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# INFLUENCE OF THE MATHNAVI ON MUSLIM THOUGHT IN SOUTH ASIA

Address by

**JUSTICE (RETD.) DR. JAVID IQBAL**

At the Second International Mevlana Rumi Congress

Held at Seljuk University Konya

The Mathnavi of Mevlana Rumi reached the Indian Sub-continent around the Twelfth Century AD through the Sufis of the Suhrawardiyah and Qadiriyyah orders. The Sufis of these orders were very active in winning converts to Islam during the period commencing from the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khilji and extending up to the times of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. (Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries). Their method of preaching was unique, because, according to their creed, the ultimate aim of Islam was to realize the ideal of human unity. One eminent Sufi of the Suhrawardiyah order, namely Sheikh Bahauddin Zikariya of Multan was a contemporary of Mevlana and was very much influenced by his teachings.

From the period of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq down to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries), Islamic Sufism suffered a decline due to the influence of Buddhist and Vedantic ideas. But some Sufi orders tried to revive Islamic Sufism by seeking guidance from the Mathnavi. They encouraged the development of literature and poetry, and took pains to disseminate a correct understanding of Islam imbued with a spirit of religious tolerance.

These preachers and reformers, inspired by the Mathnavi, emphasized particularly the ethical values of Islam and devoted themselves entirely to the character building of the people. The ideas of Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind (also known as Mujaddid'Alaf-i-Thani), the great Sufi sage of Shahudi school, were based on some basic concepts of Mevlana. It was due to him that the Shahudi approach to Tauhid as opposed to the Wajudi approach became popular amongst the Muslims of the Sub-continent, and this distinguished

them from other religious communities. Furthermore, eminent scholars and Sufis, like Khwaja Baqi Billah, Sheikh Muhaddis Dehlavi and their colleagues rendered outstanding services in the evolution of an Islamic educational system. Their efforts resulted in the preparation of a separate and distinct curriculum for Muslim children

From the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries, one can easily trace the influence of the Mathnavi in the writings of scholars like Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmad Barailvi and Shah Ismail Shaheed. Their disciples, such as Shah Rafiq, Shah Muhammad Ishaq, Mufti Sadaruddin, Shah Ghulam Ali, Mufti Ilahi Bakhsh, Mevlana Fazal Haq Khairabadi and others further developed their ideas. Thereafter the teachings of Syed Ahmad Khan, poetry of Altaf Hussain Hali and writings of Shibli and others belonging to the Aligarh school of thought are also founded on the Mathnavi. On the other hand, the history of Muslim educational system in the Sub-continent reveals that throughout the centuries it has been dominated by the Mathnavi. Thus it would not be wrong to say that the ideas found in the Mathnavi eventually led to modern Islamic resurgence in the Sub-continent.

Muhammad Iqbal, the dreamer of a separate Muslim State in the Sub-continent, and the spiritual father of Pakistan was evidently inspired by the teachings of Mevlana. Like any Muslim of this century who wants to retain faith in Islam, and at the same time to accept modernity, Iqbal raises certain questions which agitate his mind. These questions are addressed to Mevlana and the answers have been drawn from the verses of the Mathnavi. This famous long Urdu poem by Iqbal is titled "Sage Rumi and Indian Disciple"

The poem consists of an interesting dialogue between Iqbal and Rumi and indicates that, even today, the Mathnavi can provide solutions to all the problems faced by modern Muslims. Some extracts are as follows:

Indian Disciple: A stream of blood flows from the Seeing Eye because at the hands of modern knowledge Religion is tattered and torn. Flows can this be remedied?

Sage Rumi: Knowledge used exclusively for material gain bites you like a serpent. But as a purifier of the inner self, it becomes your best friend.

Indian Disciple: O leader of sensitive lovers! I remember the exalted dictum embodied in your verse:

Mind, strings and frame of the instrument are

dry, yet wherefrom emerges the song which reminds one of the Beloved?"

(The modern age is intoxicated by the song, but it does not derive any pleasure as it is transitory, uncertain and unaware of the joy of presence before the Beloved. Thus how can it know the secret as to who is the Beloved and wherefrom emerges the song, Alas! Despite the light of Arts and Sciences in Europe, the song is plunged into the abyss of darkness instead of being elevated to the heavens.)

Sage Rumi: Everyone is not capable of enjoying the song. Figs are a fruit which are not relished by all birds.

Indian Disciple: I have absorbed the philosophies of the East and the West. Yet my soul remains troubled and agitated with aches and pains.

Sage Rumi: Incompetent healers have made you ill. Consult a physician who takes motherly care of you.

Indian Disciple: Alas! The Young man who gets university education has been hunted down by the European wizard.

Sage Rumi: A chick which has not grown its own wings is bound to be torn to pieces by the cat if it attempts to fly.

Indian Disciple: How long will the tight between Religion and Fatherland continues? Should the body be preferred to the soul?

Sage Rumi: At night a counterfeit coin gives the appearance of gold. Therefore gold must await the light of day to reveal its authenticity.

Indian Disciple: Tell me what is the reality of Man? I am only a speck of dust; transform me into a moon or a sun.

Sage Rumi: Outwardly man is so insignificant that even a mosquito can make his life miserable. But inwardly he has the potential to dominate the seven heavens.

Indian Disciple: The brightness of your thought can illuminate the dust. Tell me whether the object of man is to seek Reality through perception or through vision?

Sage Rumi: Man in substance is vision whereas the rest of him is only crust, and vision means enlightenment of the eye with the beauty of the Beloved.

Indian Disciple: The East is alive due to the warmth of your songs. Tell me what causes nations to perish?

Sage Rumi: Nations perish when they mistake pebbles for perfume.

Indian Disciple: Why is the Muslim of today devoid of spiritual and material power? How has his blood turned cold?

Sage Rumi: God does not disgrace any community until they hurt His chosen few by rejecting the offered truth and accepting falsehood.

Indian Disciple: How can an honest man benefit in the deserted market-place of existence?

Sage Rumi: He should sell "wisdom" and buy "wonder", as wisdom is only speculation whereas wonder is vision.

Indian Disciple: O exalted sharer of the intoxication of the eminent Companions (of the Holy Prophet) in the expedition of Badr! Resolve the problem of freewill and determinism for me.

Sage Rumi: Both falcon and crow have wings to fly, yet the wings of the falcon take it to the throne and the wings of the crow take it to the graveyard.

Indian Disciple: What is the ultimate aim of the Religion of the Holy Prophet? Does it preach striving for the ruler ship of the world or its renunciation?

Sage Rumi: Islam teaches me to strive to gain power, whereas Christianity teaches man to renounce the world and find refuge in the caves of the mountains.

Indian Disciple: How can baser instincts be controlled? How can the heart be awakened in the breast?

Sage Rumi: Be truly a man of God and tread on earth like a horse, obeying the commands of your Rider, and be not like a corpse that is a burden on the necks of others.

Indian Disciple: You know the secrets of the universe. Tell me how can the lives of nation gain strength?

Sage Rumi: if you are a seed, the birds will peck at you and if you are a bud, children will tear you apart. So hide the seed and spread out like a net. Conceal the bud and adopt the form of slimy grass on the roof.

Indian Disciple: You say one should search for the heart and must always strive for its possession. But my heart is in my breast, and my essence is thus reflected in my mirror.

Sage Rumi: You claim you have a heart, but the heart's abode is the highest heaven, and not the depth and degradation of a lump of flesh beating in your breast. You misunderstood me by considering your heart as the heart. What I mean is one should constantly search for men of heart, and this search you have given up.

Indian Disciple: How can one master knowledge and science? How does one acquire love and longing for the Beloved?

Sage Rumi: Knowledge and science are mastered through honest living. Love and longing come through honest living.

Indian Disciple: Society demands that one should live in the company of others. But without seclusion fire cannot be instilled in poetry.



Sage Rumi: Seclusion is required from strangers and not from those who are your own. A fur coat is worn in winter and not in spring.

Indian Disciple: In India there remains neither light nor longing for the Beloved. The men of heart in this country lead a miserable life.

Sage Rumi: Real men are never tired of disseminating light of Faith and warmth of Love. Those who spend their lives in spreading deceit and shamelessness are the mean ones.

The Muslims of the Sub-continent passed through an identity crisis after the decline of their political power. The subsequent Islamic revival was followed by a cultural renaissance. If one were to attempt to trace the philosophical or ideological basis of Muslim nationalism in South Asia, the conclusion would be that Muslims had rejected pantheistic Wajudi, Sufiism based on the dictum: "All is God", for their survival as a community, and instead adhered to the principle that "All is from God," This purer form of Islamic Sufiism is the crux of the teachings of Mevlana Rumi. Hence it will not be wrong to say that since Pakistan is the creation of Muslim nationalism; its roots are in Konya even though it is geographically situated in South Asia.

# INFLUENCE OF RUMI'S THOUGHT ON THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND LITERARY LIFE OF THE TURKS OF TURKEY

**DR. ERKAN TURKMEN**

Two centuries before the arrival of Rumi's father to the capital of the Seljukian Empire of Anatolia, the dispersed Islamic states were not yet properly organized. -These were the Anatolian Seljuks who reorganized the smaller Islamic states under one flag. Oghuz Turks, the ancestors of Seljuks and Turcomans (Muslim Turks) had found Islam closer to their previous religion "Shamanism". For example, in Shamanism, as Jihad in Islam, fighting and dying for God was thought to be rewarded by a better life after death. Moreover, the Turks also believed in one God.<sup>1</sup> Dance in the company of music was considered to be the part of worshipping God. It is, probably, due to this reason that there remained a custom among the Seljuk Sultans who have the military drums played five times a day and only three times for the minor rulers.<sup>2</sup>

When Rumi's father was at Balkh, three great Turkish empires were fighting and challenging one another in the Central Asia. In the west were the Great Seljuks; in the middle were Khwarezmshahs and in the east were Ghaznavids. The Turko-Iranian elements got mixed up. Nevertheless, Turcomans kept some old pre-Islamic customs alive. Being free minded nomadic people, they obeyed their babas or atas and later they began to respect Mevlevi Chelebis or Dedes in the same way. "To them, Mevlevis were like old Ozans or Bakhshies"<sup>3</sup> who gave them spiritual support along with music reminding them of their old religion.

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Dr. Osman Turan, *Selcuklular ve Islamiyet*, Nakislar Yayınevi, İstanbul 1980 p. 39

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr. Huseyin Yurdaydin, *İslam Tarihi Dersleri*, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fak., Yayın. 182 p. 62

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Dr. Fuad Koprulu, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutusavvflar* Ankara 1976 p. 169

When Rumi came to Anatolia, he found two strong groups - Mu'tizile (the rationalist Muslims) and Jebriye (the fatalist Muslims), side by side. It is due to this reason that we find Rumi criticising the rationalists and the fatalists throughout the Masnavi. Rumi obtained support of the educated Turkish community as well as of royalties. They turned to be a productive piece of land ready to receive the mystic seeds of Islam that Rumi tried to sow in the light of the Koran. Study of pre-Islamic Turkish religious poetry shows that Turks had, always, their eyes in the sky and not on shapes or luxury of the earth. Rumi's teachings, too, invite us beyond the world of shapes and time. As he says:

گزر صورت بگذارید ای دوستان جنت و گلستان در گلستان

“If you, O my friends! Pass beyond forms, there is a paradise and rose-gardens within rose-gardens”

صورت سرکش گذران کن برنج تا ببینی زیر اد وحدت چون گنج

“By means of grief melt the obstinate forms, so that you may see the Unity that lies beneath it, like treasures”

(M I, 683)

This idea brought Rumi face to face with other two strong Muslim groups of Anatolia, a) The fanatic Muslim group, h) The Muslim Brother Group called Ahi.<sup>4</sup> The fanatic group refused anything beyond the superficial meanings of the Koran and Hadis. They disapproved of music and the dervish dance, Sema and even poetry with Rumi and his followers practised. Referring to these people Rumi says:

آتش این بانگ نے ونیست باد بر کہ این آتش ندارد نیست باد

<sup>4</sup> From the Turkish word Aqi = generous or from Arabic Akhi = my brother Prof. Dr. Neshet Chaghatay, Ahilik Seljuk University Press, Konya p. 52

“The sound of reed-flute is fire and not a simple blow of wind and he who has no such fire should stop to exist”

(M I, 9)

In this group was also his friend Sheykh Sadrettin-i Konevi who loved Rumi but refused to join his group.

The Ahi establishment was based on the moral teachings called futuvvet business and art. It was introduced by the great economist Ahi Evren Sheykh Nasrettin Ebu'l Mahmud bin Ahmed al-Khoyi (1171 -1261)<sup>5</sup> a distinguished disciple of Avha ud-Din-i Kermani (A.D. 1238). Ahi Evren's wife Fatma Baji (Fatma Sister) established a group for women, <sup>6</sup>too. This group gave importance to the Turkish handicraft, business and art, while Rumi's group laid emphasis on the art of loving God.

“O son, break away all the ties and be free, for how long will you be captive of gold and silver?”

(M I, 19)

Rumi does not invite us to passiveness and poverty; he wants us to work for God and His beloved people. It is the intention that counts as Muhammad says, [“All deeds depend on intention”], and we should avoid greed and try to be happy with what God has given to us.

Why did the “Mevleviye” succeed in the teeth of opposition of other Sufi paths? Is a question that should be replied here briefly? Mevleviye was formalized by Rumi's son Sultan Veled and his grand son Ulu Arif Chelebi. Since teachings of Rumi based on the Koran and Hadis, the Turkish people welcomed the path whole heartedly. It spread all over the Ottoman Empire, leaving hardly any city or town out of its scope. The centers were called “Tekke” and the tomb of Rumi Dergah, and the sub-branches were named

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<sup>5</sup> Neshet, *ibid*, p. IV

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Mikail Bayram, “Anadolu Bacileri, Belleten 180 Turk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara.

as -Zavi-ye. The central sheykh was called “Chelebi” who was supposed to represent Rumi and the followers were called “Mevlevi”, in general sense dervish Rumi would never have desired any such establishments, for he invites all mankind around the love of God without any show. But as the mevleviye grew, centers were required to render spiritual service under a system. From the royalties down to a simple soldier all trusted the sheykhs and their spiritual hands. In some cases, pomp and show went to its peak and the sheykhs lost their spiritual reverence.<sup>7</sup>

Here are some major points that covered the teachings of mevleviye which won the hearts of the Anatolian people:

- I- Respect and politeness Edah:<sup>8</sup> First one should respect oneself (called by M. Iqbal as Khudi) and then the Creator and all his creatures. In order not to break anybody’s heart, we should have fine and modest manners:

بے ادب محروم شدا از لطف رب از خدا جوئیم تو فبیق ادب

“From God, we should seek for His grace, so that He may give us fine manners because ill-mannered is deprived of God’s mercy”

(M I, 79)

For this, one needs to soften his heart in the crucible of Divine Love.

- I- Zikr and prayers should be practiced repeatedly in order to lessen your lust desires:

بادِ َخشم و بادِ شہوت ، بادِ آز بُرد اُد را کہ نبود اهل نماز

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<sup>7</sup> Abdulbaki Golpinarli, Mevlana ‘clan Sonra Mevlilik -Inkilap, Istanbul, p. 260

<sup>8</sup> The word adeb has no direct English equalent. Nicholson gives as “self-control” but it actually means respect + modesty + fine manners.

“The wind of anger, the wind of lust and the wind of greed will take over those who do not offer their prayers to God”

(M I, 3796)

- I- Sleep less, in order to serve God and His mankind. Speak less, in order to receive more messages from the Divine World, leaving your greedy partial intellect aside. Eat less to control your ego:

چون بحق بیدار نیورد جان ما بست بیداری در بندان ما

“When our soul is not awake to God, our wakefulness is like being in the prison:

(M I, 410)

ناں گِلست و گوشت، کم خورزاین تا نمائی بمچو گِل اندر زمیں

“Bread and meat are originally clay, eat little out of them, so that you may not stay under earth like clay”

(M I, 2872)

- I- Avoid the company of those who are not matured enough and have a negative character:

در نیا بد حال پخته بیچ خام پس سخن کو تاه باید والسلام

“Since an unmatured man is unable to perceive the state of a ripe man, it is better to cut a long story short and say him “farewell”

(M I, 18)

- I- In case you cannot control your ego and greedy self-hood, then go and find a perfect man or a lover of God to train you:

عقل تو ا همچون شتر بان، تُو شتر می کشاید، بر طرف در حکم مر  
عقل عقلمند اولیا و عقلمند بر مشال اشتران تا انہا

“You are like a camel and your sensual intellect is like a camel-driver which drives you to every direction with bitter

words. The saints are intellect of intellects and up to the end they have control over others intellects like camel drivers.”

(M I, 2497-98)

I- Cry to God for His mercy and love:

نالَم اِيرا نا لها خوش آيدش او دو عالم ناله و غم با يدش

“I wail and lament because wailings are pleasant to Him. He wants wailing and grief from the two worlds”

(M. I, 1774)

The tears of repentance will wash the glasses of our windows that open to the eternal Light of God.

I- Try to be with God as much as possible:

گر با ہم ای چوبی منی ، یمه ای وری یمه ای چوں بامنی با یمه ای

If you are with everyone, without Me, you are with none, If you are with Me and with nobody, you are with everyone”

(M III, 1613)

Once you attain the vicinity of God, you can never remain passive and dull. Because the Koran says: کل يوم هوفى شان “Everyday God shines with a new splendor (invention)”

It was these teachings of Rumi that became deeply rooted in the hearts of the Anatolian people, who later established a large Ottoman empire based on brotherhood and tolerance. Ottoman Turks and many of their kings remained attached to the Mevlevikhanas, the sheykhs who gave spiritual energy to them.

In order to enliven the spirits of the Anatolian people, more than two hundred Turkish poets and several musicians took part in spreading the essence of the masnevi, directly or indirectly.

The first one is Rumi's contemporary, great Sufi poet Yunus Emre<sup>9</sup> who feels proud to win his favour as he says:

Mevlana Hudavendgar bize nazr kilali,

Anun gorkli nazari gonlumuz aynasidir

(Eversince Mevlana, our master, has shown his favour to us,

His magnificent eyes have been the mirror of our heart).

Bir kez gonul yikdunisa bu kildugun namaz degil,

Yitmisiki millet dahi elin yuzin yumaz degil<sup>10</sup>

(In case you have broken someone's heart once, Your prayers are not true prayers, not even like the 72 nations are then your hands and face neat.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to throw light upon the Mevlevi Turkish poets, yet it will not be out of interest to give some poet's name and a brief introduction, chronologically along with, at least, one verse as an example:

I- Ashik Pasha (1272 -1333)

He belonged to a Turkish family of Khorasan that came to Qirshehir where the poet received his education.<sup>11</sup> He wrote a masnevi like that of Rumi's, called Gharib Nama (around 12,000 verses):<sup>12</sup>

Isbu mulk-i ask icun duzdi Calab,

Yir u gok olmakliga askdur sebab,

Yirde gokte zerre zerre ask kodi,

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<sup>9</sup> Dr. Erkan Turkmen, Turki Key Sab se Pehle Sofi Shair Yunus Emre Journal Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna No. 46, p. 327-333

<sup>10</sup> Yunus Emre, Risalat al-Nushiye Eskisehir Turizm, 1965 s. XIV and p. 176

<sup>11</sup> Nihat Sami, Turk Edebiyat Tarihi, MEB, Ankara p. 380

<sup>12</sup> Prof. Dr. Fuad Koprulu, ibid, p. 339 and Prof. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1958, p. 176 Sq.



Anin icun doldi alem ask odi.

(God created this world for sake of love,

He made the earth and the sky for His Love,

He placed then, mote by mote, on earth His love,

That is why the whole world is filled with the fire

of Love.<sup>13</sup>

## II- Divane Mehmed Chelebi:

A 16th century Mevlevi poet. He belongs to Sultan Veled's daughter's family. At his time Mevleviye had spread up to Egypt and Algeria.

Dedi bir dervise of bir padsah,

Nedurur hirka vu hem basta kulah?

Dedi dervis iy seh-i ali tebar

Hirka kabrimdir kulah seng-i mezar<sup>14</sup>

(A certain king asked a dervish,

Why do you wear a robe and a hat?

The dervish said O the noblest king,

My robe is my shroud and my hat the tomb-stone)

## III- Nef'i (1575 -1635):

He was born at Hasan Qale, a little town in the neighborhood of Erzerum. He came to Istanbul and wrote qasidas for Sultan Ahmed and

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<sup>13</sup> Abdul Baki, *ibid*, p. 473

<sup>14</sup> Mehmed Onder, *Mevlana Siir Antolojisi*, A Jansturk, p. 42

Sultan Murad IV. He was a great satirist. Following is a glimpse of his verses upon Rumi's Masnevi:

Masnevi amma ki her beyti cihan-i marifet,  
Zerresiyle afiabinin beraber pertevi,  
Alemi mana ki hursid-i cihan-ara gibi,  
Devreder girmis sema'a anda ruh-i Mevlevi<sup>15</sup>  
(Masnevi's each verse gives world-wide knowledge,  
One little mote of it is like the whole light of the sun,  
The world of its meaning is like the world-illuminating sun,  
The soul of Rumi keeps on whirling in his Masnevi)

IV- Neshati (died in 1674)

He was sheykh of Edirne Mevlevkhana who takes place among the famous Ottoman poets. He is called Ustad-i Ustadan-i Rum "The master of masters of Anatolia in the tezkire of Esrar Dede:<sup>16</sup>

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Ask ehli odur ki bakmayip dunyaya,  
Efzun ola sevk-i alem-i manaya,  
Sevda-yi vatanla durmayip bir yerde,  
Cun katre-i ebr, azm eyler deryaya.  
(The true lover is he who without looking at this world  
Has a greater desire for the other world,  
He does not stay at a spot, though he loves his country,

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<sup>15</sup> Esrar Dede, Tezkire-i Shurayi Mevleviye, Suleyaniye Library No. 109 (Halet Ef.) Istanbul.

<sup>16</sup> Mehmed Onder, *ibid*, p. 46

Like a rain drop he struggles in order to reach the Sea.)

V- Sheykh Ghalib (1757 - 1798)

He was born at Istanbul and is famous Ottoman poet. He was once a sheykh of Galata Mevlevikhana. Here are some lines that he wrote on Rumi:

Mazhar-i ask-i Huda Hazret-i Mevlana ‘dir,

Menba-yi sidk-u safa Hazret-i Mevlana ‘dir,

Seref-i zatiyla masuk-i gunah-i ervah,

Gevher-i bahr-i vefa Hazret-i Mevlana ‘dir,

Evlya sirrina mirasiyle maliktir ol,

Mazhar ul’ulema Hazret-i Mevlana ‘dir.<sup>17</sup>

(Greatly bestowed with divine Love is Mevlana,

The source of piety and righteousness is Mevlana,

with is honorable being, he a beloved of sinful

souls,

The pearl of the sea of loyalty is Mevlana,

By birth he knows the secrets known by prophets,

Beloved of all the learned men is respect worthy Mevlana

VI- Kececizade Izzet Molla (1758 - 1829)

He was born at Istanbul and died at Sivas. He was a good friend of Sultan Murad the II. His feelings for Rumi are as follows:

Gam basima dusumustur Ya Hazret-i Mevlana,

Gayret sana dusumustur Ya Hazret-i Mevlana,

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<sup>17</sup> Suleyman Nahifi, Bulak Press, Egypt 1268 H.

Olduk gunaha taib, cik bendelere sahip,  
Zilletde Koma haib, Ya Hazret-i Mevlana,  
Biz bendeleri yad et, Izzet kulunu sad-et,  
Viraneyim abad et, Ya Hazret-i Mevlana.

(I have fallen in grief, O' honorable Mevlana,

It is up to you now to help, me, O' honorable Mevlana,

I am penitent for my sins, take care of your slave, Don't leave me  
disappointed under any disgrace, O' honorable Mevlana,

Remember your slave and please your servant (Izzet),

Populate my deserted heart, O' honorable Mevlana.)

VII- Yahya Kemal Beyatli (1884 -1958):

One of the most famous Turkish poets of the latest era is Yahya Kemal.  
He worked as a teacher, ambassador and as a governor of Grand Assembly.  
He died in Istanbul.

Mesnevi sevkini eflaka cikarmis nayiz,

Hasr dek hem nefes-i Hazret-i Mevlana 'yiz

Seb-i lahutda manzum-i ecram gibi,

Lafz-i "Bisnev" le dogan debdebe-i manayiz

(We are the reed-flute (Ney) that has lifted the love of Masnevi, up to  
the sky,

We are friend with honorable Rumi, until the last day,

Like the lined up stars of the Divinely nights,

We are awe of essence, born of the word heararken (Bishnav)

There are also some poets like Nahifi (1640 - 1739) who translated the Masnevi into Turkish in verse.<sup>18</sup>

It is noticeable that there is some linguistic influence of Masnevi on the Turkish of Turkey. The following proverbs will be enough to prove it:

- I- “Bicak kemige dayanmak” = “knife came to the bone” i.e.  
“to come at the peak of patience or it cannot be endured any more”

کاردش تا استخوان ما رسید	باز ما را این نفس پلید
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- II- “Vakitsiz oten horozun basi kesilir” “A cock that crows untimely is slaughtered” said for a thing that is done before its proper time.

سر بریدن دا جیست اعلام را	لا جرم بر مرغ بی بنگام را
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- III- “Gonulden gonule yol vardır” - “(there is way from heart to heart “that is if you love someone he will love you, too.

از دل من تا دل تو روزن است	
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- IV- “Bir pire için yorgan yakmak” - “to burn a quilt for just a flea”  
“to burn a new rug for a flea” = to spoil a precious thing for a valueless thing”.

Rumi’s influence on the Turkish poets of the eastern Europe is also great.<sup>19</sup>

In the year 1926 all the Mevlevi tekkes, along with many others were banned, but Rumi’s tomb remained open as museum. It is a °museum for those who love physical forms and dergah for those who love the spiritual

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<sup>18</sup> Iskender Sefikoglu, Mevlana in the Works of Turkish Poets

Living in Yugoslavia, I. International Magazine of Seljuk University, 1987 p. 258

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Ahmed Alkan, Mevlevilik ve Mevlana Kulliyesinin

Konya Sehirscl Gelismeleri, I. International magazine of S.U. p. 208

existence of Rumi. However, it is interesting to know that the people of Konya began to settle around the dergah which was once out of the main city, with the hope of getting some morsels of spiritual food and. “lucky is the man who has a garden in Meram and a house in front of the shrine” became a proverb among them.<sup>20</sup> The old custom of visiting the tomb before setting out for the pilgrimage to Mecca is still in vogue. Today, more than 3000 people visit the place everyday and a few become perfect, as Mulla Jami said:

“This is the Kabbe of lovers and he who comes here as imperfect becomes perfect.”

In the end I will like to recite the verse of another Turkish poet Avni Bey<sup>21</sup> who uttered the following lines for Rumi’s shrine:

Sahasinda rusena kendiller mi berk uran,

Ya nucum-i-asuman-i-alem-i-mana midir?

Ses cihetden ruz u seb kerrubiyen eyler tavaf,

Mescid-i-Aksa midir ya Kabe-i-ulya midir?

(Are there the candles shining at-his shrine?

Or they are the stars of the spiritual skies?

Day and night great angels visit the place from six sides,

Is it mesgid-i Aksa or the glorious Kabbe itself?)

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<sup>20</sup> Prof. Dr. Mehmedcavusoglu, Yenisehirli Avni Bey, *ibid.*, p. 132

# THE ORIGINS AND SOURCES OF IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

DR. WAHEED ISHRAT<sup>22</sup>

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

DR. M.A.K. KHALIL<sup>23</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

This paper was first read on November 1, 1987 during the Iqbal week celebrations at the Govt. Foreman Christian College, Lahore, Pakistan. It was published in 'Iqbaliat', Vol. 28, No. 4 January-March 1988, pp. 393-424. This translation has been prepared with the permission of the author for the benefit of those who do not know Urdu.

Though Iqbal is universally admired and respected as an intellectual, philosopher and, above all, as an eminent Islamic thinker, like all other intellectuals he is, sometimes, not given his proper place as a thinker and Islamic revivalist. This is due either to an incomplete comprehension of his thinking or to a myopic view of the main subject of his thought and discussion, i.e. Islam itself. In this medley of criticism his alleged lack of originality is often orchestrated. This criticism is very ably answered by the author in this paper. In the first place the author rightly points out that "the history of philosophy does not have the concept of any completely original thought". All scholarship and high thinking is the joint heritage of humanity on whom it is bestowed by Allah (S.W.T.) either in the form of revelation through His prophets or by inspiration through His wise men. This being so all knowledge has to be a continuous and evolutionary process. This fact will be obvious to students of revealed books as well as to those of philosophy. Secondly, the paper clearly brings out that in the multi-dimensional sphere of Iqbal's thought the Holy Qur'an occupies the central position, like the nucleus of the atom or that of a biological cell. Like the former the Holy

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Qur'an emanates the light of the Truth, and like the latter it controls all the details, which together, constitute Iqbal's thought. That the raison d'être of Iqbal's poetry is the elucidation and elaboration of the wisdom of the Holy Qur'an and of being 'a vehicle of its secrets, as well as to be the instrument of the renaissance of the Muslim Ummah and its consolidation into a united entity, as required by the Holy Qur'an, is clear from a study of his works as well as from his own admission. He says:

مری نوائے کو پریشاں کو شاعری نہ سمجھ  
کہ میں ہوں محرم راز درون خانہ

Do not consider my seemingly disjointed song as poetry

As I am aware of the inner secrets of the tavern

کیے ہیں فاش رموز قلندری میں نے  
کہ فکر مدرسہ و خانقاہ ہو آزاد

I have opened the secrets of qalandari<sup>24</sup>

So that the thinking of the school and the monastery may be freed<sup>25</sup>

نغمہ کجا و من کجا، ساز و سخن بہانہ استج  
سوئے قطاری کشم، ناقہ بے زمام را

There is a vast difference between poetry and me, poetry is only an excuse

I am pulling the unbridled she camel into the line

<sup>24</sup> A qalandar is a dervish not following all the injunctions of the religious and social law and is often taken for the highest mystical symbol.

<sup>25</sup> Freedom of thinking to Iqbal does not have the conventional meaning. It means freedom of Islamic thought from the fetters of un-Islamic alien philosophies like Greek philosophy.



This truth is contained in Iqbal's "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" like a seed and blossoms out in his poetical works. Serious study of references No. 3, 7, 24, 31 and 45 as well as the following book is strongly recommended for a clear understanding of the issues discussed in this paper.

Ansari, Muhammad Abdul Haq (1986), "Sufism and Shari'ah; (A study of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's Effort to Reform Sufism); Published by the Islamic Foundation, Leicester, UK.

A word about the translation itself appears appropriate. Translation of technical terms of tasawwuf (Islamic mysticism) is a difficult task. Though mysticism and its literature exists in the west and its terminology is found in Western languages, including English, the West has not been fortunate enough to experience Islamic or Qur'anic mysticism, which is called tasawwuf. The acquisition of mystical knowledge or irfan (gnosis) by the special sources of kashf and ilham (Explained later in the paper) is peculiar to tasawwuf Hence; in the absence of appropriate words in English the method of annotation has been used in preference to translation. The annotations are given in foot notes when the term appears first to maintain continuity of the text. In all subsequent uses of the term the original term in Arabic or Persian is used in italics without repeating the annotation. Full names with dates and short notes on persons referred to in the text are also given. References cited are indicated by Arabic numerals at the end of each citation.

## TRANSLATION

The search for the sources of thought of an eminent and multi-dimensional philosopher like Iqbal is the most difficult task, especially so as his thought is creative as well as harmonizing. It is creative in the sense that he showed a new direction to his period by his philosophy of “Khudi”<sup>26</sup>, and theory of dynamism. It is harmonizing in the sense that, looking critically into the thoughts of the Eastern and Western philosophers in the light of his creative theory he established harmony between them and gave his own opinions. The history of philosophy has produced either those philosophers who presented their creative thought and the results of their creative thinking about life and the universe, or those who established harmony and relationship between the philosophers preceding them and reconciled the theories and thoughts of different thinkers. Allama Iqbal is one of the few philosophers in the history of philosophy who themselves fixed the orbit of their creative thinking, established some basic premises of their thought and then tested the thoughts of different philosophers and sages on the basis of them and gave their own opinion after critical study. These are the dimensions of creative and harmonious thinking, overlooking which creates difficulties in grasping the sources of Iqbal’s thought. Those who study Iqbal’s philosophy superficially sometimes ignore its ethical aspects, and sometimes consider Iqbal’s philosophy as mere gleanings from different philosophers on account of faulty comprehension of his harmonizing aspect. In my opinion both these attitudes result from failure to distinguish between the creative and harmonizing aspects of Iqbal’s thinking.

Perhaps nobody has so far claimed the existence of a complete system of thought in the creative aspect of Iqbal, or that Iqbal had developed a philosophic order from his thought. In fact, if Plato [430-347 B.C.] is the first link in the chain of European philosophical system then Hegel [Ernst W. Kaufmann Hegel (1770-1831) is its last link. Nobody after Hegel attempted organizing his philosophical thoughts into a system. The system of Marx [Karl Marx 1818-1883 C.E.] was not philosophical and we do not count it as a philosophical system. We see the best organization of a philosophical system in Iqbal, after Hegel, though Iqbal himself has never claimed it. In fact, like some eminent philosophers he has denied being a philosopher. For

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<sup>26</sup> Self cognizance

this reason perhaps it may appear unreasonable and an exaggeration, at first sight, but Iqbal has the components of a partially organized philosophical system in his concepts of the self, Truth, the universe, spiritual reality, the Mard-i-Mumin<sup>27</sup> or the Fard-i-Musaddiqa,<sup>28</sup> the Khudi and its political interpretation, and spiritual democracy and its political interpretation. These should be researched just as the scattered pearls of wisdom of Socrates [469-399 B.C.] were researched and consolidated into a philosophical system by Plato. Perhaps nobody has looked upon Iqbal from this angle, because most of the work on Iqbal to-date has been of the nature of compilation, translation and explanations. Iqbal has not yet been researched and discovered in his entirety because, for this purpose, a creative and all embracing mind was needed after Iqbal as was created in the person of Plato after Socrates.

I want to state a basic fact before dealing with the sources of Iqbal's philosophy. This is that no philosophy develops in a vacuum. Every philosophy needs a special soil, air and environment for its cultivation and growth. If you want to witness this you can see that the Greek thought... grew in a special sophisticated social and cultural environment of the second millennium before Christ. When this environment ceased to exist the Greek philosophy disappeared with it forever. Moreover, if you also look at the thoughts of Socrates and Plato they were not original in the sense that nobody had previously expressed such thoughts. A careful study and analysis of the thoughts of Socrates and Plato will reveal the echo of the thoughts of Socrates and Plato about God in Xenophues [430-355 B.C.], a thinker of the period of the Illiad. In the same way the poems of Parmenides, [d. 475 B.C.] "The Way of Truth" and "The Way of Syllogism" provide material for Plato's "Discourses" and the concept of "Wahdat-ul-Wujud"<sup>29</sup> "of Parmenides and Xenophius, which hypothesizes one existing entity is the basis of the main thought of Plato. In the same way the thoughts of philosophers such as Plotinus [A.D. 204-70] Kindi [d. 870 C.E.] Farabi [Abu Nasr Muhammad Ibn-i Muhammad Ibn-i-Tarkhan Ibn-i-Afzalghah Farabi 870-956 C.E.] and Hegel etc., have the elements of their preceding philosophers. In other words the existence of the effects of the thoughts and

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<sup>27</sup> The true believer

<sup>28</sup> The Authentic being

<sup>29</sup> The belief that all Existence is one. Monism of Wujud (Being) Pan-theism.

theories of preceding philosophers in the thinking of some philosophers is not a reflection on the originality of his thoughts. This is so because the study of the evolution of thought in the history of philosophy will clearly show that in the field of thinking the currents of thought run in a continuous stream and a philosopher draws inspiration only from the thoughts of his predecessor philosophers and after renovating their thinking with his originality presents them according to the objective conditions of his time. So it is not surprising to find some reflections of the thoughts of earlier philosophers in Iqbal's thinking and does not negate the originality of his thought. What is important to find out is whether Iqbal has read and presented the thoughts of philosophers preceding him in a historical and unquestioned manner or has critically reviewed them to organize his own thoughts. Serious study of Iqbal's "Lectures"<sup>30</sup> and other works gives strong impression of his critical approach to the works of earlier philosophers and will create the feeling that Iqbal has adopted an academic and critical approach in grasping and adopting them. Therefore, people who say that Iqbal's thinking is not original and that he has indulged in gleaning from such and such a philosopher appear to be ignorant of the history of human thought.. The history of philosophy has no concept of any completely original thought, and the torch of thinking progresses through many hands. All this leads to the conclusion that Iqbal was an original thinker and grasped and adopted the earlier philosophies in a critical manner.

Basically, in its origin, Iqbal's philosophy is an extension of the tradition of Islamic thought alone. Iqbal's thought is organically linked to his own Muslim background. Iqbal's concept of the Truth, God, the universe, Khudi and Mard-i-Mumin themselves have roots in Islamic thinking. He himself traces the roots of each of his concepts to the history of Islamic philosophy, and when he finds the affirmation and support of his concepts in Western science and philosophy he cites them as additional support. He also criticizes the philosopher whose thinking is not in conformity with the foundations of his thought. In this connection he criticizes Plato, Aristotle [382-322 B.C.], Hegel, Marx and several other Western thinkers and even the Muslim writers of his own circle, such as Ibn-ul-Arabi [Muhiuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi d. 1240

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<sup>30</sup> Six Lectures on the "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" by Allama Dr. Muhammad Iqbal delivered at the Muslim University, Aligarh, India in 1929 and at Madras in 1930.

C.E.] and Hafiz Shirazi [Muhammad Shamsuddin d. 1389 C.E.]. In his creative thinking he first presents his own theories about the Truth, life and the universe and then tries to obtain further explanation and proof from Western learning and researches of Western philosophers. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel has unveiled this attitude of Iqbal in her famous book “Gabriel’s Wing”,

“Iqbal continued to establish connection between Islamic traditions and new Western research by these comparative studies. His stand was that Muslims should learn Western knowledge and wisdom for, as the West has been indebted to Islamic civilization for learning and wisdom, Muslim would not lose anything by learning Western science and technology”.<sup>(1)</sup>

Iqbal is not among the philosophers who get engulfed in abstract concepts and theories and engage themselves only in the superfineness of linguistic and logical excellence. Iqbal is a revolutionary philosopher, and in accordance with the saying of Marx that the much greater function of philosophy is to alter the normal conditions existing around it rather than subjective analysis of the universe. Iqbal also, with his original thinking, established a system of thought which aimed at revolutionizing the conditions existing in his time. The main aspect of his entire system of thought was practical, dynamic and revolutionary. He discarded, after criticism, every thought, concept and theory which preached inaction, and which a great obstacle to Iqbal in the task was also of changing and activating the existing conditions of Muslims. As Dr. Ishtiaque Hussain Quraishi explained after detailed analysis, in his paper “The Psychological Sources of the Philosophy of Iqbal”<sup>(2)</sup> that the centuries old static life of the Muslim Ummah, their declining preparedness, the destruction of the khilafah, the fall of Samarqand, Bukhara and Spain, the Hindu stratagem of absorbing the Muslims in, and the conditions militating against their organization as a political power, in the Indian Sub-continent were movers for disturbing Iqbal and creating a storm within him. He criticized all those

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<sup>(1)</sup> SCHIMMEL, Annemarie 1987. Gabriel’s Wings Urdu Translation by Dr..Muhammad Riaz, titled, “Shahapar-i-Jibreel”, Globe Publishers, Lahore (F.E.): P.393

<sup>(2)</sup> QURAIISHI, Ishtiaque Hussain (1966). The Psychological Sources of Iqbal’s Philosophy. Annual Iqbal’s lecture, Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan

theories which were against the concept of dynamism in life and the universe. Iqbal's concept of life and the universe was that of having a soul in motion. Motion or dynamism is the basic component of his philosophy.

Motion or dynamism is the principle which molded Iqbal's thought. He writes about dynamic thinking:

In its essential nature, then, thought is not static; it is dynamic and unfolds its internal infinitude in time like the seed which, from the very beginning, carries within itself the organic unity of the tree as a present fact. Thought is, therefore, the whole of its dynamic self-expression, appearing to the temporal vision as a series of definite specifications which cannot be understood except by a reciprocal reference.”<sup>(3)</sup>

The greatest opponent of Allama Iqbal's dynamic philosophy of life and the universe was the belief of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. This belief in Wahdat-ul-Wujud whose rationale was based on Plato's theory of the universe, developed later in his system as a static monastic way as part of mysticism, diverted Muslims from the Islamic thinking of conquest and consolidation of the world towards the shame-ridden attitude of divorcing all worldly relations. As a result of this the Islamic world developed the monastic attitudes of inaction, pacifism and other worldliness, and the whole Islamic world was engulfed in a paralytic mystic state. Becoming estranged from the understanding of the universe, and from performing an active role in the reconstruction, shaping, conquest and organization of the world, it became progressively caught into slavery. The Arab writer Najla Izzuddin [1953] has analyzed this state of affairs as follows:

“The decline of the internal creative power and expeditionary zeal of the Arab civilization was more devastating than the misfortunes and catastrophes that befell it from outside. The ardent desire for intellectual inquiry and the pride of performance which were characteristic of the early times were throttled by the strong pressure of religious dogmas and centralization. Freedom of thought was

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<sup>(3)</sup> IQBAL Allama, Dr. Sir Muhammad (1930). Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan (1982): P. 6

banished and conservatism reigned supreme. Unbridled search for Truth was branded as atheism and irreligious. The fearless and bold people of the earlier times were relegated to obscurity. The brain trust engaged itself in preparing the explanations and abstracts of well-known subjects instead of using their intellect in discovering new avenues of knowledge. “(4)

This was the state of affairs which perturbed Iqbal. He revolted and rejected every theory which was against his dynamic concepts. This hit Aristotle most after Plato because Aristotle believed in the eternity of the universe. In the words of Dr. Schimmel:

“Aristotle’s concept of the eternity of the universe is antithetic to the Islamic concept of God, because according to this religion only the Living and Dynamic God is eternal and not the universe. Iqbal considers life also as fleeting. Life is not only beauty and balance; it is also action and power. “(5)

According to Dr. Schimmel the strongest reason for Iqbal’s intellectual revolt against Greek thought was:

“In Iqbal’s view Greek philosophy is extremely abstract and conjectural and man cannot perform any productive work under its influence. It is an impractical philosophy and cannot even meet God through its concept devoid of Love. “(6)

See Iqbal’s *Asrar-i-Khudi*, section VII titled “Exposition that Plato the Greek who’s Thought greatly influenced the Mysticism and Literature of the Muslim Nations followed the Sheep’s Doctrine and that We must beware of and eschew his Thought and Theories”. The climax is reached in the last verse which says:

گشت	مسموم	او	شکر	از	با	قوم
گشت	محروم	عمل	ذوق	از	و	خسنت

(4) NAJLA Izzuddin; the Arab World Translated by Muhammad Hussain, Maktaba-i-Jadid, 1960.

(5) SCHIMMEL, Annemarie 1987. *Gabriel’s Wings Urdu Translation* by Dr. Muhammad Riaz, titled, “*Shahapar-i-Jibreel*”, Globe Publishers, Lahore: P. 392

(6) Ditto:

Full many a nation poisoned by his intoxication Sank into deep sound slumber and lost the thrill of action's bliss

The whole purpose of this detail is to lead you to the basic concepts of Iqbal's thought. What permeates the whole world of his philosophical organization like a principle is the concept of a Living and Dynamic God, Who is not identical with the universe, but Who is Unique, Unparallel, Unequal in His own Being and Essence. The universe and life are expositions of His Creativeness which are vibrant with life. Dr. Ishrat Hassan Enver in his book "The Metaphysics of Iqbal" has explained that to Iqbal God's Zat<sup>31</sup> is dynamic and extremely creative. His words are:

"Consequently, the nature of God as revealed by intuition is, firstly, dynamic and highly active in its essence. "Reality is one infinite life. It is a self-directing, self-conscious energy, continuously active. Every act of it is itself life which in turn is a self-directing energy. Looked at from outside these acts are spatial things and events. Some of the acts in the course of development have become self-conscious. These are 'I' and 'You'".<sup>(7)</sup>

Detailing Iqbal's concept of the universe he writes:

"There is a gradual rising note of ego hood in the whole universe. We are conscious of it firstly in our own self; secondly, in the objective nature before our eyes; and thirdly in the ultimate principle of all life, viz. God. Iqbal's philosophy is thus the Philosophy of Ego hood. Ego hood is, for him, the pivot of all reality."<sup>(8)</sup>

Khudi, which can also be called "Gnosis of self" or "Gnosis of Zat" is found in Socrates' philosophy as "Know Thyself" and which also appears in the famous saying, "He who knows his Self knows his God." Iqbal himself writes in his Fourth Lecture:

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<sup>31</sup> Essence

<sup>(7)</sup> HASAN, Ishrat Enver (1944). The Metaphysics of Iqbal. P. 7-8 Extracts from Presidential Remarks by Professor Dr. Syed Zafarul Hassan on "The Six Lectures", delivered by Iqbal at the Muslim University, Aligarh, (1929): P. 7

<sup>(8)</sup> Ditto: P. 8



“What then is matter? A colony of egos of low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order, when their association and interaction reach a certain degree of co-ordination... The emergent, as the advocates of the Emergent Evolution teach us, is an unforeseeable and novel fact on its own plane of being, and cannot be explained mechanistically... We have seen that the ego is not something rigid. It organizes itself in time, and is formed and disciplined by its own experience.”<sup>(9)</sup>

A well-known professor of philosophy, Dr. Absar Ahmad explains Allama Iqbal’s concept of Khudi thus:

“In Iqbal’s thinking “Khudi” is that unit of intellect which is ‘Self Knowing’ and ‘Self Cognizant’ and is conscious of its tat and its goals. “Khudi” here does not mean mind or discretion but is something which has to be kept well in mind or on account of which man has mind and discretion. The same faculty in man calls himself ‘I’ on account of being self-knowing or self-cognizant. So Iqbal calls it ana’, or ‘ego’ or ‘I’.<sup>(10)</sup>

In Iqbal’s view this “Khudi” passes through three stages in its evolution which he has described thus in Javid Namah:

زنده یا مرده یا جاں بلب از سر شاهد کن شہادت را طلب  
شاید اول شعور خو یستن خویش را دیدن بنور خویشتن  
شاید ثانی شعور دیگری خویش را دیدن بنور دیگری  
شاید ثالث شعور ذات حق خویش را دیدن بنور ذات حق

“Whether thou are alive or dead or the verge of death

Depend on three things

A sense of one’s own existence

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<sup>(9)</sup> IQBAL, Allama, Dr. Sir Muhammad (1930). The Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan (1982): P. 100 107

<sup>(10)</sup> AHMAD, Dr. Absar (1973) “Islami Ta’leem”, (Urdu) Lahore, July-August 1973: P. 14

One's own self to see with the help of one's own inner light

The secondly,

A sense of existence of others; one's own self to see with the help of the light of others

And, thirdly, a sense of the existence of God,

And the power to see One's Self in the light vouchsafed by God<sup>(11)</sup>

This means that in the first stage Man requires a witness on himself through the intellect of his own existence, assays the limits of his own objectives, organizes his essence, sees himself in the light of his existence and shapes his faculties and potentialities. When he passes from this stage to the second one he tests himself with the intellect of others or with the eyes of history and makes history as a witness for his actions and character. In this way he fixes his place in the pages of history. In the third stage he makes the Zat of God a witness over his existence, presents himself to God and organizes his "Khudi" or his Zat within the premises of the purpose of submission to God. Iqbal states the following purpose of these stages of "Khudi"

بر مقام خود رسیدن زندگی است ذات را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است

"Life lies in reaching one's own destined station

It lies in beholding the One Central Self without a

veil<sup>(12)</sup>

That means that man reaches a stage where the Zat manifests itself to him with all its profundity. Surin Karkigard, (May 1813 - Oct. 1855) the founder of the concept of Wujudiyat<sup>32</sup> has also described similar three stages

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(11) IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1932) Javid Namah. Versified English Rendering by A. Q. Niaz. Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan (1984): P. 22-23

(12) Ditto: P. 23

<sup>32</sup> Pan-theism

in his philosophy which are beneficent, ethical and religious. However, Karkigard could not reach the depths of thought traversed by Iqbal though his beneficent, ethical and religious periods also reflect the different stages of development of Man's personality.<sup>(13)</sup>

In the process of explaining the sources of Iqbal's philosophy on the one hand we have to point out the internal sources which are subjective and are a part of his internal self without which Iqbal could not have been what he was and on the other hand we have to discover those objective sources which formed the basis for the formation of his thinking. Maulana Syed Abut Hasan Ali Nadvi in his book "Nuqush-i-Iqbal" has very beautifully referred to the creative elements which have played a very important role in the formation of Iqbal. During a lecture at the Cairo University in 1951 he said:

"In fact Iqbal acquired the creative elements which created and developed his personality in his own internal school. There are five creative components which made Iqbal's personality everlasting".<sup>(14)</sup>

Enumerating these five components he said:

"The first of these components which Iqbal acquired on the very first day of his entering his internal school is "Faith and Belief" This very belief is Iqbal's first patron and mentor and is the sources of his power and strength and is the fountainhead of his wisdom and intelligence. The second component of Iqbal's personality is what is present today in every Muslim home, though alas the Muslims themselves are deprived of its light and have made themselves devoid of its knowledge and wisdom. I mean the Holy Qur'an. The third component which has greatly affected the development of Iqbal's personality is cognizance of his soul and Khudi: The fourth component which made and nourished Iqbal's personality is the early Morning Prayer and lamentation. It was Iqbal's rising in the small hours of the morning, prostrating before his Lord and lamenting and crying which continuously provided a new happiness to his soul, a

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<sup>(13)</sup> QAZI, Javid. Wujudiat "Nigarishat", Lahore (1973): P. 38

<sup>(14)</sup> NADVI, Maulana Abut Hassan (1984). Nuqush-i-Iqbal. Idara-i-Nashriyat-i-Islam, Karachi, Pakistan: P. 55

new light to his heart and new intellectual nourishment to him. Iqbal has himself highlighted the importance of early morning lamentations. For example he says:

عطار ہو، رومی ہو ، رازی ہو، غزالی ہو  
کچھ ہاتھ نہیں آتا ہے آہ شمشیر کی تیزی  
زمستانی ہوا میں اگرچہ تھی شمشیر کی تیزی  
نہ چھوٹے مجھ سے لندن میں بھی آدابِ سحر خیزی

“It may be Attar, or Rumi, or Razi, or Ghazali,<sup>33</sup>

Nothing is achieved without early morning lamentation<sup>(15)</sup>

Though the winter air had the sword’s sharpness

Even in London I did not lose the habit of early morning rising<sup>(16)</sup>

And the fifth component which constituted the basis of Iqbal’s thought was the study of Rumi’s “Mathnavi”

The three components stated by Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi or Ali Mian are subjective whereas the Holy Qur’an and Rumi’s Mathnavi are objective and are the fountainheads of his genius. In fact the deep study of and constant meditation on the Holy Qur’an was the criterion on which he tested all the old and new philosophies. Whatever he felt to be close to the teachings of the Holy Qur’an he regarded as the Mumin’s missing wisdom and accepted it. Similarly, he rejected, after examination and criticism what he

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<sup>33</sup> These are four of the most prominent and original Islamic thinkers, viz. Shaikh Fariduddin Attar (d. 1230 C.E.), Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273 C.F.), Fakhruddin Muhammad Razi (d. 1228 C.E.), and Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.)

<sup>(15)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1975). Kulliat-i-Iqbal, Urdu: P. 348

<sup>(16)</sup> Ditto: P. 332

considered as remote from this current of thought. Iqbal dived into the Holy Qur'an and adopted it as the basis and standard of his entire thinking.

Regarding the study of the Holy Qur'an the anecdote which Iqbal himself stated is very important. Accordingly Iqbal's father had advised him to study the Holy Qur'an as if it had been revealed to him.<sup>(17)</sup> This changed Iqbal's view of the Book of God so he says:

ترے ضمیر پہ جب تک نہ ہو نزدل کتاب  
گرہ کشا ہے نہ رازی نہ صاحبِ کشف

“As long as the Book is not revealed to your heart Neither Razi nor the author of Kashsha<sup>34</sup> will clarify the meaning

The Holy Qur'an itself on being revealed to Iqbal's heart opened the hidden aspects of his thought. Therefore, he always considered his whole thought and poetry to be the tafsir<sup>35</sup> of the mystery of Iman<sup>36</sup>

ولایت، پادشاہی، علم اشیا کی جہانگیری  
یہ سب کیا ہیں! فقط اک نکتہ ایمان کی تفسیریں

“Walayat,<sup>37</sup> kingship, the universality of the knowledge of things,

What are all these? Only tafsirs of the secret of! man”

He has prayed to God for a curse on himself in the sense that if he had included anything in his thinking and poetry outside the explanations of the Holy Qur'an he be deprived of the honor of paying the most humble homage to the Holy Prophet by kissing his feet on the Day of Judgment.

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(17) SYED, Nazir Niazi (1981). Iqbal Ke Huzoor. Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 60-61

<sup>34</sup> Abul Qasim Mahmud Zamakhshari of Khwarizm (d. 1160 C.E.) The tafsir written by him known as the Kashshaf is very full in the explanation toward and idioms. The tafsir takes a decidedly rational and ethical view of doctrines. Numerous tafsirs have been written on it. Similarly “Tafsir-i-Kabir” by Fakhruddin Muhammad Razi is very comprehensive and strong in interpretation from a sufi or spiritual points of view.

<sup>35</sup> Exegesis

<sup>36</sup> Faith, Belief

<sup>37</sup> Nearness to God involving His support and protection; Saintship

This is a curse which no Muslim can impose on himself.- On this basis alone it can be said that Iqbal himself, not only considers the Holy Qur'an to be the sources of his thought and poetry, but calls his thought and poetry to be a tafsir of the Holy Qur'an.<sup>(18)</sup> He says:

گرِدمِ لمِ آئینہ بے جوہر است در بحرِ فمِ غیرِ قرآنِ مضمحل است  
اے فروغتِ صبحِ اعصار و دہور چشمتو بیندہ ی مافی الصدور  
خشک گردان بادہ در انگور من زہر ریز اندر می کافور من!  
روزِ محشرِ خوار و رسوا کن مرا بی نصیب از بوسہ پاکن مرا

“If my heart is a mirror with no worth

And in my word if anything except the Holy Qur'an is  
concealed

O Thou who art the Light of the morning of time

Thy eye sees what is in our hearts

Dry up the wine in my grapes

Throw poison in my pure wine

Make me wretched and ignominious on the Judgment Day

Deprive me of kissing the feet (of the Holy Prophet)<sup>(19)</sup>

Syed Nazir Niazi, who has translated “The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam” into Urdu, considers in his introduction to the “Lectures” the Holy Qur'an to be the fountainhead of Iqbal's thought.<sup>(20)</sup>

“In fact the real fountainhead of this thought is the Holy Qur'an, as stated earlier. And to the Holy Qur'an alone we will have to take recourse in solving all problems and difficulties which may appear in explaining it. If the author of “The Lectures” has used the present day terminology it is so for the sake of us westernized people,

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(18) IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1975). Kulliat-i-Iqbal, Urdu: P. 370

(19) Ditto: P. 271

(20) IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1975) Kulliat-i-Iqbal, Farsi: P. 20

because he is really addressing us and the rest of the world through us”<sup>(21)</sup>

Another pious researcher of Iqbal, Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi<sup>38</sup> has, written in the preface to Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan’s books, “Rooh-i-Iqbal”:

“In poetical aspects and in the light of modern knowledge Iqbal’s works are a ‘complete commentary of the Holy Qur’an. If the Mathnavi of Maulana Rumi was considered “The Holy Qur’an in the Persian Language” eight hundred years ago, we can give the same status to Iqbal’s works in this second millennium”<sup>(22)</sup>.

Maulana Saeed Ahmad Akbarabadi in his “A View on Iqbal’s Lectures” has attested similarly that:

“The high calibre of thought in “The Lectures” leaves no doubt that the Holy Qur’an is their real fountainhead”.<sup>(23)</sup>

Maulana Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan in his book “Iqbal and the Qur’an”<sup>(24)</sup> has documented the encirclement of Iqbal’s thought by the Holy Qur’an and a study of Professor Muhammad Munawwar’s book ‘The Reasoning Of Iqbal’ shows the sovereignty of the Holy Qur’an on Iqbal’s thought. Though it is not possible to go into details, selections from Iqbal’s verses, letters, speeches, statements and lectures give us the message of Iqbal that:

گر تومی خوابی مسلمان، زیستن

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<sup>(21)</sup> IQBAL, Allama, Dr. Sir Muhammad (1930). The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. Urdu Translation by Syed Nazir Niazi (1981): Introduction

<sup>38</sup> He is a prominent mathematician and was Professor of Mathematics at the Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan in pre-partition India. He is an eminent educationist of Pakistan and has the establishment and development of two universities to his credit, viz. Peshawar and the Quaidi-Azam University of Islamabad.

<sup>(22)</sup> KHAN, Dr. Yussuf Hasan (1944) Rooh-i-Iqbal - Introduction

<sup>(23)</sup> AKBARABADI, Maulana Saeed Ahmad (1987). Khutubat-i-Iqbal Par ek Nazar. Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 19

<sup>(24)</sup> KHAN, Gulam Mustafa Khan (1987). Iqbal our Qur’an, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan. (This book is based on Iqbal’s verses and Qur’anic verses). Professor Muhammad Munawwar’s “Burhan-i-Iqbal” Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan see “Iqbal ba Huzoor-i-Qur’an” and other papers.

“If thou want to live as a Muslim

It is not possible except living by the Holy Qur’an”<sup>(25)</sup>

This is the all pervading wisdom of his thought. This is so because he considers the Holy Qur’an to be a means of creating an exalted and elegant understanding of the varied innate relationships of Man and the surrounding universe. Iqbal got the greatest stimulation from the Mathnavi of Rumi in obtaining the philosophical understanding and depth of thought of the Holy Qur’an. Therefore, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi’s “Maulvi’s Intellectual Mathnavi”, which has been described as the Holy Qur’an in the Persian language, is the basic source of Iqbal’s philosophy. Iqbal took Maulana’s Mathnavi as a means of obtaining the insight into the Holy Qur’an:

چو	رومی	در	حرم	دادم	اذان	من
ازو	آموختم	اسرار	جان	من	من	من
بہ	دور	فتنہ	عصر	کہن	او	او
بہ	دور	فتنہ	عصر	روان	من	من

“Like Rumi I am calling for prayer (azan) in the Haram”<sup>39</sup>

I have learnt the secrets of life from him

He lived in the days of the mischief of the old

I live in the mischief of the current age”<sup>(26)</sup>

In the seditious age in which beliefs and concepts were being destroyed and Muslims had become frustrated Maulana Rumi restored Man’s beliefs and confidence and stabilized Faith and perceptions. This disunity, distress and helplessness of thought and insight were also the characteristic of Iqbal’s times. The harmony and mature thinking, the affection and attachment to the Holy Qur’an were the meeting points for these eminent thinkers. The mysticism and mystics who had rendered knowledge to be a great veil had

<sup>(25)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1975). Kulliat-i-Iqbal, Farsi: P. 123

<sup>39</sup> The Holy Sanctuary of the Ka’aba.

<sup>(26)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir, Muhammad (1938). Armaghan-i-Hijaz. First Edition: P. 77



forgotten the Qur'anic edict that knowledge and science were the greatest virtues in its view. To Iqbal Maulana Rumi is the opener of the secrets and wisdom of the Holy Qur'an. He goes more into the intrinsic rather than the extrinsic values of the Qur'anic injunctions. The wisdom of Deen is his special field. The doctrine of Taqdir<sup>40</sup> is the most important point of companionship of Rumi and Iqbal. Iqbal got the theory of Will in his concept of Khudi from Rumi, that the Khudi on reaching its climax embraces God's Will. Iqbal and Rumi both think that the wrong understanding of Destiny has done much more harm to Man's Khudi and ethical life. Following Rumi Iqbal gave a new meaning to human freedom and free will. Both believe in immortality and evolution, and are the philosophers who create the fervour for subjugation of the universe.

It is often stated in describing the influence of Maulana Rumi in shaping Iqbal's thought that Iqbal's concept of Wahdat-ul-Wujud has been taken from Maulana Rumi. There is a long line of people who regard Maulana Rumi to be a believer in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. But whether Maulana Rumi was really a believer in Wahdat-ul-Wujud is no longer considered as fully proven. There are several indications denying his belief in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. Professor Nicholson who is a researcher in Islamic learning writes:

“Some people get the impression at first sight that Maulana Rumi believed in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. I had the same belief earlier when I was not so well versed in the history of Islamic mysticism as I am now”.<sup>(27)</sup>

Actually Nicholson even denies that Mansur Hallaj was a believer in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. Just as fixation of fundamentals of Iqbal's philosophy is the result of Maulana Rumi's influence the shaping of the aspects of Iqbal's thinking was done by Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid Alf Thani.<sup>41</sup> The concepts, of

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<sup>40</sup> Destiny

<sup>(27)</sup> NADVI, Abdul Bari (1949). *Tajdeed-i-Tasawwuf aur Suluk*, First Edition: P. 160

<sup>41</sup> Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624 C.E.). He was a very eminent Sufi and was born at Sirhind close to and northwest of Delhi, India. His main achievements are his jihad against the secularism and anti-Islamic practices of the Mughal Imperial court during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, and his struggle to purify tasawwuf of all non-Islamic concepts and base it again on purely Qur'anic teachings. That is why he is called Mujaddid Alf Thani or Revivalist of the Second Millennium.

Wahdat-ul-Wujud which started creeping into Muslim society through Plato, Platoneus and Ibn-ul-Arabi<sup>42</sup> and brought the doctrine of sukr,<sup>43</sup> which paralyzed the entire Muslim society, met with strong opposition. Commenting on the Schopenhauer's theory (Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860 C.E.) of Wahdat-ul-Wujud, a philosopher has said that this belief was veiled atheism. This veiled atheism sowed the seeds of withdrawal from the world, asceticism and inaction in Muslim society. This poison rendered Muslim minds unproductive and pushed Muslims into decline. The teachings of Mujaddid Alf Thani are an important source for molding Iqbal's thought:

“Junaid Baghdadi,<sup>44</sup> adopted the system of sahv<sup>45</sup> as opposed to sukr. Maulana Rumi taught Khudi in spite of being inclined towards Wahdat-ul-Wujud and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mujaddid Alf Thani criticized and rejected Shaikh Muhiyuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi's theory of Wahdat-ul-Wujud and presented the theory of Abdiyat<sup>46</sup> in opposition to it strongly supported their efforts”.<sup>(28)</sup>

Iqbal's intellectual and cordial relationship with Hadhrat Mujaddid Alf Thani can be judged from the fact that he said about Nietzsche (Friedrich Nietzsche d, 1900 C.E.) that if he were alive in the time of Hadhrat Mujaddid and had been associated with him he would have been remunerated with eternal happiness:

احمدی	زمان	در	بودی	کاش
سرمدی	سرور	بر	رسیدی	تا

<sup>42</sup> Muhiyuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi (d. 1240 C.E.). He is an eminent Muslim philosopher and was perhaps the first philosopher to introduce the philosophy of Wahdat-ul-Wujud from the Greek school into the Muslim world. In his own days he was opposed by other Muslim thinkers, the most prominent among whom is Ibn Taymiyah (d. 1327 C.E.)

<sup>43</sup> Intoxication caused by a powerful spiritual experience.

<sup>44</sup> Abul Qasim Al-Junaid Baghdadi (d. 909 C.E.).

<sup>45</sup> Sobriety. The stage in the spiritual experience of a sufi in which he has overcome intoxication.

<sup>46</sup> Servitude, or condition in which a person regards himself as a slave of God. In the Holy Qur'an the word abd designates the nature. status and destiny of man that he is a slave of God, not a Divine Being, that he has no share in God's powers and rights and that he is to realize his ubudiyat or slavehood and be a perfect servant or slave of God (Abd).

<sup>(28)</sup> NICHOLSON, R.A. (1964). The idea of Personality in Sufism.

“If God granted that he had lived in the time of Ahmad He would have attained eternal happiness”<sup>(29)</sup>

Iqbal got evidence from Hadhrat Mujaddid Alf Thani against the theory of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. Commenting on Ibn-ul-Arabi’s theory of Wahdat-ul-Wujud Hadhrat Mujaddid said that the great Shaikh, Muhiyuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi could not distinguish between Wujud<sup>47</sup> and Zat.<sup>48</sup> He could not rise above Wujud to reach the Zat of God. He said the same thing about Plato, that he became besieged with Wujud and could not reach the Zat, because the Zat is higher than and separate from Wujud. The Zat is Unequaled and Unique and Solitary. Hadhrat Mujaddid said:

“The glorious Shaikh (Shaikh Muhiyuddin Ibn-ul-Arabi) did not view their depravity, defects and discord, and fixed the truths of the possible as the cognitional forms of Allah (S.W.T.), because these forms have assumed an external form after being reflected in the eminent Allah’s Mirror of Purity. This has been so because nothing existed outside it. He has not differentiated between these cognitional forms and the Attributes of Allah (S.W.T.). So he asserted the positive opinion of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. And he called the Wujud of the possible as identical with the Wujud of Allah (S.W.T.)”<sup>(30)</sup>

Dr. Burhanuddin Ahmad Faruqi in his “Hadhrat Mujaddid’s Conception of Tawhid” has described Ibn-ul-Arabi’s concept of Wahdat-ul-Wujud thus:

“Ibn-ul-Arabi’s position with regard to Tawhid is that. Being is one, - it is that which exist. This Being is Allah. Everything

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<sup>(29)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1975). Kulliat-i-Iqbal Farsi: P. 741

<sup>47</sup> Being and Essence respectively.

<sup>48</sup> The distinction of Zat and Sifat is very nearly the distinction of substance and attributes. At times it looks like that of Existence and Essence. It can be rendered as the distinction of Being and Nature, or it and its Qualities. Asma (plural of Ism), means divine names with reference to particular Sifat or Zat as they occur in the Holy Qur’an, for example Ar-Rahim the Merciful, as they are the names of Allah in virtue of His Qualities or Activities, i.e. an Ism combines Zat and Sifat.

<sup>(30)</sup> MUJADDID, Alf-i-Thani (1964). Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani: P. 58

else is His manifestations. Hence the world is identical with Allah”.<sup>(31)</sup>

This means that it would be correct to say that Ibn-ul-Arabi considers Being and Allah or the universe and God as identical to each other. He writes:

“The identity of the world and Allah is conceived on the basis of the identity of His Zat-o-Sifat or Existence and Essence - substance and attributes; the world being only a ‘Tajalli’<sup>49</sup> or manifestation of His, Sifat or Attributes”<sup>(32)</sup>

This means that it would be correct to say that Ibn-ul-Arabi considers Being and Allah or the universe and God as identical to each other. He writes: “Maulana Jami (1414-92 C.E.), while explaining the Wahdat-ul-Wujud of his eminent Shaikh Muhiyuddin Ibnul-Arabi said:

“The Being is indeterminate; it is the stage of La-ta’ayyun or Indeterminateness of the Unity. In Its descent or Determination it passes through five stages. The first two are Ilmi or Cognitive and the last three are Khariji or Existential. In the first Descent, the Unity becomes conscious of itself as pure Being, and the consciousness of Sifat is only Ijmaii, i.e. general - it is implicit. In the second Descent the Unity becomes conscious of itself as possessing the attributes; that is the stage of Sifat-i-tufisilli, i.e., attributes in detail, - it is explicit. These two Descents seem to be conceived in conceptual or logical rather than actual; for they are out of time, and the distinction of Zat and Sifat or its attributes is only Zahni or logical. Then began the real actual Descents. The third Descent therefore is Ta’ayyun-i-ruhi or the

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<sup>(31)</sup> FARUQI, Burhan Ahmad (1940). The Mujaddid’s Conception of Tawhid. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 58

<sup>49</sup> Tajalli is really shining forth. The conception underlying is that God is Light and this Light shines forth as if bodily in many forms. Hence, it may be translated as Eradiation, Effluence, Emanation, Manifestation and in philosophical terminology as equivalent to Mode. When the Light shines forth on itself it is Tajalli-ba-Nafsihi. As the Light shines forth in various grades to the mystic, it is Tajalli-i-Zati or Sifati etc; with reference to the mystic it means the vision of the Light or illumination by it. If this vision is that of the Being or Zit of Allah it is Tajalli-i-Zati. (Notes 27 and 28 have been taken from Dr. Faruqui’s “Mujaddids conception of Tawhid”).

<sup>(32)</sup> Ditto: P. 58

determination as spirit or spirits, the Unity has broken itself up into so many spirits, for example angels. The fourth of its Descents is Ta'ayyun-imithali or ideal determination; thereby the world of Ideas comes into being. And the fifth Descent is Ta'ayyun-i-jasadi or physical determination; it yields the phenomenal or physical beings. These stages are only gradual realizations of the capacities that were already latent in the attributes";<sup>(33)</sup>

This means that this series of Descents or Determinations resembles the theory of Emanation of Plato, Platonius and Ibn -I - Sina (Abu Alai Ibn-i-Sina 980-1050 C.E.).<sup>(34)</sup> Ibn-i-Sina also, basing it on his rationality believes in "Emanation of the material universe from God and admits the universe and God to be each other's shadow and identical. But these philosophers seem to fail to visualize any Zat above and beyond the level of Wujud. That is so because Wujud is the Shuhud<sup>50</sup> of Zat and Wujud is contingent on makan<sup>51</sup> while Zat is La makan.<sup>52</sup> How can the Wujud contained in makan and the La Makan Zat be the same? Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid Alf Thani criticised the philosophers on this point and said:

"The Creator of the universe (Subhanahu wa Ta'ala) has none of the above relations proven to exist between Him and the universe. The comprehension of and approach to Allah (S.W.T.) is not of Zat but is one of Ilm<sup>53</sup> as has been accepted by the Ahl-ul-Haq<sup>54</sup> and He (S.W.T.) is not united with anything and Allah is Allah and the universe is universe. That Unique and Indescribable Zat (S.W.T.) cannot be identical with non-unique and the describable. The Eminent Wajib<sup>55</sup> cannot be said to be identical with the Mumkin.<sup>56</sup> The Mumtana-ul-Adam<sup>57</sup> Zat cannot be identical with the

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<sup>(33)</sup> Ditto: P. 58

<sup>(34)</sup> ISHRAT, Waheed, Ibn-i-Sina Ka Tasawwur-i-Hasti (Unpublished Paper). Proceedings of Seminars, Department of Philosophy, Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan

<sup>50</sup> Vision; apparentism.

<sup>51</sup> Space.

<sup>52</sup> Independent of space.

<sup>53</sup> Cognition.

<sup>54</sup> Thinkers who follow the Truth..

<sup>55</sup> The one whose non-existence is inconceivable

<sup>56</sup> The one whose neither the existence nor the non-existence is inconceivable.

<sup>57</sup> Immortal

Jaiz-ul-Adam.<sup>58</sup> The changing of the Truth is impossible intellectually and according to the Shari'ah. One cannot be borne by the other".<sup>(35)</sup>

The "Creator"<sup>59</sup> and the "created" have the relationship of the person reasoning and the article reasoned about. Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid says:

"Though the universe is the theater for the display of the reflections of the perfection of Sifat and appearance of Divine Names, but the view of the Real is not visible and the shadow of the Real is not the Real, a is the religion of the people who believe in Wahdat-ul-Wujud".<sup>(36)</sup>

"The One who is identified by symbols (Allah) cannot be contained in the times and cannot exhibit His Self in the articles which only have the quality of Mumkinat. The La makani Zat cannot be contained in makan".<sup>(37)</sup>

Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid also passed through the stage of Wahdat-ul-Wujud. He says about this stage of his:

"If this faqir<sup>60</sup> had accepted Wahdat-ul-Wujud it was on the basis of kashf<sup>61</sup> and not through taqleed<sup>62</sup> My denial of it now is also on the basis of ilham<sup>63</sup> and ilham does not have room for denial, although it is not an argument for others either".<sup>(38)</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Mortal

<sup>(35)</sup> MUJADDID, Alf-i-Thani (1984). Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani: P. 111

<sup>59</sup> Allah (S.W.T) and the universe respectfully.

<sup>(36)</sup> Ditto:

<sup>(37)</sup> Ditto: P. 113

<sup>60</sup> A person who loves God to the extent of renunciation of his personal will in his affirmation of the Beloved's (God's) will.

<sup>61</sup> Literally it means unveiling. It is apprehension of facts and events as well as truths, mundane as well as celestial by inner sight or light. Generally the apprehension is symbolic.

<sup>62</sup> Blind and unquestioned following of some person or doctrine.

<sup>63</sup> Ilham is inspiration; technically it is confined to mystics; it is reception of guidance or inspiration from above. The guidance thus received is not absolutely infallible, hence it is not binding on all but only on the recipient of it. Provided it is not contrary to any injunction received through the Holy Prophet.

<sup>(38)</sup> Ditto: P. 114

Here Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid has stated three things which deserve consideration. One is that his belief in Wahdat-ul-Wujud was not through taqleed but through kashf. This means that taqleed is had and kashf is a stage of knowledge experienced by all believers in Wahdat-ul-Wujud. The next higher stage is ilham which is the most reliable way of attaining knowledge for those who are not prophets. The stage higher than ilham is wahi<sup>64</sup> Being directly from God wahi is an argument for those who are not prophets and obeying it is essential, whereas ilham is for non-prophets and, through it does not have room for denial, obedience to it is not binding on others. However, one point is clear, that is ilham-i-Wahdat-ut-Shuhud is one stage higher than kashfi Wahdat-ul-Wujud; and Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid's acceptance of the Zat of Allah as Unique and denial of the identity of the makani objects with the La makani Zat is a logical truth. The poetic romanticism presented in the Wahdat-ul-Wujud has strengthened this concept so much in poetic tradition that our poetry has lost the potential of rising above the Wujud and reaching the La makani Zat and merging into the Wahdat-ul-Wujudi Being is considered to be the end all and the climax of poetry. The Eastern as well as the Western poetry is imprisoned in the Wujud-i-Makani and does not guide us to the highest level which is Abudiat or Abdiyat. Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid has explained this stage of Abdiyat thus:

“The stage of Abdiyat is the highest stage because it is the most perfect and complete in all respects. Only the loved ones are honoured with this stage and the lovers enjoy the pleasures of the vision. The pleasure in Abdiyat and affection for it is special for the loved ones. The lovers are attached to the vision of the beloved but the loved ones derive happiness from the Abdiyat of the beloved”.<sup>(39)</sup>

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

“This one prostration before God which you consider difficult

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<sup>64</sup> Wahi is literally communication or command; technically it is communication imparted by God to a prophet, its highest form being communication through the agency of an angel. Guidance received through it is absolutely sure and binding on all.

<sup>(39)</sup> Ditto: P. 58

## Frees Man from a thousand prostrations

This very stage of Abudiat (عبودیت) echoes in Iqbal's philosophy of Khudi. Whereas Iqbal wants stability and immortality of Khudi and protection of its individuality he is not in favour of merging it with God but wants to see it elevated to the stage of Abudiat as this is the same stage which God bestowed upon Man. In Hadhrat Mujaddid's view the only curtain between Man and God is his own nafs.<sup>65</sup> This is so because Man desires his own nafs and so, that really is the curtain. What is 'Tajalli-i-Zati'<sup>66</sup> for Mujaddid Alf Thani is the stage of Khudi according to Iqbal.

There are several other personalities, in addition to Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid Alf Thani who have nourished Iqbal's thought, out of which three deserve special mention. They are Abdul Karim Al-Jelli, Davvani and Iraqi.

Jalaluddin Muhammad Ibn-ul-Asad Davvani. He was born in Davvan, District of Gazrun. His father was a qadi, was educated in Shiraz and appointed qadi of Faris. He wrote treatises and annotations on philosophy and tasawwuf. In Persian he wrote the well-known book, "Lavama-ul-lshraq"<sup>(40)</sup> fi makarim-ul-Akhlaq", which is also called, "Akhlaiq-i-jalali". Iqbal has referred to his book "Zavvar" in the theory of time and has compared his theory of time with that of Professor Royce, according to which:

"... if we take time to be a 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 describe it as an original stage of Divine ' activity, encompassing all the succeeding states of that activity. But the Mulla (Mulla Jalal-ud-Deen Davvani)<sup>(41)</sup> takes good care to add 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".

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<sup>65</sup> Carnal self

<sup>66</sup> Appearance of the Divine Essence.

<sup>(40)</sup> SYED, Abdullah (1977) (Compiler) "Muta'alliqat-i-Khtubat-i-Iqbal". Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 94

<sup>(41)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1930). The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan (1982): P. 75



In addition to Jalaluddin Davvani Iqbal also talked about the famous sufi poet Fakhruddin Ibn-ul-Ibrahim Iraqi (d. 1289 C.E.) in connection with his concept of time. Iraqi was a Persian sufi poet, hafiz<sup>67</sup> and was brought up in Hamadan. He was a disciple of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan, meditated at Multan and became sahib-i-hal<sup>68</sup> sufi. He was married to the daughter of Khwaja Bahauddin Zakariya, served his Shaikh for twenty five years, travelled to Asia Minor (Konia), Egypt and Sham (present day Syria and Iraq) and settled in Damascus. He is associated with the book titled, “Suluk-i-Iraqi” and “Kuliya-I Lama’at” is his famous book.<sup>(42)</sup> Iqbal has given great importance to Iraqi also in his concept of time. He writes:

“The sufi poet Iraqi has a similar way of looking at the matter. He considers infinite varieties of time, relative to the varying grades of being intervening between materiality and pure spirituality. The time of gross bodies which arises from the revolution of the heavens is divisible into past, present and future; and its nature is such that as long as one day does not pass away the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings is also serial in character, but 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 higher and higher in the scale of immaterial beings we reach Divine time - time which is absolutely free from the quality of passage, and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change. It is above eternity; it has neither beginning nor end. The Eye of God sees all the visible, and His ear hears all the audibles in one indivisible act of perception. 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. Thus Divine time is what the Qur’an described as the ‘Mother of Books’ in which the whole of history, freed from the net of causal sequence, is gathered up in a single super-natural ‘now’.”<sup>(43)</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> One who knows the Holy Qur’an by heart.

<sup>68</sup> A sun who is in a passing feeling expression, such as elation, suppression, hope, fear etc., contrasted to more durable or permanent states such as patience, gratitude, love and trust, which are called Maqam (station).

<sup>(42)</sup> Ditto: P. 114

<sup>(43)</sup> Ditto: P. 65-76

The method of investigation of Iraqi in relation to time worked like a source for Iqbal's thought on the problem of time. Allama Iqbal wrote an entire paper on Abdul Karim Al-Jelli (d. 1408 C.E.), which explains his theory of "Absolute Unity". Al-Jelli's concept of the *Insan-i-Kamil*<sup>69</sup> is the foundations of Iqbal's concept of *Mard-i-Mumin*<sup>70</sup> or *Insan-i-Kamil* of Iqbal himself. Iqbal himself has said about this "He combined in himself poetical imagination and philosophical genius".<sup>(44)</sup>

A review of the influence of Abdul Karim Al-Jelli on Iqbal needs volumes. We have sampled only a few prominent and representative personalities of the tradition of Muslim thought, otherwise scores of Muslim thinkers are included in this vast study from whom Iqbal has nurtured his mind and after strengthening them with the study of modern knowledge and thought has presented them in a purified form.

The study of Western knowledge and wisdom has a key position as a representative source of Iqbal's thought, because the study of Islamic learning and its comparison with the verification and confirmation from Western learning is common in Iqbal's works. Iqbal considered Islamic civilization as the fore-runner of Western civilization, or considered the Western civilization as having evolved from Muslim civilizations. He thought that if the Islamic civilization had not become static and had grown in its natural way it would have been prosperous like the Western civilization. Moreover, the Islamic civilization, on account of its spiritual components would have been free from the evils which have appeared in the West due to relinquishing religion and compartmentalizing religion and politics.

جلال پادشاهی ہو کر جمہوری تماشا ہو  
جدا ہو دین سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

"It may be the majesty of kingship or the fun of democracy If religion is separated from politics, the latter becomes mere tyranny

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<sup>69</sup> Perfect Man

<sup>70</sup> The true Believer

<sup>(44)</sup> SHERWANI, Latif Ahmad (1977). *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*. Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 70

Iqbal appreciates the intellectual heights and scientific and technological achievements of the West but is vehemently critical of the confinement of the Western civilization to materialism and relegating religion and ethics to an unimportant position separating them from state craft. He is not dazzled by the glamour of Western civilization, but descending into its interior he has pointed out the branch on which this civilization is standing and moving towards its end. Iqbal has viewed the fruits of Western knowledge and arts with open eyes and has adopted and accepted them after testing them on a special standard and has presented them as an argument and affirmation of the fruits of his thought. He has also traced the origins of the products of Western knowledge in the Islamic knowledge and arts and in the works of Islamic theologians, orators and philosophers. In the whole Eastern world Iqbal's philosophical evaluation of Western knowledge is distinct and unique. Iqbal has not adopted the attitude of the defeatist, apologist or blind follower, but one of criticism and creativity. Iqbal adopted this attitude during the period when the sun did not set on the Western civilization and the whole East, excepting a few countries, was under the political subjugation of the West. Under these conditions it was strange for a person to adopt towards the West a critical attitude at the intellectual level, to trace the origins of Western civilization and pronounce judgment on its merits and demerits. In the entire Islamic world Iqbal alone was thus favored to reach this intellectual level.

However, in spite of all this it is not wrong that the acquisition of Western knowledge played an important role in molding Iqbal's thought. About benefitting from Western knowledge Dr. Ishrat Hasan Enver, describing the two stages of Allama Iqbal's thought pre-Intuitionial and Intuitionial, says:

TM“The thought of Iqbal seems to have passed through two stages—the Pre-Intuitionial and the Intuitionial. In the first stage, Iqbal follows the traditional ways of thought which due to their affinity with Pantheism appealed most to the broken and tottering society of the Muslims of the time, But his visit to Europe energized his spirits, strengthened his will, and brought in its wake a political reaction in him. He began to emphasize action, activity and self-assertion, rather than passivity, indifference and self-negation. He gained strength for

his thought from the study of Bergson (Henri Bergson 1859-1941 C.E.), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) and Mctaggart (1866-1925). This led him to accept the reality of the self and the force of the will as fundamental”<sup>(45)</sup>.

It is not impossible to infer from this that Western knowledge had influenced Iqbal’s thought to some extent. The study of Western learning helped him in arriving at and molding the end results of this thinking. The evidence of benefiting from Western knowledge is amply available in his works. However, the benefits derived by Iqbal from the West are in the detail and not in the principle. As far as principles are concerned his thoughts are not only Eastern but really an extension of Islamic thinking. Still his works show the trend of benefiting from Western knowledge in the organization, shaping and explanation of details... For example, Allama says:

“A greater part of my life has been spent in the study of Western philosophy. and this point of view has become second nature to some extent. Consciously or unconsciously I study the truths of Islam from this angle.”<sup>(46)</sup>

میں نے از میخانہ مغرب ، چیشدم بجان من کہ درد سر خریدم  
نشستم با نکو یان فرنگی ازاں بے سوز تر روزی مذہبم

“I draw my wine from the tavern of the West

I purchase a headache for myself

I have sat with the good men of the West

But I have not seen a day more futile than that.”<sup>(47)</sup>

Here Iqbal has accepted the Western trend in his thinking and its influence on the study of Eastern and Islamic learning. The following letter indicates the extent of westernization in his thinking and philosophy. Hence,

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<sup>(45)</sup> HASAN, Enver Ishrat (1944). The Metaphysics of Iqbal; Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, P. viii.

<sup>(46)</sup> SHAIKH, Ataullah (1964). Iqbal Nama: Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Vol. I, P. 4

<sup>(47)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir, Muhammad (1985). Kulliat-i-Iqbal, Farsi: P. 929

denying the influence of Western knowledge on Iqbal is neither factual nor realistic. Iqbal says:

“I admit that I have benefited from Hegel, Goethe (Johanne Wolfgang von Goethe. 1749-1832 C.E.) Mirza Ghalib (Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib d. 1869 C.E.), Abdul Qadir Bedil (d. 1722 C.E.) and Wordsworth (William Wordsworth 1770-1850 C.E.). Hegel and Goethe have guided me in penetrating the internal truth of things. Bedil and Ghalib taught me how to keep the spirit of the East alive in my feelings and their expression in spite of absorbing the values of Western poetry and Wordsworth helped in protecting me from materialism during my educational days”.<sup>(48)</sup>

In the above extract whereas Iqbal has admitted that Wordsworth saved him from materialism and Hegel and Goethe guided him in reaching the internal truth of all matter, he has also said with reference to Mirza Ghalib and Abdul Qadir Bedil that in spite of absorbing the values of Western poetry the ambition and motivation of keeping alive the spirit of the East in his emotions and expressions was derived from them. Iqbal’s entire thinking and manner of expression is represented by the conclusion that he absorbed the spirit of Western poetry and philosophy and benefited from western philosophy in the comprehension of the truth about matter, but at the same time he also retained orientalism together with the traditions of Muslim thought in a systematic way and reached their truth. These are the goals of the Holy Qur’an and Islam. He was impressed by Western thought, not because he had himself reached its Islamic origins, but because he considered Western civilization as only an extension of Islamic civilization. He points this out in his paper “Islam and the New Learning”:

Bacon (Roger Bacon 1216-1292 C.E.), Descartes (Rene Descartes 1596-1650 C.E.) and Mill (John Stuart Mill 1806-1873 C.E) are considered to be Europe’s most eminent philosophers, whose philosophy is said to be based on experience, but the fact is that Descartes “Method” is present in Imam Ghazali’s “Thya-ul-Uloom” and they are so -similar that an English historian has written that if

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<sup>(48)</sup> SIDDIQUI, iftikhar Ahmad (1923) (Translator). Shuzrat-i Iqbal: Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 105

Descartes knew Arabic we would have admitted that he committed plagiarism. Bacon himself was educated at an Islamic university. The objection raised by John Stuart Mill against the first hypothesis of logic is exactly the same as raised by Imam Fakhruddin Razi and all the fundamental principles of Mill's philosophy are present in the famous book of Shaikh Abu Ali Sina, "Shifa". In short, all the principles which form the foundations of modern learning owe their existence to the beneficence of Muslims. In fact I claim that not only with respect to modern learning but there is not one good aspect of human existence which has not been enlivened by Islam's extremely invigorating influence".<sup>(49)</sup>

If Iqbal considered European civilization to be only an extension of Islamic civilization, the question arises as to why he did not content himself with the Islamic civilization and why he objected to Western knowledge and philosophy. There are three answers to this. First, Iqbal considered the European civilization to be an extension of the Islamic civilization and so considered benefiting from the thinking of European philosophers and thinkers as tantamount to retrieving the links of his own civilization. He considered it possible to create a stir in the centuries old static condition of Islamic civilization by accepting the products of Western learning in some measure. As this Western wisdom is not alien to Islamic wisdom its acceptance could bridge the gap which has occurred between the rise and present fall of Muslim civilization. Secondly, as his audience comprised of those who understood the language of Western learning it was necessary to talk in their own language. Thirdly, Iqbal knew that if the Islamic civilization had also continued to evolve, it would have positively produced the same results in science and technology as were produced by the West. Also, the products of many departments of learning have supported and confirmed Qur'anic concepts. So when the modern theories confirmed the truths of Islam Iqbal showed the world where their real source was.

Recently the Iqbal Academy has published a book by Dr. Muhammad Ma'ruf titled, "Iqbal and His Contemporary Western Thought", in which the author has presented the study of the philosophers and schools of thought of

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<sup>(49)</sup> MUINEE, Syed Abdul Wahid (1963). Maqalat-i-Iqbal: Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 239-240

the twentieth century whose influences are available in Iqbal's philosophy. According to Dr. Ma'ruf this book will open up many hidden niches and will help in fixing the position of Iqbal's thought in the world thought. In this book he has contradicted the thoughts of people like M. S. Raschid in the matter of comparison of Iqbal with Western philosophers, that Iqbal's concept of God was borrowed from Hegel's concept of the absolute has considered thoughts as meaningless and prejudiced.<sup>(50)</sup> This is so because Hegel's concept of the Finite cannot be concordant with Iqbal's "Al-Hayy ul Qayyum".<sup>71</sup> This book is very important in the study of Iqbal in which the concordance of Iqbal's thought with Western thought has been viewed on philosophical basis and includes a comparative study of Hegel, conceptualists, Kant (Immanuel Kant 1724-1841 C.E.) naturalism, pragmatism and realism and other sociologists.

I will take about four Western philosophers who are said to have influenced Iqbal much. I have Nietzsche, Bergson, Goethe and Newton (Sir Isaac Newton 1642-1723 C.E.) in view, although each philosopher deserves a separate volume on account of his place and status. Kant and Dante (Alighieri Dante 1265-1321 C.E.) also deserve attention to some extent. This is so because it is said that Iqbal wrote his "Javid Namah" in the style of Dante's "Divine Comedy" "Divine Comedy" was certainly in Iqbal's view but "Divine Comedy" itself was written in the style of Mi'raj Namahs written in Spain. There were several Mi'raj Namahs in Islamic literature apart from Dante's but the Mi'raj<sup>72</sup> of the Holy Prophet was the greatest source of inspiration for Iqbal. Iqbal took neither the style nor the happenings of the intellectual journey of "Divine Comedy". Still a gap would have remained if Iqbal had ignored Dante at the time of writing the story of his intellectual journey. It is an accomplishment of Iqbal that in view of his acquaintance with Western literature in addition to the Eastern he did not ignore the "Divine Comedy" but in fact praised some of its literary styles. In the same way he used the products of Immanuel Kant's thought for affirmation of religion, because Kant had tried hard to demolish the excessive power of intellect by fixing its limits in his book "A Critique of Pure Reason" and had

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<sup>(50)</sup> MA'RUF, Muhammad (1987). Iqbal and His Contemporary Western Religious Thought: Published by Iqbal Academy, Lahore, Pakistan.

<sup>71</sup> The Living, Self Subsisting, Eternal

<sup>72</sup> Celestial Ascent of the Holy Prophet

freed Faith from the bondage of pure reason. He was talking about the “reason” which, while affirming the existence of the problem in a partial way, fails to see the Truth in its fullness.

عقل گو آستان سے دور نہیں اس کی قسمت میں پر حضور نہیں

“Though reason is not far from the threshold

It is not fortunate enough to reach the Presence of God”

This means that while rationalism can guide Man to the Wujud of Allah (S.W.T.) it cannot comprehend and describe His Zat.

Analyzing the conditions of the eighteenth century Germany Iqbal says that at that time in Germany also reason was considered an ally of religion but when in a short period of time it became evident that dogmas could not be proved rationally the Germans had no alternative, but to eliminate the portion of dogma from religion. But by relinquishing dogmas morality became pragmatic and so religiosity held sway under the influence of rationalism. This was the state of affairs of religious meditation and thinking when Kant appeared in Germany. When the limitations of human intellect became evident from “A Critique of Pure Reason” the stratagem fabricated by rationalists about religion became a code of absurdity. Hence it was correctly asserted that Kant was the highest favour bestowed by God on Germany. Iqbal compares Kant’s doubts with those of Ghazali and obtains proof from him in the struggle between rationalism and religion. The products of the nature and limitations of rationalism in the works of Ghazali and Kant are echoed in Iqbal.<sup>(51)</sup>

As regards Nietzsche asserting that his “Superman” is in any way connected with Iqbal’s “Mard-i-Mumin” betrays ignorance of both Iqbal and Nietzsche. This is so because in calling Nietzsche Majzub-i-Farangi<sup>73</sup> and being unaware of God, Iqbal exposes the spiritual ineptness of Nietzsche.

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<sup>(51)</sup> Ditto: Introduction

<sup>73</sup> Majzub is the one absorbed in God. Majzub-i-Farangi means one absorbed in the



اگر ہوتا وہ مجذوبِ فرنگی اس زمانے میں  
تو اقبال اس کو سمجھاتا، مقامِ کبریا کیا ہے

“If that Majzub-i-Farangi were alive at this time

Iqbal would have shown him the elegance of the Status of  
God”

Again when Iqbal says that would God grant Nietzsche to live during the period of Hadhrat-i-Mujaddid not be associated with him he would have been rewarded with the truths of Eternal Happiness, it does not show even partial concordance and harmony between his and Nietzsche’s thoughts. Dr. Iqbal has himself cleared this state of affairs in his letter to Dr. R.A. Nicholson. He says:

“He could not understand my concept of Insan-i-Kamil correctly and, confusing the issue, assumed my Insan-i-Kamil and the German thinker’s “Superman” as the same. I had started writing about the tasawwuf’s belief of Insan-i-Kamil about twenty years ago, and this was the time when neither the sound of Nietzsche’s beliefs had reached my ears nor had I read his books. Nietzsche is a thinker of the school of Baqa-i-Shakhsi.<sup>74</sup> He asks all those who are anxious for acquiring subsistence whether they want to burden the earth permanently with their load. He has written like this because his concept of time was wrong. He never tried to understand the ethical side of the problem of time. On the contrary, in my view baqa is the highest longing of Man and is such a precious wealth on acquiring which Man concentrates all his powers. That is why I consider all forms and shapes of action, including conflict and war, to be necessary and. according to me, man attains increased stability and firmness through them. Therefore, in pursuit of this thought, I have rejected the concept of a static being and similar tasawwuf, which is based on mere conjecture. I consider conflict necessary in ethical and

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materialism of the West.

<sup>74</sup> The mystic experience of an individual’s subsistence or living by and in God after dying (fana) of the individual

not political ways, although on this subject the centre of Nietzsche's thought is perhaps politics".<sup>(52)</sup>

Perhaps it will be ill-intentioned to say after this analysis by (qhat himself that he has taken his concept of Mard-i-Mumin from Nietzsche. This is so because the "Superman" is blind, materialistic power, while the Mard-i-Mumin is adorned with Wahl and is a Godly man, whose climax is Abudiat. In Iqbal's view the model Mard-i-Mumin in the applied world is the personality of the Holy Prophet, which is guided by Wahi, is master of ethical eminence and revolutionary and which resurrects new values of life with his actions, while Nietzsche's "Superman" in scholastic interpretation was Hitler, who was greedy for power and authority and was prepared to do anything to attain them. Iqbal's Insan-i-Kamil is a mercy to the human race while Nietzsche's "Superman" is a destructive blind force which brings about destruction after tumult and oppression in the entire world. The late Abdul Rahman Tariq in his book, "Jahan-i-Iqbal" has very beautifully brought out the distance between Iqbal and Nietzsche comparing their works.<sup>(53)</sup>

Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, being German, has very skilfully drawn parallels in the thoughts of Iqbal and Goethe. In her book, "Gabriel's Wing", which has been translated into Urdu by Dr. Muhammad Riaz<sup>(54)</sup> under the name "Shahpar-i-Jibreel" she has compared Iqbal and Goethe. She tries to harmonize Goethe's concept of God. "God, the Lord. Complete, Movement, in Eternal Endeavour and Action" with Iqbal's concept of God. Secondly, Goethe considers the existence of Iblees and Evil necessary for the evolution of life as does Iqbal shows his approval of the usefulness of Iblees and Evil. No doubt, Iqbal has praised Goethe as a visionary poet and a student of Eastern learning. But we have to realize that while the centre and orbit of Goethe's longing and the limits of his thought is in orientalism he is reduced to the position of a pointer at best, which guides Iqbal to his own real east. If so, why should Iqbal not be considered attached to the East through his thought and longings rather than through those of Goethe?

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<sup>(52)</sup> TARIQ, Abdur Rahman (1949). Jahan-i-Iqbal: Malik Deen Muhammad, Dar-ul-Isha'at, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 19-20

<sup>(53)</sup> Ditto: See the paper titled, "Iqbal aur Nietzsche".

<sup>(54)</sup> SCHIMMEL, Annemarie (1987). Gabriel's Wings. Urdu Translation by Dr. Muhammad Riaz titled, "Shahapar-i-Jibreel", Globe Publishers, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 406-407.

Iqbal praised Goethe only because he loves orientalism. Goethe's disappointment with the West and his inclination to the East has been an important matter to Iqbal. Goethe's own Divan,<sup>75</sup> titled "West-Oestlicher Divan" is known as "Movement of the East" in the history of German literature. In the words of Iqbal".

Apart from Hafiz, Goethe is indebted for his ideas to Shaikh Attar, Sa'di (Shaikh Muslehuddin Sa'di d. 1292 C.E. j, Firdausi (d. 1020 C.E.), and Islamic literature in general,

Now, in the words of Iqbal, when Goethe tried to create Persian spirit in German literature, it is obvious that Iqbal was aware of the secret of the existence of Persian thinking in Goethe's thought. Schimmel is right to the extent of the existence of unlimited resemblance between the mode of thinking of German philosophers and Iqbal. Goethe is not related in any way with the sources of Iqbal's<sup>(55)</sup> thought. By praising Goethe's Literature Schimmel cannot prove it to be the source of Iqbal's thought.

Bergson is given much importance as the source of Iqbal's thinking. Certainly the conclusions of Bergson's intellectual thought had greatly influenced the shaping of Iqbal's thought. Bergson strengthened Iqbal's thought by rejecting the materialistic interpretation of life, excessive emphasis on rationalism and the sameness of the body and the soul in the twentieth century. This is so because Bergson was intellectually a constructive and! Firm intellectual. In the words of the late Bashir Ahmad Dar: "What attracted Iqbal to Bergson was the fact that Bergson was a strong supporter of the deeper consciousness of human thought. In other words it can be said that he was a strong believer in the spiritual side of human existence and the function of intuition which creates the experience of motion".<sup>(56)</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Poetical collection

<sup>(55)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir. Muhammad (1971) Payam-i-Mashriq. Thirteenth Edition 1971: Shaikh Ghulam Ali & Sons Ltd., English Translation.

<sup>(56)</sup> DAR, Bashir Ahmad (1936). Iqbal aur Bergs-on. Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, Pakistan: P. 103

“Based on solid facts Bergson exposed the reality of the evolution which was considered by the West to be the last nail in religion’s coffin”.<sup>(57)</sup>

“During the course of a meeting with Bergson Iqbal told him of the Hadith,<sup>76</sup> “Do not curse time because I am myself time” he was astonished.<sup>(58)</sup>

The front established by Bergson against science and materialism provided much strength to Iqbal’s thought. Professor Jagannath Azad in his book, “The Intellectual Proximity and Remoteness of Iqbal and Bergson” has very well traced the movements which were common between Iqbal and Bergson and has also detailed their intellectual remoteness. The limitations of the mechanics of the length of life imposed by materialism and the non-permanence of time brought Iqbal close to Bergson because this was Iqbal’s intellectual closeness to him. His intellectual distance from Bergson in Iqbal’s own words was that:

“For Bergson conscious experiences have merely the status of the past, the past; which running with the present, ultimately merges into it. Bergson ignores the fact that it is also an aspect of consciousness that it runs the future. Life is the practical realization of a thought and thought, assuming a practical form without any objective is inexplicable, irrespective of the practical form being conscious or sub-conscious. Not only is this, but the fixation of the activity of our perception and basic thought also governed by our immediate objectives”<sup>(59)</sup>.

In the same way the prolongation or permanence of time is purposeless in Bergson’s view, while time is meaningful to Iqbal, because if evolution has no objective it is entirely meaningless in Iqbal’s view

The relationship between Einstein (Albert Einstein 1879-1955 C.E.) and Iqbal is created by the theory of relativity. As the most important aspect of

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<sup>(57)</sup> Ditto: P. 104

<sup>76</sup> Traditions and sayings of the Holy Prophet.

<sup>(58)</sup> IQBAL, Justice Dr. Javid (1984), Zinda Rood Vol. 3, Shaikh Ghulam Ali and Sons Ltd., Lahore, Pakistan: P. 496

<sup>(59)</sup> Sahifa-i-Iqbal (1987). Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore, Pakistan: 299-330

relativity is the discovery of time and space the prolongation of our life and the distance travelled by' we in the vast field of time become absolutely unimportant. Appreciating the theory of relativity and fixing its usefulness Iqbal says:

“The philosophical value of the theory is twofold. First, it destroys, not the objectivity of Nature, but the view substance as simple location in space—a view which led to materialism in Classical Physics. Substance’ for modern Relativity–Physics is not a persistent thing with variable states, but a system of inter-related events. In Whitehead’s (Alfred North Whitehead 1861-1947 C.E.) presentation of the theory the notion of ‘matter’ is entirely replaced by the notion of ‘organism’. Secondly, the theory makes space dependant on matter. The universe, according to Einstein, is not a kind of an island in an infinite space; it is finite but boundless; beyond it there is no empty space. In the absence of matter the universe would shrink to a point”.<sup>(60)</sup>

Iqbal saw identity in Einstein’s theory of relativity, which negated materialism. However, Allama had strong differences with Einstein in some matters. As Iqbal, like Bergson is a believer in the reality of time he does not agree with the discovery of Einstein, which apparently denies time. This theory considers even the existence of time as unreal. At any rate Iqbal has praised the positive aspects of the theory of relativity and has criticized its negative ones.

The truth emanating from a detailed study of this subject is that Iqbal’s mind was not imitative but creative, and was the one establishing connections between different thoughts. He established his theories and used the inferences drawn from the old and the new thinkers as his sources for the confirmation and elucidation of his own theories. Still he wanted religion to be defended in the present day world and had in view its explanation and interpretation in the language of the present age. Hence, he tried to benefit from the products of the thinking of the new thinkers with open eyes to explain the matter to the new minds in the new way and in doing so he did

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<sup>(60)</sup> IQBAL, Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad (1930). *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought Islam: Dr. Javid Iqbal through Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, Pakistan* (1982): P. 38

not allow the prejudices of the East and the West to blind him. He accepted everything good and criticized every faulty thought in the manner of a thinker endowed with enlightenment of the heart and the mind. In this way he brought into use his highest intellect in order to keep alight the torch of thinking of the human race. Still, if any single thing can be considered to be the source of his thought it is none other than the Holy Qur'an, because all the remaining products of Iqbal's intellect were explanations of this simple secret of Faith.

ولایت، پادشاہی، علم اشیا کی جہانگیری  
یہ سب کیا ہیں! فقط اک نکتہ ایمان کی تفسیریں

“Walayat, kingship, the universality of the knowledge of things

What are all these? Only tafsirs of the secret of Iman.

# CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

(ASSESSING THE PROBLEMS)

DR. CHRISTIAN W. TROLL

## 1. A new constellation.

No doubt, over the past decades or so, especially since the beginning of the 1960's, a new situation has come about in the relations between Christians and Muslims. Statistical facts, first of all, bear out this claim. There are almost one thousand million Muslims today. Their overall number thus begins to approach that of the Christians. Islam today is the fastest growing world religion. In Western Europe Muslims number roughly 10 million, in the Federal Republic of Germany 1.7 million. In West Berlin, for instance, today live more Muslims than Roman Catholics, namely, more than 300,000 Muslims as compared to 260,000 Catholics.

Both religious communities by now are present, practically, everywhere on the globe. Both are essentially universal in character and vocation. Both see each human being as a potential member of their community and, hence, invite each and everyone to institutional membership. Even if many Muslims consider our times as continuing to be shaped by the structures and forces neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism, it can hardly be denied that, both, Christians and Muslims, live in the post – colonial age.

In colonial times a number of nations who belonged to the area shaped by Christian civilization ruled the major part of the Islamic world by direct or indirect influence. This had a decisive influence on the properly religious relations and shaped not least the mutual theological images and assessments.

Ideologically and normatively the breakthrough towards a new vision occurred on the Christian side. This shift, backed by the highest authority, found expression in the texts of the Second Vatican Council. They clarify the Church's stand on the dialogue with non-Christian religions and cultures in general, and more specially, between Christians and Muslims. The authoritative texts of the Council were the result and culmination of prophetic pioneers as e.g. Charles de Foucauld, Louis Massignon, W.H. Temple Gairdner and Kenneth Cragg—to mention only some of the

outstanding champions for a new vision of and approach to the relations between Christians and Muslims. Thus we read in the Vatican II Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian religions “Nostra Aetate” about the dialogue with non-Christians.

“In our times, when every day men are being drawn closer together and the ties between various people are being multiplied, the Church is giving deeper study to her relationship with non-Christian religions. In her task of fostering unity and love among men, and even among nations, she gives primary consideration in this document to what human beings have in common and to what promotes fellowship among them.

For, all peoples comprise a single community, and have a single origin, since God made the whole race of men dwell on the entire face of the earth. One also is their final goal—God. His providence, His manifestations of goodness, and His saving designs extend to all men...

Men look to the various religions for answers to those profound mysteries of the human condition which, today even as in olden times, deeply stir the human heart: What is man? What is the meaning and purpose of our life? What is goodness and what is sin? What gives rise to our sorrows and to what intent? Where lays the path to true happiness? What is the truth about death, judgment and retribution beyond the grave? What, finally, is the ultimate and unutterable mystery which engulfs our being, i.e. where we come from and where our journey leads us?”

The Muslims are mentioned, specifically, in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church “Lumen Gentium”, as first among the non-Biblical, monotheistic religions. “Nostra Aetate” then comment: on Islam and on Christian-Muslim Relations in more detail:

“Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His inscrutable decrees, just as did Abraham,



with whom the Islamic faith is pleased to associate itself. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call on her, too, with devotion. In addition they wait the Day of Judgment when God will give each man his due after raising him up. Consequently, they praise the moral life, and give worship to God especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting.

Although in the course of the centuries many quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this most sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to strive sincerely for mutual understanding. On behalf of all mankind, let them make common cause of safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace and freedom.”

Later, we shall critically comment on the elements mentioned here of faith and practice common to both religions. At this point let us retain the following points:

- (1) The character of the basic approach which underlines and puts first what is positive and unites.
- (2) The omission of as crucial and central themes as the importance of the life and person of Muhammad for the faith and life of the Muslims and of the ascetical-mystical element in Islam as well as the passing over of the basic political concepts and ideals of the Community of the Muslim believers, the umma.
- (3) The painful past is acknowledged but no explanations are given that might help towards understanding it.

The first years after Vatican II, on the whole, were marked by optimism and enthusiasm, almost by euphoria—at least among those who took the teaching and exhortation of the Council seriously and who tried earnestly to translate it into reality. However, in the 1970's, fundamentalist and thereby, in our understanding of the term, politically-oriented tendencies of various colors and shades gained power and prominence in different parts of the

Muslim world—as fundamentalism, in characteristically different forms, arose in the world shaped by the Christian tradition.

This affected, first of all, countries with ancient and venerable Christian minorities as e.g. Egypt and Syria, but also Lebanon where the Christians constitute almost half of the population and countries with Christian minorities of more recent origin as e.g. Pakistan and Sudan, and also the Gulf and Saudi Arabia with the substantial numbers of Christian guest working there.

The political currents led among these Christians to insecurity, and anxious questions comparable to the questions and anxieties of many Muslim believers and communities in the newly-born western diaspora. The political evolution of the Islamic revolution in Libya and the world-moving drama of the Islamic Revolution in Iran 1978-79 led to further disillusionment, particularly of those who had engaged with great hopes, and, perhaps, at times, also naive expectations had been created for the transformation of Christian-Muslim relations. On both sides ancient, deep-rooted prejudices, anxieties and animosities rose to new life.

## **2. Clashes and encounters in the past.**

We will do well to remind ourselves for a moment of the history of the encounter of Western Christianity with Islam. In a first movement, during the seventh century, the Arab-Islamic Empire expands east—and westwards. By the time of the Prophet's death in 632 it comprises already most of the whole of the Arab peninsula—at times, by the way, welcomed by the local Christian population which, in many parts, was tired of the despotic rule of the Greek orthodox Byzantines.

In the year 711 AD the Muslim armies cross the straits of Gibraltar. The West Gothic Empire falls. In 732 the Battle of Poitiers prevents the spread of Islam northwards beyond Spain and puts a stop to the Arab invasion in that region. In other parts of Western Europe the Islamic conquests continue. In the East the Byzantine Empire is continuously menaced, in the West Sicily, comes under Arab rule, in the ninth century. Yet in the western European region Muslim rule and culture took roots for a prolonged period

of times. Only in Spain until during the fifteenth century, the Reconquista reconquered the whole of Spain.

Faced with the teaching of Islam Christians first were helpless and embarrassed. As a Christian one considered oneself in possession of the perfect and complete truth; with the death of the last Apostle the revelation had come to an end. Since then nothing new had or could be added. Thus Islam, with its claim to perfect and supersede, Christianity could only be theologically dismissed and rejected. If one looked more closely at the new religion, it was not in order to know its unique features but in order to discredit it.

From the earliest phase of widespread mutual ignorance stands out the figure of John of Damascus (657-753 AD) who owed his knowledge of Islam to personal contacts. Like many other Christians in the early centuries of the Arab empire his father had occupied a high position at the court as the caliph's personal physician. John of Damascus categorizes Islam as a heresy because Muhammad had been informed in a special way by an Arian monk. Thus John also explains the fact that although Christ in the Qur'an is designated as "Word" and "Spirit" his divinity is disputed. In short, John considered the doctrine of Muhammad about Christ a Christian heresy of the Arian type. Underlying this view of Islam—which in manifold variations was to find wide acceptance over the centuries—was the obvious tendency to depict the new religion as lacking originality and to stamp it as echoing Christian-heretical teaching and hence as falsification. In this way the claim of the Qur'an as a revealed Scripture of divine origin was to be weakened and invalidated.

However, in addition to polemic and biased legends about Muhammad there were also laid the first foundation stones for an intellectual-theological debate within Islam during the Middle Ages. At the behest of the Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, the English monk Robert of Ketton produced the first Latin rendering of the Qur'an and thus provided the basis for a relatively more objective estimation of Islam.

The writings on Islam connected with the missionary and intellectual activity of the newly founded mendicant orders in the thirteenth century had, to a large extent, an apologetic purpose. [I.e. apologetically] "This new

accent”, Ludwig Hagemann writes, “resulted from the newly awakening intention, to preach the faith to the Muslims and to provide to the preachers arguments for the truth of the Biblical message since the crusades for the liberation of the Holy Land had not produced the hoped-for results.” Instead of blind polemic one began now to recognize the need for a theological controversy. At the various universities, language schools for Arabic were founded. Thomas Aquinas, the towering scholastic theologian, identified the inadequate knowledge of the Muslims and the lack of a common scriptural basis as serious difficulties in the effort to evolve an adequate apologetic theology. In the work “De Ratione Fidel” Thomas provided to the address of the Muslims a succinct statement of the Christian faith on the basis of human reason, common to both Christians and Muslims. Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (d. 1320), Raimundus Lullus (1232-1316) and Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464), all outstanding pioneers, can only be mentioned here.

During the very year of the Fall of Constantinople (29.5.1453) Nicolaus Cusanus wrote the prophetic work about the Peace of God “De Pace Fidel”, a visionary dialogue about the faith among representative of different religions and ideologies. A few years later he published a critical ‘Sifting of the Qur’an’ (“Cribratio Alcorani”, 1461). Although these remarkable works do not abandon completely polemics and apologetics, they witness to thorough and intensive study of the Qur’an and to a search for links between Christianity and Islam.

The Protestant Reformation did not lead to an improvement of the Christian understanding of Islam. Only with the Enlightenment and with the loosening it promoted of the shackles of dogma and tradition, a new phase in Islamic-Christian history began. The painfully experienced plurality, estrangement and even militant antagonism of the various denominations and religions became the stimulus and occasion to search. for an all-transcending religion. People believed to have found in reason the all-unifying principle. The idea of tolerance made headway. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) in his pedagogical drama “Nathan der Weise”, answered the question which of the three monotheistic religions was the true one: As gift of God the Father each of the three rings is authentic insofar as the gift must not be discerned theoretically but attributed on the level of practice, in other words, the possessor of the ring must be accepted by God and men,

i.e. must prove himself on the level of action. Each of the three rings mirrors the revelation of God.

The great change in the image of Muhammad was effectively initiated on the European Continent by Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) in his *West-Ostlicher Diwan* and, under his influence, in the Anglo-Saxon world, by the Scottish romantic Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). In an essay in his book *On Heroes* he saw Muhammad as Prophet and literary genius in the sense that he had translated in a unique and effective way the Spirit of the universe and of its sacred, eternal laws into the word of the Qur'an and thus into history. It is the merit of scholars like Ignaz Goldziher and Theodor Noldecke to have founded during the decades preceding and following the turn of the century the scholarly discipline of Islamology with its historic-critical method of text interpretation. However much many of the leading scholars of Islam may have been shaped by the general outlook and the political constellation of the nineteenth and beginning twentieth century, through the method and the results of their researches they contributed significantly to an objective knowledge and true understanding of the development and of the abiding, essential features of Islam.

### **3. Official statements of the Church since Vatican II**

The statements of the Council we quoted were taken up by later popes in on leading statements, often made in addresses to groups during their countless pastoral visits in various parts of the world. In Mainz W. Germany in 1980 Pope John-Paul II addressed the-Muslim Guest workers there in these words:

With upright hearts you have carried your faith from your homeland into another land. If you pray here now to God as your Creator and Lord, then you, too, belong to that immense band of pilgrims who from the days of Abraham onwards, again and again have set out from home in order to search the true God and to find Him. When you are not afraid to pray in public, you give an example to us Christians which deserves our respects. Practice your faith in foreign

lands, too, and do not allow it to be misused by any human or political interest.”

From the relevant papal statements taken together, the following themes emerge: The submission to the merciful, living God, so clearly preached by the Qur’an (S. 29:46: “Our God and your God are one, and to Him we submit.”) and acknowledged by the Church (LG, no. 16: “They adore God”) constitutes a special “spiritual bond”, a “true brother and sisterhood”. We speak here of faith in the One God, the Creator, the All-mighty and All-merciful Lord of history who has spoken to humankind through the Prophets and will judge all men and women on the Last Day. Based on the shared faith in God is a similar view of the human person: he or she is God’s creation, “servant of God”, steward of the gifts of God; he is subject to the law of good and evil and called to come near to God. For Christians and Muslims the basis of ethics lies in the tension between the personal God and man as a creature of God.

For both the objective of life consists in the service of the human person and the glorification of God. In the same way both, Christians and Muslims are under the imperative of justice and mercy as well as of commitment to truth and the peace from God. Hence John-Paul II stated in Ankara in 1979, at the very time of the Islamic Revolution of Iran:

My brothers! When I think of this spiritual patrimony and the value it has for man and for society, of its capacity to offer, especially to the young, a direction to life, to fill the void left by materialism, to give a sure foundation to social and juridical organization, I wonder whether it is not urgent, precisely today when Christians and Muslims have entered a new period of history, to recognize and develop the spiritual bonds which unite us in order to “safeguard and foster on behalf of all mankind—as the Council invites us to do—social justice, moral values, peace and freedom.”

Essentially the same message John Paul II gave on 19 August 1985 to an audience of 80,000 young Arab Muslims in Casablanca stadium. Again, he stressed how necessary dialogue between Christians and Muslims is for the whole world. Dialogue should lead to a common witness to spiritual values in a world increasingly secularized and often atheistic. It is the mission of

Christian and Muslim youth to “build this new world in accordance with God’s plan.”

In a similar way, and often in ventures of dialogue and research shared with the Roman Catholic Church, the World Council of Churches has approached the Muslim world.

#### **4. The reaction of the Muslims.**

.But how do the Muslims react to these initiatives of the Church? The Church has come nearer to Islam, so can one speak of a comparable effort on the part of Islam? Pietro Rossano, for many years the secretary of the Vatican Secretariat for Relations with Non-Christians (recently renamed: Pontifical Council for Dialogue with Other Religions), states:

“The answer to this question is neither easy nor simple. One has to distinguish between individuals and institutions, between intellectuals and people, between Islam in a minority situation as in Europe or, say, the Republic of India and Islam in a majority situation as in all Islamic states,..., especially between the different sects and the different movements and their corresponding basic religious mentalities”

On the level of the ‘dialogue of life’ as it is commonly called, i.e. in the every-day living together as Christians and Muslims, wherever steps have been taken, we notice a whole range of positive and negative attitudes. We could give here countless examples concerning India and other, totally different, regions: mutual respect and the readiness to share; a palpable increase in neighborliness which finds expression in the exchange of gifts and good wishes, e.g. on the occasion of the important feasts; help in the area of education; getting to know the ways of worship of others and of their motivation for religious practice. At the same time negative attitudes have manifested themselves: repeatedly a false sense of security; distrust; rejection of any kind of pluralism; jealousy and fear of success of the other; a sectarian outlook which does not allow the other to be of different opinion; rivalry; proselytism and one-sided demands. A closer look at the mutual relations of Christian and Muslim believers shows, how difficult it is for both sides to

renounce the striving for strength and superiority in numbers and to make the necessary inner effort towards viewing the other understandingly and without bias and to treat the partner with the same fairness as the members of one's own religious group.

With regard to organized, official religious dialogue we note first that gestures of surprising openness and cordiality have taken place on the part of individuals, institutions and states. Many encounters on this level occurred on Muslim initiative. True, for some years now these encounters have noticeably decreased. The Message of the Vatican to Muslims on the occasion of Idul Fitr, at the end of Ramadan, the month of fast, was received with sympathy by many individuals in Asia, Africa and the Americas and not rarely reciprocated at Christmas but has not been visibly valued by the great Islamic organizations. For some time now Islam shows in many countries a more self-confident, a somewhat colder and harsher face and is concerned about power and political influence. Two fairly recent Islamic documents—the “Islamic Universal Declaration” of 12th April 1980 and the “Islamic Declaration of Human Rights” of 19.9.1981—certainly do not display a markedly open attitude towards Christian positions and concerns,

Islam in its relations with the Church seems to be torn between feelings of attraction and aversion. The Church impresses and attracts by its unity and organization, by its educational and social services, by the weight of its moral and diplomatic interventions which Islamic countries and organizations at times wish to be made use of their advantage. Muslims also admire the Church's social and charitable work especially that of religious orders symbolized in the figure of Mother Teresa who is quoted and talked about frequently in the Muslim press:

Yet in more recent years Islamic rejection of the Church and Christianity seems to have become more prominent and prevalent again. In the Islamic world the Church is often identified and condemned together with the West: Both are held responsible for the crusades,, for colonialism, capitalism, Marxism and the widespread breakdown of the family and of morality in general.. Christianity is accused of preaching a too idealistic moral doctrine which ultimately is to be held responsible for the evident decline in moral standards and the decadence not only of the West hut also of the westernized sections of the Islamic societies. As symptoms of this, Muslim writers rarely



signal love of animals as bordering on perversion, especially the love of dogs which is seen to point to loneliness and isolation of the individual caused by the decay of the family. The problems of alcoholism, drug addiction and sexualism, too, are adjudged as obvious signs of such decay.

In a special way Islam resents the Christian missionary activities in Muslim countries. They are a thorn in Islam's flesh. Notwithstanding the fact that Islam on its part promotes all over the world organized mission activities (da'wa) without any scruples or feelings of compunction. Also, the Church is repeatedly criticized for being in agreement with Israel and Zionism. In short, the Muslims gladly take notice of the councilor and post-councilor attitude of the Church but on the whole they are far removed from turning openheartedly towards a dialogue with Christianity.

One reason for this sobering fact surely is the difference between the two partners as to general social background and historical experience and the ensuing difference in their respective theological consciousness. What the Tunisian scholar Muhammad Talibi had to say on this point, almost 20 years ago, about the "disparity between those taking part in dialogue", remains very largely true. In contrast to Christian theology Islam, as taught to this day in the dominant theological centers of religious learning as e.g. al-Azhar University in Cairo or Deoband Seminary in Northern India, continues to teach a theology the evolution of which practically came to an end in the twelfth century AD., Muhammad Talibi comments:

"Muslim theology thus progressively lost contact with the world. For centuries, no new problems arose [or, were seen to arise] to challenge it and force it to investigate more closely the mystery of the world and of God. It is thus seen as something congealed, something of, frequently, mere historical interest."

Islam, even today, cannot count on many authorities on the Christian religion, past and present, which would find scholarly acclaim on both the Christian and the Muslims side. We know of only a very small number of Muslim scholars that can him considered truly competent Christianologists or Occidentalizes.

One thus can appreciate the frustrated question of the Algerian-horn scholar of Islam at the Sorbonne, Muhammad Arkoun:

“How can an attitude of mind which is cut off from its true tradition, and is plagued by economic and political affliction lead a true dialogue with a consciousness that is truly in touch with its past and present?”

## 5. The deeper, underlying difficulties in Christian Muslim dialogue

And yet, the question remains: given such basic theological correspondences as e.g. the faith in the God of Abraham; the view of the human person as created by God; the acceptance of a divinely revealed Law, the foundation of society upon divine order and the expectation of an eternal retribution—why does there seem to exist for Islam this enormous difficulty to open itself to the dialogue offered by the Church? Are these beliefs—fundamental to both religions—not all based on the Qur’an and do they not thus precede all the difference of Islamic sects and juridical-theological schools?

The true cause seems to be this: The great religious principles, common to Christianity and Islam, and their ethico-social implications in daily life are not understood and interpreted in the same way. This is so, because the two religions have different religious roots: Jesus of Nazareth and Muhammad of Mecca. The same could be said of the Jewish religion with regard to Moses. Moreover, the whole religious reality of Christianity is permeated by the historical person of Jesus as mirrored in the faith of the Gospels and the New Testament writings. Or, to put it differently, just as Christian faith and practice again and again have to take as a paradigm Jesus’ life and teaching and ultimately the mystery of his passion, death and resurrection, in a comparable way the reality of Islamic doctrine of faith and religious practice is shaped by the life and teaching of Muhammad as perceived in the light of the faith in the Qur’anic revelation. The basic Muslim paradigm is determined by Muhammad’s own distinct character and career, which is deeply marked by his emigration from Mecca (hijra) and political achievement in Medina.

So we have the absolute and purely transcendent God and the Islamic faith on the one side and the one-and-three personal God of self-communication of the Christian faith on the other. The Holy Law (shari'a) of Islam, revelatory and all-encompassing in character, contrasts with the Christian teaching of unconditional service of neighbors, which breaks the old Law and establishes the "new Law of the Spirit." In Islam, man and woman as "servants" or as "vicegerents" of God are called to be obedient to the Will of God as it is believed to have been definitively revealed in the Qur'an, whereas the Christian faith conceives of man and woman as the images of God, called to be adopted as children of God in Christ, in the Spirit.

In Islam human rights are viewed as dictated and sealed by the shari'a whereas Christian doctrine teaches them to be implanted in each and every human being. The Islamic ideal or utopia of one society, to be united and guided by a theoretically-conceived Law, markedly differs from the modern Christian concept according to which society is shaped by a distinction between the religious and political spheres of life. The ever-new experience of such deep-rooted difference in basic beliefs and attitudes as these puts the readiness to go out to one another in dialogue and collaboration to a serious test.

## **6. The common path into dialogue and shared service of the wider community.**

It is not surprising then, that some ones tend to confine the scope for dialogue to the secular, strictly human dimensions of life; whereas others declare dialogue with Muslims as simply impossible from the outset. But today, after the event of Vatican II and in the light of the example set by Pope Paul VI and John Paul II in applying the Council's teaching on Christian-Muslim relations, it does not seem any longer legitimate for Christians to separate themselves spiritually from Islam, to ignore its historical-religious dimension or even to return to the old confrontations and polemic.

The spirit of the Gospel summons Christians to view Muslims with respect and sympathy and to try to make out patiently all the possible ways of

knowing them better, establishing contacts with them as believers and collaborating with them in promoting the common good. Thus they will be instruments of the “Kingdom” which is at work everywhere, in the true “seekers” of all cultures and religions, especially in those belonging to the Abrahamic’ family of monotheistic faiths. However, criticism as well as reconciliation is part of the mutual responsibility of dialogue, and Christians must voice dissent wherever, political aims and legislative measures in the name of Islam, are promoted which contradict the dignity and equal rights of the human person.

Both, Muslims and Christians agree that faith in God cannot be limited to interior, other-worldly piety. God’s will is not to be carried out only in the personal and familial sphere. They agree that politics, economics and business should be influenced by religious values. But moving from this conviction to a point where active cooperative efforts can be made to reconstruct society according to faith values demands, analytic expertise and practical commitment which has so far largely escaped the two communities.

Although the followers of the two religions are agreed on the principle that faith should influence societal structures to defend and advance the lot of the poor, marginalized and victims of discrimination, they have often discovered among themselves sharp difference of opinion and action concerning how this is to be done. Muslims believe that the Islamic shari’a holds within it a divinely taught model for an upright, just, and humane society. Injustices have arisen in society because the prescriptions of the shari’a are disregarded, even by Muslim political and economic leaders. If what is needed is a return to the spirit and regulations of the shari’a, how is this to be done? To what extent should the shari’a replace the existing civil law of secular origin as the legal basis for societies and nations? Is it legitimate and desirable? That shari’a regulations precede a thoroughgoing renewal of Muslim society that would be Islamic not only in name but in actual reality?

These questions which are heatedly debated by Muslims tend to be viewed with some apprehension by Christians. Although Christian in history have known various forms of religion-state relationships – from the Caesaropapism of Byzantine times to the theocracies of the Papal states or Calvin’s Geneva – most Christians today favour a secularization of politics,

with a clear separation between the religious and political spheres, as the form of government which gives the greatest likelihood of preserving human rights, especially for minorities, in a modern pluralistic world. However, the very secularization of politics which frees communities of believers from control and interference by the state makes it more difficult for believers to influence the values by which society is shaped.

It seems to be in areas of public morality, such as corruption of government officials and the just redistribution of wealth, at the level of nations, and in matters of trans-national economics, such as those of banking and repayment of debts, profit-oriented arms marketing, and North-South exploitations, that the Muslim and the Christian communities have been least successful in instilling in their members a sense of the ethical issues and a religious-based moral alternative. Islamic-Christian dialogue, which has heretofore tended to revolve around polemic controversies handed down from the past, must take these issues of religion and society much more seriously if it is to have any relevance to the pressing needs of our time. Christians and Muslims each have much to say to one another on these matters and, one would hope, many bases for common action, if the 'necessary level of trust can be built. What is needed today is not so much the refining and deepening of doctrinal concerns as a broadening of the scope of the dialogue to address together the real problems of modern life and religious response.

In conclusion once more we give the word to Muhammad Talbi of Tunis:

“The dialogue is a long drawn-out test of patience. To engage in dialogue does not mean necessarily to look for common solutions or, even, to find by all possible means a consensus. The scope of dialogue would rather seem to be to contribute clarity and openness to the debate and to enable participants to grow beyond themselves instead of basking in isolations and false security. The road to the realm of light will be long and God has chosen to shroud it in the veil of mystery”

# KHAYYAM AND EXISTENTIALISM

## B. B. ROBINSON

Kierkegaard and Nietzsche are generally acknowledged as the founders of the philosophy of existentialism. The reason for this is not that they were the first to argue existentialist themes; such themes are found sporadically throughout the history of Western Philosophy. Rather, the reason is that they were the first to organize existentialist themes into unified, more-or-less consistent statements expressing those themes as an identifiably unique and cohesive philosophy. Nearly a thousand years earlier, however, the Persian poet Omar Khayyam articulated many of these same themes in his poem, the Rubaiyat.<sup>77</sup> The Rubaiyat also expresses these themes as an organized, coherent, and cohesive philosophy. It is my view that an analytic examination of the Rubaiyat confirms the melancholy Persian poet, rather than his 19th Century colleagues, as the original existentialist philosopher. Indeed, it seems remarkable that he has not long since been so recognized.

To demonstrate Khayyam's existentialism we may consider five fundamental existentialist concepts and examine just how they are expressed in the Rubaiyat. These fundamental concepts are:

1. Atheism
2. The abandonment of the individual in the world
3. The absurdity of the human circumstance
4. The subjectivity of value
5. The subjectivity of truth

## KHAYYAM'S ATHEISM

Like Nietzsche and Sartre, Khayyam rejected theism. Unlike Nietzsche and Sartre, Khayyam doesn't present a militant, rational rejection of theism. Rather, he emotionally laments the necessity to foreswear the notion of a supernatural metaphysical scheme. Verse after verse mourns the loss of an omnipotent and loving creator and of an after-life existence for the

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<sup>77</sup> Edward Fitzgerald, trans., *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (5th ed. of the translation), Garden City Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1952

individual. In the end, however, he remains an atheist, or at the very least, a hardened skeptic. In verse thirteen he observes that:

“Some for the Glories of This world; and some  
Sigh for the Prophet’s Paradise to come;”

He concludes the verse by admonishing his reader to:

“Ah, take the cash, and let the Credit go,  
Nor heed the rumble of a distant Drum!”

Clearly, Khayyam sees the “cash” of worldly rewards as of more negotiable value than the “credit” of distant and hence dubious heavenly rewards.

In verse eighteen he mocks the notion of resurrection by describing how the greatest of hunters cannot be enticed from the grave even by direct insult from the lowliest of beasts.

“And Bahram, that great hunter -- the Wild Ass  
Stamps o’re his Head, but cannot break his sleep.

Khayyam carries us to something of a conclusion to this thought in verse twenty-four where he urges his reader to make the most of the present since death is naught but an eternal oblivion.

“Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,  
Before we too into the Dust descend;  
Dust into Dust, and under Dust to lie,  
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and -- sans End!”

Verses twenty-six, twenty-seven, and twenty-eight express his atheism with even more direct clarity in rejecting theological metaphysics and the words of theological scholars as mere foolish, empty rhetoric ending insignificant babble.

“Why, all the Saints and Sages who discuss’d  
Of the Two Worlds so wisely -- they art thrust  
Like foolish Prophets forth; their words to Scorn  
Are scattered, and their Mouths are stopt with Dust”  
“Myself when young did eagerly frequent  
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument  
About it and about: but evermore  
Came out by the same door wherein I went.  
“With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,  
And with mine own hand wrought to make it grow:  
And this is all the Harvest that I reap’d --  
‘I came like water, and like water, and like wind I go.

Khayyam considers here the two worlds, this world and the heavenly world of theological metaphysics, which he describes as being asserted by fools whose mouths (or doctrines) are-obliterated by the dust of death. Further, all the scholar’s heavenly speculations finally led Khayyam only through the same worldly door and to the conclusion that we know nothing of any before or after-life. He reduces the supposed knowledge of supernatural eternity to the rational vacuity of spuriously eddying wind and water.

Should Khayyam’s atheism need any emphasis, it is amply provided in verses sixty-three, sixty-four, and sixty-five. In verse sixty-three he describes the concepts of paradise and. hell as outright lies.

“Oh, threats of Hell and Hopes of Paradise!  
One thing at least is certain -- This Life flies;



Verse sixty-four asks facetiously:

“Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who  
Before us pass’d the door of Darkness through,  
Not one returns to tell us of the Road,  
Which to discover we must travel too.”

And in verse sixty-five he muses that:

“The Revelations of Devout and Learn’d  
Who rose before us, and as Prophets burn’d,  
Are all but Stories, which, awoke from Sleep  
They told their comrades, and to Sleep return’d.”

Finally, in verse sixty-six he concludes. “I Myself am Heav’n and Hell:”  
All this would seem to leave little doubt of Khayyam’s atheism.

## **THE ABANDONMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE WORLD**

On the concept of abandonment, Sartre has argued that the existentialist finds himself abandoned in the world.<sup>78</sup> Certainly, Khayyam would concur: he had long since described such a condition of human abandonment. In verse forty-seven he depicts the world as magnificently indifferent to the individual’s existence and demise.

“When you and I behind the Veil are past,  
Oh, but the long, long while the World shall last  
Which of our Coming and Departure Heeds?”

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<sup>78</sup> Walter Kaufmann, *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre* Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York N.Y., .1956, pp. 294-298.

As the Sea's self should heed a pebble-cast.”

In verse forty-eight Khayyam continues and develops this thought in affirming that so far as we can know, we come from nothing and end in nothingness, our ontological Being being a mere momentary glimpse at existence. We are here -- for a moment

and we are gone -- for eternity. We are here without pre-life roots and without post-life surcease -- abandoned in the world.

“A Moment's Halt -- a momentary taste  
Of Being from the Well amid the Waste—  
And Lo! — the phantom Caravan has reach'd  
The Nothing it set out from— Oh, make haste!”

Again, in one of the Rubaiyat's most quoted verses, Khayyam expresses his concept of the condition of abandonment in describing the heavens as impotent, i.e., as incapable of offering the possibility of any heavenly companionship to which one might appeal for reassurance. Verse seventy-two relates:

“And that inverted Bowl they call the sky,  
Whereunder crawling coop'd we live and die,  
Lift not your hands to It for help -- for It  
As impotently moves as you or I.”

Verse seventy-four echoes virtually the same thought in concluding:

“Drink, for you know not whence you  
came, nor why:  
Drink, for you know not why you go, nor where.”

Once again, our unmitigated ignorance of ultimate destiny leaves us abandoned in the world. Verse ninety-six reiterates the theme in concluding:

“The Nightingale that in the branches sang,  
Ah whence, and whither flown again, who knows!”

### **THE ABSURDITY OF THE HUMAN CIRCUMSTANCE**

The existentialist concept of the absurdity of life is perhaps best expressed on the modern scene by Camus as he describes Sisyphus’ eternal struggle with his rock.<sup>79</sup> Khayyam is at least equally explicit in his description of the ultimate futility of life when he sings in verse twenty-nine:

“Into the Universe and Why not knowing  
Nor Whence, like Water willy-nilly flowing;  
And out of it, as Wind along the Waste,  
I know not Whither, willy-nilly blowing.”

By itself, this verse seems as expressive of abandonment as of absurdity, but when interpreted with the inherent indignation of the following verse, thirty, and the absurdity of life becomes the paramount theme.

“What, without asking, Whither hurried Whence?  
And, without asking, Whither hurried hence?  
Oh, many a Cup of this forbidden Wine  
Must drown the memory of that insolence!”

Indeed, what an absurd situation, to find oneself wandering aimlessly from an unknown origin toward an equally unknown destination, and to be pushed willy-nilly like wind and water in between. Little wonder many a cup is required to cope with the absurdity of it all.

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<sup>79</sup> Nino Langiulli, ed., *The Existentialist Tradition* Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1971, pp. 453-454.

Khayyam sees as no less absurd the concept of mankind as a creation of an omnipotent and benevolent creator. Hence the obligation to recognize religious values and responsibilities also becomes ludicrous. His argument is that there could be no truly benevolent God who would create from dust a sentient being, surround him with proscribed temptations and then condemn him for succumbing to them. Only an omnipotent sadist would do such a thing. That the God of religion is an absurd notion becomes the inescapable conclusion. Khayyam's rejection of such a lugubrious theistic scheme is effusively expressed as rational indignation in verses seventy-eight and seventy-nine where he states:

“What! out of senseless Nothing to provoke

A conscious Something to resent the yoke

Of un permitted Pleasure, under pain

Of everlasting Penalties, if broke!

“What! from this helpless Creature be repaid

Pure Gold for what he lent him dross-allay'd --

Sue for a Debt we never did contract,

And cannot answer -- Oh, the sorry trade!”

Khayyam concludes this thought by pointing out that were such a theistic metaphysical theory to be believed, God would be at least as much in need of mankind's forgiveness for creating such a human condition of sinfulness as mankind would be in need of God's forgiveness for succumbing to it. Verse eighty-one speaks with clarity:

“Oh Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,

And e'en with Paradise devises the Snake:

For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man

Is blacken'd -- man's forgiveness give -- and take!”

## THE SUBJECTIVITY OF VALUES

Sartre expresses the existentialist view of the subjectivity of values in describing them as individual creations and self-legislations. He argues, for example, that values emerge in a painting only as the artist works with his materials, making subjective decisions and accomplishing them in the process of his endeavor.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Khayyam emphasizes the realization of individual values within the context of an active involvement in life. Other than urging his reader to haste in becoming involved in life (verse twenty-four: “Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,”), rather than speculating about it or analysing it; Khayyam offers no specific prescriptions toward what values are to be realized. This he leaves to the individual’s subjective judgment. In perhaps the best known lines of the Rubaiyat, verse seven tells us:

Come, fill the Cup, and in the fire of Spring

Your Winter-garment Repentance fling:

The Bird of Time has but little way

To flutter -- and the Bird is on the Wing.”

For himself, the values most worth pursuing are the clearly subjective, individualistic, and somewhat humanistic values of simplicity, tranquility, aesthetic appreciations, love, and as always with Khayyam, the immediate enjoyment of the here-and-now Verse twelve, in some of the most poignant and eloquent lines of the Rubaiyat, relates:

“A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,

A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread -- and Thou

Beside me singing in the Wilderness --

Oh, Wilderness was Paradise enow!”

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<sup>80</sup> William Y. Spanos, *A Casebook of Existentialism* Thomas Y. Cravell Co., N.Y., 1966, p. 292.

Khayyam's only qualification is a negative admonition to avoid wasting life in sterile speculations and disputations. Verse fifty-four advises:

“Waste not your Hour, not in the vain pursuit  
Of This and That endeavor and dispute;  
Better be jocund with the fruitful Grape  
Than sadden after none, or bitter, Fruit.”

And lest we be tempted to withdraw from the immediate living of life in favour of its analysis, verse fifty-five continues with:

“You know, my Friends, with what a brave Carouse  
I made a second Marriage in my house:  
Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed,  
And took the Daughter of the Vine to Spouse.”

The pursuit of individually determined values may not be rewarded with success and satisfaction. Nonetheless, such a pursuit in itself is of more value than the empty pursuit of those values mistakenly believed to be objective and eternal. Verse seventy-seven affirms Khayyam's existentialist perspective toward the pursuit of individually derived values in stating:

“And this I know: whether the one True Light  
Kindle to Love, or Wrath-consume me quite,  
One flash of It within the Tavern caught  
Better than in the Temple lost outright.”

## **THE SUBJECTIVITY OF TRUTH**

The subjectivity of truth is one of the salient themes in existentialist philosophy. Khayyam's view dismisses the search for objective truth as an insignificant endeavor, at least mundane if not futile. Since ultimate

knowledge of heaven, hell, and fate is not forthcoming Khayyam regards the distinction between true and false as relatively inconsequential. He implies that this fundamental epidemic inquiry over which so many have so laboriously struggled for so long, is really, at best, perhaps a simple matter of perspective finally unworthy of significant consideration. In verses forty-nine and fifty he asserts:

“... A Hair perhaps divides the False and True --

And upon what, prithee, does life depend?

“A Hair perhaps divides the False and True;

Yes: and a single A/if were the clue --

Could you but find it -- to the Treasure - house,

And peradventure to The Master too;”

This view of truth is further emphasized, perhaps more clearly, in verses fifty-six and fifty-seven where Khayyam states:

For ‘Is’ and ‘Is-not’ though with Rule and Line,

And “Up-and-down’ by Logic I define,

Of that entire one should care to fathom, I

Was never deep in anything but -- Wine.

“Ah, but my Computations, People say,

Reduced the year to better reckoning? -- Nay,

‘Twas only striking from the Calendar

Unborn To-morrow and dead Yesterday.”

These four verses would seem enough to establish that Khayyam came to regard ordinary knowledge as trivial. In rejecting the possibility of ultimate

knowledge Khayyam retains respect only for whatever philosophical knowledge of values the individual may glean from immediate experience.

To brand ordinary knowledge as trivial is not, of course, exactly to categorize it as subjective. Khayyam's epidemic subjectivity occurs in a broader sense. Not the narrower psychological subjectivism of Kierkegaard or Sartre it asserts, as it were, the grandeur scheme of metaphysical subjectivity. Khayyam expresses the collective subjectivity of our plenary ignorance of ultimate knowledge rather than the psychological subjectivity of the individual psyche. This identifies Khayyam as somewhat unique in the existentialist tradition and simultaneously displays his view as perhaps even a bit more existentialist than those of his more recent existentialist colleagues.

## CONCLUSION

The Rubaiyat concludes with a burgeoning crescendo of melancholy eloquence when, in verse ninety-nine, Khayyam sings:

“Ah Love! could you and I with Him Conspire?

To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things Entire,

Would not we shatter it to bits -- and then

Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's desire!”

This sentimental lamentation captures at once Khayyam's subjectivity, his sense of abandonment and view of absurdity; by itself nearly enough to establish his view as the original statement of existential philosophy.



# IQBAL: HIS LIFE AND WORK\*

**DR. SAEED A. DURRANI**

Thank you, Professor Vermeulen, for your kind words. I am grateful to you for having invited me to be here with you today. I am in fact very impressed to see how much activity on Pakistan and related matters is going on in Belgium, and in particular in Leuven, your own university, and in Brussels. And I think for some of this the credit goes to His Excellency the Ambassador of Pakistan, and his very energetic team such as Toheed Ahmed and others, who have been doing a lot to bring knowledge about Pakistan to this country. I am also impressed about the vast fields that are covered by the Oriental Faculty here in Leuven and how much work has been done about the languages and culture of India and Pakistan and the Orient in general. It is a great pleasure to be here with you today to say a few words.

I would like to say that I am Chairman of the Iqbal Academy United Kingdom, for the last three years. Iqbal Academy of Pakistan itself is a very large organisation, of which Professor Muhammad Munawwar, as you mentioned, was the Chairman until recently. He has now retired, but a lot of action is going on. We work closely with the Iqbal Academy in Pakistan, and this book<sup>81</sup>, that Professor Vermeulen mentioned, actually was published by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan.

I have been asked to talk about the life and work of Iqbal. I am very pleased that Professor Schimmel has already told you a great deal of his philosophy. As far as his life is concerned, I think that is relatively easy. I have a few lines here, giving the barest outline of his life, so that some of you who come fresh to Iqbal would at least be able to put him in a historical perspective.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the Poet-philosopher of the East, was born at Sialkot, northern India, now Pakistan, on 9 November 1877, of a middle

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\* Transcript of an Invited Lecture given by Dr. S.A. Durrani at the Pakistan Day Symposium, held on 11th January 1990 at the Department of Oriental Studies, Catholic University of Leuven, near Brussels, Belgium.

<sup>81</sup> Iqbal in Europe (in Urdu) by S.A. Durrani: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1985

class of family. He was educated in both Eastern and Western cultures, and took Master's degree in Philosophy from the Government College, Lahore, which you, Sir, mentioned: and I am pleased to see several other Ravians<sup>82</sup> here, the Ambassador himself, and I think several of our speakers today have been there.

He was educated at the Government College, Lahore; while I am at it, I may say that Government College, Lahore has produced two of the greatest sons of Pakistan: the second being Abdus Salam, the only Nobel Laureate (in Physics) of the Muslim World. So I am very proud to have come from there, too.

So Iqbal went to Government College, from where he got his Master's degree in 1899. And after teaching Philosophy, Economics and Political Science, at Lahore, he went to the University of Cambridge in 1905, to which he was recommended by Sir Thomas Arnold, a great teacher of his. There he took a B.A. degree by dissertation in 1907. Iqbal went thereafter to Germany, where, mainly, on the basis of his Cambridge dissertation (which was entitled "Development of Metaphysics in Persia") he was awarded a degree of Ph.D. by the University of Munich at the end of 1907. Having enrolled at Lincoln's Inn, London, in November 1905, he was called to the Bar. So he got a legal degree as well in July 1908, where after he returned to India and took up legal practice in Lahore.

His real vocation, however, remained that of a thinker and a poet. In the following years Iqbal started taking a practical interest in the political evolution of the country, and stood for the local Parliamentary Assembly and won. He took an interest in the political development of the Punjab and the rest of India. In December 1930 he delivered his famous Presidential Address at the Allahabad meeting of the All India Muslim League, in which he put forward the idea of an independent homeland for the Muslims of India, a vision that was realized 17 years later in the shape of Pakistan. And I hope that Professor Rizvi, who is speaking later on, will tell you more about the evolution of the idea of Pakistan the first vision of which was of Iqbal.

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<sup>82</sup> Old boys of the Government College, Lahore

He represented India at the Round Table Conferences in London in 1931 and 1932. On these occasions he traveled widely and visited many countries of Europe and the Middle East. At home he lived a Spartan life. He spent most of his time in reading, writing, and receiving visitors of all backgrounds from far and wide. He was a very great conversationalist; a very informal man, lying on his divan --- bed with hardly any clothes on, i.e. of a very simple sort: he was in his pyjamas more or less. And anybody could walk in. The whole of Lahore practically walked into his drawing room. His doors were open every day at 4 O'clock; people would come in and talk for hours about politics, metaphysics, poetry and history.

He died on 21st April 1938. Over 70,000 people attended his funeral, and his grave in Lahore is a national shrine. It is, in nutshell, the outline of his life.

After that I thought that perhaps I should say a few words about some basic strands of his philosophy. Professor Schimmel has already spoken about some of them.

Iqbal has written seven books in Persian, and four in Urdu: so it is impossible for me today to summarise all his poetry and philosophy. It is, as we say in Urdu – دریا کوزے میں بند کرنا - i.e. 'it is the confining of a river in an urn or a jug.' So I will not attempt it, But; instead, what I thought was that I would perhaps quote two or three examples of four or five big themes that Iqbal stands for. Again, it is as another saying goes: 'امشستے از خردارے' like a fistful from a camel - load.' So today I would like to do that in the first 15 minutes, and in another fifteen I'll say a few things about his life in Europe.

## 1. خودی (Self awareness)

As Professor Schimmel has already mentioned, the first of his great themes is that of Khudi. And Khudi, as she said, should, perhaps be translated as Individuality; or as Self or Self-hood, and so on; it denotes Self-awareness or Self-confidence. And this concept was first expounded by Iqbal in his long, didactic poem in the book *Asrar-e-Khudi* (Secrets of the Sell), which he wrote in 1915, and which was translated by Nicholson, who had previously been his examiner at Cambridge. It is a great honor for a pupil to have his book translated by his professor. Professor Nicholson translated it, and introduced Iqbal and his philosophy to Europe in 1920. Anyhow, I'll just

give, if I may, one or two examples of how he puts it. And I will try to translate that into English.

A very famous couplet of his is

1(i)

خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے  
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے، بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے!

83

“So heighten your Selfhood that, before formulating your destiny, God should ask of you, his servant, what would you rather be?” that is, God should consult you as to how you want him to make your destiny. That is Khudi.

Another example is:

1(ii)

ہر چیز ہے محو خود نمائی ہر ذرہ شہید کبریائی  
ہے نوق نمود زندگی، موت تعمیر خودی میں ہے خدائی

84

“All things are given to self-display.

Each atom is dying to assume Godhead.

Without the desire for self-revelation, Life is Death.

To build you is the essence of divinity.”

The third example of Khudi is:

1(iii)

جب عشق سکھاتا ہے آدابِ خود آگاہی  
کھلتے ہیں غلاموں پر اسرارِ شہنشاہی

85

“When 'Love' (the creative force) teaches them the discipline of Self-awareness

Then are revealed to the slaves the secrets of Caesarhood.” (The slaves become like Caesar.)

## 2. Change, constant evolution, action

The second strand of Iqbal's philosophy is that of change, constant evolution, action. As professor Schimmel has said, even in Heaven that would not let you rest! He says:

سکوں محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں  
ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں

86

“Rest is all but impossible in this workplace of nature.

Change alone is changeless in this world.”

Then he says:

2(ii)

ساحلِ افتادہ گفت گرچہ ہے زیستم بیچِ معلوم شدہ آہ کہ من کیستم  
موج زخود رفتہ، نیز خرا مید د بستم اگری روم گر نہ روم نیستم  
گفت

87

85 ایضا ص 348

86 ایضا ص 148

87 ایضا فارسی ص 298

This is in Persian, in reply to Heine's poem, 'Questions'. (Incidentally, more than half of Iqbal's poetry is in Persian: for although he lived in India where very few people spoke Persian, he wrote in Persian so that he could reach an outside audience, since Persian was a more Classical language, like Latin would be for you here in Europe.)

[Translate]

“The disintegrating river-bank said: Though long

have I lived,

Alas I have not discovered who I am.

An ecstatic wave rippled past swiftly and said:

I am if I move: If I move not, I die!”

– Because a ripple cannot exist unless it moves. So that is the secret of existence: movement, not rest, like the river bank, which is just sitting there, dying away.

### 3. Dissatisfaction and longing for development

The third theme Iqbal has is dissatisfaction – longing for development. It is not enough to have achieved something. Do not rest on your laurels; be restless! He says:

3(i)

متاع بے بہا بے درد و سوز آرزو مندی  
مقام بندگی دے کر نہ لوں شان خداوندی

88

“These riches of yearning and burning and constant

desiring:

I would not exchange my Man's station for all the

splendours of Godhead.”

– I would rather be man than become God, he says, (These are challenging words; some people would say he was a heretic. But he thinks Godhead is perfection; and perfection has no potential for growth. Therefore it stagnates. Perfection cannot develop anymore. So I would not like to be God, he says: I would like to remain a man.)

Then he says:

3(ii)

ز شرر      ستاره      جویم،      ستاره      سر  
سِر      منزلی      ندارم      کہ      بمیرم      زقراری      آفتابے

89

“From the embers I seek the stars. From the stars  
the sun.

I have no desire for a sojourn; for I die if I rest.”

In another verse he says:

3(iii)

تپش      است      زندگانی،      تپش      است      جاددانی  
بمہ      ذرہ      ہائے      خاکم،      دل      بے      قراربادا!

90

“Burning is life itself, burning is sans end,

May all the atoms of my dust be so many throbbing hearts!”

– So this dust, this throbbing heart, becomes restlessness.

Then there is the theme of constant battle and self-testing. He says:

3(iv)

زندگی در صدفِ خویش گہرِ ساختنِ است  
در دلِ شعلہ فرورفتنِ و نگذاختنِ است

91

“Life is: to make a pearl from your own inner oyster.”

Do not borrow it from outside. Take it from inside.)

It is: to go into the heart of the flame and Not to melt down.”

--So you have this power and the daring to go into the heart of the flame; but do not burn, stay what you are - perhaps become even better.

#### 4. “Love” and “Intellect”

The fourth theme is “Love” versus the “Intellect”- or “lshq” and “Aql“, by 'love' he means a sort of inner or creative force, an intuition, an inspiration, an abandon or recklessness. And intellect', we all know, is logic and caution and wisdom. And he always stands here, like Bergson perhaps, for the abandon i.e. “lshq”. He says:

4(i)

بے خطر کود پڑا آتشِ نمرود میں عشق  
عقل بے محو تماشائے لبِ بامِ ابھی

92

“Love jumped forth into the fire lit by Nimrod.

Intellect still sits aloft - waiting and weighing.”

91 ایضا ص 491

92 ایضا اردو ص 278



–So there is a Qur'anic story that Nimrod, the local king, had prepared a fire, and Abraham was ordered to jump. And he jumped in, and the fire turned into a garden. And Iqbal says: that is love - this abandon, or creativity. You just jump in. And if you used wisdom, you would just sit there and wait and wait: shall I do shall I not?; to be or not to be? He says: God and do it!

Then he says:

4(ii)

خرد نے مجھ کو عطا کی نظر حکیمانہ  
سکھائی عشق نے مجھ کو حدیثِ زمانہ

93

“Intellect has bestowed on me the Philosopher's eye.

It is Love that has taught me the speech of ecstasy.”

– So wisdom is one thing, and ecstasy is another. Again, he says:

4(iii)

اک دانش نورانی، اک دانش برہانی  
ہے دانش برہانی، اک حیرت کی فراوانی

94

“One is a knowledge all aglow; the other, logic and reasoning.”

[--So he is contrasting these two things: the first is the inner burning and the enlightenment. And the other is logic and reasoning.]

“Logic and reasoning lead ' to naught but an abundance of wonderment.”

-- Logic and reasoning leads to naught, but an abundance of wonderment: it increases your curiosity and wonder; but it does not give you the intuitive answers.

Then he says:

4(iv)

خرد سے راہرو روشن بصر ہے      خرد کیا ہے! چراغِ رہگذر ہے  
درون خانہ ہنگامے ہیں کیا کیا      چراغِ رہگذر کو کیا خبر ہے

95

“Intellect gives the wayfarer eyes that see.

What is intellect, but a lamp by the wayside?

What goes on within the household [the soul]:

The wayside lamp has no knowledge whatsoever.”

--If there is a lamp outside, it illuminates your way and you know which way to go. But it cannot tell you what is going on within the household - within yourself, within your own soul. So Iqbal makes wisdom an external source, and love an internal illumination.

The last two examples of this, theme are the following verses. In Zabur-i-'Ajam (Persian Psalms) Iqbal gives the following firm advice:

عقل      است      چراغ      تو،      در      راہگذار      سے      نہ  
عشق      است      ایغ      تو،      باندہ      محرم      زن!

96

“If Intellect is thy lamp, place it by the wayside.

If Love is thy wine-cup, go; drink it with someone who KNOWS!”

And in 'The Mosque of Cordova' - in my view arguably the most significant and beautiful Urdu poem ever written, and worthy of being placed side-by-side with the highest literature of all mankind, Iqbal declares:

عشق دم جبرئیل، عشق دل مصطفےٰ  
عشق خدا کا رسول، عشق خدا کا کلام

97

“Love is Gabriel's inspiring breath. Love is the

Prophet's immaculate heart.

Love is God's own messenger.

Love is the word of God.”

## 5. Man's place in the world

Then another theme he has is Man's place in the world. He places Man very high—almost as a co-partner with God. God is there, and Man is helping achieve God's aims and ends. He says:

5(i)

فروغ آدم خاکی زتازہ کاری باست  
مه و ستاره کنند آنکه پیش ازیں کردند

98

“To do something ever new is the splendor of

Man made of dust.

The Moon and the stars just to do what they have

always done!”

–The Moon and stars just go round in the same orbits that they have done for millions and billions of years. But Man is doing new things all the time. So that, he says, is what the grandeur of Man. is He can do new things - unpredictable things.

Then he says:

5(ii)

خاک ما خیز کہ سازد آسمانے دیگرے  
ذرہ نا چیز و تعمیر بیابانے نگر سما

99

“My dust rises to form a new sky.

Behold this tiny atom that would formulate a whole Sahara.”

– He is just one atom of sand. But he wants to become a whole new desert.

Then the co-partnership with God. He says (from “A Dialogue between Man and God – in پیام مشرق, the 'Message of the East'):

5(iii)

تو شب آفریدی، چراغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی، ایغ آفریدم  
بیابان و کہسار و راغ آفریدی خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم

100

“You [God] created the night, and I the lamp.

You created clay: I made it into a wine cup.

You created deserts, mountains, wastelands;

I made them into gardens, orchards, flowerbeds.”

–So Man says to God: I am helping you to achieve your ends. (Translation froth V.G. Kiernan/Faiz Ahmad Faiz).

Then another daring thing he says:

5(vi)

گفت یزداں کہ چنیں است و دگر بیچ مگر  
گفت آدم کہ چنیں است وچناں سی بانست

101

“God said, 'The world so lies [like this]

And say not otherwise'

Said Adam, 'so I see: β

But thus it ought to be!”

(Translation by A.J. Arberry.)

–God says, 'well that is the world': Man says, 'no, I think it should be like this.' Man is saying to God I don't think you have got it right! (I don't know whether man is improving the world, by the way. We wait breathlessly for hydrogen bombs. But this is a poet's vision!)

این مہ و مہر کہن راہ بجائے یہ برند  
انجم تازہ بہ تعمیر جہاں می بانست

And he continues:

“This ancient Moon and Sun lead us nowhere.

I need new stars to build the universe afresh.”

–Man says I want new stars.

Then I think there is another verse...– But sorry to be inflicting all these Urdu and Persian verses on you – but then I thought you must have the flavor of the original).

5(v)

گفتند، جهان ما، آیا بتومی سازد  
که نمی سازد، گفتند که بریم زن

102

“The Powers that be said: Is our world agreeable to you?

I said: No, it is NOT. They said: Go and tear it asunder!”

–If you don't like this world, they said, go and break it up.  
Don't accept things as they are.

## 6. Shaking off of imperialistic shackles

From this I would like to conclude and say that one of the final themes that he has is the shaking off of imperialistic shackles. You know that, at the time when Iqbal lived, the whole world was dominated by the Europeans, and in particular the English. The sun never set on their Empire. The Muslims were being crushed everywhere. Whether they were in Egypt, whether they were in Indonesia, or whether they were in Morocco: they were being subjugated. He wanted them to rise. So he says:

6(i)

خاور ہمہ مانند غبار سر راہست  
یک نالہ خاموش واثر باخته آہست  
بر ذرہ این خاک گرہ خوردہ نگاہست  
از ہندو سمرقند و عراق و ہمدان خیز  
از خواب گراں، خواب گراں، خواب گراں خیز، از خواب گراں  
خیز!

“All the Orient doth lie  
 Like the strewn dust, the roadway by. Or a still and hushed lament  
 And a wasted sigh and spent.  
 Yet each atom of this dust  
 Is an eye momentarily shut. Under Ind's and Persia's skies  
 Through Arabian Plains, O. rise!  
 Out of leaden sleep Out of slumber deep Arise!  
 Out of slumber deep Arise!”

(Arberry's translation.)

Then he goes on to say:

6(ii)

فریاد زا فرنگ و دل آویزی افرنگ  
 فریاد ز شیرینی و پرویزی افرنگ  
 عالم بمه دیرانه ز چنگیزی افرنگ  
 معمار حرم، بازیه تعمیر جہاں خیز  
 از خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں، خوابِ گراں خیز، از خوابِ گراں  
 خیز!

“Against Europe I protest  
 And the attractions of the West.  
 Woe for Europe and her charm.

Swift to capture and disarm!  
 Europe's hordes with flame and fire.  
 Desolate the world entire;  
 O architect of sacred realism.  
 To rebuild the world arise.  
 Out of leaden sleep  
 Out of slumber deep.  
 Arise!  
 Out of slumber deep  
 Arise!"

(Arberry's translation)

Then he would also like to overthrow capitalism. There were a lot of revolutions going on. Bolshevism and Communism and so forth. And so Iqbal wrote a very revolutionary poem, where he proclaims:

6(iii)

خواجه از خونِ رگِ مزدور سازد لعلِ ناب  
 از جفائے ده خدایاں کشتِ دبقانانِ خراب  
 انقلاب! انقلاب، اے انقلاب!

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"Of the hireling's blood outpoured  
 Lustrous rubies make the lord  
 Tyrant squire to swell his wealth



Desolates the peasant's tilth.

Revolt, I cry!

Revolt, defy!

Revolt or die!”

(Arberry's translation.)

In the same vein, there is a very fine, poem by Iqbal, entitled 'Lenin in the presence of God' in which God is giving His commandment to the angels. First of all, there is Lenin speaking to God: 'See what's going on! Please do something.' And God says to his angels (this is a very famous poem: 'God's command to the angels: فرمان خدا

6(iv)

اٹھو! میری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو  
کاخ امرا کے درد دیوار ہلا دو  
گرماؤ غریبوں کا لہو سوز یقیں سے  
کنجشک فرومایہ کو شاہیں سے لڑا دو  
جس کھیت سے دہقان کو میسر نہ ہو روزی  
اس کھیت کے ہر خوشہ گندم کو جلا دو

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“Rise! and waken the poor of my world

Shatter the walls and gates of the palaces of the rich!

Boil the blood of slaves with the fire of faith.

Make the humble sparrow take on the mighty falcon!

That cornfield which does not give the peasant his sustenance.

Go forth and set alight each ear of wheat in that field!”

Go and burn all those fields if they do not bring forth food for the peasant.

### 7. Iqbal's stand against materialism

The last theme that I wish to touch upon is that Iqbal also takes on the Western civilization and materialism. I mean, he was a man of great vision, and much of what he saw around him he disliked and disagreed with; and, as we have seen above he had been told: If you do not like it, go and change it. Iqbal then, at the same time, was very religious. He wanted somehow for man to come back to the purity of religion. He therefore attacks materialism, and the Western civilisation for its promiscuity and its racialism and its nationalism, and so on. A couple of examples and then I'll finish.

He says:

7(i)

بے کاری و عریانی و مے خواری و افلاس  
کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدنیت کے فتوحات

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“Unemployment, [mind you, he was writing this in about 1925] promiscuity, inebriation and destitution

Are these not victories enough for the Western civilization of today?”

And again:

7(ii)

کیا یہی بے معاشرے کا کمال  
مرد بے کار و زن تہی آغوش

“Is this the zenith of your civilization? (he asks)

'Man without work, and woman without a child?'

And then he attacks color and race, and he includes the Muslims amongst them (his targets). The Muslims are as racialistic as anybody else. He says:

7(iii)

تو اے کو دک منش، خودرا ادب کن  
مسلمان زاده ترک نسب کن  
برنگ احمر و خون و رگ و پوست  
عرب نازد اگر، ترک عرب کن

“O childish person, teach yourself manners!

You are born of Muslims, so give up lineage [or pride of genealogy].

If of his ruddy color, and skin and vein

If the Arab is proud of - then renounce the Arab!”

Furthermore:

7(iv)

نہ افغانیم ونے ترک و تتاریم  
چمن زانیم و ازیک شاخساریم  
تمیز رنگ و بو برما حرام است  
کہ ما پرورده یک نو بہاریم

“Neither Afghans, nor Turks, nor Tartars are we. We are born of this garden, and stem from a single branch.

Distinctions of color and smell are forbidden to us. For we have been nurtured by the same springtide's bounty”

– the same spring for all flowers of all colors.

He was very critical of nationalism. He thought nationalism will bring great destruction, whereas universal religion would teach you ethics which are supranational and override nationalistic feelings. He says:

7 (v)

ان تازہ خداوں میں بڑا سب سے، وطن  
جو پیرین اس کا ہے، مذہب کا کفن ہے  
غارِ گُر کا شانہ دینِ نبوی ہے  
اسلام ترا دیں ہے، تو مصطفوی ہے  
یہ بُت کہ ترا شیدہ تہذیبِ نوی ہے  
بازو ترا توحید کی قوت سے قوی ہے

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“Of these new fangled gods, the greatest is Nationalism;  
That which is its garment is the coffin-shroud of religion.  
This idol that has been carved by the modern civilization  
Is the plunderer of the house of the Prophet?

Your arms have been made strong by the power of God's oneness  
[here he speaks to the Muslims]

Islam is your homeland: you are the children of the immaculate  
Prophet.” [Muhammad.]

And finally, towards the end of his life, when he was dying in 1938, there  
was a great religious divine, Hussain Ahmad Madani, who had made a  
speech. Iqbal wrote these lines a couple of months before he died, which  
were published posthumously in November 1938 in the book ”**ارمغانِ حجاز**”  
('The Gift from Hedjaz'):

7(vi)

سرود بر سر منبر کہ ملت از وطن است  
چہ بے خبرز مقام محمد عربی است

“He [Hussain Ahmad of Deoband] sang from the pulpit that  
nations are fashioned by their countries.

How ignorant is he of the standpoint of Muhammad of  
Arabia!”

Because Muhammad of Arabia taught that you do not belong to one country,  
or to one nation, or to one race. This [Islam} is God’s command for all  
mankind.

I think this is probably enough for trying to summarize Iqbal's message.  
If I have another five minutes, I'll just tell you a couple of things about his  
life. As I said earlier, Iqbal had gone to Cambridge, and a couple of things  
interested me about ten years ago when we were celebrating his centenary.  
The question arose, when was he born?, because there was a great deal of  
controversy about his date of birth. I went to Cambridge University where he  
had taken his degree: I found that Iqbal had written there in the register that  
he was born in the month of Muharram 1876. Then I looked at his thesis.  
'The Development of Metaphysics', in which he says, I was born in Dhu  
corresponds to 1877 AD Qa'd 1294 All (which actually He had stayed in a

place) in .Then I was in Schellingstrasse[ No h41], years ago, was very impressed, because the Germans are so thorough that he I and there had stayed there for three to four weeks about 80 ears they still had all the archives. I years ago, and they blithely got a copy, of the archives, where gives his date of birth as 10th of July 1876. So, I have come to the conclusion that he did not know exactly when he was born. Earlier on, I had become interested in his thesis that sitting in Munich (where, in the preface, he gives his date of birth). So, I had thought, let us go and have a look at that thesis. This was in 1976. I went to Munich (to attend a science conference) decided to visit the University library. I have given full details and my book 'Iqbal in Europe' (Iqbalian Urdu) - but, in a nutshell, when I went a the Munich, University Library (in October 1976), it disappeared. When I persisted in appeared that Iqbal's searching for it, I was told thesis had the Director of the Library, Herr Dr L. Buzas) that it had, in fact, been given away as a gift to the Government of India. The Indian Government had told the University that they were celebrating the centenary of the great man (in around 1973) - a great Indian poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal - and were therefore collecting his memorabilia. This was a great shock - to discover that the thesis had not gone to Pakistan, but to India.

But the thing that started puzzling me soon thereafter was the following question: How did Iqbal manage to write this thesis, which was around 200 pages long, when his stay in Germany was for a total of only about 3 months (end of July 1907 to the beginning of November 1907), Now there might be brilliant students here at Leuven University who are able to write a thesis of 200 pages on the Development of Metaphysics in Persia in about 6 weeks, but I thought that it was very unlikely that he (Iqbal) could actually have done that. So I was puzzling about it, and finally I discovered that it was the same thesis that he had actually submitted at Cambridge (in March 1907): he had made a few deletions, submitted it at the University of Munich, and got his Ph.D. degree from there in November 1907. (Fuller details of this whole quest, and the discovery, will be found in my above-mentioned book, ' Iqbal in Europe'). It transpired that in 1907 there used to be no Ph.D. degrees at the University of Cambridge (or at any other British University, for that matter). All bright students were encouraged to go to Germany for this purpose.

Here, if I may, I should like to conclude my talk by just showing a few overhead projections -- if your projector works. Being trained as a physicist, I have brought a few overhead projection transparencies -- for which I had requested a projector to be made available. (Good, it works!). So, I would like to conclude by showing you a few of these projections. I was in Munich in October 1987 (for another science conference!), and took the opportunity to look for any record of Iqbal's activities at the University back in 1907. What I wanted to find out was how he had managed to get his Ph.D. degree in about three months. Luckily I was successful. I went to the Archives Department of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitat, Munchen (Munich), and found that there were a very interesting series of notes or archival material sitting there. The first projection shows you here [see Figure 1] a long note by Iqbal's thesis 'supervisor', Professor (Fritz) Hommel, written in October 1907. What he says in it, in gist, is something like this.

“Look, I have a big problem on my hands (he says, in writing to another Professor): this chap has turned up, and has brought a thesis called 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia', but I know nothing about Islam myself. In all my life I have attended only four lectures on Islam, and only one-quarter of one of them dealt with metaphysics! So, how am I going to test this chap - to give him, or not to give him, a degree?” But he then adds that, luckily, the problem is solved by the fact that there is a letter by Professor Thomas Arnold, currently the Professor of Arabic at the University of London (which he reproduces). I (the present speaker) will give you a gist of what Professor (later Sir Thomas) Arnold says in that letter. He says: I know this thesis well. It is full of new things that Iqbal has brought out from Arabic and Persian sources, which were not known in the West - and therefore it is a very valuable contribution to knowledge from original sources. So, on the basis of this letter, Hommel says: “Good. I think that makes sense; we should give him the degree. What do you think?” The file goes to the next professor, who has a very difficult handwriting [see Figure 2], in a type of German script which was characteristic of the turn of the last century and of the early 1900s. And this Professor, von Hertling - who was a famous man: he was professor of Catholic religion at Munich, and then he became the Chancellor of Bavaria, and later the Chancellor of the whole of Germany (like Chancellor Konrad Adenauer) in 1920 - he says that, “This thesis is the work of a man of great learning. And here ends'all that I can say.

Because I know nothing about the actual development of metaphysics in Persia. All my knowledge is based on medieval Latin sources, and therefore I am unable to say anything meaningful. But since Professor Thomas Arnold is saying that this is a very good thesis, so it must be a very good thesis.” (It is a bit like that famous speech by Antony in Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar': 'Brutus says so and Brutus is an honourable man!') “So let's give him a degree” (says Professor von Hertling). Then - but I'll omit a few more notes and comments in that file in which some other professors of Munich University have given their opinions.

Then the most interesting thing that I found in the archives is this - that they decided to test how well his (Iqbal's Orientalische (Arabische) Philologie - i.e. Oriental (Arabic) Philology - was. So what they did was that they said: Let us say that his main topic (for the oral examination) should be Oriental (and in particular Arabic) Language and Literature! - i.e., although the candidate had said that he wanted a degree in philosophy, they said, in effect, that since we don't know much about his philosophy, let us test him in Oriental Philology. And so the main subject of his examination should (they decided) be Arabic Philology. The second, subsidiary, subject should be English Philology; and the third, subsidiary, subject should be Philosophy [see Figure 3].

This is very amusing. As I was saying to some friends, this is like somebody going and submitting a thesis on Nuclear Physics at the Sorbonne University in Paris. And these people say that. 'We don't understand anything about nuclear physics; so let's test how good his English is!' So, instead of giving him an oral examination in philosophy, they gave him a viva voce in Arabic. And they were very impressed - they gave him a first class in Arabic; and they gave him a second class in English. I have a notion that this is because they probably thought that: 'His English is quite good - he comes from India; but we are Europeans, and our English is also quite good. On the other hand, his Arabic is better than ours.' So they gave him a First (I) in Arabic, but only a Second (II) in English. But they gave him a Third (III) in philosophy [Figure 3] - which is really a preposterous thing to have done to a genius. I talked about this to people in Munich (e.g. Dr Buzas, who is now retired) - and they said this is probably because they (the examiners) wanted to remain on the safe side. Tomorrow (these university professors may have



argued) somebody may object to some philosophical point in this thesis - so we could then say that we actually gave him only a III. But, on the whole, they thought that the thesis was extremely good - so they gave him an overall cum laude (with distinction or praise). This overall result of Note or Mark II from the University of Munich is actually quite high.

The final two or three transparencies now. I had done some similar detective work at the University of Cambridge a few years earlier (1982). I had then argued that since he had only spent about three months in Germany, when he was also learning the language and going round sight-seeing, etc., he wouldn't have had much time. So obviously he must have written his thesis in Cambridge. And I had located his original type-written thesis in the Manuscripts Department of the Cambridge University Library in June 1982 - of which I have given full details in my aforementioned book.

This time, encouraged by my success at the Munich University archives, I decided to look inside the archives of Cambridge University Library. And there in the archives I found, in November 1987 (i.e. a month after Munich) some very interesting material—which showed all the developments that had taken place there. The next overhead projection [Figure 4] shows the entry in the minute's book, dated 16 March 1906 and signed by Professor W.R. Sorley, who was the Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. It says (and please remembers that Iqbal had arrived in Cambridge in October 1905):

2. An application was received from Muhammad Iqbal (sic), M.A., of the Punjab University, for admission as an Advanced Student to a Course of Research, the subject proposed being “the Genesis & Development Of Metaphysical Conceptions In Persia”

It was decided to grant the application.

It was agreed to request Dr. McTaggart to direct the studies of the student; and Dr. McTaggart consented to do so.

16 March 1906

(sd) W.R. Sorley

(Please notice that the proposed subject is slightly different than the final version of the -thesis title which said the 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia'. McTaggart was the distinguished Hegelian Professor at the University.)

There are only three projections in all. The second one I show here [Figure 5] is the following. It (the minute of the Committee) says:

A meeting of the Degree Committee of the Special Board for Moral Science(s) was held at Syndicate Buildings on Thursday, March 7, 1907.

Present: Dr. Keynes (in the Chair), Prof. Ward, Prof. Sorley, Dr. McTaggart, Mr. Rivers.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. Prof. Sorley and Mr. Nicholson (or, in the event of Mr. Nicholson's declining to serve, Professor Browne) were appointed referees for a dissertation submitted by Mr. Iqbal (sic), a Research Student, on "The Development of Metaphysics in Persia"
3. It was agreed to ask Prof. Sorley to communicate with (2) Mr. Nicholson with reference to the dissertation.

(sd) J.N. Keynes,

7 May 1907

(I may mention here that at that time he was Mr. - and not yet Professor–Nicholson. He later translated Iqbal's 'Secrets of the Self – and thus introduced him to the West – and also much of Maulana – Rum. He has written four books on Maulana Rum, as Professor Schimmel mentioned earlier today. And as you know, Professor Browne was a very great Orientalist: Professor E.G. Browne, who mentions Iqbal in his History of Persian Literature.)

And the final document I wish to show you is the one which records the decision to grant Iqbal the degree. It says [see Figure 6]:

A meeting of the Degree Committee of the Special Board for Moral Science was held at Syndicate Buildings on Tuesday, May 7, 1907 after the-meeting of the Board.

The same members were present.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.
2. Reports of Mr Iqbal's dissertation on the "Development of Metaphysics in Persia" from Prof. Sorley and Mr. Nicholson having been read, it was agreed unanimously that "in the opinion of the Board the dissertation is of distinction as an original contribution to learning"

(sd) J.N. Keynes

Chairman

30 October 1907

So at least the Cambridge people had properly examined the thesis. (Incidentally, the signatory is Dr. J.N. Keynes - the father of the great economist, John Maynard Keynes (later, Lord Keynes). Dr Keynes, the father, was a geographer.) So, as I said, at least at the University of Cambridge they had properly evaluated Iqbal's thesis, and they had given him a B.A. degree. And one of the professors at Cambridge, the other day, when, I gave a talk there at Trinity College on Iqbal Day [22 November 1989], said afterwards in his concluding speech:

Look, how good our University is. What we gave Iqbal a B.A. degree for, the University of Munich gave him a Ph.D. for!

This, of course, was said lightheartedly. The main reason, as I mentioned earlier, was that there used to be no Ph.D.- degree in British Universities those days - so Iqbal went to Munich, and got his Ph.D. there.

I think with these words I would like to finish. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for your patience.

Professor U. Vermeulen: Professor Durrani, I thank you very much for your scholarly and pleasantly delivered lecture, which gave us a good introduction to what is called, truly I think, the Wisdom of the East.

**De Afdeling Aziatische en Islamitische Studies**

**(Department Orientalistiek)**

**en**

Inforientnodigen U vriendelijk uit tot de activiteiten van de

**PAKISTAN DAG**

op

donderdag II januari 1990

in de

Justus Lipsius-zaal (8ste verdieping)

Van het Erasmus Gebouw (Letteren en Wijsbegeerte)

Blijde Inkomststraat, 21, 3000 Leuven

**PROGRAMMA**

Middag

14.00 u.: Prof. Dr. U. Vermeulen (Voorzitter Departement Orientalistiek):  
Pakistan, Iqbal end de K.U. Leuven.

14.15 u.: Z. E. de Heer M. Akram (Ambassadeur van de  
Islamitische:Republiek Pakistan) Some ideas about Pakistan and Iqbal.

14.30 u.: Prof. Dr. A. Schimmel (Universiteiten van Harvard en Bonn) Iqbal,  
a bridge between East and West. 15.30 u.: Prof. Dr. S. Durrani (Universiteit  
Birmingham): Life and work of Iqbal.

16.15 u.: Prof. Dr. H. Rizvi (Universiteit Heidelberg): Pakistan: the making of  
a Nation. Koffie - Pauze

**Photogrphs**

**Note by Dr Lawrence Barfield**

Most of the photographs exhibited at the Arnold Day Conference were taken  
during Arnold's stay in Aligarh (1888-1898), before his meeting with Iqbal in

Lahore. We unfortunately have no photographs of Arnold and Iqbal together.

1. Thomas Walker Arnold (1864-1930) in his youth.
2. Arnold with his students at Aligarh. While at Aligarh Arnold often taught in Islamic dress.
3. Meeting of an Islamic society in front of the 'Duty Shop' at Aligarh. Arnold is standing in the second row fifth from the left. Those seated in the front include Aftab Ahmed Khan (fifth from the left), Nawab Mohsinul Mulk (sixth from the left) and Maulavi Nazir Ahmad (seventh from the left).
4. Arnold at Aligarh, probably being taught the Koran, by a Muslim scholar (Shibli?)
5. Arnold with his students, probably at Lahore at the time of his departure from India in 1904. (One of the students is presumably holding the farewell address.)
6. Arnold with his wife May (seated on his left) and daughter Nancy (then six years old, sitting on the ground) at Aligarh at the time of their departure from India in 1904.

### **Figure Captions**

Fig. 1 Note by Professor F. Hommel in the Munich University archives on Iqbal (1907)

Fig. 2 Note by Professor von Healing in the Munich University archives (1907)

Fig. 3 Results of S.M. Iqbal's oral examination at Munich University (4 Nov. 1907)

Fig. 4 Minute 2 of a meeting of the University of Cambridge Special Board for Moral Sciences concerning Iqbal's admission as an Advanced Student of the University (from Cambridge University Library (CUL) archives. 1906)

Fig. 5 Minutes of a meeting of the Degree Committee of the University of Cambridge concerning the appointment of referees for Iqbal's dissertation (CUL) archives, 1907)

Fig. 6 Minutes of a meeting of the Degree Committee of the University of Cambridge concerning the acceptance of Iqbal's dissertation (CUL) archives, 1907)