.”¹²⁷

According to Bergson, “science can work only on what is supposed to repeat itself—that is to say, on what is withdrawn, by hypothesis, from the action of real time.”¹²⁸ and thus “concentrated on that which repeats, solely preoccupied in welding the same to the same, intellect turns away from the vision of times Iqbal also points out that creation and not repetition is the characteristic of real time. “If time is real, and not a mere ‘repetition of homogeneous moments which makes conscious experience a delusion, then every moment in the life of reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable. To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation. Creation is opposed to repetition which is characteristic of mechanical action. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism”.¹²⁹

Bergson: time as non-teleological movement

Despite the many similarities between the thought of Bergson and Iqbal, there are certain significant differences. Bergson denies the teleological character of Reality on the ground that it makes time unreal. According to him “the portals of the future must remain wide open to Reality otherwise it will not be free and creative”.¹³⁰ Thus if teleology is admitted the primordial freshness of *duree* will be nullified. Iqbal points out that this objection only holds good so long as teleology means the acting out of a plan in view of predetermined purpose. As Professor Bausani observes “such a religious predestinationism would destroy the freedom of both God and man”.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Ibid, pp. 51-52.

¹²⁸ Cleugh, E. M. Time, p. 119.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 120.

¹³⁰ Bergson, H. Creative Evolution, p. 360.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 31.

Teleology is to be understood not as a mechanical but as a vitalistic-creative process—a line not already drawn, but a line in the drawing—an actualization of open possibilities. The world-process “is purposive only in this sense that it is selective in character and brings itself to some sort of present fulfillment by actively preserving and supplementing the past”.¹³² For Iqbal, then, ultimate Reality “is pure duration in which thought, life and purpose interpenetrate to form an organic unity”¹³³ In his opinion, Bergson’s mistake was that he overlooked the forward-looking aspect of consciousness which makes it teleological”.¹³⁴

According to Iqbal, Bergson was wrong in that he considered pure time as preceding the Person, of whom alone both pure duration and *elan vital* can be predicated”.¹³⁵ Pure time cannot keep the multiplicity of objects and events together. The multiplicity of nature broken up into innumerable instants can only be grasped by the appreciative act of a lasting self which can build it up together in a lasting synthesis”.¹³⁶ For Iqbal, time although an essential element in reality, is not reality itself”.¹³⁷ In Greek and Hindu thought time was bound to things visible and escape from it was possible only through self-annihilation but Iqbal boldly introduces Time into the very heart of God.¹³⁸ God is not the unmoved mover, the God portrayed by the Qur’an is an active, changing and living God.¹³⁹ For Iqbal, God lives in eternity: and in serial time. The former means change without succession

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³³ *The Reconstruction-of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 50.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

¹³⁵ Bausani, A. “The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal”, p. 161.

¹³⁶ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 54-55.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹³⁸ Khatoon, J. *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the philosophic System of Iqbal*, p. 109.

¹³⁹ Bausani, A. “The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal”, p. 161.

while the latter is organically related to eternity in so far as it is a measure of eternity.¹⁴⁰

In Javid Mama, Iqbal attempts to portray life in the non-serial time of the world beyond creation:

" در گشتم از حد این کائنات
پا نهادم در جهان بی چهارت
بی یمین و بی یسار است این
جهان
فارغ از لیل و نهار است این
جهان"
"اندر آن عالم جهان دیگری
اصل او از کن فکان دیگری
لا زوال و هر زمان نوع دگر
نادِ اندر وهم و آید در نظر
هر زمان او را کمال دیگری
هر زمان او را جمال دیگری
روز گارش بی نیاز از ماه و مهر
گنجد اندر ساحت او نه
سهر"¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 161-162.

¹⁴¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 58.

I passed beyond the bounds of this universe
And set foot in the undimensioned world,
A world without both right and left,
A world devoid of night and day.
In that universe was another world
Whose origin was from Divine fiat,
Undecaying, and every moment transformed,
Unimaginable, yet there clearly visible,
Every moment clothed in a new perfection,
Every moment clad in a new beauty.
Its time had no need of moon and sun;
In its expanse the nine spheres are contained.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. "Javid Namah", pp. 113-14)

The Qur'an and the two aspects of time

Serial time comes into existence only by the very act of creation¹⁴² "The Time of the Ultimate Ego is revealed as change without succession, i.e. an organic whole which appears atomic because of the creative movement of the ego. This is what Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra mean when they say that time is born with the act of creation by which the Ultimate Ego realizes and measures, so to speak, the infinite wealth of his own undetermined

¹⁴² Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", p. 162.

possibilities”.¹⁴³ Hence it is possible for Iqbal to interpret logically the two contrasting statements on creation in the Qur’an: “All things have we created bound by a fixed decree and our command is no more than a single word, like the twinkling of an eye” (54: 50)¹ and “do thou trust in him who liveth and dieth not ; and celebrate his praise who bath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days ; and then ascended his Throne ; the Merciful”. (25: 60)¹⁴⁴

Viewed intellectually, one Divine day, in the terminology of the Qur’an and the Old Testament becomes equal to a thousand years. But from another view-point, the process of creation is a single act as swift as the twinkling of an eye. Iqbal illustrates this point further. The sensation of red is caused by a wave-motion of the frequency of 400 billions per second and is practically incalculable, yet it is received by the eye in a single momentary act of perception.¹⁴⁵

Time t to sum up

Iqbal believed that “a keen sense of the reality of time and the concept of life as a continuous movement in time is typical of Islam”.¹⁴⁶ We have seen the importance he attaches to time in his own philosophy. His concept of time “fits in nicely into the general movement of revival of personalism which is underway in today’s religious philosophy”.¹⁴⁷ Professor Buasani observes, “Iqbal’s own contribution is that of Islamic experience, which we would do well to consider with greeter attention and appreciation”.¹⁴⁸ Professor Schimmel thinks that the religious importance of Iqbal’s ideas about time deserves special attention, for “what he wanted was surely not to add a new system of scientific explanations to this most difficult problem,

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Javid Namah, pp. 178, 178-80.

¹⁴⁶ Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel’s Wing, p. 292.

¹⁴⁷ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 76-77.

¹⁴⁸ Sale, G. Translation of The Koran, London, no date, p. 275.

but to draw the attention of the Muslim world back to the contact with the living God. Through a revaluation of the two fold aspect of time he aimed at an actualization of this burning but long forgotten issue for Muslim religious life”¹⁴⁹.

Time (and space) In Iqbal’s poetry

In his poetry, Iqbal often describes serial time as the Zunnar, the magian’s girdle. This symbol “shows Iqbal’s fine psycho-logical insight—he could not yet foresee what H. Corbin proved many years later that the Zunnar is the typical Zurvanistic symbol¹⁵⁰”. Zurvan is the old Iranian God of Time. He is conceived as a sorcerer whose spell has to be broken. The person of God recognizing the personal creative activity of God, and realizing this power in his or her own self can break the spell of Zarvan by participating in God’s time.¹⁵¹

Most of Iqbal’s ideas on time are brought together in “Nawa-e-Waqt” a poem “which has been praised by Dr. Razi-ud-Din Siddiqi, Pakistan’s well known authority on atom-physics, as a perfect commentary on Einstein’s theory of relativity”¹⁵² It is worth quoting in full:

خورشید به دامنم انجم به
گریبانم
در من نگری هیچم، در خود
نگری جانم
در شهر و بیابانم در کاخ و

¹⁴⁹ Ibid . p. 393.

¹⁵⁰ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 48-49.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 144.

¹⁵² Bausani, A. “The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal”, p. 185.

شبستانم

من دردم و درمانم، من عیش

فراوانم

من تیغ جهان سوزم من چشمه

حیوانم

چنگیزی و تیموری مشتی ز

من غبام

هنگامه افرنگی یک جسته

من شرار

انسان و جهان او، از نقش و

من نگار

خون جگر مردان، سامان بهار

من

من آتش سوازنم من روضه

رضوانم

آسوده و سیارم، این طرفه

تماشایین

در بادئه امروزم، کیفیت فردا

بین

پنهان به ضمیر من، صد عالم
رعنائین

صد کوکب غلطان بین، صد
گنبد خضرا بین
من کسوت انسانم، پیراهن
یزدانم

تقدیر فسون من، تدبیر فسون
تو

تو عاشق لیلائے، من دشت
جنون تو

چون روح روان پاکم، از چندو
چگون تو

تو راز درون من من راز درون
تو

از جان تو پیدایم در جان تو
پنهانم

من رهرو و تو منزل، من مزرع
و تو حاصل

تو ساز صد آهنگے، تو گرمی

این محفل
 آوارئه آب و گل! درباب مقام
 دل
 گنجیده به جامے بین، این قلم
 بی ساحل
 از موج بلند تو سر برزده
 طوفانم
 153

In my bosom I hold the sun and the stars,

If you look within me, I am nothing, if you look within yourself, I am life itself.

My dwelling-place are cities and deserts, palaces and solitary dens;

I am malady and balm, I am joy abundant

I am the world-vanquishing sword, I am the fountain of eternal life.
 Chingez and Temur raised but specks of my storm, The turmoil of the West
 is but a spark of my fire; Humans and their universe are my handiwork ;
 From the labour of great persons my spring is born ;

I am the fire of hell and the peace of heaven.

See this wondrous phenomenon—I am still, yet I move;

In the crystal ball of my present see the glimpse of future days.

See hidden in me a thousand glorious worlds.

Thousands of swift-moving stars and thousands of blue skies.

I behold humanity; I am the garment of God. Destiny is my chant and free action yours,

You love a Laila, I am the wilderness where you roam so wildly.

Like the soul I am free of your how and wherefore ; You are the secret of my being and I of yours ; I rise out of your soul and I am hid in your spirit ? I am the traveller and you the destination.

I the field and you are of the harvest

I am the field and you are the harvest.

You are a hundred-toned instrument and this company's glow;

O wanderer on sea and land, return to your heart;

See in my cup an ocean limitless;

You are the lofty wave from which my storm arose.

Space and Time are not absolute realities, Says Iqbal.

چشم بر زمان و بر مکان

این دو یک حال است از

احوال جان¹⁵⁴

Open wide your eyes upon Time and Space,

For these two are but a state of the soul.

¹⁵⁴ Schimmel, A, M.Gibriel's Wing, p. 298.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. “Javid Namah”, p, 33)

Serial time is not only related to but derives its reality from pure duration:

تیرے شب روز کی اور حقیقت ہے کیا
ایک زمانے کی رو جس میں نہ دن ہے نہ رات¹⁵⁵

What other sense have your nights, what have your days, but one Long blank current of time empty of sunset or dawn? (Translation by Kiernan, V. G., “Pomes of Iqbal”, p. 38)

In his Lectures, Iqbal said, “timeless experience embodies itself in a world-making or world-shaking act and in this form diffuses itself in the time-movement and makes itself effectively visible to the eye of history”.¹⁵⁶

He repeats this thought again in his famous poem on the Mosque of Cordova—the Essence reveals it’s possibilities in a tangible form in serial time:

سلسلہ روز و شب نقش گر
حادثات
سلسلہ روز و شب اصل
حیات و ممات
سلسلہ روز و شب تار حریر

¹⁵⁵ Schimmel, A. M. *Gibriel’s Wing*, p. 296.

¹⁵⁶ Schimmel, A. M. “Time and Eternity in the Work of Muhammad Iqbal”, *Proceedings of the International Congress for Religions, Marburg, 1961*. pp. 55-56.

دو
 جس سے بناتی ہے ذات اپنی
 قبائے صفات
 سلسلہ روز و شب ساز ازل
 کی فغان
 جس سے دکھاتی ہے ذات زیر
 و ہم ممکنات¹⁵⁷

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

Day succeeding to night—fountain of life and death.

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

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

Chain of the days and nights—sigh of eternity's harp.

Height and depth of all things possible, God-revealed

(Translation by Kiernan, V. G., "Poems from Iqbal", p. 37)

Space and time are brought into existence by the very act of creation and are then broken into moments:¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Schimmel, A. M. "The Javid Namah in the light of the comparative History of Religions, "The Pakistan Quarterly, Winter 1956, Vol. VI No. 4, p. 184.

¹⁵⁸ Payam-e-Mashriq, pp. 102-103.

مری صراحی سے قطرہ قطرہ نئی حوادث
ٹپک دے ہیں
میں اپنی تسبیح روز و شب کا شمار کرتا
159 ہوں دانہ دانہ

New tidings slowly come drop by drop from my pitcher Gurgling of time's new sights.

As I count over the beads strung out on my threaded Rosary of days and nights.

(Translation by Kiernan, V. G., "Poems from Iqbal", p. 50)

In Javid Nama, Zarvan the God of serial time, instructs the adept' how to conquer him and how to read the Eternal Now¹⁶⁰:

من حیاتم من مماتم من نشور
من حساب و دوزخ و فردوس و
حور
آدم و افرشته در بند من است
عالم شش روزه فرزند من است
هر گلے کز شاخ میچینی منم

¹⁵⁹ Javid Namah,, p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ Bal-s-Jibr11, p. 121.

ام هر چیزمے که می بینی منم
در طلسم من اسیر است این
جهان
از دم هر لحظه پیر است این
جهان
لی مع الله هر کرا در دل
نشست
آن جوانمردمے طلسم من
شکست
گر تو خواهی من نباشم در
میان
لی مع الله باز خوان از عین
جان¹⁶¹

I am life, I am death, I am resurrection,

I am the Judgment, Hell, Heaven and Hour, Man and angel are both in
bondage to me,

This transitory world is my own child ;

I am the matrix of everything that you see.

¹⁶¹ The Reconstruction of Rollous Thought In Islam, p. 184.

This world is a prisoner in my talisman,
Every moment it ages through my breath.
But he who has in his heart 'I have a time with God'
That doughty hero has broken my talisman ;
If you wish that I should not be in the midst,
Recite from the depths of soul 'I have a time with God'.
(Translation by Arberry, A. J., "Javid Namah", p. 34)

The Prophet's saying "Li ma'a Allah waqt"¹⁶², i.e. "I have a time with God (where even Gabriel has no access) "through which many mystics have expressed their unitive experiences "has become, in more or less explicit form, a leit motif of Iqbal's whole thinking, beginning from the *Asrar*".¹⁶³ It is interesting to note that this saying has been quoted several times by Rumi and other mystics have built a whole edifice of mystical meanings upon it. For instance, Hujwiri says: 'Waqt is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come"¹⁶⁴

In a section of *Asrar-e-Khudi* entitled "Time is a sword" Iqbal gave his first detailed exposition of the concept of time. He wanted to make it clear that "that world of time is not to be regarded as a world of shadows signifying nothing, a play of illusion on the edge of a void as the Hindu

¹⁶² Bal-Jibril, p. 126.

¹⁶³ Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's PM g, p. 294.

¹⁶⁴ Bale-Jibril, p. 175.

mystagogues had preached. Time is real and time is important".¹⁶⁵ Time becomes a cutting sword !

من چه گویم سسر این
شمشیر چیست
آب او سرمایه دار از زندگی
ست
صاحبش بالاتر از امید و بیم
دست او بیضا تر از دست
کلیم¹⁶⁶

How shall I say what is the secret of this sword ?

In its flashing edge there is life.

Its owner is exalted above hope and fear,

His hand is whiter than the hand of Moses.

(Translation by Nicholuson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 134)

To one who is bound by serial time, the poet says:

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 295. 4. Javid Namah, p. 22.

¹⁶⁶ Javid Namah, p. 297.

اے اسیر دوش و فردا درنگر
در دل خود عالم دیگر نگر
در گل خود تخم ظلمت
کاشفی

وقت را مثل خطے پنداشتی
باز با پیمانہ لیل و نہار
فکر تو پیمود طول روزگار
مسلمی ؟ آزاد این زناد باش
شمع بزم ملت احرام باش
تو کہ از اصل زمان آگہ نئہ
زندگی از دہر و دہر از
زندگی ست
لا تبسو الدہر فرمان نبی
ست¹⁶⁷

Look O thou enthralled by Yesterday and Tomorrow,
Behold another world in thine own heart,
Thou hast sown the seed of darkness in the clay,

Thou hast imagined Time as a line ;
Thy thought measures length of Time
With the measure of night and day,
Art thou a Moslem ? Then cast off this girdle.
Be a candle to the feast of the religion of the free.
Knowing not the origin of Time,
Thou art ignorant of everlasting life.
Life is of Time, and Time is of Life:
“Do not abuse Time” was the command of the Prophet.

(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, pp 135-138).

Hujwiri also refers to Time as a sword which “cuts the root of the future and the past, and obliterates care of yesterday and tomorrow from the heart. The sword is a dangerous companion: either it makes its master a king or it destroys him”¹⁶⁸. For Iqbal, to live in pure duration is to be at the centre of destiny.¹⁶⁹ “It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Qur’an describes as ‘Taqdir’ or the destiny”.¹⁷⁰ By participating in God’s time, a human being is no longer the vehicle of serial time, he or she is the rider of the mount.

ایام کا مرکب نہیں راکب ہے

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Singh, I. The Araent Pilgrim, London, 1951, p. 89.

¹⁷⁰ Asrar-e-Khudi, p. 80.

The “qalandar” is not the mount of time but the rider of the mount.

Real life is possible on “this still point of time”.

تو از شمار نفس زنده نمیدانی
 که زندگی به شکست طلسم
 ایام است¹⁷²

All thy life is breath to take,

Knowing not, frail man,

That true living is to break

The days' talisman.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J., *Persian Psalms*, p. 58)

From “There is no god but God” too Iqbal infers that human beings must free themselves from the bondage of serial time through Love

¹⁷¹ Asrar-e-Khudi, pp. 81.82,

¹⁷² Hujwiri quoted in Schimmel, A. M. *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 298.

اعتبار از لا اله داریم ما
هر دو عالم را نگه داریم ما
از غم امروز و فردا رسته ایم
باکسے عہد محبت بستہ ایم

173

We have honour from “There is no God but Allah”,

We are the protectots of the universe.

Freed from the vexation of today and tomorrow,

We have pledged ourselves to love One.

(Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 140)

Love also frees a person from the limitations of the intellect:

خرد ہوئی ہے زمان و مکاں کی
زناری
نہ ہے زمان نہ مکاں لا اله الا

¹⁷³ Bausani, A. “The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal”, p. 162.

Intellect is the bondage of time and space,

There is no time or space, nothing but “There is no god but God”.

Iqbal refers to the highly personal character of the experience of time by quoting the story of the Seven Sleepers (Sura 18: 19)¹⁷⁵

مه و سالت نمى ارزد به يک

جو

به حرف "کم بشتتم" غوطه زن

شو¹⁷⁶

Your months and years are meaningless and vain: Think over the Qur'an's “How long did you remain?”. (Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 7)

Iqbal does not tire of saying:

¹⁷⁴ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ Zabur-a-Ajam, p. 93.

حساب روزش از دور فلک

177

نیست

The Self's day is not measured by The revolutions of the sky.

(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 7)

or of stressing the importance of love through which the soul is freed from the bondage of time, and led to the “me ‘raj” (the Ascension) of pure duration:

زمانه که حسابش ز سال و ما

178

ہے
نیست

The reckoning of which is not by years or months.

and so, in unforgettable lines, Iqbal gives a message based on his life-long philosophy

ستاروں سے آگے جہاں اور بھی

¹⁷⁷ Asrar-e-Khudi, p. 85.

¹⁷⁸ Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 7.

ہیں
ابھی عشق کے امتحان اور بھی
ہیں
قناعت نہ کر عالم رنگ و بو
پر
چمن اور بھی آشیاں اور بھی
ہیں!
اسی روز و شب میں الجھ کر
نہ رہ جا
کہ تیرے زمان و مکان اور بھی
ہیں!¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 294.

123 Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 216.

124 Zabur-a-Ajam, p. 237.

125 Payam-e-Mashriq, p. 219-

126 Bal-e-Jibril, pp. 89-90.

There are yet other worlds beyond stars, There are yet other tests of
Love to come.

With this world of hue-and-scent be not content, For there are other
gardens too to see ; Be not entangled in this Day and Night; For you have
other times and spaces too.

IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF THE PERFECT MAN

Abdul Khaliq

The self in man, his I—amness, has specifically earthly antecedents. There are a number of Qur'anic verses which, in slightly different phraseologies assert that man has been created out of clay. Iqbal, in this connection refers to the verses 23:12-14.

Now of fine clay have we created man, then we placed him, a moist germ, in a safe abode, then made we the moist germ a clot of blood, then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh, then made the piece of flesh into bones, and we clothed the bones, and we clothed the bones with flesh, then brought forth man of yet another make...¹⁸⁰

Given here is in a brief description of the various stages in the development and growth of the human individual. However, this is not Darwinian type of evolution where subsequent stages could invariably be explained in the light of the earlier ones and in accordance with certain well-defined scientific principles. Instead, the Qur'an appears to conceive that man is the result of a process known as 'emergent evolution' i.e. a process in which at a particular stage some novel characteristics suddenly and spontaneously appears. Thus he can be declared as a special creation in spite of his naturalistic lineage. This is evident from the sentence "...then brought forth man of yet another make" in the above quotation. Man alone has been described as the bearer of the Divine Trust which was granted to him by God and which the heavens and the earth had earlier refused to accept. The phenomenon of special creation is also clear from the verses Mike!

¹⁸⁰ Quran, 33: 72.

So when I have made him (i.e. man) complete and breathed into him of my spirit...¹⁸¹.

(God) said: O Iblis: what prevents thee from prostrating thyself to one whom I have created with My hands...¹⁸²

Iqbal interprets the incident of ‘breathing of the the Divine soul into man’ as a ‘kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal causality in one’s own being’, or as ‘a rising from simple consciousness to a state of self-awareness’.

From the verse I breathed into him of My spirit ‘ and others of its kind some thinkers, incidentally, have ventured to conclude that soul or mind is a separate, independent substance in the human organism. This is also the layman’s point of view. Dualism of mind and body thus conceived has raised a host of psychological, metaphysical, ethical as well as eschatological problems that have kept most of the Muslim mystics and philosophers' busy working out their details and implications. How-ever, the Qur’an itself, when carefully perused does not appear to subscribe to the substantiality of the human soul nor, consequently, to the possibility of its disembodied existence. For instance, it is commonly believed that long before man appeared in the spatiotemporal world, God convened a meeting of the souls of all men who were to be created till the last Day and got a commitment from them that He is their Lord. The only Qur’anic verse supposed to have mentioned this incident reads as follows.

When thy Lord drew forth from the children of Adam—from their loins—their descendents, and made them testify concerning themselves, (saying), “Am I not your Lord” They said: “Yea: we do testify” Lest ye should say on the Day of Judgment: “Of this we were never mindful”¹⁸³.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 15: 29.

¹⁸² Qur’an, 38: 75.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 7: 172.

Obviously, there is no mention here of souls or spirits as such. The verse really relates an incident of a man-God encounter as the surest mode of delivering faith in the godhead of Allah to the primordial nature of man. Also, in the hereafter, every-person will retain his total psycho-physical individuality as he will not only remember his own past deeds¹⁸⁴ but also recognize other individuals who were known to him in the world there before¹⁸⁵. Further the upholders of the dualism of human nature sometimes point out that soul and body depend for their development on different sets of factors which have nothing to do one with the other: body requires the consumption of foods and drinks whereas soul requires the inculcation of moral and spiritual values. The Qur'an does not as well permit this distinction which would incidentally amount to an estrangement between the religious and the worldly. According to the Qur'an bodily needs are to be fulfilled only in a manner that is approved by the volitional standards of spiritualism; and, correspondingly, the spiritual values are to be implemented not entirely independently but with due regard to the natural comforts of the body. No less than a comprehensive development of man as a whole, taking into consideration both his aspects, is the explicit as well as the implicit aim of Qur'anic teachings. When terms like *nafs*, *ruh*, *bison* are — used in the Qur'an to refer to the human individual, they signify his entire personality.

The word 'human ego' or *Khudi* used by Iqbal likewise is taken by him to mean the unity and totality of the human person. He rejects the dualist theory of mind and body because parallelism and interactionism both lead to various sorts of oddities and contradictions. The former “reduces the soul to a merely passive spectator of the happenings of the body” ; as to the latter, “we cannot find any observable facts to show how and where exactly their interaction takes place and which of the two takes the initiative. The soul is an organ of the body which exploits it for physiological purposes, or the body is an instrument of the soul, are equally true proposition on the theory

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 6: 28.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 10: 45.

of interactionism”.¹⁸⁶ Mind and body, in fact, belong to the same system, says Iqbal. Matter is “spirit in space-time reference”¹⁸⁷. It is “a colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order. The physical organism reacting to environments gradually builds up a systematic unity of experience which we call the human ego”.¹⁸⁸

The ego or self that man is has two aspects, according to Iqbal—the 'appreciative self' and the efficient self.¹⁸⁹ The former for which he also uses various alternative phrases like the 'deeper self', the 'inner centre of experience', the root of being' etc. lives in pure duration while the latter deals with serial time. In our day-to-day life we are so much absorbed with the world of space and time that we entirely lose sight of the fundamental or the appreciative 'I' within. It is, for Iqbal, incumbent upon a person to realize it not only in order to qualify himself for an encounter with the 'Great' I Am' and prepare himself for authentic relations with other human beings but also because this achievement would make him a human person in the full sense of the term “To exist in pure duration”, says Iqbal, “is to be a self and to be a self is to be able to say 'I am'. It is the degree of intuition of I—amness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being”¹⁹⁰.

How do I discover and recognize my self? Iqbal's answer is that, being most simple, fundamental and profound. I—amness is neither an object of perception nor simply an idea to be logically inferred and rationally conceived. It can, in the final analysis, only be known through a flash of intuitive insight. David Hume, the British empiricist, for instance, is well-known for his attempt to reach the self through channels which are purely of sensory, empirical nature. In his 'A Treatise of Human Nature', he wrote: “...when I enter most intimately into what I call myself I always stumble on

¹⁸⁶ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 105.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never catch 'myself' at any time without a percept and never can observe anything but the perception. When my perceptions are removed for any time, as my sound sleep, so long I am insensible of 'myself' and may truly be said not to exist. And were all my perceptions removed by death...I should be entirely annihilated"¹⁹¹. He thus concluded that there is no such thing as or 'self' and that a person's mind is nothing but a medley of different perceptions. Hume's supposition here is that all knowledge is to be furnished by sense experience. This leaves no scope for a permanent, non-successional being. Decartes, on the other hand, represents those who followed the course of reason. Being himself a brilliant mathematician and a discoverer of Analytical Geometry, he was firmly of the opinion that for philosophy a method could be discovered on the analogy of the one used in mathematical sciences, where we start with certain simple, self-evident principles, rising by degrees to the complex ones—thus building up an entire system of thought. So he set out in search of the indubitable and the self-evident. This he did by a grand process of elimination. He doubted away everything he could possibly doubt: the testimony of his senses, his memory, the existence of the physical world, his own body and even the truths of mathematics. One thing, however, he found, he could not possibly doubt and that was the fact of his own existence, his own self, his I—amness. It is he after all who had been performing the activity of doubting all the time. Doubting is a form of thinking. 'I think', he concluded, 'therefore I am', meaning to say, 'I exist'. This argument, the critics have pointed out, is fallacious on many grounds. For one thing, the conclusion to which the entire reasoning leads could only be that "there is a state of doubt", and that's all., At the most a logical 'I', which in fact is the subject of all propositions that are made, can be asserted. From this to skip over to the factual existence of an 'I', as Descartes really does, is a leap which cannot at all be justified.

¹⁹¹ Book I part IV.

Iqbal thus appears to be right when he holds that both sense-experience as well as reason, forms of perception as well as categories of understanding, are only meant to equip us for our dealings with the spatio-temporal world: they are not capable of reaching the core of one's being. In fact "in our constant pursuit after external things we weave a kind of veil round the appreciative self which thus becomes alien to us. It is only in the moments of profound meditation", he goes on to observe, "when the efficient self is in abeyance, that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience".¹⁹² On these premises, neither the mutakallimun nor the philosophers but the devotional sufis alone have truly been able to understand the nature of the human soul. The meditation, referred to here, is either pure meditation through which ideationally I remove from my self all that is not essentially 'me' i.e. all that I possess due to my specific historical' and geographical' situation, in the broadest sense of these terms. Or it may be the meditation charged with activity in which case I practically eradicate from my nature exclusive love for, and involvement with, the world which is the cause of my alienation from the source and ground of my existence. The second meaning particularly is accepted by the mystics of Islam. The sufistic path formally begins with the inculcation of the virtue of tauba (repentance) which signifies purification of soul and the deliverance of it from all extraneous material so that the divine within it stands realized. "The adherents of mystical religions", says G.S. Spinks, "feel compelled to empty their psychical life...in order to achieve by personality-denying techniques an emptiness that will prepare the way for the incoming of the Divine"¹⁹³.

It is to be hurriedly pointed out here that neither according to genuine sufism nor in the thought-system of Iqbal himself does this 'personality-denying' phenomenon stand for self-mortification or asceticism. The world is not to be disparaged and renounced because in fact there is nothing detestable about it as such. It could be as sacred as the spiritual realm. Iqbal's

¹⁹² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam, p. 96.

¹⁹³ Psychology of Religion, p. 128.

emphasis on the revilement of the inner being of man is simply aimed, as shown above, at the realization of one's own Divine nature, There is a tradition of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) which says: Verily God created man after His own image¹⁹⁴. God is above all determinations and limits man must therefore shed off limitations that make up his efficient personality and tear away the web that he has woven —warily or unwarily— around his original self. It is to this original self that the Qur'an refers when it says: He is indeed successful who causes it to grow ; and he indeed fails who buries it¹⁹⁵. This discovery necessarily gives to man a simple, fresh, uncontaminated point of view with which to look at everything, a sure ground from which to take off and start a truly authentic existence.

Realization of the appreciative self is thus not an end in itself. It only amounts to revolutionizing the behaviour of the man-in-the-world. This fact is well-evidenced by the way of the prophets as conceived by Iqbal. He defines a prophet “as a type of mystic consciousness in which unitary experience tends to overflow its boundaries and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life. In his personality the finite centre of life sinks into his own infinite depth only to spring up again, with fresh vigour to destroy the old and to disclose the new directions of life”¹⁹⁶. Prophet Mohammad (peace be on him) has, in fact, been accepted by Iqbal as the ideal of perfect manhood in Islam.

Iqbal is a process philosopher. In the preface to his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he significantly points out that the Qur'an emphasizes deed rather than idea. The Qur'an says: “(God) created death and life that He might try you—which of you is best in deeds”¹⁹⁷. Not fatalism and inactivity but ever-continuing formation of fresh goals and their perpetual realization is the desirable style of life for the soldier of the moral

¹⁹⁴ ان الله خلق آدم على صورته [كمال]

¹⁹⁵ Quran, 91: 9.

¹⁹⁶ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 126.

¹⁹⁷ Quran, 67: 2.

ideal. The essence of perfect manhood lies in a constant state of tension. The ego, throughout its career continues invading the environments and the environments invading the ego. The appreciative self, being a pure receptacle of Divine illumination as shown above, plays the role of a directive agent in this mutual invasion in order to shape the person's own destiny as well as that of the universe. Sometimes he is called upon to adjust the forces of the universe. Thus, gradually and surely, his personality continues to be integrated more and more so that ultimately it is ensured against all possibilities of dissolution or extinction. "That which tends to maintain the state of tension tends to make us immortal," says Iqbal. Further, "the idea of personality gives us a standard of value: it settles the problem of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. Art, religion and ethics must be judged from the standpoint of personality"¹⁹⁸. On this standard, passionate desire for the realization of goals, supreme indifference to evanescent material benefits, sterling self-confidence and courage to overcome obstacles, tolerance for the views and acts of others etc, are good, whereas ill-founded fears, undeserved possessions, disrespect for humanity, a false sense of dignity, malicious attitudes towards others are all bad. There being degrees of individuality, God is the most integrated individual. One who is nearest to him in this respect is thus the completes man. This nearness does not at all imply that man is finally absorbed in God; rather he absorbs God into himself. Even such a voluminous upheaval as the phenomenon of Universal Destruction preceding the Day of Judgement will not affect the individuality, uniqueness and calm of the well-integrated ego. The Qur'an says:

The Trumpet will (just) be sound, when all that are in the heavens and on earth wili swoon, except such as it will please God (to exempt)¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹⁸ Introduction to 'The Secrets of the Self'.

¹⁹⁹ Quran, 39: 69.

“Who can be the subject of this exception”, asks Iqbal,²⁰⁰ “but these in whom the ego has reached the very highest point of intensity? And the climax of this development is reached when the ego is able to retain full self-possession, even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing ego. As the Qur’an says of the Prophet’s vision of the Ultimate Ego: his eye turned not “aside, nor did it wander”.²⁰¹

Iqbal, in his poetic work, has described three stages towards the fullest realization of the integration of personality. The first is the stage of obedience to law. This is the level at which a person unquestioningly submits to, the order imposed by the shari’ah of Islam. This habit disciplines his being, instills in him the qualities of perseverance, patience and firmness against heavy odds and against all sorts of distraction, and deviation. The state of complete obedience to an externally imposed command, however, cannot persist for long. Doubts and apprehensions are bound to appear sooner or later—consciously or subconsciously—regarding the justifiability of these commands. This naturally impells the person to discover their rationale and attain complacency and satisfaction within. The individual now feels that the moral and religious orders have taken roots in his own being rather than in a ‘foreign’ agency. Kant very pointedly said that a principle of moral conduct is morally binding on me if and only if I can regard it as a law that I impose on myself. In a specifically religious context, Iqbal approvingly quotes the words of a Muslim mystic: ‘no understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it has actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet’.²⁰² This generally speaking, is the stage of self-control. Consequent upon this comes the third and the highest stage, namely, Niabet-e-Ilahi. Attainment of internal harmony and cohesion and unswerving self-confidence ultimately equips the individual for the assimilation of Divine attributes and for sufficiently deserving the appellation of ‘Deputy of God on

²⁰⁰ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 118.

²⁰¹ Quran, 53: 17.

²⁰² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 181:

Earth'. In the words of Iqbal himself: "the na'ib is the vicegerent of God on earth. He is the completest Ego, the goal of humanity, the same of life both in mind and body; in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. The highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. He is the last fruit of the tree of humanity, and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth."²⁰³

To conclude, a word about the metaphysics of Iqbal which of course is also relevant to the destiny of man. The fact that according to Iqbal it is not man who is finally absorbed in God but rather God who is absorbed in man suggests that to all intents and purposes he is a theist. Introducing the English translation of *Asrar-e-Khudi* he sufficiently elucidates his position against pantheism on which he further elaborates in his 'Reconstruction' and specially in his lecture on *The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer.*' In this lecture he brings out the uncompromising individuality of God with reference to the Qur'anic surah *Ikhlas*. He further refers to the verse:

God is the light of the heavens and of the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp —the lamp encased in a glass,—the glass, as it were, a star.²⁰⁴

This verse is sometimes understood, particularly by Western orientalist, to support a pantheistic view of the Ultimate Reality. "The opening sentence of the verse", Iqbal admits, does give "the impression of an escape from an individualistic conception of God. But when we follow the metaphor of light in the rest of the verse, it gives just the opposite impression. The development of the metaphor is meant rather to exclude the suggestion of a formless cosmic element by centralizing the light in a flame which is futher

²⁰³ Introduction to 'The Secrets of the Self.

²⁰⁴ Quran, 24: 35.

individualized by its encasement in a glass likened unto a well-defined star...The metaphor of light as applied to God therefore must...be taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God and not His Omnipresence which easily lends itself to a pantheistic interpretation”²⁰⁵.

However, besides this declared attitude, there are a number of implicit, though quite significant references in the writings of Iqbal which exhibit a tendency towards pantheism. For instance, he says:

(i) “From the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed”²⁰⁶ (the word 'proceed' here suggests a sort of emanationism).

(ii) “The universe does not confront God as an ‘other’ existing per se... from the standpoint of the all-inclusive Ego there is no other’. In Him thought and deed, the act of knowing and the act of creating are identical”²⁰⁷.

And so on.

The above apparently ambivalent position of Iqbal is due to his almost equally strong allegiance to orthodoxy as well as to the mystico-philosophical tradition in Islam. Really, pantheism and theism do not refer to two diametrically opposed and mutually contradictory ontological truths in the usual sense of the term ‘ontology’. They are simply existential points of view. The difference between them can be understood analogically with reference to the difference between tariqat and shari’at or that between the inner and the outer aspects of religious awareness. In one of his letters Iqbal writes:

“A proper appreciation of the limits of the self is known as shari’at (the Islamic code of life) and to realize this code in the very depths of on’s being is tariqat (the mystic way to perfection). When God’s commands get so suffused in the self that the private affections and attachment cease to exist

²⁰⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 64-65.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 77.

and the only object of life for the self becomes fulfilment of God's will, the condition is described by some eminent mystics of Islam as fana (self-annihilation) and by others baqa' (self-preservation)..."²⁰⁸

Hence the controversy regarding whether Iqbal was a pantheist or a theist that has long been carried on by the scholars of Iqbal appear to be a little misconstrued. He may justifiably be both.

As we look more closely at the position of Iqbal, we find that he neither holds on to absolute pantheism in the sense of sheer identity of God with the universe nor does he subscribe to theism in the sense in which a layman would do such that he fails to conceive God as having a constant, living contact and a companionship with man: this contact being available to him only when invoked in petitionary prayers. Iqbal's characteristic view in this regard is that which has been known as 'pantheism' i.e. God includes the world and at the same time transcends it. Such a relation, for instance, exists between a human person, on the one hand, and his habits and character, on the other. Behaviour of the universe comprises the habits of God, according to Iqbal, and the evolution and growth of nature, in general, and of man, in particular, amounts to no less than the realization of the potentialities of Divine being himself.

²⁰⁸ Iqbal Namah, p. 202.

Translated into English by Syed Abdul Wahid, Iqbal—His Art and Thought, p. 235.

IQBAL'S JAVID NAMA

Gilani Kamran

Javid Nama is perhaps the only poetic work of the present century where the state of man is described within the perspective of a definite regeneration. It opens in a world picture which is overcrowded by ugliness, evil and death, and leads towards an emerging new world with the hope of a new Man, and a new version of life. In between these two points the story of mankind in the past two centuries is told expressly with reference to human destiny. Compared with the works of poetry produced during the present century, in Europe and the United States, the human image that appears in Javid Nama tends to approach the conditions of a higher form of life, and refuses to surrender to the compulsions of contemporary human situations. It is precisely in terms of its human quality, and its concern with the destiny of man that Javid Nama stands out as a work of extraordinary merit and enriches the creative wealth of World Literature.

Historically the poem belongs to the most difficult times in the life of the people of South Asia. It was composed in 1927-1931, and its first edition came in 1932. The political prospects particularly facing the Muslims of South Asia were extremely bleak and discouraging. In fact, it was a blind and closed world for all. For the independent movements the political struggle against imperialism had assumed a far greater significance, and the re-shaping of history through liberation needed a vision of man and his future destiny. In actual political struggle Allama Iqbal interpreted not only the political scene by his Allahabad Address (1930) for a separate homeland for Muslim nation in South Asia but also worked on the reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam to enable the Muslims to prepare for their future duties and obligations. In Javid-Nama, he transferred the scene from its physical and intellectual level to the realm of the spirit. Javid-Nama relates the

spiritual crisis in the life of the Muslims, and makes it a poetic document of man's spiritual crisis in contemporary history.

Javid Nama draws its structure and content from the celebrated traditional theme of the spiritual journey to regions beyond the world of senses. Its inspiration identifies it with the Mirajnamas, and as a matter of fact, the poem is a Mirajnama in its place and treatment. However, the heavenly geography which covers the firmaments of astrological worlds, gives the poem an extensive historical relevance, and the human world draws its interpretation from the wisdom of the higher spheres. The higher realms of the spiritual journey interpret the time movements in which the life of man is involved in a changing and unstable world. It is a spiritual journey conducted in the single person of the poet, with a hope and belief that the message of the journey can be shared by men, and the participation in its upward movement can also redeem suffering man and create a happy and better world for him. In other models on the same theme, particularly Dante's Divine Comedy, the experience remains unilateral ; it does not aim at any objectification of experience. In Javid Nama the objectification of the wisdom of the higher realms seems to be the major aim of the poem, and in this sense, it assumes a unique place among the models based on the theme.

The spiritual journey as it unfolds itself in the poem and while it passes through the regions between the Valley of Tawasin and the Divine Presence, encounters a universe where thought and action perpetually exist in a unitive state ; and the journey becomes a questioning and inquiring pilgrimage of a restless mind. Under the excellent poetry of the spiritual journey lie intricate webs of thought, and the emotional and intellectual life of man is portrayed in its conflicting tensions. In the language of the poet the predicament that man has faced in the modern world is that of the loss of his humanity, and this predicament can only be met with any success if the 'Self' of man is restored and integrated through his own effort. The history of man is nothing else but his struggle for Self, (Khudi/Ego) which has been damaged by imperialism, economic distress, and by intellectual stupor. Man has

reduced himself to segments of self-interest and the higher wisdom of religion has lost its hold on the conduct of man. Thus, the Quest for the Self of man has become the need of the present times! if the Quest fails, man would eventually be lost.

This state of affairs is fully illustrated in the lamentation of Iblis in the firmament of Jupitar. Mankind has failed in its identification with the good, and has provided an easy victory to Satan, who constantly laments the loss of a realm for one living man of faith. From this overall cosmic view the world appears to be peopled by a damaged human race, and the cry of ‘where is the man?’ rises throughout the regions of the heavenly world.

The spiritual journey begins with a sunset and view of the sea in the distance. In the company of Rumi, the poet enters the heavenly world, and meets persons belonging to various stages of human history. These stages represent the phases and periods of the development of human mind which finds its fulfillment, in the supreme example of human achievement which the poet meets under the guidance of Rumi. In the earlier stages of the journey the poet meets the ancient Indian sage Johan Dost who explains to the poet the primary questions of human condition. Towards the last stages of the pilgrimage, and before the higher regions of Paradise come into view the poet hears the Martyr King’s Message to the River Cavary which tells that immortality resides in the breath of life. The self of man is regarded to be the outcome of love on the pilgrimage of love. Without the fire of love, and the quest for the beloved, the self remains for ever unrealized. With these, and other far more important stages of wisdom, of action, and of insight ; the poem enters the upper regions of Paradise and the Divine Presence, and the whole world below suffuses with a light of dawn ; a new world appears in the vision of the poet set against the shining manifestations of the higher realms of heaven. Javid Nama portrays a journey from the darkness of the night to the glow of an early day-break; from loss of hope to hopefulness-from death to life. Death bestows upon him a new life who follows the much desired goal of the road of love. Javid Nama speaks to man in the language of love.

From a distance of more than fifty years the immediate world of Javid Nama and its environment in South Asia seem to be the world of miraculous possibilities. From within the depths of human suffering the appearance of such a vice as that of the poet of Javid Nama seems to represent the collective genius of the higher creative life of Islam and Muslim culture Javid Nama holds out a meaningful dialogue with man in every expected future. No popular definition of poetry can capture the spell and greatness of the poem. It is a poem and even more than a poem. Javid Nama is a creative work within its own creative definition. And even to-day who ever goes through its stages of love-quest can interpret the present world in the light of the poem's message. Even the present complexion of the world is found reflected in the visionary perspective of the poem. Javid Nama as a poem, remains a friendly voice for man in his earthly and wordly unhappiness. With Javid Nama the Muslim creative self has vindicated the birth of a new World in the thought and action of the Muslim people. The Visions of the poet and the picture of the times to come make Javid Nama the greatest poetic work of the world, a world that really needs a future for its children.

TWO RARE DOCUMENTS OF IQBALIAT

RiR(az Hussain

A Lecture delivered on 19th February 1911 at Habibia Hall Islamia College. Railway Road, Lahore.

The Background to this Lecture

In 1911, Sir Sultan Muhammad Khan, Aga Khan III, toured the Sub-continent of India to collect funds for raising the college at Aligarh to the level of a University. Iqbal supported whole heartedly — the idea of a separate Muslim University in India. By word indeed he exhorted the Muslims of the Punjab to make large donations to the project. In the early part of this century the centre of intellectual activity in Lahore was Bazm-i-Urdu, which used to hold its weekly meetings alternately in Barkat Ali Muhammadan Hall outside Mochi Gate and Habibia Hall, Islamia College, Railway Road, Lahore. Its patrons were Nawab Haji Fatah Ali Khan Qizilbash, Munshi Mehboob Alam, editor, Paisa Akhbar, Munshi Shafii-ullah Editor Millat, Maulvi Muhammad Abdullah, second master Central Model School, Haji Mir Shams-ud-Din, Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq, Justice Shah Din Humayun, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din B.A; Pleader, and Iqbal himself. Throughout 1911 the call for raising Aligarh College to the Status of a University kept vibrating through Muslim India. The intention to collect a fund of Rupees Twenty Lakh for this purpose and request King George V, on the eve of the ensuing Delhi Darbar, to grant a charter for the establishment of the Aligarh Muslim University. A fund-raising deputation under the leadership of his Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Khan, Aga Khan III, was due to arrive in Lahore. To mobilize public support for this cause, the Bazm-i-urdu held a public meeting on the evening of 19th February 1911 at Habibia Hall, Islamia College, Railway

Road, Lahore. Iqbal was one of the principal Speakers Minutes of his speech were sent to Muslim news - papers by the Bazam's Secretary; Ghulam Muhammad Amritsari Paisa Akhbar Lahore published the summary of Iqbal's speech in its issue of 28th March 1911.

Significance of the Document

In this Lecture, to begin with, Iqbal gives a lucid and impressive definition of Muslim nationhood, which is exactly the same as is recorded in his article quoted in the census of India Report 1911. The implied argument is simple and clear. Muslims are a nation. Nations, big or small, are equal. Muslims therefore, must preserve their separate religions cultural, and political identity.

He then proceeds to touch on a point which few Muslim Scholars since then have bothered to study or investigate further. Many have asked the agonizing question What was it that led the Muslims to surrender to the West their intellectual initiative in Arts and Sciences? But few have knowledge enough to frame an answer. There is evidence in this speech to show that Iqbal was the earliest intellectual of the Muslim world to investigate the subject and find an answer. It must be noted that the text of the speech or any reference to it is not to be found in extant sources. Following is the verbatim translation of the Urdu text of this Lecture as published in the Paisa Akhbar.

“At the grand public meeting of Bazm-i-Urdu held on the evening of 19th February, Dr Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal M.A. Ph. D. Barrister at-Law, made a consummate not & scholarly speech on the Muhammadan University. The chief merit of this speech was that, to the young people who are enamoured of modern civilization, it proved, in an eminently rational and philosophical manner, the superiority of the principles of Islam and each word of it evinced the true zeal of the speaker for the glorious of career of Islam In the world.

First of all, Shaikh Sahib stated that every nation has own definition of what constitutes nationality, and this definition Varies from nation to nation. For instance one nation, regards territory another nation language and another common ancestry, as the chief attribute but of its nationality. To the Englishman, for example, territory is the chief criterion of his nationality. Each time you ask an Englishman, “Why are you called English?” he replies “I am English because I am a resident of England.” But ask a Muslim, “Why are you a Muslim?”, and he cannot- cite the name of a particular country, for neither Arabia, nor Tartary nor China, nor India is his special country. Similarly, Muslims are not Muslims because they speak a particular tongue, or are descended from a common ancestry.

Upon consideration the only right answer one can arrive at is that there is one common quality among Muslims which is the basis of their identity as a muslim nation and that is their belief in the unity of God.

The Iman-fi-Tauhid (Faith in one God) is the only common denominator among the Muslim people. Faith, said the speaker, related to the soul or heart; in other words, belief in one God is a province of the heart, an invisible and immaterial phenomenon in contrast to the standards of nationality adopted by other people, which are all material and physical. From this, the speaker derived the point that the standards of nationality such as country etc. subsisting among other people are external to the body. For instance, when an Englishman lands in India his nationality is left seven thousand miles behind. But the Muslim’s concept of nationality exists in his own body. Wherever a Muslim goes, his nationality travels with him. As a rule, the speaker said, a man seldom forgets a thing which can be seen or touched; but he has a tendency to forget soon an invisible and spiritual phenomenon.

The nationality of Muslims, therefore stood in great danger of extinction since it was Ultra-sensory. Hence it was that the teacher of Islam (Peace and blessings of Allah be on him) enjoined upon every Muslim duty of affirming

the unity of God at the time of waking up at Dawa, during the day's business, on arrival at home in the evening and before going to bed at night. In addition he (peace and blessing of Allah be on him) prescribed a prayer for each motion that a man is obliged to make: arising, walking, sitting down, commencing a meal, etc; So that the Muslims may never forget the standard [of their Nationality].

The existence of each nation depended on its own perception of nationality and the need to protect it was imperative. For that reason the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be on him) took adequate measures in the manner stated above. Muslim faith, said the speaker, has two strands: belief in one God and Prophethood and secondly, knowledge of one's own society, culture and polity. A Muslim becomes a Muslim when he adheres to both these segments although the first of these is the basic tenet of Islam, yet even if we do not regard the denial or absence of the second strand as a defect in faith, we shall certainly agree that without it no one can claim to be a perfect Muslim.

Further more, the speaker gave religious arguments to establish the importance of knowledge. The first proof of the importance and eternal value of knowledge that the teacher of Islam (peace and blessings of Allah be on him) gave was that he (Peace be on him) ordered the release of the literate heathens taken prisoner in the battle of Badr on one condition: that they should teach reading and writing to the illiterate among the Muslims.

The speaker went on to state that first of all Ibn 'Abbas (God be pleased with him) in the reign of Ali Murtaza (Allah be pleased with him) opened a School in Mecca in which lessons were given on Quran and Hadith. Later, Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz (Allah be pleased with him) founded the Nizamiah College. This College produced philosophers of the calibre of Sheikh Sa'di. Illustrating his point, the Speaker recited a verse of Sa'di.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ This statement is historically untrue and seems to be a slip of the press reporter's pen.

Subsequently Mustansariya College was established. But both these Colleges were not universities in the modern sense. At last the Muslims set up a large University, the University of Cordova, in Spain.

The Christians flocked to this University from all corners of Europe and benefited from it.

On the model of Cordova University, the Christians at last established a University in Paris, which is still functioning.

By this example the speaker pointed out that the idea of a University was first conceived by Muslims and Christians borrowed it from them. The speaker said that the most conspicuous feature of the Paris University was that Arabic was a Compulsory subject in its curriculum. Why was it so? Because at that time Arabic was the treasury of all Arts and Sciences.

Turning again to the real theme of his talk, the speaker observed that the second clause of Islam, namely, the knowledge of Islamic Literature, Civilization Culture, polity is preserved in the Arabic language. But since sovereignty shipped out of their hands and they became slaves of the foreigners, Muslims had to learn the foreign tongues. In consequence they forgot their own symbols, their Arabic language and their culture, and the second clause of Islam completely faded out of Muslim society. In other words, that which could make them perfect Muslims became defunct. Indifferent to their own culture, they passed under the influence of the cultures of the aliens and their faith weakened. Hence modern English-educated youth, among whom he included himself, became denuded of this second quality of faith. First of all this gave birth to heretical tendencies and then gradually turned them into agnostics. The most eminent and wise leaders of the Muslims sensed this danger and came to the conclusion that unless the second clause of faith were adequately protected and nurtured, faith would rapidly and nurtured, faith would rapidly decline The best plan of

defence therefore, was to include in a system of education such subjects as Islamic social order, Islamic Polity, and this purpose could not be achieved without establishing a Muhammadan University. If we have an Islamic University, we can have an Islamic curriculum of education. The faith of the young students learning English and, Islam itself, can be preserved only in this way.”

TAXT OF THE LECTURE

مجوزہ محمدن یونی ورسٹی

[ڈاکٹر شیخ محمد اقبال صاحب کی تقدیر کا، جو بزم اردو کے 19 فروری کے جلسہ میں کی گئی تھی، ضروری خلاصہ]

ڈاکٹر شیخ محمد اقبال صاحب ایم اے پی ایچ ڈی بیرسٹر ایٹ لا نے ۱۹ فروری کی رات کو بزم اردو کے عظیم الشان جلسہ میں محمدن یونی ورسٹی کے متعلق ایک تقریر فرمائی جو نہایت عالمانہ اور پر زور تھی۔ اور سب سے بڑی خوبی یہ تھی کہ نئی تہذیب سے متاثر نوجوان کے سامنے نہایت ہی علاقانہ اور فلسفیانہ طریق سے آپ نے اصول اسلام کے محاسن کو ثابت کیا۔ اور اسلام کا سچا جوش اور حمیت آپ کی تقریر کے لفظ لفظ سے ظاہر ہوئی۔ شیخ صاحب نے سب سے پہلے فرمایا کہ ہر قوم اپنی اپنی قومیت کا معیار رکھتی ہے۔ اور یہ معیار مختلف قوموں میں مختلف ہیں مثلاً کسی کا معیار قوم اُن کا وطن ہے۔ جب کسی انگریز سے پوچھو کہ تمہیں انگریز کیوں کہتے ہیں تو وہ کہے گا کہ میں اس لیے انگریز ہوں کہ میں انگلستان کا باشندہ ہوں مگر مسلمان سے پوچھو تو کسی وطن کا نام نہیں لے سکتا۔ نہ عرب اس کا وطن ہے نہ تاتار نہ چین نہ ہندوستان۔ اسی طرح مسلمان کسی خاص زبان رکھنے کے باعث مسلمان نہیں ہو سکتا نہ یہ تمام مسلمان مشترکہ ماں باپ کی اولاد ہیں۔ غور کرنے سے صحیح جواب یہی ہو گا کہ تمام مسلمانوں میں مشترکہ صفت خُص سے وہ مسلمان کہلاتے ہیں یعنی جس پر اُن کی قومیت کا دارومدار ہے وہ اعتقاد فی التوحید یعنی لا الہ الا اللہ ہے۔ ایمان فی التوحید صرف وہ مشترک صفت ہے جو کہ تمام مسلمانوں میں پائی جاتی ہے اور جس کی وجہ سے وہ اپنے آپ کو مسلمان کہتے ہیں فرمایا کہ ایمان کا تعلق روح یا قلب سے ہے یعنی توحید قلب کی ایک کیفیت کا نام ہے جو کہ ایک غیر مرئی اور نا محسوس شے ہے بر خلاف دوسرے اقوام کے معیار قومیت مثلاً وطن وغیرہ ان کے

اپنے نفس سے خارج ہے جیسا کہ کوئی انگریز جب ہندوستان میں آتا ہے تو اُس کی قومیت سات ہزار میل پر رہ جاتی ہے مگر مسلمان کی قومیت کا معیار اس کی اپنی ذات میں موجود ہے وہ جہاں جاتا ہے اپنی قومیت ساتھ لے جاتا ہے۔ فرمایا کہ اصولاً ایک مادی چیز جس کو انسان دیکھ سکتا ہے یا چھو سکتا ہے بہت کم بھولتا ہے۔ مگر ایک غیر مرئی اور روحانی شے سے وہ بہت جلد غافل ہو جاتا ہے اس لیے مسلمانوں کی قومیت اس خیال سے معرض خطرہ میں تھی کہ وہ غیر حسس ہونے کے باعث نسیا نسیا ہو جائے۔

شارع علیہ السلام نے اس بات کو مدنظر رکھ کر حکم لگا دیا کہ مسلمان ہر وقت جبکہ وہ صبح اُٹھے یا دن میں کاروبار میں مشغول ہو یا شام گھر آئے یا رات کو سوئے ہر وقت اعادہ توحید لازم اور فرض کر دیا بلکہ اٹھتے بیٹھتے - چلتے پھرتے - کھاتے پیتے غرض ہر حالت کے لیے کوئی نہ کوئی دعا مقرر کر دی تاکہ مسلمان اپنے معیار قومی سے اور اس کی حفاظت بڑی لازم تھی جس کا حضور اکرم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے کافی انتظام اس طور پر کر دیا فرمایا کہ مسلمانوں میں ایمان کد دو تمدن سیاست وغیرہ کا علم - اگرچہ شق اول اصل اصول اسلام ہے مگر دوسری کی نفی یا عدم موجودگی اگر نقیض ایمان نہ بھی مانی جائے تاہم اس میں کلام نہیں کہ اس کے بغیر کامل مسلمان ہونے کا دعویٰ نہیں ہو سکتا یہاں گریز کر کے آپ نے علم کی اہمیت پر مذہبی دلائل دئیے۔

سب سے پہلا ثبوت جو شارع علیہ السلام نے علم کے ضروری اور لا ابدی جزو ہونے کا دیا وہ یہ تھا کہ آپ نے جنگ بدر کے کفار قیدیوں کو اس شرط پر رہا کر دیا کہ وہ ناخواندہ اور جاہل مسلمانوں کو پڑھنا لکھنا سکھائیں پھر فرمایا کہ ابن عباس نے سب سے پہلے حضرت علی مرتضیٰ کے زمانے میں مکہ میں ایک سکول کھولا جس میں قرآن اور حدیث کا درس ہوتا تھا۔ اور اس کالج کا ہونہار طالب علم شیخ سعدی جیسا فلاسفر ہو گذرا ہے۔²¹⁰ اور اس کے ثبوت میں شیخ سعدی کا ایک شعر پڑھ کر سنایا۔ اس کے بعد مستنصریہ کالج قائم ہوا مگر تمام کالج ان معنوں میں یونیورسٹی نہ تھے جیسا موجودہ زمانہ کی یونیورسٹی کا مفہوم ہے۔ آخر کار سپین میں ایک بہت بڑی یونیورسٹی نام قرطبہ یونیورسٹی مسلمانوں نے قائم کی اس میں یورپ کے تمام اطراف سے عیسائیوں کی آمد تھی اور مستفیض ہوتے تھے۔ آخر عیسائیوں نے قرطبہ یونیورسٹی کی نقل پر ایک یونیورسٹی پیرس میں قائم کی جو اس وقت تک موجود ہے۔

اس تقریر سے ظاہر کیا کہ یونیورسٹی کا خیال اول اول مسلمانوں میں ہی پیدا ہوا۔ اور عیسائیوں نے مسلمانوں سے لیا۔ فرمایا سب سے عجیب بات پیرس یونیورسٹی میں یہ تھی کہ اس کے نصاب میں عربی زبان لازمی قرار دی گئی کیونکہ اس وقت تمام علوم و فنون کا خزانہ عربی زبان تھا۔ یہاں سے پھر اصلی مطلب کی طرف رجوع

²¹⁰ [خبراری رپورٹ کے یہ نکات تاریخی طور پر غلط ہیں۔ حضرت علامہ نے یہ نکات یقیناً اس طرح بیان نہیں

کیا۔ فرمایا کہ دوسری شق اسلام کی، مسلمانوں کا ادب، تمدن، معاشرت، سیاست، عربی زبان میں ہے۔ مگر چونکہ سلطنت ہاتھ سے جاتی رہی اور غیر اقوام کے محکوم ہو گئے اس لیے دوسری قوموں کی زبان پڑھنی اور سیکھنی پڑی جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ مسلمان اپنے شعار اور تمدن کو بالکل بھول گئے اور یہ شق اس سے بالکل مفقود ہو گئی یعنی دوسرے الفاظ میں جو چیز کہ ان کو کامل مسلمان بنا سکتی تھی وہ معدوم ہو گئی۔ اپنے تمدن سے غافل ہو کر دوسری اقوام کے تمدن سے متاثر ہوئے اور ایمان ضعیف ہو گیا۔ چنانچہ فرمایا کہ موجودہ زمانہ کے انگریز خواں جواں جن میں فرمایا کہ وہ خود بھی شامل ہیں اس دوسری صفت ایمان سے معرا ہو گئے۔ اس نے پہلے بد اعتقادی پیدا کی اور رفتہ رفتہ بے دین کر دیا۔ مسلمانوں کے مقتدر اور ذہین لیڈروں نے اس مضرت کو سمجھا اور یہ خیال کیا کہ جب تک اس دوسری شق کی کافی نگہداشت نہ کی جائے ایمان متزلزل ہوتا جائے گا۔ چنانچہ اس کی حفاظت کی بہترین تدبیر یہی تھی کہ مسلمانوں کے نصاب تعلیم میں ان مذہبی، تعلیمی، قومی یا اسلامی معاشرت، تمدن و سیاست کو داخل کیا جائے اور یہ سوائے محمدؐ یونیورسٹی کے ہونے سے حاصل نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اسلامی یونیورسٹی ہو گی تو نصاب پھر اسلامی ہو گا اور انگریزی پڑھنے والے مسلمان نوجوان کا ایمان اور اسلام صرف اس ایک طریق سے محفوظ ہو سکتا ہے۔

[نوشتہ غلام محمد امر تسری]

Iqbal's contribution to the philosophical, poetical and political enrichment of the Muslim community in India is well-documented, but little has hitherto been known about his financial contribution to the advancement of the Mussalmans of India. Alas! much printed material is lost to us for ever. Recently I chanced to see an old number of Maulana Muhammad Ali's famous weekly Journal, "The Comrade". It is dated October 7, 1911. This is perhaps the only copy of this historic Journal in Pakistan. On the back page of this copy there is a full-size advertisement of the Gramophone Company of India which reads as follows: In Aid of the Moslem University Fund".

Inspiring 'poem Melodious Voice; Give Aid to the Nation; Get Pleasure and Divine Reward as well Dr. Iqbal's "National Song" sung by a Muhammadan Gentleman of Aligarh. Here follows Iqbal's famous poem, "Cheen O Arab Hamara,

Hindustan Hamara—Muslim Hain Ham, Watan Hai Sara Jehan’ Namara’ “Dr Muhammad Iqbal, M.A Ph. D. Bar-at-Law had expressed the patriotism of his countrymen in a unique poem, which has gained immense popularity in India²¹¹—now in his latest poem he has expressed his co-religionists love for Islam and this poem will be universally acclaimed. In a single verse the poet has given such a comprehensive definition of the relation between country and religion as a philosopher would have given in several pages, and even then failed to put across its full significance. Other poets have sung of the achievements of generations by gone... the nation’s fall from grace has been and will be much bewailed... hut Iqbal has clearly stated that it is not easy to destroy a people, who have been entrusted by the creator with a message till they have propagated this message to the whole world. After a prolonged decline of the Islamic world, the call to progress is rising once again from all sides thus kindling hopes of a revival. The Leader of the caravan is the same Guide, whose voice like a thunderbolt had awakened the slumbering world thirteen centuries ago. Iqbal’s ‘Tarana is in reality Bang-i-Dara which exhorts. Go forward, hurry. Small wonder that this delightful poem might earn Iqbal eternal salvation and the Indian Muslims might also spontaneously call out “Labaik, Labaik, O Apostle of Allah.” Through the melodious voice of a Muslim, this ‘Tarana’ can now reach the ears of every person. Special care has been bestowed upon the production of these records. Under a legal contract, a considerable royalty on the sale of each record during the next five years shall be deposited in the Muslim University Fund.”

The text of the advertisement reveals the following interesting facts t

1. As early as 1911, Iqbal’s poem had brought to the Indian Muslims the consciousness of being a supra-territorial community and had exploded the myth of one nation in India.

²¹¹ This probably refers to Tarana-i-Hindi’

2. Spirit of national awakening had begun to stir the Muslim people, thanks to Iqbal's clear definition of the relation between country & religion and the objective of the Universal Brotherhood under the banner of Islam.

3. Iqbal made a sizeable monetary contribution to the strengthening of the above two streams of thought.

According to the advertisement, Iqbal had contributed his royalties on the sales of records for five years to the Muslim University Fund. At this time, the entire attention of the Muslim Community in India was focussed on upgrading the Aligarh College to a University. The Government of India had promised to grant the charter to the University on the condition that Muslims should collect and maintain a fund of 50 lakhs of rupees. A delegation of leading Muslims under Sir Sultan Mohammad Khan Aga Khan toured the length and breadth of India to collect donations from all and sundry. On the eve of the Delegation's arrival in Lahore, Iqbal had made a stirring speech, defining the term, "The Muslim nation and its objectives" and emphasizing the need for a Muslim Institution of higher learning to achieve those objectives.

Among the largest contributions made at Lahore were: Nawab Haji Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash Rs. — 5000/-

Raja of Mehmoodabad (on behalf of poor muslims of the Punjab — Rs. 5000/-

Lahore Citizen's Committee — Rs. 10,000/-

[Paisa Akhbar Lahore 24 March 1911]

Iqbal's contribution however, seems to be much larger than any of these sums. Putting the sale of records at the lowest figure of one Lakh throughout India during the five-year period, the proceeds would amount to Rs 3 Lakh.

If we again put the royalty at the lowest figure of 5 per cent, Iqbal's contribution to the University Fund would come out to be Rs. 15000/- a stupendous sum, considering the economic conditions in 1911 — 1916, and a great sacrifice on the part of the poet.

34

The Comrade

7th October

In Aid of the Moslem University Fund

دلاویز نظم دلکش آواز قومی امداد ہم خرما
وہم ثواب

Dr. Iqbal's National Song

ڈاکٹر اقبال کا قومی ترانہ

Sung by

A Muhammadan Gentleman of Aligarh

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستان ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم، وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا
اے گلستانِ اندلس وہ دن ہیں یاد تجھ کو
تھا تیری ڈالیوں میں جب آشیاں ہمارا
اے موجِ دجلہ تو بھی پہچانتی ہے ہم کو
اب تک ہے تیرا دریا افسانہ خوار ہمارا

اے ارض پاک تیری حرست پہ کٹ مرے
ہم

ہے خون تیری رگوں میں اب تک رواں
ہمارا

مغرب کی وادیوں میں گونجی اذان ہمارا
تھمتا نہ تھا کسی سے سیل رواں ہمارا
تیغوں کے سائے میں ہم پلکر جواں ہوئے
ہیں

خنجر ہلال کا ہے قومی نشان ہمارا
توحید کد امانت سینوں میں ہے ہمارے
آساں نہیں مٹانا نام و نشان ہمارا
باطل سے دینے والے اے آساں نہیں ہم
سو بار کر چکا ہے تو امتحان ہمارا
دنیا کے بتکدوں میں پہلا وہ گھر خدا کا
ہم اس کے پاسباں ہیں وہ پاسباں ہمارا
سالار کارواں ہے میر حجاز اپنا
اس نام سے ہے باقی آرام جان ہمارا
اقبال کا ترانہ بانگ درا ہے گویا
ہوتا ہے جادہ پیما پھر کارواں ہمارا

ڈاکٹر محمد اقبال صاحب ایم اے پی ایچ ڈی بیرسٹر ایٹ لا نے اپنے ہم وطنوں کے حب کا اظہار ایک بے مثل
نظم میں کیا تھا جو ہندوستان میں مقبول خاص و عام ہو چکی ہے۔ اب اپنی تازہ ترین نظم میں انہوں نے اپنے ہم
مذہبوں کے حب اسلام کا اظہار کیا ہے اور یقیناً اس کی مقبولیت عالمگیر ہو گی۔ وطن اور مذہب کے تعلق کی
بابت شاعر ایک شعر میں وہ مطلب ادا کر گیا ہے جو فلسفی کئی صفحاتوں میں ادا کرتے اور شاید پھر بھی ادا
نہ کر سکتے۔ اسلاف کے کارنامے اور شعرا بھی بیان کر چکے ہیں۔ قوم کے اقبال کا ماتم بہت کچھ ہوا اور ہو گا۔
مگر اقبال نے صاف بتایا ہے کہ جس قوم کو مسبب الاسباب کی طرف سے ایک ضروری پیغام جا چکے اس وقت
تک اس قوم کو تباہ و برباد کرنا آسان نہیں۔ اسلامی دنیا کے دیرینہ تنزل کے بعد اب پھر طرف سے ترقی کی

صدائیں پیام امید بن کر آرہی ہیں۔ کاروان سالار اب بھی وہی ہادی قوم ہے جس کی آواز نے بجلی کے کڑکے کی طرح اب سے تیرہ سو ارب پہلے ایک عالم کو سونے سے جگایا تھا اور اقبال کا ترانہ دراصل بانگ درا ہے جس سے آواز آرہی ہے چلو بڑھو - جلدی کرو۔ عجب نہیں کہ یہ دلکش نظم اقبال کی نجات کے لیے کافی ہو اور ہندوستان کے مسلمان بھی پکار اٹھیں - لبیک - لبیک - لبیک۔ یا رسول اللہ - ایک خوش الحان مسلمان کے ذریعہ سے یہ ترانہ اب ہر شخص کے کان تک پہنچ سکتا ہے۔ خاص اہتمام سے یہ ریکارڈ تیار ہوئے ہیں۔ حسب قرار داد قانونی ریکارڈوں کے فروخت ہونے پر ایک خاصی رقم فی ریکارڈ مسلم یونیورسٹی فنڈ میں پانچ سال تک جمع ہوتی رہے گی۔

دس انچ ڈبل سائیڈ گراموفون ریکارڈ

نمبر { ۹-۱۲-۴۲ }

۹-۱۲-۵۲

10—Inch Double Sided Record.

Nos. 9—12524

9—12525

Price, Rupees 3 each.

To be had from Agents of the Gramophone Company, Limited, throughout India

Printed by D L. Monro at the Calcutta General Printing Company 300 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, and published by Mohamed Ali, 102, Ripon Street, Calcutta.

IQBAL AND THE WORLD OF QUR'AN

Muhammad Munawwar

For Iqbal the Qura'n is the last revealed book of Allah embodying eternal wisdom, a guide unto eternity. In his view, therefore, the Quran is for all mankind. It is not limited to or meant for some particular country, race or ethnic group. All human beings are essentially one. They are off-shoots of the same root. They are descendent of Adam, created out of clay. Spiritually they are one, enthused with the same spirit or soul. (and I have breathed in him a part of my own soul) Man is related on one side, with the selves and on the other with the universe. His is an existence spiritual as well as spatial. And every human being has got to return to the same Refuge);,2,11 419. He is the source and origin. He is the point to which all must return. Says Sa'di

بنی آدم اعضائے یکد
یگر ند
که در آفرینش زیک
جوهر اند

“Human beings are like limbs to one another because they, in respect of their creation, belong to the same essence”.

Iqbal, explaining the unity of the origin of life states.”

“No doubt Christianity, long before Islam brought the message of equality to mankind: but Christian Rome did not rise to the full apprehension of the idea of humanity as single organism. As Flint rightly says “No

Christian writer and still less, of course, any other in the Roman Empire can be credited with having had more than a general and abstract conception of human unity.” —And since the days of Rome the idea does not seem to have gained much in depth and rootage in Europe. On the other hand the growth of territorial nationalisim with its emphasis on what is called national characteristics, has tended rather to kill the broad human element in the art and literature of Europe. It was quite otherwise with Islam. Here the idea was neither a concept of philosophy more a dream of poetry. As a social movement, the aim of Islam was to make the idea, a living factor in the Muslim’s daily life and thus silently and imperceptibly to carry it towards fuller fruition”,²¹²

If we look upon the Quran, from this viewpoint it turns out to be manifesto of Allah for the unity of mankind. And Allah directed Muhammad (P.B.U.H), to whom the Quran was revealed to announce,

قل يا ايها الناس انى رسول
الله اليكم جميعا

“Say Oh: men ! I am sent, as the Apostle of Allah, to you all”²¹³.

If this religion had anything to do with a homeland then it were the Makkans who deserved to be addressed and especially the Qureishites. But Allah called upon all the human race to listen to the divine message, he had brought for them.

According to Montgomery Watt

²¹² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (1944), Sb. M. Ashraf, p. 141.

²¹³ Al-Quran, 7:158.

“The deeper reason, however, is that in this world which in a material sense has become one world, men are not likely to be attracted to any religion except one which claims to have a message for the whole world.

If we look at Islam, then, from this point of view, we see that it is not unfitted to be a religion for the whole world. It has throughout its history been a missionary and universalistic religion. In seeking to win the whole world it would be acting ‘congruently with its past record, It could make a good case, too, for thinking that its idea of a religious community based on revelation and following a divinely given code of conduct is the only satisfactory basis for a world society. In Islam’s conception of itself and its function in the world, these are elements of truth which could be developed.²¹⁴

On the next page Mr. Watt lays down;

“There is a ‘blind’ and ineffective movement towards harmony between the nations and within each nation; or perhaps we should say that there is a desire for this without any clear perception of how that desire may be realized”.

Anyway it is only a religion which to Watt can unite the world of man²¹⁵. ---Allama Iqbal, in his Javid Namah has ascribed a lament to Abu Jahl in his verses under the caption “Tasin-i-Muhammad” denouncing the fraternal basis of his teachings.

مذہب او قاطع ملک
و
نسب
از قریش و منکر از

²¹⁴ Aslam and the Integration of Society Routledge and Kogan Pall London (1966), p. 283.

²¹⁵ Aslam and the Integration of Society Routledge and Kegan Pall London (1966), p. 285.

فضل عرب
 در نگاہے او یکے بالا و
 پست !
 باغلامے خویش
 بریک خوان نشست
 قدر احرار عرب
 نشناخته
 با کلفتان حبش در
 ساختہ²¹⁶

His, i: e the Holy Prophet's (peace be upon him) religion, is a deadly enemy of possessions and blood relationship. Himself a Quraishite (a proud Arab tribe) he denies the superiority of the Arabs (to other peoples).-

In his view high and low are equal. He sits for meals, with his servant, on the same table.

He has not made a correct estimate of the free Arabs and has developed friendship with thick—built (or thick—lipped) Negroes.

Inspite of all advancement human societies are still slaves, or rather worshippers, of race and colour. Racism, intact has assumed the 'status of faith—an idolatrous faith. Josch. R. Washing puts this idea thus:

“This worship of one race and the will to the destruction of others is considered a diabolically artificial division of humanity, one which the author can only account for as an idolatrous faith. Racism is a faith in the sense that the racist trusts and values race as an ultimate concern to which he gives supreme loyalty. That is, the ultimate concern is faith in one race as superior

²¹⁶ Javid Namah (Kulliynt-i-Iqbal), p. 55/643.

to another. The idolatry, is its exaltation of “purity of blood” and “racial homogeneity”.²¹⁷

If a Muslim takes pride in lineage and race he practically works against the fundamental belief reflected in *واحدة خلقناكم من نفس* (we have created, all of you, from one breath of life).

That is why Salman-i-Farsi narrated his lineage in these words, Salman Ibn Islam, Ibn Islam when Islam came to be the Great Grandfather, other fathers were reduced to nonentitling position. Islam does not address itself to a race, a language or a geographical territory ; it addresses itself to mankind in general; brotherhood in Islam is the essence of the Quranic teachings, This brotherhood is in fact an affectionate name of humanity.

The Holy Prophet preached this fraternity. He left his birth-place and native town in order to disseminate and fulfill its demands. So the order of priority in case of a conflict between one’s native place and religion, tilts on the side of religion because country is finite while religion is infinite Allama Iqbal stresses this concept thus

ہجرت آئین حیات مسلم است
ایں از اسباب ثبات مسلم است
معنی او از تنک آبی رم است
ترک شبنم بہر تسخیریم است²¹⁸

²¹⁷ The Politics of God, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967, p. 32.

²¹⁸ Rumuz-i-Bekhudī, (Kulliyat-i-Iqbal), Lahore, 1975, p. 114.

“Migration is the rule of a Muslims life It is one of the causes of his stability. It’s meaning is to leap from shallow waters. It is to quite the dew for conquering the ocean”.

The prophet (peace be upon him) himself set an example by migrating from Makkah to Medina and thus taught us that الاسلام غريب (Islam is a stranger) Islam is not earth bound. God was as much powerful at Makkah as at Medina. God is All-mighty everywhere. In order to make Islam a universal religion our prophet (peace be upon him) sacrificed his native land, for the love of Islam. The infidels as well as orientalisists see the migration as a ‘flight’ due to their usual cupidity. If this were a “flight” what obstacles could prevent our Holy Prophet from resettling at Makkah, after its surrender before him.

But migration was a great trial for the sake of a principle and an ideology. Our prophet has said.

219 احب شئى عند الله الغرباء . قال الفرارون بدينهم يجتمعون الى عيسى بن مريم يوم القيامة

Strangers are dearest to Allah, what sort of “Strangers” he was asked. “Those who migrate to safeguard their religion ; Such persons would rank with Jesus on the Day of Judgement”, was the prophets reply (peace be on him). It was an apt question, no doubt, people become strangers for so many reasons, for trade, for education, for marriage and for so many mundane purposes.

After native land comes lineage. In this respect the battle of ‘Badr’ is significant. Historically viewed, it amounts to a small battle. Ideologically weighed, it has enormous sigificance. One decision was arrived at through migration viz muslim ummah is not limited to the geographical but it is based on the spiritual. The other decision was made manifest through the battle of

219 Awarif-al-M’aarif, Abd-al-Qahir ibn Abd-Ailab, at Subrawardy, Beirut, p, 126.

Badr viz Islam's protagonists are spiritual and ideological brotherhood. Muslims are cohesive not on account of blood relationship. Therefore, the nation concept was on one side and the Ummah concept was on the other. On the side of Umah there were 'helpers' (Ansars) who were non-Quraishites and non—Arabs like Hazrat Bilal. On the side of nation were Makkans, all Quraishits and blood relations. This battle proclaimed that in Islam it was the ideological relationship which had the better of blood relationship. Here- a brother faced a brother, a father faced a son, an uncle faced a nephew and a father-in-law faced a son-in-law: Ideology won. Blood failed. Ummah had thrown aside nation.

دل به محبوب حجازی بسته ایم
 220 زمین جهت بایکدگر پیوسته

“Since Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) is the beloved of us all hence through his love we are tied to each other”.

In modern defination of a nation, language also holds a high positions. It is quite clear that the Qur'an had been revealed in the language of the Quraish i.e. the language of Makkah. Quran's language was in the words of the Quran itself "السانی عربی مبین" a very clear plain and evident Arabic. The prophet (peace be upon him) himself spoke the same language. He was, as he himself declared, more eloquent than any other Arab. (.,sll UI). It means the Quran gave birth to a society which hit at all the material basis of nationalisim, at the very out set. The Quran is a message of liberty, of freedom and self confidence to humanity at large maintaining that race, lineage, colour, language, riches etc are no measures of human nobility or honour. According to the Quran whosoever is God-fearing and checks

²²⁰ Rumuz-i-Bekhudi, 163/163.

himself from evil doing is nobler and more honoured near Allah—the farthest from evil is it the nearest to Allah and hence the noblest.

ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم²²¹

Thus the Quran has altogether changed the yard stick of human greatness and meanness and every other value was made subservient to humanity, ethics and morality. The root of human corruption and evil lies in lack of his self-knowledge and self consciousness Man becomes a slave of his possessions and hence a predatory. The more powerful and resourceful, he is the more harmful and dangerous. Hence the real evil is not the poverty in material wealth, the real evil is the poverty in moral stock. Once Allama Iqbal was asked about his idea of a Superman. His reply was every true believer is a superman and Islam is the only mould in which supermen are cast.²²²

And here is a saying of Hazrat Umar-ibn-al-Khattab

والله لئن جاءت الاعاجم بالاعمال وجئتنا بغير عمل فهم
اولى بمحمد منا يوم القيامة فان من قصر عمله لا يسرع به
حسبه²²³

By God if the non-Arabs came with good deeds and we (the Arabs) without good deeds then the non-Arabs will be nearer to the Prophet on the Day of judgement than us.,One slowed by his actions cannot be expedited by his _lineage”.

²²¹ Al-Qur'an 13: 44.

²²² Malfuzat-i-Iqbal, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, p. 212.

²²³ Haqaiq-ul-Islam, Abbas Mahmood al-'Aqqad Dared Kitab al-Arabia, Beirut, p. 227.

Good is not restricted to a particular class of a society. It has nothing to do with some specific race, Besides it has nothing to do with the degree of knowledge. Evil and good are moral problems. They are classless. The difference is that the corruption or brutality of the weaker ones is limited in its harmfulness. It does not mean that such persons are by nature God-fearing whereas those who are stronger are by nature evil-seekers and corrupt. It is however a fact that the corruption of stronger ones affects a much larger circle. Every person unschooled in morals must transgress his limits like savage animals although as far as appearances go they could be assumed as cultured and sophisticated persons.

The crux of all schooling ought to be driving away all bestiality from human temperament. And that can be aimed at only when his spiritual potentialities are stirred and strengthened. Our material maladies have no material remedies. Swedish society is materially an affluent Society. If all wrong emanated from poverty then there should have been no crimes in Sweden. But the fact is that people are murdered there. They commit suicide too. In New York about a dozen years ago, electricity failed. Dark prevailed for some hours. All notions of man's respect for man were drowned in darkness. Culture went out alongwith light, Legal morality gave way. Savagery in man came to surface Hundreds -of shops, houses and stores were ransacked. Hundreds of women were assaulted. It proved to the ut most that a person not schooled in morals was nothing more than a law-abiding animal as long as he feared punishment if he broke the law. And the whole structure of "legal morality" crumbles if there may occur a vacuum in the administration of law. A human being should behave as a human being. His law should be within him. Darkness should not deprive him of moral light. Material well being without moral training does not turn "Social animals" into genuine human beings. Administration of law for such social animals is similar to a big cage in which ferocious existences are placed. Let the cage break and see the result. Failure of electricity in New York had broken that same cage. "Civilization" played well, proud and arrogant

civilization based on scientific advancement. It is advancement and progress. Science has no values. Values stand, out there, Says Huston Smith.

“Some time ago Bertrand Russel acknowledged that the sphere of values stands outside science, except insofar as science consists in the pursuit of knowledge, and even his exception is not truly such, for the value of pursuing knowledge, though assumed by science, is not itself scientifically derived. Science can deal with instrumental values but not intrinsic ones --Again science can deal with values descriptively but not prescriptively.

It can tell us what men do prize, but not what men should prize. Market research and opinion polls are sciences, but as the word is used today there can be no science of the summum bonum. Normative values elude its grasp”²²⁴

Man is not his own creator. Far from it. He in fact is only

a manipulator of things created by the Creator. Elaborating on this theme says Lord Northbourne.

“In that connection let it be clearly understood that no man ever created anything whatsoever ; not a speck of dust and not even an idea, for all ideas are derived from preexisting material, The most that man can do and that only to a very limited extent, is to arrange what is already there.”²²⁵

Not being creator of his own self, man can never know himself fully and hence never come to comprehend as to what is good for him and what is evil. In Allama Iqbal’s words,

آدمی اندر جہاں خیر و شر!

²²⁴ Forgotten Truth, Suhail Academy, Lahore, Pakistan, (1981), pp. 14-15.

²²⁵ Religion in the Modern World, Suhail Academy, Lahore (1981), p. 67,

“Man, in the universe where there is good as well as evil can seldom distinguish between what is profitable for him and what is harmful”.

Rene Guenon says the same thing much more vehemently and eloquently—and rightly so for being a “Son of the western soil”.

Neither persons nor things are any longer in the position which they should normally occupy ; men no longer recognise on effective authority in the spiritual order nor any legitimate power in the temporal order; the “profane” permit themselves the discussion of sacred things contesting their nature and even their very existence ; what is this but the enferior judging the superior, ignorance imposing its limitations upon wisdom, error overtaking truth, the human substituting itself for the divine, earth in ascendaney over heaven, the individual setting himself up as the measure of all things and claiming to dictate laws for the universe drawn entirely from his own limited and fallible reason ? “Woe unto you, ye bltnd guides” the Gospel says ; and indeed every-where today one sees these blind leaders of the blind, who, unless restrained by-some timely check, will inevitably lead their followers into the abyss, there to perish in their company”.

Hence man cannot do without God’s guidance revealed to Prophets from time to time and perfected in the form of the Quran which is the last revelation of Allah sent down to the last Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), According to Allama Iqbal.

“In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition.”²²⁷

²²⁶ Crises of the Modern World, Snhaii Academy, Lahore, p. 65.

²²⁷ The Reconstruction, p. 126.

As there was none to come as a prophet of Allah after Muhammad, the Prophet — (p.b.u.h) hence no other revealed book could ever be expected after the Quran. Thus Quran is the last and permanent code of life for all humanity. Life in all deeds, sayings, prohibitions and directions shaped in accordance with the Quran could for ever serve as the best practical model of behaviour for all races and climes. Muhammad (P.B U.H) was the embodiment of the Quran.

The Quran contains clear injunctions and prohibitions besides legends. Legends have their own specific import. Allama Iqbal explains.

“The Quranic method of complete or partial transformation of legends in order to besoul them with new ideas, and adopt them to the advancing spirit of time, is an important point which has near always been overlooked both by Muslim and non Muslim students of Islam The object of the Quran in dealing with these . legends is seldom historical; it nearly always aims at giving them a universal moral or philosophical import”²²⁸

Allama Iqbal saw the Russian Revolution and heard the voice proclaiming equality fraternity of human beings and hence for all subjugated peoples of the world. What the Revolution turned out to be is obvious Allama Iqbal also expressed his dissatisfaction with its results. The man made principles and theories kept the Russian revolution areas earth bound. They could not rise higher than the level of race, and colour. Russian communism in the long run became a tool for the service of Russian nationalism Broad based principle of Brotherhood of man was, thus, set aside Moreover the Russian revolution could bring about nothing which could enhance the idea of man’s respect for man. Whatever the revolution dealt with was material. Morals stood replaced by laws — Man made laws based on convenience and national expediency. Man’s spiritual schooling was ignored, rather mocked at.

²²⁸ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

Such a revolution, no doubt created commotion in the world of man but did not serve any moral, thus could not turn man into a better human being.

Allama Iqbal addressed the Soviet through Maulana Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and told them what the Quran offered to humanity. He asked them to look at the message of the Quran and the revolution it had brought about in human societies. He told the Soviets that it was the Quran that still could lead to the genuine revolution for the good of man by doing away with racial and territorial prejudices. It was according to Allama Iqbal the Quranic teachings which could bring about the spiritual evolution of human beings enabling them to look at all the human societies as different segments of one expansive brotherhood.

تو کہ دیگرے انداختی
دل ز دستور کہن پرداختی
کردہ کار خداوند تمام
بگذر ازلا، جانب الا خرام
اے کہ می خواہی نظام عالمے
جستہ او را اساس محکمے؟
داستان کہنہ شستی باب باب
فکر را روشن کن از ام الكتاب
پاسیہ خاماں ید بیضا کہ داد؟
مژدہ لا قیصر و کسری کہ داد؟
جز بہ قرآن ضیغمی روباهی است
فقر قرآن اصل شاهنشاهی است
فقر قرآن اختلاط ذکر و فکر
فکر را کامل ندیدم جز بہ ذکر
چیست قرآن خواجہ را پیغام مرگ

دستگیر بنده بے ساز و برگ!
هیچ خیر از مردک زرکش مجو
لن تنالو البر حتی تنفقوا!
از ربا آخرچه می زاید ، فتن!
کس نداند لذت قرض حسن!
آب و نان ماست ازیک مائده
دوده آدم کنفس واحده²²⁹

O thou who buildest on foundations new

Has torn thy heart from ancient ways?

Since thou bath done away with ancient Gods,

Proceed from “no” towards “exupt” God.

O thou that Seckest an order for the world

Hast fogred for it a basis all secure?

Thou hast erased all ancient tales, thy thought

Illumine now with the Qur’ans, who gave

²²⁹ Armughan-i-Hijaz, pp. 79/667, 80/668, 81/669.

The dark complexioned men the Shining Hand?

Who blazoned for the news 'No Caesars now ?

Divested of the sanction of the book,

All prowess is but crooked, jackal like,

The Quran inculcates a quality

Of Faqr, which is the very quintessence

Of sovereignty a faqr which indicates

The fusion of prayer and thought,

No thought completes its reach except by aid Of prayer.

A fatal warning for the rich, a sure

And certain succour for the destitute

is what the book implies Seek thou no good

From money Seekers for no righteousness

Shall thou attain untill in Charity

Thou spend thy store. The gifts of usury

Are strife, and systems that know not the joy.

Of noble lending.

A common Source provides our Sustenance,
Man's family is 'like a Single Soul'.

What devells within the heart I may disclose:
Tis no mere book, it is a different thing,
Which, when it soaks the soul, doth Change it all,
And, with the Soul transformed, the world as well
Is Shaped anew.

If human origin and destination are one and same why then the livelihood should not be the same. Human life, its problems, its resoures, have to abide by certain rules. And the most useful and successful rules are those which have been enunciated by our Prophet in accordance with the injunctions and prohibitions of the Quran. The pious Caliphs harmonised these rules with chief requisitions of their times, leaving guide-lines for future generations to abide by these rules. It would not be in the interest of humanity at large to educate it spiritually and morally on the Quranic principles and leave its livelihood to the non-Quranic. This lantamounts to partial belief in the Quran,

²³⁰ افتومنون بيعض الكتاب و تكفرون بيعض

“Then is it only a part of the Book that you believe and do you reject the rest”.

²³⁰ Al-Quran 2: 85.

Human ills can be set right only if world of man becomes Quranic world in all practical purposes. And that Quranic world is effectively brought to light in the following verses.

زنده رود

زروق ما خاکیاں ہے نا خدا ست!
کس نداند عالم قرآن کجا ست!

افغانی

عالم در سینہ ما گم ہنوز
عالمے در انتظار قم ہنوز
عالمے ہے امتیاز خون و رنگ!
شام اور روشن تر از صبح فرنگ
عالمے پاک از سلاطین و عبید!
چوں دل مومن کراش ناپدید!
عافے رعنا کہ فیض یک نظر!
تخم او افگند در جان عمر
لا یزال و واردتش نو بنو!
برگ و بار محکمانش نو بنو!
باطن او از تغیر ہے غمے!
ظاہر او انقلابے ہر دمے
اندرون ست آن عالم نگر!
می دہم از محکمت او خبر!²³¹

The Living Stream

²³¹ Javid Namah, p. 67/655.
The Pilgrimage of Eternity, pp. 56, 57.

The boat of earthly man is rudderless,
None Knows the path towards the Qur'anic realm.

Afghani

All hidden in our breasts yet lies a world,
That waits the bidding of the Lord of rise,
A world without distinctions, free from race
And pigment, with an eye far brighter than
The western morn: a world unprofaned
By kings and slaves ; a world. coastless Sea
That can be likened to the faithfuls' heart,
It is a world so beautiful that its seed
Was Sown in Umar's Soul but by a glance.
Its roots are constant, but its leaves and fruits
Are never fresh ; experiences new
It yields. Inside its heart a changeless calm,
A central peace doth dwell, though outwardly
Each instant brings a revolution new

To it. Behold this world in thy own Self.

I shall now tell thee of its principles.*

In short Allama Iqbal did hope that the realm of the Quran was about to emerge. Its manifestation could not be withheld any longer. In such a world there would be no distinctions of blood, colour master and slave etc. A single glimpse of that world had transformed the heart of Hazrat 'Umar. The Quranic society was to be a lasting reality where new shapes and spectacles were to take birth, its principles being self evident and forceful. Capable of tackling new situations that might come to the fore. Therefore in Allama Iqbal's opinion Muslims would be able to cope with the challenges of modern times only if they acted anew upon the Quranic directions wholeheartedly.

Allama Iqbal has emphatically elucidated this point in the Devils Advisory Council. In Javid Nama, he has elaborated on the world of the Quran, and we have seen a bit of it in the foregoing pages, through Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. In the Devils Advisory Council he has forcefully laid down his ideas about the bright future of Islam but has employed Devil to say this. In the Advisory Council, Islam has been declared as the only religion of humanity. Devil has been made to declare that the emergence of true Islamic society would mean the doom of all forms, methods, institutions and establishments that kept human being divided in the shape of slaves and masters, exploiters and the exploited bank-owners and the bankrupts discriminators and the discriminated against, whites and the non-whites etc. The Master Devil bewailed that the possibility of Islamic resurgence could not be ruled out and if that happened it would mean the end of all devilish sway. Imperialism, race and colour conflicts, exploitation, man sucking blood of man in different manners of trade and commerce etc were all solidly established institutions which even communism could not demolish. Devils government could not be toppled through any nationalistic revolution. Nationalism instead strengthened anti-man bastions. Hatred based on

geographical and territorial prejudices made things easy for all the clans of Develish community.

Devil has been shown in his Advisory Council as tremendously afraid of Islam. Islam is shown as elementally opposed to all what the Devil wished to see prevalent. As far as the most significant revolution of the contemporary era i.e communism is concerned the Devil disposes of its threat to his ascendancy thus.

دست قدرت نے کیا ہے جن
گریبانوں کو چاک
مزد کی منطق کی سوزن سے نہیں
ہوتے رفو!
کب ڈرا سکتے مجھ کو اشتراکی
کوچہ گرد!
یہ پریشان روزگار ، آشفته مغز ،
آشفته ہو

232

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, formented Souls.*

And their turning to Islam and the Muslim Ummah he States with a
doleful tone:

²³² Armughan-i-Hijaz, Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, p. 647.

*Poems from Iqbal, V. G. Kiernan, John Murray, London West, (1955) p. 83.

ہے اگر مجھ کو خطر کوئی تو اُس
امت سے ہے
جس کی خاکستر میں ہے اب تک
شرار آرزو
خال خال او قوم میں اب تک نظر
آتے ہیں وہ
کرتے ہیں اشک سحر گاہی سے
جو ظالم وضو
جالتا ہے جس پہ روشن باطن ایام
ہے
مزوکیت فتنہ فردا نہیں اسلام

No, if there is one monster in my path
It lurks within that people in whose ashes
Still ambers of an infinite hope.
Even yet Scattered among them. Steadfast ones
Come forth, who make lustration of their hearts
Within contrite tears in the pure hours 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.

After having given his comments on communism Allama Iqbal makes the devil describe those principles which guarantee riddance from all diabolic snares under proviso that the Quran is followed and lived as it ought to be

جالتا ہوں میں کہ مشرق کی
اندھیری رات میں!
بے ید بیضا ہے پیران حرم کی
آستین!

عصر حاضر کے تقاضوں سے بے لیکن
یہ خوف!!
ہو نہ جائے آشکارا شرع پیغمبر کہیں
الحذر آئین پیغمبر وے سو بار الحذر!!
حافظ ناموس زن مرد آزما، مرد آفرین!
موت کا پیغام ہر نوع غلامی کے لیے!!
نے کوئی فغفور و سلطان نے گدائے راہ
نشیں

کرتا ہے دولت کو ہر آلودگی سے پاک
صاف
منعوں کو مال و دولت کا بناتا ہے
امیں!

اس سے بڑھ کر اور کیا فکر و نظر کا
انقلاب!

پادشاہوں کی نہیں اللہ کی ہے یہ زمین
چشم عالم سے رہے پوشیدہ یہ آئیں تو
خوب!

یہ غنیمت ہے کہ خود مومن ہے محروم
یقین
ہے یہی بہتر الہیات میں الجھا رہے!
یہ کتاب اللہ کی تاویلات میں الجھا
رہے²³³!

I Know that in this dark of the East
No Shining hand that Moses raised to Pharaoh
Hides, under his priests sleeve. Yet, none the less.
The importunities of the hour conceal
One peril that Prophets ordinance, that keeps Safe,
The honour of woman, that forges men and tries them,
That bears a death-warrant so every Shape
Of Servitude, admits no Dragon Thrones,
Knows neither empereror nor road side 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?

²³³ Armughan-i-Hijaz, Kuliyat-i-Iqbal, Urdu, pp. 654, 655.

* The Pilgrimage of Eternity, pp, 83/84.

And well for us if those enactments Still
Lie burried Smugly out of Sight and mind!
Felicity it is, that the Believer
Himself has lost all faith. Long way be halt
Entangled in maze of Theology
And glazing comment on the sacred Word.

In the last verse there is a pungent irony. Muslims who had to rule the world under the manifesto bestowed on them by the Quran lost themselves in the quibblings related to latent, literal, metaphorical, implied, real or deferred meanings of the Quranic verses. Allama Iqbal tells Muslim scholars, especially the religious ones that they had given up struggle of life thus vacating the field of action for non believers. For this defeatism they tried to find out justification from the Quran. In the perspective of these verses Allama Iqbal's statement published in the Zamindar, a renowned urdu Daily of the twenties and thirties, becomes categorically obvious and unequivocal in which he refuted the allegation leveled against him that he championed the Bolshevik ideas. The statement was published on June 24, 1923. It is clear that 1923, humanitarians all over the world had not felt disgusted with Communism. They still hoped some good to come from that revolutionary ideology. Communism till then had not been visualized as it really was or because it had as yet not appeared in its true colours and its essential opposition to basic principles of Islam had not till then been appreciated in detail. Even then Allama Iqbal resented the allegation. The last paragraph of the statement reads thus

“I am sorry that Muslims have not studied the economic aspects of Islam. Had they done so they would have found it a great blessing in this regard *فاصبحتم بنعمته اخوانا* — points towards the same blessing. Individuals of a

a nation cannot be really linked together in the bond of true and practical brotherhood until and unless they were equal in all respects, The aim of the present Soviet economic system may in itself be however, praise worthy but no Muslim can sympathize with its methodology and practical difficulties. On the mind of Indian Muslims and the Muslims elsewhere the political economy of Europe leaves a profound impact. But it is imperative for them to study the Islamic economic system in this age. I am sure they will find the solution of their problems.²³⁴

Not to speak of having adopted Bolshevic ideas Allama Iqbal on the contrary, persuades the Bolshevies themselves to take advantage of the light of the Quran so that they may come to know of the fragile nature of their system.

آفریدی شرع و آئین دگر
اند کے با نور قرانش نگر
از ہم و زیر حیات آگہ شوی!
ہم ز تقدیر حیات آگہ شوی!²³⁵

An Order and a law

Entirely new, thou bast created, now

Let it be focussed in the Quran's light

And so examine It again a while

²³⁴ Guftar-i-Iqbal, (January 1969), Pak. Research Institute Punjab University, pp. 7-8.

²³⁵ Javid Narnah p. 99,

*Pilgrimage of Eternity, p. 74,

Do listen to the Silent notes of life

Its high and low, and Know its destiny*

Allama Iqbal felt aggrieved to find that a section of the Muslims were impressed by theoretical discussions of European Political Economy, on account of its superficial study. Greek philosophy had penetrated into the temperament and psychology of the Europeans to such an extent that Christianity could not get rid of it contrariwise Christianity fell a victim to Hellenism. For Muslim philosophers and rationalists the mystifying Hellenism created lot of confusion in so many matters. Explicit teachings of the Quran, thus, became obscure because of the application of Hellenistic logic, to the Islamic beliefs. In this respect we can further see Allama Iqbal's own explanation.

“As we all know, Greek philosophy has been a great cultural force in the history of Islam. Yet a careful study of the Quran and the various schools of scholastic theology that arose under the inspiration of Greek thought discloses a remarkable fact that while Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it on the whole-obscured their vision of Quran. Socrates concentrated his attention on human world alone. To him the proper study of mankind was man and not the worlds of plants, insects and stars. How unlike the spirit of the Quran, which sees in the humble bee a recipient of Divine inspiration and constantly calls upon the readers to observe the perpetual change of the winds, the alternation of day and night, the clouds, the starry skies and the planets swimming through infinite space. As a true disciple of Socrates, Plato despised sense-perception which in his view, yielded mere opinion and no real knowledge. How unlike the Quran which regards hearing and seeing as the most valuable Divine gifts and declares them to be accountable to God for their actions in this world. This is what the earlier Muslim students of the Quran missed under the spell of classical speculation. They read the Quran in the light of the Greek

thought. It took them over 200 years to perceive — that too not quite clearly — that the spirit of the Quran was essentially anti-classical.”²³⁶

That there emerges no clear concept of God in the Greek philosophy is no ordinary shortcoming. The God of Greeks is not the Creator of the Universe out of nothing. He is an unmoved mover but cannot enforce this will. If he desires change in the universe then. He is needy. He set the great machine of the universe into motion once and for all and has settled down since then. Such a God cannot be responding to human prayers. The God of the Quran listens to prayers of every suppliant when he calls Him.

وإذا سالك عبادة عنى فانى قريب اجيب دعوة اذا
دعانى²³⁷

“When my servants ask thee concerning me, I am indeed close (to them): I listen to the prayer of every suppliant. When he calls on Me.”

Moreover, the God of Greeks is not the creator of the heavens and earth who created life and death, and created all existences out of nothing. He in Greek thought is shorn of creatively because according to Greek philosophers, matter coexisted with God. Matter was out there already when God used it in giving shape to things, inanimate as well animate. God in a way, looked like an artisan who first manipulated the available material. For example the wood is already there, the carpenter has to turn it into a chair, idol ‘ or crucifix. In this perspective the Greek God emerges as a great artisan and not the creator. There is a world of difference between the two positions. The God of the Quran, on the other hand, has not only created

²³⁶ The Reconstruction, pp, 3, 4.

²³⁷ AI-Quran, 2: 186.

everything he rather, has appointed a principle for its working everything should conform to this principle and fulfill its destiny. Everything obeys him.

سبح لله ما في السموات وما في
الارض²³⁸

Whatever is in the heavens and on earth, let it declare the Praises and Glory of God”

الا وله الخلق والامر²³⁹

“Is it not His to create and to govern.

If then everything has to fulfill its destiny, it is clear that it has been created with an end in view. By analogy it appears that the universe has been created with a collective end in view

ما خلقنا السموات الارض وما بينهما
لا
عيبين²⁴⁰

Not for (idle) sport did we create the heavens and the earth and all that is between”.

²³⁸ Al-Quran, 57: 1

²³⁹ Al-Quran, 7:54.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 21:16.

The creation of the universe is not:

“As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods, They kill us for their sport.”

In this perspective man assumes the role of an actor who cannot choose but play it out willy nilly. Hence he is not responsible for what he does and is aloof from all concepts of punishment and reward. His creative forces find no expression. But the Quran makes everybody accountable to Allah for all that he does or intends to do, and warns him of the reckoning.

“Certainly to us will be their return then it will be for us to call them to account.”

ان الينا ايايهم آتية يوم القيامة
فردا²⁴¹

And then everybody shall be accountable all alone.

وكلهم آتية يوم القيامة فردا²⁴²

“And everyone of them will come to him singly on the Day of Judgement.”

Sins of others are not debited to our account. In Islam there is no concept of original sin nor of expiation at the expense of others. In short the

²⁴¹ Ibid., 88: 26.

²⁴² Ibid., 19: 95.

Greek God and the God (Allah) of the Quran are poles apart. We cannot but admit that Muslim philosophers were so overwhelmed by the Greek classical philosophy that they read, understood and disseminated the verses of the Quran in its light. Their Allah, like the God of Greeks, lost command and hence individuals lost sense of responsibility. Allama Iqbal's persuasion, on the contrary is as follows.

اپنی دنیا آپ پیدا کر اگر زندوں میں ہے،
 سر آدم ہے، ضمیر کن فکاں ہے زندگی!
 آشکارا ہے یہ اپنی قوت تسخیر سے!
 گرچہ اک مٹی کے پیکر میں نہاں ہے زندگی!
 قلم ہستی سے تو ابھرا ہے مانند حیات
 اس زیاں خانے میں تیرا امتحاں ہے زندگی
 یہ گھڑی محشر کی ہے تو عرصہ محشر میں ہے!
 پیش کر غافل عمل کوئی اگر دفتر میں ہے!²⁴³

If you are amongst those who are (really) alive,

You should create your world

Yourself, Life is the secret of humanity and conscience of universe.
 “Life makes itself manifest through its power to conquer, although it is hidden in a (small) frame of clay. ‘

“You have emerged as a bubble from the Sea of existence, Life means

your test (spiritually) in this abode of loosing bargain (materially). “This is the hour of turmoil. You are on the plane of resurrection.

²⁴³ Haqaiq al-Islam, Dar-al-Kitab-al-Arabi Beirut, pp. 109-110.

Show up, O! you negligent individual, if there is on record, some good deed done by you.”

Abbass Mahmood al-Aqqad throws light on man’s personal accountability in the following words,

فلاسلام لا يعرف الخطيئة الموروثة، ولا يعرف السقوط من طبيعة الى ما رونها. فلايحاسب احد بذنب ابيه ولا تزر وازرة اخرى و ليس مما يدين به المسلم ان يترد النوع الانسانى الى ما دون طبيعته، ولكنه، مما يؤمن به ان ارتفاع الانسان و هبوطه منو طان بالتكليف وقوامه الحرية فهو بامانة التكليف قابل للصعود الى قمة الخليقة. وهو بالتكليف و قوامه الحرية فهو بامانة التكليف قابل للصعود الى قمة الخليقة. وهو بالتكليف قابل للهبوط الى اسفل سافلين، وهذه هي الامانة التى رفعته مقاما فوق مقام الملائكة ، وهبطت به مقاما الى زمرة الشيطان.²⁴⁴

“Islam does not place any ring of inherited sin around man’s neck. None is called upon to account for what his father did. None bears the burden of other’s sin. A Muslim believes that he would never be debased into any lower form of creatures. Man’s upward or downward journey depends on his own choice, This Amanat (Choice) is his own responsibility. He is capable of attaining the highest stations of his choice as well as falling lower than the lowest. This responsibility of choice, on the one hand lints him higher than the Angels and on the other, throws him down to the level of Devils coterie

Against this freedom of Choice we see what Communism gives to man. Aslam AbduTlah and Javed Ansari in their detailed article on “Marxism” lay down as under. “The consciousness which is created by the change in material conditions as described by Marx, is a false consciousness from the Islamic perspective because it denies man the role assigned to him by the creator. It compels man to surrender to his self (Nafs), instead of controlling it.—Islam does not define the individual as a by-product of a collective

²⁴⁴ “Arabia”—The Islamic World Review, Published by the Islamic Press Agency Ltd. East Burnham (Nov. 27, 1983), p. 39.

phenomena and outer environment but as a responsible being. The individual in Islam has an identity. No one in this life or in the hereafter is held responsible for his deed. His place in this world and life hereafter is determined according to his responses to the message and mercy of God. The Quran says, 'O you who attained to faith. Remain conscious of God and seek to come close unto Him, and strive hard in His cause so that you might attain a happy state' (6: 35). Elsewhere it says: Follow that (which) has been sent down unto you by your sustainer and follow no masters other than Him (7/3).

The Islamic ethic enables individual to seek the mercy and pleasure of God in his familial, social, political and economic life. Marxist ethics envisaged him as being compelled to remain at the mercy of social aggregates and the outer environment in all walks of life.”²⁴⁵

Man’s potentialities are boundless. Man can learn and achieve what no animal can. But the beginning of man is not different from other animals. His growth towards his destiny as a human being is slow, physically as well as spiritually, spiritual growth being slower still. Man’s real evolution is his spiritual evolution. In the words of Allama Iqbal;

“Indeed the evolution of life shows that though in the beginning, the mental is dominated by the physical, but the mental as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence.”²⁴⁶

To begin with man is a spatial aspect, and thus bound to be governed by material pulls only. This state manifests the dominance of instincts. There is nothing wrong with instincts. Their running riot is wrong. All forces need control, but control does not mean elimination. Controlled instincts are like broken horses, who are much more useful than the unbroken ones. And it

²⁴⁵ The Reconstruction, (1944), p. 106.

²⁴⁶ Al, Quran, 8:55.

takes long to reach the stage where instincts bow before the commanding .rational self, which means the “dominance” of spirit over matter. The impulse of change is an ingrained quality of man. Factors from outside, only shakes it into wakefulness, the slumbering inner possibilities. Without inner capacity no foreign aid can be of any use. Man must achieve his destiny. Religion should mould man’s attitude into fighting his way out of all sorts of apparent chases. But man is not his own creator. He does not know himself fully. He can know himself only through Gods guidance. And that guidance has been revealed to the Holy Prophet (May peace be on him) in the form of the Quran. It is the Quran which can make man rise to his potential spiritual height yet man has not been compelled to do so. He is at liberty to reject the Guidance and remain earth-rooted i.c at the animal level. It is for his own good if he abides by the directions contained in the Quran. It is the Quran which makes man conscious of himself and thus enables him to understand others. This mutual understanding inculcates in human beings the sense of respect for man. Man’s respect for man is the real basis of all social ethics. Thus man becomes a social being and infact is far above the social animal.

Life means, life of a human being. The bi-ped has to outgrow his material self. By conquering the material self, a person can become capable of progressing towards a stage where conquest of the Universe may look possible. It is mans God-ward journey only which frees him by degrees, from earthly bondage. By living according to Gods commands contained in the Quran man rises above flesh. He fears God only. Fear of material loss or hope of material gain by and by loose their grip and significance. That is the stage where man feels he is his own master. His intellect moral sense and determination begin to shape his personality.

Man’s God-ward journey is a unifying experience. His unity within, grows in proportion to his freedom from the dominance of matter. He should become One provided he embibes attributes of the one, a state adainable only through abiding by God’s law and thus becoming God-centred. A man who does not believe in God remains only at the animal

level, rather according to the Quran can be characterised, as the worst of animals.

ان شرالدواب عند الله الذين كفروا و هم
لا
يومنون
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“The worst of all animals in God’s sight are human beings who reject him. They will not believe in him.”

It is clear that every animal has its limits commensurate with the species it belongs to. All the potentialities of an animal can well be defined. The extent of an animal’s intelligence, according to its species is obvious. The utmost that can be done by a certain animal is always clearly understandable, hence manageable. But what about a man’s expanse of mischief, if he plays the animal ? This bi-ped can achieve humanity only if he sincerely lives according to the last and Most perfect guidance of God is the Quran. And according to Allama Iqbal, wisdom and guidance offered by the Quran is eternal, everlasting.

آن کتاب زنده قرآن حکیم
حکمت اولاً زوال است و قدیم!
نوع انسان را پیام آخرین
حاصل او رحمتہ للعلمین!!
حرف او را ریب نے تبدیل نے!
آیہ اش شرمندہ تاویل نے²⁴⁸!

²⁴⁷ Kulliyat-i-Iqbal. (Persian), p. 46.

²⁴⁸ 2.Kulliyat-i-Iqbal, (Persian), p. 46.

“It is the ever living book,
The Holy Quran,
Whose Wisdom is antique,
And eternal.”

“Last Message of God
To Humanity,
And its Messenger is one:
A great Blessing
For the two worlds”

“There is no doubt,
About the meaning
Of its words,
Nor can they be changed!
It does not allow misinterpretation
Of its Verses,”

Allama Iqbal was sure that man cast in the Quranic mould were about to emerge — genuine human beings — conquerors of the material universe --- the ideal realized at last.

اے سوارِ اشہبِ دورانِ بیا
اے فروغِ دیدہ امکاں بیا²⁴⁹

“Appear! O the rider of
Appear! O the light of eye
The steed of whirling time!
Of possibility's clime!”

The world as desired by Allama Iqbal is to be the world inhabited by such type of persons, obedient to God, high-thinking conquerors of material as well spiritual universe.

THE REVOLUTION IN WESTERN THOUGHT

Huston Smith

Quietly irrevocably, something enormous has happened to Western man. His outlook on life and the world has changed so radically that in the perspective of history the twentieth century is likely to rank—with the fourth century, which witnessed the triumph of Christianity, and the seventeenth, which signaled the dawn of modern science—as one of the very few that have instigated genuinely new epochs in human thought. -In this change, which is still in process, we of the current generation are playing a crucial but as yet not widely recognized part.

The dominant assumptions of an age colour the thoughts, beliefs, expectations, and images of the men and women who live within it. Being always with us, these assumptions usually pass unnoticed—like the pair of glasses which, because they are so often on the wearer's nose, simply stop being observed. But this doesn't mean they have no effect. Ultimately, assumptions which underlie our outlooks on life refract the world in ways that condition our art and our institutions: the kinds of homes we live in, our sense of right and wrong, our criteria of success, what we conceive our duty to be, what we think it means to be a man or woman, how we worship our God or whether, indeed, we have a God to worship.

Thus far the odyssey of Western man has carried him through three great configurations of such basic assumptions. The first constituted the Graeco-Roman, or classical, outlook, which flourished up to the fourth century A. D With the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire, this Graeco-Roman outlook was replaced by the Christian world view which

proceeded to dominate Europe until the seventeenth century. The rise of modern science inaugurated a third important way of looking at things, a way that has come to be capsuled in the phrase “the Modern Mind.”

It now appears that this modern outlook, too, has run its course and is being replaced by what, in the absence of a more descriptive term, is being called simply the Post-Modern Mind. What follows is an attempt to describe this most recent sea change in Western thought I shall begin by bringing the Christian and modern out looks into focus; for only so can we see how and to what extent our emerging thought patterns differ from those that have directly preceded them.

From the fourth-century triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire through the Middle Ages and the Reformation, the Western mind was above all else theistic. “God, God, God ; nothing but God”—in the twentieth century one can assume such an exclamation to have come, as it did, from a theologian. In the Middle Ages it could have come from anyone. without question all life and nature were assumed to be under the surveillance of a personal God whose intentions toward man were perfect and whose power to implement these intentions was unlimited.

In such a world, life was transparently meaningful. But although men understood the purpose of their lives, it does not follow that they understood, or even presumed to be capable of understanding, the dynamics of the natural world. The Bible never expands the doctrine of creation into a cosmogony for the excellent reason that it asserts the universe to be at every point the direct product of a will whose ways are not man’s ways. God says, “Let there be”—and there is. That is all. ‘Serene in a blaze of lasting light, God comprehends ‘nature’s ways, but man sees only its surface.

Christian man lived in the world as a child father’s house, accepting its construction and economics unprobed. “Can anyone understand the thunderings of God’s pavilion?” Elihu asks Job. “Do you know the ordinances of the heavens, how the clouds are balanced or the lightning

shines ? Have you comprehended the expanse of the earth, or on what its bases were sunk when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shout ed for joy?” To such rhetorical questions the answer seemed obvious, The leviathan of nature was not to be drawn from the great sea of mystery by the fishhook of man’s paltry mind.

Not until the high Middle Ages was a Christian cosmology attempted, and then through Greek rather than Biblical inspiration, following the rediscovery of Aristotle’s Physics and Metaphysics. Meanwhile nature’s obscurity posed no mejor problem ; for as the cosmos was in good hands, it could be counted on to furnish a reliable context in which man might work out his salvation. The way to this salvation lay not through ordering nature to man’s purposes but through aligning man’s purposes to God’s. And for this objective, information was at hand. As surely as God had kept the secrets of nature to himself, he had, through his divine Word and the teachings of his church, made man’s duty clear. Those who hearkened to this duty would reap an eternal reward, but those who refused to do so would perish. -

We can summarize the chief assumptions underlying the Christian outlook by saying they held that reality is focused in a person, that the mechanics of the physical world exceed our comprehension, and that the way to our salvation lies not in conquering nature but in following the commandment which God has revealed to us.

It was the second of these three assumptions —that the dynamics of nature exceed man’s comprehension — which the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began to question, thereby heralding the transition from the Christian to the modern out- look. The Renaissance interest in the early Greeks revived the Hellenic interest in nature. For the first time in nearly two thousand years Western man began to look intently at his environment instead of beyond it. Leonardo da Vinci is symbolic. His anatomical studies and drawings in general disclose a direction of interest that has turned eye into camera in his case an extraordinary camera that “could stop the hawk in

flight and fix the rearin horse.” Once again man was attending to nature’s details as a potential messenger of meaning. The rage to know God’s handiwork was rivaling the rage to know God himself.

The consequence, as we know, was modern science. Under scrutiny, nature’s blur was found to be provisional rather than final. With patience the structure of the universe could be brought into marvelous focus. Newton’s exclamation caught the excitement perfectly: “O God, I think thy thoughts after thee!” Although nature’s marvels were infinitely greater than had been supposed, man’s mind was equal to them. The universe was a coherent, law-abiding system. It was intelligible !

It was not long before this discovery began to reap practical rewards. Drudgery could be relieved, health improved, goods multiplied and leisure extended. As these benefits are consider-able, working with intelligible nature began to overshadow obedience to God’s will as a means to human fulfillment. God was not entirely eclipsed—that would have entailed a break with the past more violent than history allows. Rather, God was eased toward thought’s periphery. Not atheism but deism, the notion that God created the world but left it to run according to its own inbuilt laws, was the Modern Mind’s distinctive religious stance.. God stood behind nature as its creator, but it was through nature that his ways and will were to be known.

Like the Christian outlook, the modern outlook can be summarized by identifying its three controlling presuppositions. First, that reality may be personal is less certain and less important than that it is ordered. Second, man’s reason is capable of discerning this order as it manifests itself in the laws of nature. Third, the path to human fulfillment consists primarily in discovering these laws, utilizing them where this is possible and complying with them where it is not.

The reason for suspecting that this modern outlook has had its day and is yielding to a third great mutation in Western thought is that reflective men are no longer confident of any of these three postulates. The first two are the

ones that concern us here. Frontier thinkers are no longer sure that reality is ordered and orderly. If it is, they are not sure that man's mind is capable of grasping its order. Combining the two doubts, we can define the Post-Modern Mind as one which, having lost the conviction that reality is personal, has come to question whether it is ordered in a way that man's reason can lay bare.

It was science which induced our forefathers to think of reality as primarily ordered rather than personal. But contemporary science has crashed through the cosmology which the seventeenth-to-nineteenth-century scientists constructed as if through a sound barrier, leaving us without replacement. It is tempting to attribute this lack to the fact that evidence is pouring in faster than we can throw it into perspective. Although this is part of the problem, another part runs deeper. Basically, the absence of a new cosmology is due to the fact that physics has cut away so radically from our capacity to imagine the way things are that we do not see how the two can get back together.

If modern physics showed us a world at odds with our senses, post-modern physics is showing us one which is at odds with our imagination, where imagination is taken as imagery. We have made peace with the first of these oddities. That the table which appears motionless is in fact incredibly "alive" with electrons circling their nuclei a million times per second; that the chair which feels so secure beneath us is actually a near vacuum—such facts, while certainly very strange, posed no permanent problem for man's sense of order. To accommodate them, all that was necessary was to replace the earlier picture of a gross and ponderous world with a subtle world in which all was sprightly dance and airy whirl.

But the problems the new physics poses for man's sense of order cannot be resolved by refinements in scale. Instead they appear to point to a radical disjunction between the way things behave and every possible way in which we might try to visualize them. How, for example, are we to picture an

electron traveling two or more different routes through space concurrently or passing from orbit to orbit without traversing the space between them at all ? What kind of model can we construct of a space that is finite yet unbounded, or of light which is both wave and particle ? It is such enigmas which have caused physicists like P. W. Bridgman of Harvard to suggest that “the structure of nature may eventually be such that our processes of thought do not correspond to it sufficiently to permit us to think about it at all. The world fades out and eludes us. . . We are confronted with something truly ineffable. We have reached the limit of the vision of the great pioneers of science, the vision, namely, that we live in a sympathetic world in that it is comprehensible by our minds.”

This subdued and problematic stance of science toward reality is paralleled in philosophy. No one who works in philosophy today can fail to realize that the sense of the cosmos has been shaken by an encyclopedic skepticism. The clearest evidence of this is the collapse of what historically has been philosophy’s central discipline: objective metaphysics, the attempt to discover what reality consists of and the most general radically from our capacity to imagine the way things are that we do not see how the two can get back together.

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The agreement represents the confluence of several philosophical streams. On one hand, it has come from the positivists who, convinced that truth comes only from science, have challenged the metaphysician's claim to extrascientific sources of insight. Their successors are the linguistic analysts, who have dominated British philosophy for the last several decades and who (insofar as they follow their pioneering genius Ludwig Wittgenstein) regard all philosophical perplexities as generated by slovenly use of language. For the analysts, "reality" and "being in general" are notions too thin and vapid to reward analysis. As a leading American proponent of this position, Professor Morton White of Harvard recently stated, "It took philosophers a long time to realize that the number of interesting things that one can say about all things in one full swoop is very limited. Through the effort to become supremely general you lapse into emptiness."

Equal but quite different objections to metaphysics have come from the existentialists who have dominated twentieth-century European philosophy. Heirs of Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Dostoevski, these philosophers have been concerned to remind their colleagues of what it means to be a human being. When we are thus reminded, they say, we see that to be human precludes in principle the kind of objective and impartial overview of things—the view of things as they are in themselves, apart from our differing perspectives—that metaphysics has always sought. To be human is to be finite, conditioned, and unique. No two persons have had their lives, shaped by the same concatenation of genetic, cultural, historical, and interpersonal forces. Either these variables are inconsequential—but if we say this we are forgetting again what it means to be human, for our humanity is in fact overwhelmingly shaped by them—or the hope of rising to a God's-eye view of reality is misguided in principle.

The traditional philosopher might protest that in seeking such an overview he never expected perfection, but that we ought to try to make our perspectives as objective as possible. Such a response would only lead the existentialist to press his point deeper ; for his contention is not just that

objectivity is impossible but that it runs so counter to our nature—to what it means to be human—that every step in its direction is a step away from our humanity. (We are speaking here of objectivity as it pertains to our lives as wholes, not to restricted spheres of endeavor within them such as science. In these latter areas objectivity can be an unqualified virtue.) If the journey held hope that in ceasing to be human we might become gods, there could be no objection. But as this is impossible, ceasing to be human can only mean becoming less than human—inhuman in the usual sense of the word. It means forfeiting through inattention the birthright that is ours: the opportunity to plumb the depths and implications of what it means to have an outlook on life which in important respects is unique and will never be duplicated.

Despite the existentialist's sharp rebuke to metaphysics and traditional philosophy in general, there is at least one important point at which he respects their aims. He agrees that it is important to transcend what is accidental and ephemeral in our outlooks and in his own way joins his colleagues of the past in attempting to do so. But the existentialist's way toward this goal does not consist in trying to climb out of his skin in order to rise to Olympian heights from which things can be seen with complete objectivity and detachment. Rather it consists in centering on his own inwardness until he finds within it what he is compelled to accept and can never get away from. In this way he, too, arrives at what he judges to be necessary and eternal. But necessary and eternal for him. What is necessary and eternal for everyone is so impossible for a man to know that he wastes time making the attempt.

With this last insistence the existentialist establishes contact with the metaphysical skepticism of his analytic colleagues across the English Channel. Existentialism (and its frequent but not invariable partner, phenomenology) and analytic philosophy are the two dominant movements in twentieth-century philosophy. In temperament, interest, and method they stand at opposite poles of the philosophical spectrum. They are, in fact,

opposites in every sense but one. Both are creatures of the Post-Modern Mind, the mind which doubts that reality has an absolute order which man's understanding can comprehend.

Turning from philosophy to theology, we recall that the Modern Mind did not rule out the possibility of God; it merely referred the question to its highest court of appeal—namely, reality's pattern as disclosed by reason. If the world order entails the notions of providence and a creator, God exists; otherwise not. This approach made the attempt to prove God's existence through reason and nature the major theological thrust of the modern period. "Let us," wrote Bishop Joseph Butler in his famous *The Analogy of Religion*, "compare the known constitution and course of things. . . with what religion teaches us to believe and expect; and see whether they are not analogous and of a piece, . . . It will, I think be found that they are very much so." An enterprising Franciscan named Ramon Lull went even further. He invented a kind of primitive computer which, with the turning of cranks, pulling of levers and revolving of wheels, would sort the theological subjects and predicates fed into it in such a way as to demonstrate the truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation by force of sheer logic working on self-evident propositions. Rationalism had entered theology as early as the Middle Ages, but as long as the Christian outlook prevailed, final confidence was reserved for the direct pronouncements of God himself as given in Scripture. In the modern period, God's existence came to stand or fall on whether reason, surveying the order of nature, endorsed it. It was as if Christendom and God himself awaited the verdict of science and the philosophers.

This hardly describes the current theological situation. Scientists and philosophers have ceased to issue pronouncements of any sort about ultimates. Post-modern theology builds on its own foundations. Instead of attempting to justify faith by appeals to the objective world, it points out that as such appeals indicate nothing about reality one way or the other, the way is wide open for free decision—or what Kierkegaard called the leap of faith. One hears little these days of the proofs for the existence of God which

seemed so important to the modern world. Instead one hears repeated insistence that however admirably reason is fitted to deal with life's practical problems, it can only end with a confession of ignorance when confronted with questions of ultimate concern. In the famous dictum of Karl Barth, who has influenced twentieth-century theology more than anyone else, there is no straight line from the mind of man to God. "What we say breaks apart constantly . . . producing paradoxes which are held together in seeming unity only by agile and arduous running to and fro on our part." From our own shores Reinhold Niebuhr echoed this conviction. "Life is full of contradictions and incongruities. We live our lives in various realms of meaning which do not cohere rationally."

Instead of "These are the compelling reasons, grounded in the nature of things, why you should believe in God," the approach of the church to the world today tends to be, "This community of faith invites you to share in its venture of trust and commitment." The stance is most evident in Protestant and Orthodox Christianity and Judaism, but even Roman Catholic thought, notwithstanding the powerful rationalism it took over from the Greeks, has not remained untouched by the postmodern perspective. It has become more attentive to the extent to which personal and subjective factors provide the disposition to faith without which theological arguments prove nothing.

It is difficult to assess the mood which accompanies this theological revolution. On one hand, there seems to be a heightened sense of faith's precariousness: as Jesus walked on the water, so must the contemporary man of faith walk on the sea of nothingness, confident even in the absence of rational supports. But vigor is present too. Having laboured in the shadow of rationalism during the modern period, contemporary theology is capitalizing on its restored autonomy. Compensating for loss of rational proofs for God's existence have come two gains. One is new realization of the validity of Pascal's "reasons of the heart" as distinct from those of the mind. The other is a recovery of the awe without which religion, as distinct from ethical philosophy piously expressed, is probably impossible. By including God

within a closed system of rational explanation, modernism lost sight of the endless qualitative distinction between God and man. Post-modern theology has reinstated this distinction with great force. If God exists, the fact that our minds cannot begin to comprehend his nature makes it necessary for us to acknowledge that he is Wholly Other.

These revolutions in science, philosophy and theology have not left the arts unaffected. The worlds of the major twentieth-century artists are many and varied, but none resembles the eighteenth-century world where mysteries seemed to be clearing by the hour. The twentieth-century worlds defy lucid and coherent exegesis. Paradoxical, devoid of sense, they are worlds into which protagonists are thrown without trace as to why—the world which the late French novelist Albert Camus proclaimed “absurd”, which for his compatriot Jean-Paul Sartre was “too much,” and for the Irish dramatist Samuel Beckett is a “void” in which men wait out their lives for what-they-know-not that never comes. Heroes driven by a veritable obsession to find out where they are and what their responsibility is seldom succeed. Most of Franz Kafka is ambiguous, but his parable, *Before the Law*,” closes with as clear a countermand to the modern vision of an ordered reality as can be imagined. “The world-order is based on a lie.”

Objective morality has gone the way of cosmic order. Even where it has not been moralistic, most Western art of the past has been created against the backdrop of a frame of objective values which the artist shared. As our century has, progressed, it has become increasingly difficult to find such a framework standing back of the arts.

A single example will illustrate the point. One searches in vain for an artistic frame of reference prior to the twentieth century in which matricide might be regarded as a moral act. Yet in Sartre’s play *The Flies*, it is the first authentic deed the protagonist Orestes performs. Whereas his previous actions have been detached, unthinking, or in conformity with the habit patterns that surround him, this one is freely chosen in the light of full self-

consciousness and acceptance of its consequences. As such, it is the first act which is genuinely his, "I have done my deed, Electra," he exults, adding "and that deed was good." Being his, the deed supplies his life with the identity which until then it had lacked. From that moment forward, Orestes ceases to be a free-floating form ; his acquisition of a past he can never escape roots his life into reality. Note the extent to which this analysis relativizes the moral standard. No act is right or wrong in itself. Everything depends on its -relation to the agent, whether it is chosen freely and with full acceptance of its con-sequences or is done abstractedly, in imitation of the acts of others, or in self-deception.

We move beyond morality into art proper when we note that the traditional distinction between the sublime and the banal, too, has blurred. As long as reality was conceived as a great chain of being—a hierarchy of worth descending from God as its crown through angels, men, animals, and plants to inanimate objects at the base—it could be reasonably argued that great art should attend to great subjects: scenes from the Gospels, major battles, or distinguished lords and ladies. With cubism and surrealism, the distinction between trivial and important disappears. Alarm clocks, driftwood, piece of broken glass become appropriate subjects for the most monumental paintings. In Samuel Beckett and the contemporary French antinovelists, the most mundane items—miscellaneous contents of a pocket, a wastebasket, the random excursions of a runaway dog— are treated with the same care as love, duty, or the question of human destiny.

One is tempted to push the question a final step and ask whether the dissolution of cosmic order, moral order, and the hierarchic order of subject matter is reflected in the very forms of contemporary art. Critic Russel Nye thinks that at least as far as the twentieth-century novel is concerned, the answer is yes. "If there is a discernible trend in the form of the modern novel," he writes, "it is toward the concept of the novel as a series or moments, rather than as a planned progression of events or incidents, moving toward a defined terminal end. Recent novelists tend to explore

rather than arrange or synthesize their materials often their arrangement is random rather than sequential. In the older tradition, a novel was a formal structure composed of actions and reactions which were finished by the end of the story, which did have an end. The modern novel often has no such finality.” Aaron Copland characterizes the music of our young composers as a disrelation of unrelated tones. Notes are strewn about like membra disjecta ; there is an end to continuity in the old sense and an end of thematic relationships.”

When Nietzsche’s eyesight became too poor to read books, he began at last to read himself. The act was prophetic of the century that has followed. As reality has blurred, the gaze of post-modern man has turned increasingly upon himself.

Anthropological philosophy has replaced metaphysics. In the wake of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, attention has turned from objective reality to the individual human personality struggling for self-realization. “Being” remains interesting only as it relates to man. As its order, if it has one, is unknown to us, being cannot be described as it is in itself; but if it is believed to be mysteriously wonderful, as some existentialists think, we should remain open to it. If it is the blind, meaningless enemy, as others suspect, we should maintain our freedom against it.

Even theology, for all its renewed theocentrism, keeps one eye steadily on man, as when the German theologian Rudolph Bultman relates faith to the achievement of authentic selfhood. It is in art, however, that the shift from outer to inner has been most evident. If the twentieth century began by abolishing the distinction between sublime and banal subject matter, it has gone on to dispense with subject matter altogether. Although the tide may have begun to turn, the purest art is still widely felt to be entirely abstract and free of pictorial representation. It is as if the artist had taken the scientist seriously and responded, “If what I see as nature doesn’t represent the way things really are, why should I credit this appearance with its former

importance. Better to turn to what I am sure of: my own intuitions and the purely formal values inherent in the relations of colours, shapes and masses.”

I have argued that the distinctive feature of the contemporary mind as evidenced by frontier thinking in science, philosophy, theology, and the arts is its acceptance of reality as unordered in any objective way that man’s mind can discern. This acceptance separates the Post-Modern Mind from both the Modern Mind, which assumed that reality is objectively ordered, and the Christian mind, which assumed it to be regulated by an inscrutable but beneficent will.