Muhammad Iqbal And Modernism

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ABSTRACT

This article traces the evolution of Iqbal's thought from nationalism to pan-Islamism, and onward to globalism through an attempted 'osmosis' with the west. In a world characterized by divisions and discriminations, by separations and contrasts in the name of something which nobody knows what actually is, the message of Muhammad Iqbal is relevant today– after a century. It is not out of place to mention here that the Italian academic world was the first to realize the importance of the *Javed Namah*, immediately after its publication: some months after, the Islamist Maria Nallino reviewed Iqbal's *magnum opus*, calling it the "divine comedy of the east" and a "celestial poem", the title Alessandro Bausani used when he translated it into Italian, in 1952, which was its first translation in any language. On 1st January 1938, the Lahore station of all-India radio broadcasted Iqbal's last prophetic message to the mankind of the east and the west which echoes the future scenario of this globe.

In a world characterized by divisions and discriminations, by separations and contrasts in the name of something which nobody knows what actually is, the message of Muhammad Iqbal is relevant today– after a century. Hundred years are few, but they are many in a historical period which has witnessed two world wars, a nuclear proliferation not always for peaceful purposes, numerous local conflicts and the many ideologies disguised under the umbrella of religion despite having nothing in common with it.

In a famous verse Iqbal had said: "Religion does not teach enmity with each other."[1] It was October 1904: the *entente cordiale* between Hindus and Muslims inside the Indian National Congress was unsteady. The Congress had marked its Hindu composition: out of 756 delegates the Muslim delegates numbered 17 only. Many were the associations which asked for a larger political participation: these created the Muslim League in 1906.

Born on 9th November 1877 at Sialkot, a city of the Punjab today in Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal moved in 1895 to Lahore, then as today the most important centre of Muslim culture in the north-west Indian sub-continent. There Iqbal completed his education, and taught Arabic and other subjects until 1905. At Lahore, under the guidance of a learned teacher, Sir Thomas Arnold (1864-1930), Iqbal came into contact with the European culture and his horizon opened to the knowledge of two worlds, which according to Kipling would never meet.

His poetical career started, almost by chance, in 1899, with a conventional poem devoted to Himalaya (*Homala*), which opens his first Urdu collection, the *Bang-i Dara* (The Call of the Marching Bell), published in 1924. The opening lines speak of the eternity of the Himalayas, compared with the mountain range of the Sinai, where– according to *Qur'an*, VII, 142– God manifested Himself to Moses:

O Himalayas, bulwark of the kingdom of India,
Bending down, the skies kiss your forehead.
You do not show any signs of old age,
You are young in the revolving days and nights.
For the Moses of Sinai you were a theophany,
To the discerning eye you are an epiphany.

According to legend, Adam, after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, first landed on the Himalayas: the poet is eager to hear from the mountain range the story of the age when human beings

lived a simple, unaffected life.[2] In the final lines there is an implied criticism of 'civilization':

O Himalayas, tell us the story of the times
When the first men dwelt in your hem.
Do tell us of that simple, unaffected life
That was untainted by any affectation.
O imagination, take us back to that age,
O revolving time, take us back to the past.

In this poem there is, *in nuce*, the concept of the perfect man (*al-insan al-kamil*), which he dealt with in his first essay on the Persian mystic 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili (1365-1418).

In 1905, on the advice of his teacher Thomas Arnold, Iqbal decided to leave for England for higher studies since education in Lahore did not go beyond M.A. in those days. The three years he spent in Europe, from 1905 to 1908, were significant not only from the point of view of his education but also and above all for the development of his political and social thought.

He studied at Cambridge, at the Trinity College, where he obtained an M.A. in philosophy; from there he moved in July 1907 to Heidelberg, Germany, in order to attend a course of German, and then to the Munich university where he was awarded a Ph.D. for his thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*.[3]

Before leaving India, Iqbal, like all the Indians– Muslims and non-Muslims– had been a supporter of nationalism, an attitude amply justified by the political situation in those days. An example is 'An Ode to India' (*Tarana-i Hindi*), which in its original version of October 1904 had the title of 'Our Country' (*Hamara Desh*), where he did not speak of Muslims, Hindus and the like, but of Indians and the mother India. All this was emphasized in the philosophical and political poem 'The New Temple' (*Naya Shivala*):

I tell you the truth, o Brahman, if you are not displeased,
The idols of your temple became aged and obsolete.
You have learnt from the idols to hate your friends,
God also has taught quarrelling to Muslim preachers.
You thought that in the stone idols there was God,
To me every particle of the country's dust is God.

Nationalism in Europe goes back to the period of Enlightenment and the formation of modern nation-states; in the Islamic world this problem arose in the colonial period under the pressure of a more modern idea of life. When Iqbal began to face the problems of the Muslims, in particular of the Indian Muslims, the idea of nationalism in the Muslim world was understood only by an élitarian emerging class. It was Iqbal who anticipated "the trends which were bound to follow in the wake of the popularisation of nationalism in the

Muslim world,"[4] in a period when co-operation between Hindus and Muslims was envisaged. The idea of fatherland occupies the central place in Iqbal's mind, and religion becomes a decisive factor in the life of the nation: rather than religion, fatherland forms the centre of affection and loyalty of citizens– instead of old temples a "new temple" is created.

In another poem of this period, 'The Painful Wail' (*Sada-i Dard*), Iqbal laments the lack of amity between Muslims and Hindus, which was delaying the independence of India from Britain:

Our land foments excessive mutual enmity,
What unity! Our closeness harbours separation.
Enmity and violence instead of sincerity,
Separation and violence in the barn's grains.

On the whole, Iqbal's poems up to 1905 denote the poet's disappointment for the sad conditions of the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent and of the Muslims in general. All this was beautifully expressed in the poem 'Sicily' (*Siqilliya*): during his voyage to England Iqbal saw from his ship in the Mediterranean the island of Sicily and his thoughts went back to the period when Sicily was the seat of a flourishing Arab civilization from 827 to the end of 11th century. Sicily appears to him like the grave of the Arab civilization: once the men of the desert ploughed the waves with their fast ships, and the island echoed the *Allah o Akbar* (God is great); today– he says– there are only tears in the world of Islam– the Persian poet Sa'di, 'the nightingale of Shiraz' weeps on a Baghdad destroyed by the Mongols of Hulagu Khan in 1258, the Urdu poet Dagh sheds tears for a Delhi conquered by the British, the Arab-Andalusian poet Ibn Badrun laments Granada's fall into Christian hands in 1492, and Iqbal himself does the same as he takes back to India the sights of the decadence of Islam:

Ah! O Sicily! You are giving dignity to the ocean,
You are like a guide post in the water's expanse.
May the ocean's cheek ever remain elegant with your mole,
May your lights ever remain a comfort for the ocean sailor.
May your sight ever remain beautiful to traveller's eyes,
May the wave on your shore's rocks ever remain dancing.
You were the cradle of that nation's civilization once,
Whose universal beauty was the object for spectacle.[5]

These feelings for the past can be found, under various forms and aspects, in the whole poetical works of Iqbal; however, his laments are not fruitless. His remembrance of the past will bring about the creation of Pakistan in 1947. When the poet spoke of nation (*millat*), he did not use word in the western meaning but as a term embracing the whole world of Islam. Through the veil of poetry Iqbal wanted

to stir his co-religionists to action. In reminding the Muslims of their long forgotten past, Iqbal wanted to say that Islam was not only a set of rituals but in essence an attitude towards life. He brought to his co-religionists, who were steeped in inaction and overwhelmed with a sense of frustration, a message of hope reminding them of the glorious deeds of their forefathers.[6]

During his stay in England, Iqbal's vision widened; he observed the progress of science and the benefits it had on the living conditions of people, but he realized that nationalism meant competition among the nations of Europe. Before coming to Europe Iqbal's attitude had been typical of a sufi and a romantic; a few months after, he abandoned sufism and romanticism, put his nationalistic views aside and became an active supporter of pan-Islamism. According to him the people of Europe had lost confidence in the life of the spirit and in the evolution of a society based on equality, justice and truth: he seems to hear words of our present times. He was able to see the practical results of that nationalism which would take Europe to the catastrophe of a world war. Nationalism had created artificial barriers between man and man, nation and nation; it lacked moral and spiritual base, and had become a source of conflict among people by dividing them. If this idea was spread in the Muslim world, it would cause divisions and misunderstandings, thus delaying the independence of India.

In a poem, 'March 1907', he warned both the West and the East of the dangers of a nationalism based on considerations of race, colour, and geographical boundaries; in particular, he warned the East not to make the mistake which would take Europe to the catastrophe of a war. In another poem, 'The World of Islam' (*Dunya-i Islam*) he was clearer:

> Whoever would discriminate for colour and race would perish,
> Whether he be the tent-dwelling Turk or the high-ranking Arab.[7]

Later on he explained his attitude:

> I have been repudiating the concept of nationalism since the time when it was not known in India and the Muslim world. At the very start it had become clear to me from the writings of European authors that the imperialistic designs of Europe were in great need of this effective weapon– the propagation of the European conception of nationalism in Muslim countries– to shatter the religious unity of Islam to pieces.[8]

He clarified his idea further, probably because he was aware of the existence of national states in the Islamic world, even if they were under colonial rule. In his sixth lecture of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* he said:

> It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations

> which recognize artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members.[9]

And in the fifth, devoted to the 'Spirit of Muslim Culture', he broadened this idea:

> [...] the growth of territorial nationalism, with its emphasis on what is called national characteristics, has tended rather to kill the broad human element in the art and literature of Europe. It was quite otherwise with Islam. Here the idea was neither a concept of philosophy nor a dream of poetry. As a social movement the aim of Islam was to make the idea a living factor in the Muslim's daily life, and thus silently and imperceptibly to carry it towards fuller fruition.[10]

To summarize, nationalism, which was too narrow for Iqbal, turned into a patriotism that was a spiritual attitude towards one's own country though the ideal solution of loyalty to the *'ummah*, a much larger concept of homeland. In Iqbal's view the community became a supranational entity instead of a geographical one.

Iqbal's stay in Europe and his close study of its history had made him aware of the dangers of nationalism, as if he foresaw the tragedy of the first world war, followed by a more devastating second world war, causes of which were nationalism and all the 'isms' deriving from it. The 'isms'– thought Iqbal– were formulae and prescriptions for providing a solution of the problem, but none had been able to solve it. While in England he was invited to speak at the University of Cambridge, where he had spent some years: he advised the students to guard against atheism and materialism. Capitalism, Imperialism, Militarism, Socialism, Communism and many other 'isms' have since appeared in the arena, but all of them have failed to give any relief to the suffering humanity.[11]

This problem was dealt with by Iqbal again in 1931 when he was in England for the Second Round Table Conference; incidentally, since an agreement between Muslims and Hindus was impossible to forge, in March 1932 Iqbal proposed at a Lahore meeting the creation of two separate States, Pakistan and India. Being aware of the changes that would affect the Muslim society, in his writings Iqbal analyzed the tensions created by the conflict between modernism and medievalism. He himself was a modernist, but with some limits: his dynamism and humanism were modern, but were never carried to extremes. As he knew the impact of his own words, he did not ignore the influence they had on his co-religionists: he was thus compelled to follow a *modus vivendi* in order not to engage himself in open controversy with the religious class mostly represented by narrow-minded *mullahs*, who were tied more to the letter than to the spirit of the *Qur'an*.

A practical example of his attitude is a real fact which became the subject of a very little known poem, not among his best verses, but typical of his age, 'Piety and Ecstasy' (*Zuhd aur rindi*), written before 1905, that is before going to England. In a humorous style, almost with *nonchalance*, Iqbal answers to a mullah who had accused him of not being a good Muslim:

The holy man asked a friend of mine one day:
"Iqbal, who is a milestone in the literary field,
How does he follow the rules of the shar'iah?
[...]
I hear he does not consider the Hindu a kafir.
His beliefs are actually the result of philosophy.
[...]
He considers music as part of adoration,
Does he aim at making a mockery of religion?
[...]
Music at night, prayers in the morning,
I have not understood this secret up-to-now.
But my disciples have informed me that
His life is spotless like the dawn's whiteness.
He is not Iqbal but a mixture of opposites.
His heart is a treasure of wisdom but strange,
I am unable to understand his personality.
He appears to be the founder of another Islam."
[...]
One day the holy man met me in the street, and
The old story came again during our talk.
He said: "My accusation was due to affection,
It was my duty to show you the path of the shar'iah."
I said: "I do not have any cause for complaint,
It was your right since you are my neighbour.
[...]
If you do not know the reality about me,
Your omniscience is not at all diminished.
I myself do not know my own reality,
The sea of my thoughts is very deep.
Since long I too am longing to see Iqbal,
For long I have shed tears for this separation.
Iqbal himself does not know Iqbal.
There is no joke in my words, I swear."[12]

The other section of society Iqbal feared was the westernized Muslims, the least qualified to understand the true spirit of modernism and the essence of western culture. In their superficial thinking and ignorance of their own traditions they posed as liberals and free-thinkers, but their liberalism showed a subjective and personal approach to social problems, based on fragmentary views

rather than on an understanding of the total situation. Iqbal criticized them in the first pages of his lecture of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*:

> Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. [...] With the re-awakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam. [...] The main purpose of the Qur'an is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe.[13]

An objection can be made to Iqbal's modernism that it undervalued the importance and social impact of the economical structure in the life of common people. In his lectures he has never condemned– with the exception of a few verses– the exploitation by feudal landlords, perhaps because he did not want to lose the support of a powerful class which he needed for the improvement of poorer people or perhaps because the problem was out of his philosophical approach.[14]

The problem was considered in a couple of humorous poems (*Zarifanah*) in the *Bang-i Dara*, and in an eight-line poem 'The earth belongs to God' (*al-Arẓ li'llah*) in the *Bal-i Jibril*:

Last night the mosquito related to me
The whole story of its failures.
They give me only one drop of blood
In return for the whole night's labour,
And this land owner without any effort
Has sucked all the blood of the cultivator.

(147.20)[15]

The owner of the factory is a useless man,
He loves pleasure, hard work is not for him.
God's command is: Laisa lil insani illa ma sa'a.
The capitalist has no right to the fruit of work.

(147.27)

And the two final lines of 'The earth belongs to God', the title of which is taken from a *hadith*:

Landlord! this earth is not thine, is not thine
Nor yet thy fathers'; no, not thine, nor mine.[16]

Actually it is too little to be a denunciation of a social plague, still present today even if in a limited form; however these lines are sufficient to give us an idea of Iqbal's view of the subject. Times were not mature: other problems needed priority, such as independence, the partition, the role of Islam in the future; without

the solution of these problems it was impossible to face the material problems of a community politically and socially afflicted by centuries of frustration and disillusion.

Between the two world wars other "isms"– a term Iqbal disliked intensely, as we have seen– were born: Fascism, Nazism, Francoism.

On his way back home from the Second Round Table Conference, Iqbal, who wanted to understand personally the fascist regime, accepted an invitation of the 'Accademia d' Italia' to speak in Rome on 28th November 1931, the day before he was to be received by Mussolini at Palazzo Venezia. The news of the visit and of the lecture was published in the most important daily newspapers: the *Giornale d' Italia* published a long unsigned, article about Iqbal's poetry. The lecture of the poet was in English on an "ethical and religious subject" according to what was reported by all the newspapers, which was actually a communication from the 'Minculpop' (Ministry of Popular Culture). In spite of research, I have not been able to find the text of the lecture in archives. Only a few years ago did I find a "summary" of it in a biography of the poet published at Lahore in 2005. Iqbal's handwritten notes were five in number: 1– Movement of Islam towards the West and movement of Russia towards the East. 2– Let us try to understand them. There are three forces that are shaping the world today: Western civilization, Communism, Islam. 3– There can be no denying that Islam has lost its hold on matter. It is moving towards the West. It is no decay but reawakening. 4– England and Islam. Political and economic aspects. 5– The friendship of Islam is worth having.[17]

For our perusal the first and fifth points are important. The first is a clear evidence of Iqbal's wish to open a bridge between East and West, and is based on what he had written in his first philosophical lecture dealing with 'Knowledge and Religious Experience':

> During the last five hundred year religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture.[18]

The fifth point, that is the friendship of Islam, was related to the problem of the other "isms", that is Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, Francoism in Spain, which were in favour of Islam but only because of their own political interests. Iqbal's apparent favour

towards Fascism– he wrote two poems on Mussolini, one for solidarity, the other one in a negative vein– was by many people misunderstood as support for the totalitarian regimes. On the contrary, Iqbal wanted to understand the role played by Italy in Europe, as the Italian regime made no secret of its anglophobia. In an almost unknown interview granted by Iqbal at his Lahore house in 1938 to the Italian diplomat Pietro Quaroni– who had stopped at Lahore *en route* to Kabul where he was posted as head of the Italian Legation– and published only twenty years later, Iqbal explained his ideas without mincing words: he was not in front of a public of listeners but at his house in the Anarkali quarter, and five years had passed since his visit to Italy, during which the many changes had taken place in the politics of Europe and the Indian sub-continent. It was the period of the proclamation of the Empire, when the first rumours about the sword of Islam and the Protector of Islam were being circulated. It is worthwhile to quote some passages from the intended which ambassador Quaroni learnt by heart:

> If you want to be friends or protectors of Islam, if you want us to trust you, then you must begin by respecting us, and demonstrating that you think our religion is as good as yours.
>
> Well, can you explain to me why Italy wants to become *Rum* again? If Italy is Italy, though a catholic country, there are no reasons not to get on well. But if Italy wants to become *Rum* again, then it is better not to cherish false hopes: the whole world of Islam will be against her, just as at the time of the old *Rum*.
>
> We want to get rid of the British but not to put someone else in their place. As a matter of fact, to tell the truth, we prefer to get our freedom by ourselves.[19]

In November 1932 Iqbal returned to London to attend the Third Round Table Conference: the Indian National Congress was not represented and Iqbal dissociated soon. After delivering his seventh lecture 'Is religion possible?', in December, at the Aristotelian Society of London, he left for Spain on an invitation from Miguel Asin Palacios, the author of an inflammatory book, *Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, published in 1919.

In his work the Spanish scholar described the analogies existing between the construction of the celestial world in Dante's *Comedia* and the Muslim eschatology: to support his theory he quoted comparisons between episodes in the *Comedia* and passages taken from Arabic literature. At the time his claim was countered, in particular in the Italian academic circles, by the observation that Dante did not know Arabic and that the works of Arabic literature, to which Asin Palacios referred had not been translated into any European languages in Dante's times. Actually these counter-theories

were more the result of factiousness than of a critical approach: it was an alliance of scholars against Islam as if Dante's fame would be diminished by his knowledge or use of Islamic texts and not, on the contrary, increased. Thirty years after, in 1949, the Italian orientalist Enrico Cerulli published *Il "Libro della Scala" e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*:[20] in the first part, he reported the French and Latin texts concerning a celestial voyage of the Prophet and His vision of the skies and of hell and in the second, unknown texts of medieval authors containing information on the Muslim traditions about eschatology. The purpose of this second part was to consider how much the western world knew about the Muslim idea of Paradise and Hell, independently from the *Libro della Scala* (its original Arabic title was *al-Mir'aj*), which was a Latin and a French translation from the Castilian, the latter derived from an Arabic text.

Of these aspects of the osmosis between Islam and the West was Iqbal thinking when he wrote his philosophical lectures, by saying that with the re-awakening of Islam it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and if necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam.[21]

Even though Asin Palacios' book has not been traced in Iqbal's personal library, the poet knew its content. In 1919, Thomas Arnold, Iqbal's teacher at Lahore, had published a review of Asin Palacios' book[22], which had not escaped Iqbal's attention. The poet had published in 1932 the *Javed Namah*, in Persian, which finds a parallel to the scheme of Dante's Comedy: it is an allegorical voyage to the Superior world made by Iqbal's soul in the company of his Virgil, that is the soul of the great 12th century mystic poet Jalal al-din Rumi. In his voyage Iqbal does not reach hell and does not make any hint to sin. His meeting Nietzsche, the German philosopher of the *Übermensch*, is interesting: the true source of Iqbal's message to the world was the spirit of Islam– Nietzsche did not believe in religion, for Iqbal religion was the only source of life and strength.

It is not out of place to mention here that the Italian academic world was the first to realize the importance of the *Javed Namah*, immediately after its publication: some months after, the Islamist Maria Nallino reviewed Iqbal's *magnum opus*, calling it the "Divine Comedy of the East" and a "celestial poem", the title Alessandro Bausani used when he translated it into Italian,[23] in 1952, which was its first translation in any Language.

On 1st January 1938, the Lahore station of All-India Radio broadcasted Iqbal's last prophetic message to the mankind of the East and the West:

> The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt, the pride is justified. Today space and time are being annihilated and man is achieving amazing successes in unveiling the secrets of nature and harnessing its forces to his own service. But in spite of all these developments, the tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled underfoot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. [...] Engines of destruction created by science are wiping out the great landmarks of man's cultural achievements. The governments which are not themselves engaged in this drama of fire and blood are sucking the blood of the weaker peoples economically. It is as if the day of the doom had come upon the earth, in which each looks after the safety of his own skin, and in which no voice of human sympathy or fellowship is audible.[24]

On 18th February, in one of his last letters, Iqbal wrote:

> I have spent half of my life in explaining the idea of Muslim nationhood (*millat*), because I felt that the European (*farangi*) political idea [of territorial nationalism] is most dangerous for Asia, particularly for the Islam.[25]

Allama Iqbal, as he was called by his followers, died on 21st April 1938. One of his last quatrains, published posthumously, says:

> *The bliss of the past may come or not.*
> *The breeze of Hijaz may come or not.*
> *The last hour of this faqir has come,*
> *Another secrets' seer may come or not.*[26]

NOTES AND REFERENCE

[1] "*Mazhab nahin sikhata apas main bair rakhna"*, from the poem 'An Ode to India' (*Tarana-i Hindi*), in the Urdu *Bang-i Dara*, published in 1924. For the Urdu text I have used the *Kulliyat-i Iqbal, Urdu,* Lahore, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1991.

[2] Mustansir Mir, *Iqbal*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2008, pp. 24-25.

[3] It was published in London by Luzac & Co. in 1908, and reprinted in Lahore, in 1955, by the Bazm-i Iqbal, and in 2004 by Sang-e-Meel. For Iqbal's life in Europe, see the Urdu books by Sa'id Akhtar Durrani, *Iqbal* Europe *main* and *Navadir-i Iqbal* Europe *main*, published by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, in 1985 and 1995.

[4] Zafar Ishaq Ansari, 'Iqbal and Nationalism', in *Iqbal Review*, Karachi, April 1961, p. 66.

[5] Translation by M. A. K. Khalil, *Call of the Marching Bell*, Lahore, Tayyab Iqbal Printers, 1997, p. 212.

[6] Kabir Chawhury, 'Iqbal*:* an Appreciation', in '*Iqbal Review'*, Karachi, October 1961, pp.70-82.
[7] See note 5, p. 353.
[8] Muhammad Iqbal, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, compiled by "Shamloo", Lahore, 1948, 2nd edition, p. 224.
[9] Lecture devoted to the 'Principle of movement in the structure of Islam', in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh, Lahore, Institute of Islamic Culture, 2006, p. 126.
[10] *Ibid,*. p. 112.
[11] Kavi Ghulam Mustafa, *Iqbal on the concept of Ideal State*, in *Iqbal Review*, Karachi, April 1962, pp. 17-24.
[12] From the *Bang-i Dara*.
[13] Lecture devoted to 'Knowledge and Religious Experience'. See note 9, p. 6.
[14] His prose writings and Speeches in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, however, frequently address the issue and make a lot of criticism. (Ed.)
[15] See note 5, p. 387.
[16] Translation by V. G. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal*, London, J. Murray, 1955, pp. 44-45.
[17] Notes of lecture delivered in Roma and Egypt, from the original in Iqbal's own hand, in *Iqbal: An Illustrated Biography*, by K. A. Shafique, Lahore, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2005, p.157.
[18] See note 9, p.6.
[19] Vito Salierno, *Iqbal and Italy*, Lahore, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2004, p.18.
[20] Published by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and followed in 1972 by *Nuove ricerche sul Libro della Scala e la conoscenza dell'Islam in occidente.*
[21] See note 13.
[22] Published in *Modern Language Review*, London, October 1919.
[23] Alessandro Bausani, *Muhammad Iqbal. Il Poema Celeste*, Roma, IsMEO, 1952; 2nd revised edition, Bari, Leonardo da Vinci editrice, 1965.
[24] Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Development of Iqbal's Mind and Thought*, Lahore, Bazm-i Iqbal, 1998, pp. 275-276.
[25] *Ibid,*. p. 277.
[26] From *Armughan-i Hijaz. Farsi*, Lahore, 1938.