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All contributions should be addressed to the Editor, Iqbal Review, 6th Floor, Academy Block, Aiwan-e-Iqbal Complex, Egerton Road, Lahore, Pakistan.

Tel: 92-42-36314510, 99203573, & Fax: 92-42-36314496

Email: [iqbalreview@iap.gov.pk](mailto:iqbalreview@iap.gov.pk) Website: [www.allamaiqbal.com](http://www.allamaiqbal.com)

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## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**Ms. Alia Hadi Ali**

Lecturer,  
Pakistan Institute of Fashion  
and Design,  
Lahore

**Dr. Saleha Nazeer**

Assistant Professor  
French Department  
Punjab University,  
U- Com Building,  
Near Alpha Society,  
New Campus, Canal Bank,  
Lahore

**Mr. Aqeel Abbas**

Lecturer,  
Pakistan Institute of Fashion  
and Design,  
Lahore

**Ms. Sumaira Bibi**

PhD Research Scholar,  
(Pakistan Studies),  
Abbottabad University of  
Science & Technology,  
Abbottabad

**Mr. Dolat Khan**

Assistant Professor of English  
Registrar University of  
Gawadar,  
Balochistan

**Mr. Gul Ahmad**

Subject Specialist (Urdu),  
Govt. Muslim Higher  
Secondary School No.1,  
Saidpur Road,  
Rawalpindi

THE MAJOR RELATION BETWEEN  
WESTERN METAPHYSICS AND SUFI  
LITERATURE

Dolat Khan

## ABSTRACT

In the encounters between the Eastern and Western thought and literature, there are some historical moments when one can see both east and West coming closer. For instant, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the Western powers' colonial enterprises in Eastern countries like India, Persia and the Middle East established a strong relation between both cultures but before discussing the colonial encounter between the east and West which was more of a political and cultural nature, we need to look at the close association of Eastern and Western thought in the Medieval period for a greater understanding of their philosophical and intellectual encounter. One can find two ways of thinking within Western philosophical development. One way is towards rational thinking, which is manifested in scientific discoveries from Copernicus in the late Medieval period to the evolutionary naturalism of Darwin in the nineteenth century. It also includes the metaphysical rationalization of Enlightenment thinkers like Hume, Voltaire and that of the later analytical thinkers of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The other way of thinking within this later productive period of critical thought in human history is Romantic idealism and the wonder-struck metaphysical wandering of German and English Romantic poets and philosophers alike. Coleridge's imaginative poetic thought shows that there always been a window corner away from the cold air of rational intellectualism and conventional dogmatism. People like Dante, Goethe, Coleridge and other Romantics and even Chaucer and his early English poetry have occupied this corner. The question this paper seeks to answer is that to what extent eastern and western major interactions have influenced the western literature and metaphysics.

## **Introduction**

Modern philosophical and literary thoughts have their sources in the Middle Ages. To understand the landscape of Medieval thought and the sources under discussion one must look into the newly developing interest in Medieval thought and its contribution to later European philosophy and literature. Not so long ago, as Anthony Kenny observes, “courses in the history of philosophy went straight from Aristotle to Descartes” ignoring the fact that something worthwhile might have happened during late antiquity and the Middle Ages. One can find such prejudiced views in recent writings as Julian Young in his recent history of Western thought says, “From about the fourth to the eighteenth-century Western thinking was Christian thinking. This meant that throughout this period the question of the meaning of life was a non-issue; a non-issue because the answer was obvious, self-evident, the topic completely sewn up by Christianity’s version of Platonism.”<sup>1</sup> The writer may be right in his main contention of a similar worldview throughout Medieval Europe, however, this swift rejection of everything Medieval and the leap from Aristotle to Cartesian philosophy leaves us with many missing links in the history of metaphysics as a whole. Most importantly, without understanding Medieval developments in the history of metaphysics it is difficult to discern the links between Eastern and Western thought. Part of the emphasis of this research on Medieval thought is the important cross-pollination of metaphysical positions taken by Eastern Muslim and Western Christian theologians and mystics and the influence on both of already existing metaphysical orders of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. This research also hopes to establish the roots of modern Romantic movements in the West and to explore the importance of contemporary metaphysical positions in literature and philosophy in the light of foundational Medieval thinking.

For the last two decades steady progress has been made in producing research work on Medieval thought. Most of these researchers point toward the Neoplatonist cosmology of Greek late antiquity as one of the most important factors and common sources for metaphysical speculation for both Western Christian thinkers and Eastern Muslim scholars of the Middle and later Middle Ages.

Researchers such as Anthony Kenny (2005) in his study of Medieval philosophy and Kreisel<sup>2</sup> and others in their study of Jewish thought in the Middle Ages emphasise the influence of Neoplatonism on all the important Christian, Muslim and Jewish thinkers. Early Christian thinkers like Augustine and Boethius are also the early source of Greek thoughts in later Christian theology. Augustine's *City of God* shows his profound knowledge of the pagan metaphysics of his age which he considered a real threat. *City of God* was written in defence of Christian faith against pagan thought but as Kenny observes, the work is imbued with a metaphysical version of Neoplatonism. Boethius ended up in prison for his pagan thoughts in *On the Consolation of Philosophy*. This is considered the last serious work in the philosophical traditions of classical Greece in the Christian West.<sup>3</sup>

From Boethius in the fifth century to the ninth century A. D the Western world did not see any real contributor to this metaphysical tradition. However, the same period saw a surge of Greek philosophy in the Muslim world. As Kenny notes, between the fifth and ninth centuries A. D. 'outside the Roman Empire the world was transformed beyond recognition'.<sup>4</sup> Referring to this era Thomas Robinson (in his introduction to a new course on the study of Oriental literature in Cambridge University in May 1838) grudgingly informs his students that, "For while the night of ignorance was fast closing over the entire Christian world, the Providence of God provided for human learning a sanctuary and a home, even among the blasphemers of truth and poured the treasures of the Greek philosophy into new and fresher channels...the elements of our present greatness in human science were nourished in the cradle of the East."<sup>5</sup> In the same introductory lecture, Robinson quotes Persian Sufi poet Khakani and call his work the 'finest art of Sufism'.

According to Kreisel, the Neoplatonic world view was very important to Medieval Islamic and Jewish thinkers such as al-Farabi and Moses Maimonides and these ideas saw a revival during the Renaissance period because of the availability and translation of Greek and Arabic Neoplatonic texts. Moreover, in the religious and philosophical works of this period one can find a battle between all sorts of ideas from Greek philosophy to Zoroastrianism. In between there is a range of metaphysical systems which fight for their supremacy alongside Neoplatonism. These include Gnosticism, Hermetism, Manicheanism, pagan fragments of Chaldean Oracles and Hellenistic deities and other syncretistic world views.

Similarly, R. Baine Harris talks about Muslim philosophical theologians like al-Kindi, Avicenna and Averroes and their use of



Neoplatonism in their interpretation of Islamic metaphysics. According to Harris, such interpretations were not only significant for the development of Islamic theology “but also for the impact they had upon the thought of certain major Jewish and Christian Medieval philosophers”<sup>6</sup> The significance of Neoplatonism and the availability of its texts in Arabic and their impact not only on Muslim and Christian but also on Jewish scholars of the Medieval period is acknowledged by many. Scholem thinks that the Medieval Jewish theologian and philosopher Maimonides had read the Neoplatonic text of ‘Theology of Aristotle’, which was an Arabic translation of later Greek philosophy widely available during the Middle Ages.

According to Scholem, Maimonides’ inclination toward mysticism shows he was aware of Neoplatonic metaphysics.<sup>7</sup> Another researcher Idel contends that, “another source of motifs, concepts, and terms [...] to Jewish Medieval mysticism was Neo-Platonism [...] the deep religious significance of this form of philosophy has already been recognized in the cases of Islamic and Christian mysticism, and Kabbalah fully shares with these mystical systems a deep interest in Neo-Platonism.”<sup>8</sup> There seems to be an intriguing web of cross connections between the three major religions and other existing syncretic metaphysics. In addition to the major philosophical impact of Neoplatonism, there were many other such systems existing side by side with Abrahamic religions such as alchemical hermetic beliefs and Gnosticism that are still with us in some shape or other. The existence and influence of such ideas can be judged by the reaction of the organised religions to the followers of different alchemical traditions. The history of Inquisitions and witch-hunts in the Christian world is a terrible example of persecution and torture against dissent and rival thinking in the Medieval period but it indicates the powerful influence of Medieval hermetic traditions that terrified the Church. Early Sufis and dervishes met a similar fate in the Islamic world. Here was the beginning of the division between orthodox religion and Sufi metaphysics, between organized religion and esoteric tradition.

Among all these battling ideas, Neoplatonism is highly influential with regard to emerging Christian and Islamic religious and mystical traditions of Medieval times as well as to the modern Romantics, Idealists and Transcendentalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As noted by the-twentieth century philosopher Albert Camus in his study of Christian metaphysics and Neoplatonism, Neoplatonism’s aspiration of ‘mystical longing for God’ was compatible with Christian theology.<sup>9</sup> Camus finds in Neoplatonism

and in other later Greek metaphysics a concern for the ‘destiny of soul’ and ‘an abiding need for rationality’ and an idea of an enduring order. This search for intelligibility and coherence which Camus identifies in the thought of late antiquity usefully informed both Christian and Islamic theology.

In the eighth and ninth centuries A. D., Abbasid Caliphs made their capital Bagdad a centre of learning and cultural activities. Abbasid Caliph Haroon al-Rasheed established a learning centre called the ‘House of Wisdom’ headed by a learned Christian Scholar. The work of the scholars in this centre of learning was to translate all the previous knowledge into Arabic with their commentaries. During this time, Muslims learned Greek philosophy, science, and languages; they learned knowledge and art from everywhere, from the Chinese technique of paper making to Indian number system and architecture of Greeks and Indians.<sup>10</sup>

The Medieval Islamic world seems more vibrant and adoptive of everything Greek than the Western world of the Christian Church. Discussing the popularity of Greek philosophy among Muslims P. Morewedge says very significantly, “For Muslims, Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus are part of the Islamic tradition in the same manner that Abraham is regarded to be a prophet of Islam.”<sup>11</sup> As far as contemporary Muslims are concerned, it seems an overstatement, but for Medieval Muslims it seems to be the case without any doubt. There are many reasons for the profound effect of later Greek philosophies on Islamic traditions and its scholarship.

Many scholars, such as Harris and Kenny, talk about encounters between Neoplatonism and Islam on different occasions and many historians have noted the presence of Greek scholars in Persian court prior to the rise of Islam. Morewedge thinks that the availability of Platonists’ writings in Arabic was due to “the Hellenistic scholars having taken refuge in Persian courts after Justinian closed the then Neoplatonic Platonic Academy of Athens in 529.”<sup>12</sup> Kenny tells a similar story about how the scholarship of late Antiquity and other Greek philosophy ended up in the hands of Muslim enthusiasts of learning. According to Kenny, enlightened fourth century Syrian Christians founded a School of Greek learning in Edessa Mesopotamia. These Christian scholars did not accept the Condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD – The First Council of Ephesus in modern day Turkey held in 431 to condemn as heretical the doctrine, which was informed by Nestorius’s studies under Theodore of Mopsuestia at the School of Antioch, emphasises the disunion between the human and divine

natures of Jesus. Nestorius' teachings brought him into conflict with some other prominent church leaders, most notably Cyril of Alexandria, who criticized especially his rejection of the title Theotokos ("Bringer forth of God") for the Virgin Mary. Afterward many of Nestorius' supporters relocated to Sassanid Persia, where they affiliated with the local Christian community, known as the Church of the East. In punishment Emperor Zeno closed their school in 489 AD. These Christian Greek scholars went to Persia where they established their school and after the Muslim conquest, Greek scholars from this school were invited to the court of enlightened Caliphs in Baghdad, where they translated most of the Greek works into Arabic. This learned activity generated a cultural renaissance well before the European renaissance.

Around this time, in the early ninth century Al-Kindi was the first Muslim philosopher who introduced Greek and Neoplatonic themes in Islamic theology and metaphysics. Al-Kindi introduced Kalam or logical reasoning into Islamic thought and his book called 'The Art of Dispelling Sorrows' according to many including Kenny and Jonathan Lyon bears resemblance to Boethius's 'Consolation'. He suggested many Neoplatonic themes in his philosophy such as the concepts of 'One, Mind and Soul', which were taken up by later Islamic philosophers of tenth and eleventh centuries including Al-Farabi and Avicenna. Al-Farabi very famously introduced the Neoplatonic concept of Emanation: that contends that every being in existence is emanated from a single source. In the tenth century Al-Farabi considers God as the prime mover like Plato but he has a more mystical bent of mind. He says, "the task of humans was to seek enlightenment from God and return to him from whom we originally emanated."<sup>13</sup>

In orthodox belief God is an outsider ordering the world to be 'kun-faya-qun' and there it is, made by a creator not part of the world. The orthodox God is more of an impersonal ruler than a friend and beloved as we can see in the Sufi tradition. This concept of Emanation and the 'One' found in later Neoplatonists' writing is very close to the Sufi understanding of God and Truth. According to Kenny, Proclus the head of Athens Plotinus School in his *Elements of Theology* talks about three level of beings 'Soul', 'Mind' and "One". "As united to our animal body, the human soul expresses itself in Eros, focused on earthly beauty. But it has also an imperishable ethereal body made out of light. Thus, it passes beyond love of beauty in search of Truth, a pursuit that brings it into contact with the ideal realities of the world of Mind. But it has a faculty higher

than that of thought, that brings it, by mystical ecstasy, into Union with the One.”<sup>14</sup> The Sufi ‘path’ is conceptually quite similar except that Sufi traditions have more than three stages. This notion then became the basis of Sufi traditions. This idea is known to Sufi world as ‘wahdath ul wajood’ i. e. oneness of beings. These concepts were destined to become a new and unorthodox face of Islamic faith, which Great Sufi theorists like Ibn Arabi and Sufi poets like Rumi, Khayyam and others built upon and popularized in their mesmerizing poetic works.

Another Persian Muslim philosopher Avicenna followed in the footsteps of al-Kindi and Al-Farabi in his commentaries on Aristotle’s work and his Neoplatonic texts made a distinction between essence and existence which according to Lyon and Kenny “occupied a central role in all succeeding metaphysics.”<sup>15</sup> Many writers think that his system is fundamentally Neoplatonic and makes no special appeal to the authority of the Quran. His theory that “in all creatures Essence and Existence are distinct but in God ‘Essence entails existence’ and world emanates from God”<sup>16</sup> is of paramount importance to Sufi doctrine. His speculations on Greek thought triggered the imagination of the Christian West, which is manifested in the works of Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas addresses this question in his ‘Essence and Being. ‘ In agreement with Avicenna, he writes, “Avicenna says...that the quiddity of a composite substance is the very composition of the form and the matter...Moreover, reason supports this view, for the existence of a composite substance is neither form alone nor matter but composed of these.”<sup>17</sup> This remained a valid philosophical question in the West from Cartesian to Existential traditions.

The idea that a revival of Greek ideas became possible only during the European Renaissance of the late Middle Ages is far from the truth. First of all, Greek philosophy and science did not disappear with the decline of Greek power and civilization as a political and military force. Greek learning centres continued to exist well into the Christian era; Neoplatonist Schools in Athens and Alexandria were functional and full of great philosophical minds until the fifth century when Justinian closed the Athens School. Another Greek School was established by Syrian Christian scholars but was later closed by Emperor Zeno. All these learned activities involving Greek knowledge happened in Eastern provinces of the Christian Latin Empire and the scholars in these schools did not fade away when Christian Emperors closed the schools in fifth and sixth centuries but as many writers have noted they migrated to Persian

courts and continued their work. One must remember that these Eastern Christian provinces of Syria, Egypt and others and also the Persian court where Greek learning and particularly Neoplatonic Schools continued to exist were soon to become the centres of Islamic power. Will Durant in his *Oriental Heritage* says that among the greatest achievements of the Persian empire Sassanid dynasty (A. D 224 to A. D 651) was the translation of Greek works into Persian. Arabs subsequently inherited this knowledge and the cultural traditions of Persia. Muslim scholars took these ideas from Greek and Christian Scholars who were already there in the Persian court and Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire and furthered their own theological and philosophical theories. So we can see continuity in Greek learning and philosophy and this continues throughout the Middle Ages. Renaissance Scholars and artisans simply inherited what was there in the preceding centuries. The major Christian theologians and philosophers were aware of Greek ideas and tried to incorporate these in their writings, as we have seen in the case of Augustine and Boethius.

After the decline of the great Greek and Mediterranean powers of late antiquity, two important events were taking place on the horizon of the Latin and Persian world – the rise of Christianity and Islam. Although, Christian and Islamic faiths apparently rejected all previous knowledge except those of Abrahamic traditions as pagan superstition this is obviously not the case when one reads the Medieval theologians and philosophers of both Christian and Muslim origin. Despite the overwhelming influence of these metaphysical orders of late antiquity in furthering sophisticated interpretations of Medieval religious world views both in the east and West Mediterranean alike, the Christian Church and mainstream Islam have historically never deign to acknowledge the importance of those other metaphysical philosophies in their doctrines.

In addition to the continued existence of Greek learning in the Eastern part of Mediterranean; there is at least one Western European Christian thinker, the ninth century Eriugena, who demonstrated Greek learning in his theology in the early Middle Ages. As Kenny observes, “Though Eriugena constantly quotes the Bible, his system is closer to pagan Neoplatonism than to traditional Christian thought.”<sup>18</sup> However, many scholars agree that Eriugena is a less important figure in the development of Western Medieval philosophy than people like Avicenna and Averroes from the east. Unlike Avicenna, Averroes (or Ibn-Rushd) was closer to the West and to the spirit of Renaissance Europe both mentally and physically.

He was born and lived in Europe in the south of Spain during the twelfth century and he abandoned Avicenna's Neo-Platonist ideals of 'Soul', 'Mind' and 'One'; in their place he adopted a more rational approach closer to the original Aristotelian reason than the Neoplatonist's mystification of existence. He believed in a cosmos where cause and effect has its role to play. He was unorthodox in a different sense, a precursor of later European enlightenment and rationalist cosmology. What is important with regard to Averroes however is his physical closeness to Europe.

Muslim Spain and Sicily represent the physical arrival of the Eastern Mediterranean mind into the Western part in the early Middle Ages and this presence flourishes in Europe for centuries. The existence of Muslim Spain within the European mainland brought Eastern romances and Eastern myths closer to the Western mind. H. A. R. Gibb talks about the essential romantic spirit in Eastern literature and thinks that the *Provençal* poetry of southern France in the eleventh century was very close in themes and imagery to the already established poetic traditions of Muslim Spain of that time. Thomas Arnold and others also insist on the importance of Muslim Spain and Sicily's profound influence on the art and literature of Medieval Europe.

Gibb, while talking about the richly imagistic portrayal of unattainable mistresses and fantasy in Persian poetry concludes, "This type of love-lyric was destined to play a part in the history of European literature."<sup>19</sup> Trade links established during this time by the merchants of Spain and Sicily with Eastern Muslim lands open up a window through which Western merchants not only brought Eastern goods but also Eastern stories and literature in the West. Many of these Eastern tales ended up in Western literary canons such as *The Decameron*, *The Divine Comedy* and *The Canterbury Tales*. Gibb records the way many Arabic and Persian moral stories filter into Medieval Europe, among these are Kalila and Dimna, translated into Spanish in the thirteenth century.

Many believe that the story of the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) ascent and journey in the heaven has some influence on the development of *The Divine Comedy*. Gibb thinks that "eroticism of the Muslim mystics are certainly reflected in Dante's work."<sup>20</sup> Gibb makes similar observations regarding Boccaccio's Decameron and Chaucer's Squieres Tale, he notes, "It was from oral sources, in all probability, that Boccaccio derived the oriental tales which he inserted in the Decamerone [...] Chaucer's Squieres Tale is an Arabian Nights' story, which was probably brought to Europe by

Italian merchants from the Black Sea, since the scene is laid at the court of the Mongol Khan on the Volga.”<sup>21</sup> Robert Irwin also thinks that themes and motifs with parallels in the Arabian Nights are found in Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*, “In the Squire’s Tale the hero travels on a flying brass horse. “ The use of magical stories, dream visions and the creation of romantic imagery world in the works of Boccaccio, Dante and Chaucer certainly show some Eastern parallels which most probably travel through Spain and Sicily’s Muslim culture into Western literature and language.

The modern relations the Western world established between of the east established during colonial phase the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became less intellectual and metaphysical in the many respects and more political and cultural. Because of the advancement of Western intellectual prowess after the Renaissance in the meantime the Eastern world, especially the Muslim world, did not experience any such period of intellectual growth. Having said that, as we can see in the following discussion the Romantics in Europe and the Transcendentalists in America did pick up some of the Medieval metaphysical themes or as often regarded as spirituality found in the Medieval Persian Sufi literature which have become part of the Western consciousness ever sense.

The continued charm of Eastern mysteries and literature on the mind of Western writers took a new turn during the rise of Western political and economic supremacy in the colonial period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The encounter of Western orientalist with Eastern culture and literature post-Renaissance and during colonialism refreshed the persisting Medieval links between both cultures. Edward Said may accuse Western orientalist of bigotry and stereotyping towards the colonised east but there is ample evidence that on many occasions orientalist rediscovered their own roots in the east. William Jones is a good example of an orientalist scholar rediscovering the Aryan roots of the European people and their languages in the ancient east. It is not always a question of the colonized other being negatively portrayed by the orientalist, as Said suggests.

The romantic idealisation of the east is one of many sources for new perspectives in Western literature and philosophy after the Enlightenment, which in turn led to European Romanticism and the decline of classical mannerism in the West. However, one cannot suggest that the Romantic impulse that took Europe by storm in the eighteenth century was essentially rooted in the east because, as it has been argued in the preceding paragraphs both Eastern and Western

Mediterranean cultures of the Middle Ages share a mysterious longing that originates in the later ideas of Greek antiquity. However, the rediscovery of oriental culture in colonial encounters surely enhanced the Romantic urge for spontaneity and the pursuit of the unknown. The Medieval fellowship between the Eastern Muslim and Western Christian world was lost to some extent during the heyday of European Renaissance and Enlightenment movements but oriental studies during the colonial period enabled European writers to approach the east and particularly the Muslim world with a new perspective. Mentioning writers of Western origin with an interest in Eastern culture and literature during the colonial period does not necessarily mean all orientalists have a colonial approach towards the east like their compatriots and a political and economic agenda as most of post-colonial polemic suggests. For example, the translation and reception of Middle Eastern romances such as *The Arabian Nights* during the early eighteenth century in France and later in every European language seems more like a question of literary taste than political agenda. The same thing can be said about serious German scholarship on Eastern literature. However, it is not remit of this discussion to address the post-colonial theory of orientalism. The important thing to note here is the reception of Eastern literature in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe.

This was a very conducive time for oriental literature and its mysteries to arrive in Europe, first through the British orientalists and then through adoption by Germany with enthusiasm and seriousness. During the Age of Enlightenment very successful British enterprises in the East brought the curious intellectuals of Europe face to face with its riches. The bulk of Arabic and Persian literature and thought coming into Europe made it necessary for the great learning centres like Oxford and Cambridge to offer courses of Arabic and Persian literature in these and other European universities. This shows the extent of reception of these literatures in European society.

William Jones established the Asia Society of Bengal in 1784 which produced groundbreaking works on Eastern literature and languages. Jones was an accomplished Persian and Arabic scholar and wrote a famous Persian grammar. He was a philologist and the founder of the map of Indo-European family of languages, the theory which established the idea of a proto-Indo-European language as the common ancestor for most of the languages spoken in modern day Europe, India and Iran. Although, he was more interested in Eastern languages his translations of Sufi texts were



equally important in opening up a new world of literary and metaphysical sensibility to the nascent Romantic poets. As noted by Jerome J. McGann 'Jones's philological writings on Persian and Arabic materials along with his pseudo-translations of Vedic hymns were a major source of the romantic orientalism that flooded across the period. 'McGann also credits Jone's poetic translations of Eastern literature as singular and distinctive features of the age with "its tendency to break with or to seek places beyond centralized and traditional cultural authorities."<sup>22</sup>

McGann very curiously puts Jones's translation of a Hindu hymn as the first poem of his anthology of Romantic verse because he considers Jones's work as the source of early nineteenth century Romanticism. As he notes, 'Jones's translations also locate romanticism's roots in the late eighteenth century's many philologized and anthropological projects. "The important thing to note here is that it is not only the nature of the verse that Jones's translations were set to transform which is also true and rightly emphasised by McGann in his introduction to the anthology, but that the nature and the ontological position contained in these Eastern literary forms would also have great significance for later Romantic literature as well. Jones himself identifies the metaphysical quests contained in the poems he was translating from Persian and Sanskrit, and noted in his introduction to the same Hindu hymn that McGann includes in his anthology, 'A complete introduction to the following Ode would be no less than a full comment on the VAYDS and PURA'NS of the Hindus, the remains of Egyptian and Persian Theology.<sup>23</sup> In the same introduction he mentions the ancient wisdom in these Eastern literary works, he described the ancient wisdom as the idea that "The whole creation was rather an energy than a work, by which the Infinite Being [...] exhibits to the minds of his creatures [...] like a wonderful picture or piece of musick, always varied, yet always uniform [...] but exist only as far they are perceived."<sup>24</sup>

The East India Company founded a college at Hertford where Persian was taught along with other Eastern languages. Because of these efforts, Arberry notes, it was generally known in India that Englishmen in India were known to be fluent not only in Persian but in Persian literature as well. They, "learnt to dispute learnedly in Persian and to quote Hafiz as they would Horace."<sup>25</sup> Because of this enthusiasm for learning Persian literature and language, British orientalist led the civilized world for decades in Islamic Scholarship. A much more meaningful and scholarly relationship between Eastern

literatures and English was established during this period; the first Governor General of India Warren Hastings encouraged British officers and academics in India to learn local languages and literature. He supported Jones's efforts to establish a Bengal Asiatic Society and he earlier founded a university in Calcutta in 1781. According to Arberry, Hastings was 'able to quote the Persian poets'. He encouraged and supported people like Francis Gladwin and Sir John Malcolm who contributed a great deal in Persian studies. Gladwin's Persian Moonshee, which consisted of Persian grammar and some poetry and stories of Saadi and Attar, was taught in Fort William College. He also translated Shaikh Sa'adi's *The Punnameh* in 1788 and *The Gulistan* in 1806. Malcolm, known to have 'learned and loved Persian' wrote a *History of Persia* in 1815 and also published *Sketches of Persia* in 1827. He was an accomplished Persian scholar. Moreover, Cambridge Sanskritist E. B. Cowell, who taught Persian to Fitzgerald, translated Salaman and Absal of Jami and parts of Attar's *Allegory of the Birds* which introduced these great Sufi masters to the enthusiastic readers of English literature.<sup>26</sup> However, it was not until the second half of nineteenth century when Sufi poetry truly became an integrated part of English literature. Fitzgerald's celebrated translation of the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* in 1859, Gertrude Bell's accomplished translation of Hafiz as *Sweet Singer of Shiraz* and a versified translation of Rumi's poetry by Whinfield in 1887 made the Sufi Persian poetry a part of British consciousness ever since. Ruskin after reading Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* said he "never did-till this day-read, anything so glorious."<sup>27</sup> American transcendentalist Emerson read and admired Fitzgerald's translation. Lawrence mentions Fitzgerald's translation in his novel *Sons and Lovers* where Paul gives a copy of *Rubaiyat* to his sweet heart Mariam. Many notable English writers quoted or read Whinfield's translation of Rumi including poet Ezra Pound and philosopher Bertrand Russell in his *Metaphysics*. Like English scholarship of Sufi literature, German Romantic philosophers were also aware of Sufi thought rather in a much more profound way than many other European literature and philosophy of the time.

It is hard to say how much Romantic poets such as William Wordsworth and others were aware of Sufi thought and literature available at the period after groundbreaking works of Jones's and others who followed him as noted above but given the availability of so many Sufi texts translated into English and also the evidence of Wordsworth reading of *The Arabian Nights* in the *Prelude*, one can guess of his familiarity of themes of the Sufi literature. In the *Prelude Book V*, for instance, Wordsworth describes his dream-like

apocalyptic vision in which he is frightened by the scenes of the world's destruction. In his vision he sees an Arab carrying a stone and shell. Ted Holt and John Gilroy in their *A Commentary on Wordsworth's Prelude* regard the stone as a symbol of geometry and the shell as a symbol of poetry and suggest that, "Wordsworth makes an effort to identify with him (Arab) as heroic book-saver. " Towards the end of the *Prelude Book V* while talking about the importance of romance and irrational literature in stabilizing his response to the 'horror', Wordsworth describes his love for romances such as *The Arabian Nights*. He tells the story of how he decided to 'hoard up' to buy 'four large volumes' of the 'Arabian Nights' tales. He and his friend save their pocket money to buy *The Arabian Nights* which provide a sense of wonder and delight to his mind, as commentators observe, " 'The little ... slender abstract of the Arabian tales' is allowed to remain for the children a door half opening up unrealised delight."<sup>28</sup>

However, apart from the obvious references to the Eastern romances, Wordsworth's *Prelude* can be compared with a Sufi journey into the self. The poem opens with the peaceful liberating influence of the 'gentle breeze'. For Holt and Gilroy, the breeze is 'synonymous with freedom' because the breeze has no direction but most importantly, 'the poet feels sympathy with the breeze because it is as homeless and as liberated as himself. ' The sense of freedom and release from being homeless and directionless is a famous Sufi theme. Sufis are called dervish, which is synonymous with wanderer and also faqeer – somebody who is penniless and does not own any property. Sufis are proud of their poverty because wealth makes a slave of its owner. Wordsworth assigned this state to the city where he feels in 'prison' and 'bondage' from where the 'breeze' released him, "Now I am free, enfranchised and at large. "Wordsworth in his *Prelude* embarked on a spiritual journey which starts with his childhood memories – the river 'loved / To blend his murmurs with my nurse's song'. After the liberation he feels in the first few lines the poet plunged into an uncertainty about his mission. He tries to find his purpose in life around the 'external things' such as landscapes in 'Forms, images'. He confusedly weighs his options and tries to find meaning and sense of achievement his poetry by portraying nature, then he learns to 'yield' and abandon his determination to express his will – 'Spare to Speak' which brings him to a very important conclusion – the poet decides to write a philosophical poem of a spiritual journey of his mind. Metaphysically speaking the poet's search for meaning makes him look inside his

own self for purpose in his poetic imagination; in Rumi's word, "Why should I seek? / I am the same as He. / His essence speaks through me. / I have been looking for myself!"<sup>29</sup>

In another place Wordsworth talks like a Sufi, in the Prospectus to *The Recluse* he said of his purpose in writing poetry, "Of the individual mind that keeps its own / Inviolable retirement, and consists / with being limitless – the one great life." Similarly, in the *Prelude* Wordsworth explains to Coleridge that 'how the heart was framed / of him thou lovest' which reminds one of Rumi's companionship with Shams Tabrizi and the concept of 'beloved' in Sufi literature. At the end of the second part of the *Prelude* Wordsworth described his perception of the Unity of Creation – "In all things / I saw one life, and felt that it was joy. " Similarly, the insistence of not only Sufi but Neoplatonic concepts as well in the work of European Romantic and post-Romantic writers reveals a tendency to look back to late Antiquity for the solution to their metaphysical anxieties. Bate counts the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and Jacob Boehme and the German philosophy of his own day as a major influence on Coleridge. Art for Coleridge like nature reconciles the universal with the particular through evolution and assimilation. For Coleridge, "The heart should have fed upon the truth, as insects on a leaf, till it be tinged with the color and show its food in every minutest fibre."<sup>30</sup> Warren thinks that Coleridge's concept of 'One Life' in which all creation participates is derived from his studies of Neoplatonism. The Evolution of mind in Wordsworth's *Prelude* can be taken as the spiritual journey that we see in Sufi traditions. Wordsworth's emphasis on spontaneity for the expression of pure feelings is a kind of ecstatic truth of Sufi consciousness. As Langbaum says, for Wordsworth "the poet is more spiritual than the rest of us because he remembers more than we do – though his remembering is often spoken of as a kind of forgetting: 'By such forgetfulness, the soul becomes, / Words cannot say how beautiful' (Recluse)."<sup>31</sup> For Blake also, 'poetic genius' is a mark of the 'True Man' which is the source of 'all religious and philosophical knowledge'. Blake says in a classical Sufi expression, that "He who sees the Infinite in all things, sees God. He, who sees The Ratio only, sees himself only. Therefore God becomes as we are, that we may be as he is."<sup>32</sup> Yohannan quotes Hegel's assessment of the Sufis' pantheistic approach in comparison to his own view of poetic symbols. Hegel says:

When we speak in our poetry of Roses, Nightingales, and Wine, it is done in a [...] prosaic sense; the Rose is regarded as for ornament; we

are crowned with Roses, or we hear the Nightingale and we sympathise with it; we drink wine and call it the Dispeller of Care...with the Persian poets, however, the Rose is not an image, or a symbol, or a mere ornament, but it actually appears to the poet as animated with a Soul, as a loving Bride, and he penetrates with his Spirit deep into the soul of the Rose.”<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, the Rose for the Romantics ceased to be a temporary image of beauty, Keats, for instance, calls the voice of the Nightingale as everlasting voice, which existed in times of ancient Greeks and will continue to exist after the death of the poet. To include some other roots taken by the Eastern scholarship reaching into the modern Western world, we need to limit our discussion on the understanding of Sufi themes in English Romantic poetry.

Sufi learning has long been part of academic and institutional traditions in England, for instance; chair of Arabic studies was established at Cambridge University in 1632 and in 1636 at Oxford University. Interestingly, many professors who hold the Arabic chair in Cambridge and Oxford had been distinguished Persian scholars such as Professor Edward Granville Browne held office during the first two decades of the nineteenth century was considered the greatest Persian scholar outside Iran. Professor Reynold Alleyne Nicholson who succeeded Professor Browne was the finest translator of the Sufi poetry of Rumi and others and also wrote a history of Sufism. Professor Arthur John Arberry who held office during 1940s and 1950s is source of most of modern Sufi poetry in English.

In the introduction to his 1838 lecture course ‘On the study of Oriental Literature’ the Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University Thomas Robinson informs his students that “The helps for the attainment of the languages of the east have been so multiplied and improved of late years. “ He advises students to borrow books from the university library and from his own collection “I possess a considerable number collected during my residence in India [ . . . ] either Arabic or Persian language.”<sup>34</sup> He refers to the availability of a ‘great mass’ of Eastern literature in Europe that contains ‘the best and purest sources of information or the finest models of composition. ‘ noting particularly ‘the dark recesses of Persian lore’ in these works. He also acknowledges the accomplishments of Cambridge academics Ockley and Carlyle in oriental knowledge and dissemination of oriental scholarship and he advises his students of the achievements in this field in other universities in Holland, France and Germany. He further refers to Rev. Charles Forster’s

*Mahometanism Unveiled* where the theologian shows how largely 'Europe is at this moment indebted to that learning which was the result of the Saracenic conquests'.

Professor Gibb as mentioned above gave a different story of the Medieval Persian text's journey to the romantic poets, different from scholarly legacy of Jones and his Asiatic Society and also different from academic scholarship at Cambridge and Oxford university noted above. He links the Romantic spirit of Europe with the availability of Eastern tales and folklores in early eighteenth century Europe. He talks about Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights* in 1704 into French, the Persian tales of *The Thousand and One Nights*, and the Turkish tale *Sindbad* and *The Vision of Mirza*. These tales were rich in colour, warm, exotic and mysterious, and triggered the European imagination. Referring to the tales Gibb notes, "In France, reverting, by a strange coincidence, to the truly oriental form of apologue, it furnished Voltaire and the reformers with a setting for their political and social satire." *The Arabian Nights* became so instantly popular that they were soon available in every European language and ran through many editions.

*The Arabian Nights*, originally called *One Thousand and One Nights*, have their origin in Persian and Middle Eastern folklore; the principal characters Shahryar and Sheherazade are of Persian origin, Aladdin's wonderful lamp and the Sindbad tales are Middle-Eastern folk tales, and some tales have their origin in Persian *Hazar Afsaneh* 'The Thousand Stories'. Irwin thinks that some of the stories came from India and Persia. The Nights was a favourite book of many British authors of the Romantic and Victorian eras. According to A. S. Byatt, "In British Romantic poetry the *Arabian Nights* stood for the wonderful against the mundane, the imaginative against the prosaically and reductively rational."<sup>35</sup> A Gothic novel *Vathek* has its origin in an Arabian tale about Abasi Caliph Vathek or Al-Wathiq of ninth century written by French writer William Beckford in 1782 and later translated into English by Samuel Henley in 1786 with a new title *An Arabian Tale*.

Many Romantic poets were inspired by this novel, Lord Byron mentioned *Vathek* as a source for his poem, *The Giaour*. In *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. According to Gemmet the poem's oriental setting inspired many Romantic works including Robert Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer*, Thomas Moore's oriental romance *Lalla-Rookh* and John Keats's vision of the underworld in *Endymion*. Some of these works were phenomenally popular, *Lalla-Rookh* was adopted for many musical settings, and Byron's *The Giaour* and

other oriental poems including *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Corsair* and *Lara* became fashionable in a scale comparable to today's cinema. Although these tales and their admirers did not articulate a serious metaphysical position like Medieval Sufi traditions and Sufi poetry, the joyous appreciation and reception of the oriental tales in Europe's popular and emerging literary culture is significant for the debate about Arabic and Persian influence at this time.

However, whatever roots and tradition we prefer, it is certain that from William Jones's treatise on Asiatic Poetry to Goethe's deeply religious and metaphysical study of Hafiz and others, Persian Sufi poetry left a mark on the European Romantics and Idealistic traditions and thereby on much European thought and literature till today. Since the fine translations of Rumi's and Khayyam's poetry in nineteenth century, Persian Sufi literature has been a part of English and American literature in the same way as any other important English poetry with serious metaphysical vision. For example writing in 1930-1 Gibb says, "Omar Khayyam is a name more familiar in England and America than in Persia."<sup>36</sup>

British writers might have had more access to Eastern Sufi literature and their enterprises India and Persia certainly stimulated German orientalists, however, there are reason to believe that people like Goethe and other Romantic thinkers had direct access to Sufi and other Eastern literature as well. Although there were no German colonial enterprises during the Enlightenment period which would have triggered systemic studies of the Eastern languages and literature as did British scholars in India and Persia, Germany was not devoid of Eastern literature during seventeenth and eighteenth century. More original oriental works identified by Remy and others were available in Germany during the eighteenth century, such as Gottlob Meissner's tales of *Nushirvan*, *Massoud*, *Giaffar* and *Sadi* and most importantly Klinger's *Dermisch* and others like Tieck's *Abdullah* and Hauff's *Karawane*.

Moreover, one of the most celebrated poets of German literature Herder according to F. J. Arthur Remy and others wrote four books of translations of maxims from Saadi's *Gulistan* taken from Olearius's translations. Only one of his four books which mostly consists of Rumi's poetry is taken from Jones' *Poeseos*. Towards the end of eighteenth century German philosophy and literature was more than ready to receive Sufi thought and poetry along with other Eastern philosophy with appreciation. German Romantics as Hellerich observes, were nostalgic and opposed to the Enlightenment and were looking for 'fancy, dreams, disappearing, the unattainable and

the infinite. One of the early German Romantics Novalis's mystical outlook and belief in a new Christian faith shows a close parallel existed in late eighteenth century German metaphysics. His utterances about his beloved Sophie whom he lost soon after their engagement reveal a deeply metaphysical association like Sufi concept of love. He calls Sophie 'the highest' and 'the only thing', in many occasion he pronounces 'Christ and Sophie' as his religion. He says, "Love founded in faith [. . .] such love is religion."<sup>37</sup> According to Hellerich, Novalis along with other German Romantics repeatedly looked east in their work. It is because of their Romantic sensibility that the German Romantics were passionate about oriental mysteries and particularly the Persian rapture for transcendent beauty as manifested in the Sufi literature.

Returning to a point made earlier regarding the settings of the Catholic Church, which were decorated with highly imaginative paintings, and also the charm of singing and chorus during High Mass; such traditional romantic setting in the Roman Catholic churches fascinated Romantic thinkers. For example, Friedrich Schlegel an important Romantic thinker joined Roman Catholic Church, he was a great reader and admirer of oriental literature as well and wrote a book called *On the Language and Wisdom of India* in 1808. Schlegel says, "It is in the East that we have to look for the highest romanticism."<sup>38</sup> According to many of his biographers, he wanted to write a grammar for Persian language and for that purpose he studied Persian in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris but it is not certain that he was ever able to write his Persian grammar. That may be because his attention shifted towards Indian myths. In his works, he talks about 'religion of culture' and 'synthesising' Eastern and Western religious experience. He says, "Man is free whenever he produces or manifests God, and through this, he becomes immortal."<sup>39</sup> In a letter to Novalis in 1798 he expresses his vision of a new religion which requires him to write a 'new Bible and to walk in the footsteps of Muhammed and Luther'. His new religion has to be founded in literature and in tradition of Goethe as a new prophet. This vision of a strong connection between religion and literature and for that matter between philosophy and literature is significant while interpreting Sufi literature.

Andrew Bowie's study of early German Romantics literary theory and its philosophical implication is significant in this regard. Bowie regarded German Romantics as the real founders of literary theory, the aesthetic philosophy promoted by German and other Romantics emphasised on imagination and creativity. Unlike later formalists and



structuralists who promoted a linguistic approach towards art and literary criticism the early nineteenth century Romantics developed and embraced the philosophical notion of aesthetics. For Bowie, “Questions about poetry and literature are in fact inseparably connected to the history of Western philosophy.”<sup>40</sup> The idea, as noted earlier, that art and literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as seen by Romantics to be a substitute for the disappearing religious sensibility make the rise ‘philosophical aesthetics’ absolutely understandable. Bowie rightly observed that, “Romantic enthusiasm for art has been understood as part of the attempts to fill gaps left by the process of secularization and rationalisation in Western societies.”<sup>41</sup>

Brad Prager, on the other hand, associates the obscure visualization in the imaginative art of early German Romantic writers with the tradition of Kantian transcendental philosophy and other post-Kant Idealists such as Fichte. However, the religious sensibility as shown in the writings of Novalis and Schlegel suggests that the importance of oriental tales and Sufi concept of transcendent object of love are well established in the consciousness of German Romantics. Hellerich points toward the significance of Eastern religious and literary traditions in the writings of Schlegel, he says, the east “appealed to Schlegel not only because he had a brother who died there (India); his interest in oriental mythology, poetry, and religion also followed a general trend in Europe.”<sup>42</sup>

Schlegel’s brother August Schlegel, another German Romantic figure, underlines the importance of religious sensibility in literature as a metaphysical discourse, he says, ‘Protestantism pursuing unsensuousness in the worship of God [...] was not conducive to the success of religious poets.’<sup>43</sup> Such an unorthodox atmosphere in the literary and intellectual circles of early nineteenth century Germany was a natural place of welcome to Sufi literature of the Persian masters. This kind of literature had no place for a real appreciation in their own societies where the decline of Medieval Muslim scholarship was completed, which created a new wave of hardening Muslim orthodoxy. However, the European writers took on this literature of Persian Sufis enthusiastically essentially because of the tone, outlook and ontological position these poets take against authority and received conventionality. The richness of color, imagination and lore of rustic folk tales in these poetic masterpieces made them attractive to the Romantic mood of post-neoclassical literature.

A complete version of greatest Persian lyrical poet Hafiz in early eighteenth century by Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer provided the German Romantic poets with a real taste of Sufi literature. Although Hafiz's poetry does not have the metaphysical depth of his great predecessor and real Sufi master Rumi, his sheer poetic genius and charm and the musicality of his pure Persian Ghazal form intoxicated a generation of German Romantics and many more readers of eighteenth century European literature. Hafiz uses Sufi images and anecdotes in a lighter, much more bold and sophisticated lyrical tone in his poetry.

Von Hammer's translation captured the imagination of the greatest German writer Goethe. Goethe was interested in Hindu mythology in his early years as a student, according to Remy and read the Indian masterpiece *Kalidasa*, which is included in his *Faust Prologue*. Later influenced by von Hammer's translation of Hafiz he became himself a Persian poet in the sense that he wrote his own *divan*, inspired by *Divan-e-Hafiz*. The oriental and essentially Sufi images are employed all over the poem with such accuracy that the poem successfully creates, as Remy observes, 'a genuine oriental atmosphere'. However, what for Remy is an oriental atmosphere is in reality a Sufi world. There are too many oriental atmospheres to lump them together as many Western commentators conveniently do but the kind of oriental atmosphere Remy is talking about with regard to Goethe's *divan* is a particular orient which one cannot find in Hindu mythology or Japanese Haiku. It is only available in the Sufi literature of Persian origin, for instance, the images of 'saqi' or the 'glass bearer', the love of the nightingale for the rose, the allusions to the loves of Yusuf and Zulikha and of Laila and Majnun, to the moth and candle, etc.

These images, similes and metaphors are adopted in Sufi literature to explain certain metaphysical positions. Hafiz was not the creator of these images of love and association but he is following the Sufi tradition of the poetic diction and style of Attar, Rumi and Ibn Arabi. It is true as many critics have pointed out that Goethe did not take most of these Sufi concept from Hafiz's poetry in their true mystical context. However, he would have found Hafiz's liberating tone and ecstatic love lyrics convivial to the new Romantic mood of his age. As one of the greatest literary figures of eighteenth century Europe, he represents the susceptibility of European Romanticism and Idealism to the Sufi lore of the Medieval east. This discussion will return in the third chapter but this important aspect of Goethe's inclination towards alternative metaphysical realms can be seen in a

significant comment in his autobiography about his religious lessons at home. He says, "Church-Protestantism imparted to us was, properly speaking, nothing but a kind of dry morality: ingenious exposition was not thought of and the doctrine appealed neither to the understating nor to the heart."<sup>44</sup> Here one can guess why the German Romantics or others in Europe during this time looked for different sources and ideas whether Eastern or Western to give their feelings a language.

Sufi literature was a legitimate contender for attention of the Romantic poets. That is why Goethe's *Divan* is such a good specimen of Sufi literature, as Remy observes, "The thoroughness and earnestness of these studies is attested by the explanatory notes which were added to the *Divan* and were published with it in 1819, and which show conclusively that although Goethe could not read Persian poetry in the original, he nevertheless succeeded admirably in entering into its spirit."<sup>45</sup> The Sufi spirit of Persian poetry is not confined to his *Divan* which is an original work in its own right and inspired by Hafiz's *Divan* in every respect. Goethe's most celebrated work Faust shows Sufi concepts as well. Faust is no doubt an earlier work written when Goethe was not engrossed in Persian literature as he became in later life while writing the *Divan* but it reveals interesting departures from its predecessors in European and Christian traditions. When "The Lord" asks Mephistopheles about his 'servant' Doctor Faust, Mephistopheles reply is,

Forsooth! He serves you after strange devices: No earthly meat or drink the fool suffices: His spirit's ferment far aspires; Half conscious of his frenzied, crazed unrest, The fairest stars from Heaven he requireth, From Earth the highest raptures and the best, And all the Near and Far that he desireth, Fails to subdue the tumult of his breast.<sup>46</sup>

The ecstatic rapture for the transcendence of the servant as reported by Mephistopheles taken by The Lord with positive sign, although his servant is 'perplexed' but his ambitions will lead him to a 'clearer morning' and the Lord promised a bright day for his confused servant. One cannot help seeing the Sufi dervish and his beloved God in this dialogue. Goethe re-created this Western Christian legend. In his creation, he altered Christian theme of the condemnation of Doctor Faust as over smart and over ambitious character who chooses the worldly happiness instead of God Grace – an absolute evil character. Whereas Goethe's Doctor Faust is forgiven and saved by a God ever merciful like the God of Sufis who is considerate to his servant's need and search for higher level of

being and most importantly Goethe's Faust is saved through a love affair with an innocent woman who prayed for his salvation.

Goethe was not alone in his love of the Persian mystics. Poets who followed him dug deeper in Sufi literature. Platen and Ruckert were devotees of the prince of classical Sufi poetry Rumi. Platen, according to Remy, was first to introduce actual Ghazal form of the Persian poetry into German literature. He published a version of Rumi's Ghazal in 1821. He also follows Goethe's convention of not only translating but creating original poetry in the manner of Persian traditions. Ruckert wrote Ghazals in Rumi's manner and published them in Gaselen series in 1821.<sup>47</sup> After meeting von Hammer the great orientalist and translator of Hafiz in Vienna in 1818, he started his study of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. According to Remy, his poetry was "generally regarded as translations from the Divan of Rumi...But the majority of poems are simply original Gazals in Rumi's manner."<sup>48</sup> Remy quotes many samples of his German poetry and poems from Hafiz's and Rumi's *Divans* to show the similarity of diction, and of similes, metaphors and images. Sometimes it seems that he is just paraphrasing the ideas expressed in the original poetry of Rumi and Hafiz.

In a similar passion the other Romantic poets like Heine, Bodenstedt and von Schack who were looking for Eastern wisdom became fan of the Persian sweet singers such as Hafiz and Rumi. Heine's main interest was in Indian myths but he did mention Saadi by calling him the Persian Goethe. According to Remy, he often called himself a 'Persian poet in exile' and he uses images and anecdotes from Persian poetry of Saadi, Jami and Firdausi. Bodenstedt was a more celebrated follower of Persian poetry. His *Songs of Mirza Schaffy* became so popular that according to Remy the collection of poems ran through one hundred and forty editions during the author's lifetime. The poems are fully oriental in nature and style and the images are from the Sufi traditions of Hafiz and Rumi. For example as Remy rightly notes: the image such as 'The tavern and the praise of wine', in one place poet invokes Hafiz by saying that 'Hafiz is his teacher and wine house is his masque', and in another place the poet celebrates the day when he leaves his masque for the 'tavern'. Another poet of this tradition was von Schack who visited the native towns of Firdausi and Hafiz out of respect and wrote a standard work on Firdausi. His poetry according to Remy shows striking parallels with another Persian poet Khayyam.

This German enthusiasm for Sufi literature did not go unnoticed by American and British writers. One of the greatest translators of

German Romantic literature into English was Thomas Carlyle who became an influential figure in eighteenth century American and British literature. His translations of Goethe, Herder, Schlegel and others published in American and English journals such as Fraser's Magazine were read and praised by scholars like Emerson and Ruskin. His writings and translations were very significant in introducing European Romantic sentiments to American readers who were experiencing their own version of the Romantic Movement called Transcendentalism.

There were important translations from French orientalist and other English writing reached American shores but Carlyle's personal friendship with a leading Transcendentalist like Emerson made him immensely influential. His attachment to German Romantics placed him apart from the evangelical orthodoxy of the Victorian period and earned him respect of people like Emerson and Ruskin. Shine writes in the introduction to *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*, after reading the German Romantics and Goethe, "from about 1825 henceforth for Carlyle...life had mystical meaning...he had penetrated as far as he felt the need to go in what he called metaphysics."<sup>49</sup> "Both Emerson and Ruskin commended Carlyle's lecture on the Prophet Muhammad [PBUH] the *Hero as Prophet* in his lecture series *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. Emerson in his 30 May 1841 letter to Carlyle praises his lecture as "abounding in truth and nobleness". He tells Carlyle that your audience in "London are less prepared to hear than is our New England one."

Carlyle in an earlier correspondence mentioned to Emerson how his audiences were shocked "because they had the impression that Muhammad was a quack and now they found out that he is a better Christian". Ruskin also mentions this lecture and also talks about reading Carlyle for understanding 'Arabia', in his letter of June 1878 he says, "I am working out some points in the history and geography of Arabia which I think will be useful, reading you and Gibbon! . . . you are very unsatisfactory about Mahomet's death."<sup>50</sup> In another place he writes, "Read some of Carlyle's lectures...I think, altogether approves of Mahomet, and talks like a girl of his black eyes."<sup>51</sup> Carlyle's sound and unbiased knowledge of Eastern literature, his involvement with German Romantics, and his close correspondence with two very influential writers of the American and English literature of nineteenth century showed the persistent resonance of Eastern literature in general and Persian Sufi literature in particular within the Western mind during and after the Romantic phase of European literature. German and other European Romantic writings

were well received in Emerson's America of Transcendentalists. Along with the Romantic literature Persian Sufi poems of Hafiz, Saadi, Attar and Rumi which by then were part of Romantic creed reached to the American Transcendentalists.

Emerson came to Europe in 1832 and met the high priests of the English Romantic movement Wordsworth and Coleridge and Carlyle introduced him to Goethe's poetry. Emerson's ideas had an impact on celebrated German philosopher Nietzsche whose notebooks contain reference to Emerson's writings.<sup>52</sup> American philosophy begins with Transcendentalist movement which was a rejection of church doctrine as the only means to gain spiritual truths. Emerson was the leading man in this philosophical movement and gave lectures all over America on spirituality and intuition. For him knowledge received from transcendental source through intuition and subjective awareness of self is superior and spiritually richer and therefore more religious and truthful than established church sermons and intellectual efforts. Unlike Kierkegaard and other European existentialist of his age his sources are not restricted to Christian literature and scripture and he seems to be inspired by much Islamic Sufi literature including The prophet of Islam and his closest relative Caliph and spiritual heir Ali. He quotes Caliph Ali who is the main source of all Islamic Sufi traditions. Almost all Sufi traditions trace their lineage to Ali's heritage of spirituality. Emerson in his essay *Self-Reliance* says, "Do not seek yourself out side yourself" which one can take for a direct quotation from Sufi literature, and then in the same essay he quotes the Caliph Ali, "Thy lot or portion of life', said the Caliph Ali, 'is seeking after thee; therefore be at rest from seeking after it."<sup>53</sup>

In another essay called *Swedenborg, or the Mystic*, he discusses about eminent people who are 'most dear' to men and he considers poet, philosophers at top. Then he says "there is a class who lead us into another region" and these are the most eminent people. To identify this class of eminent people he quotes Persian Sufis and the Quran;

The Koran makes a distinct class of those who are by nature good, and whose goodness has an influence on others, and pronounces this class to be the aim of creation: The other classes are admitted to the feast of being, only as following in the train of this. And the Persian poet exclaims to a soul of this kind: 'Go boldly forth, and feast on being's banquet; / Thou art the called – the rest admitted with thee.<sup>54</sup>

More significantly, he was aware of the orthodox line and the difference between the interpretation of the Quran by those who disregard metaphysical side of the story and his own position, which

comes from Sufi thought. But he also recognizes that in the same essay he says, “Mahometanism draws all its philosophy in its handbook of morals, the Akhlak-y-Jalaly, from him (Plato). Mysticism finds in Plato all its texts.”<sup>55</sup> The handbook of morals Emerson is talking about is a Persian Sufi text and *jalali* is another word for Sufi means intoxicated and also full of transcendent knowledge. When he mention Platonic knowledge and Plato’s debt to civilization in the same essay he means the Alexandrian School of Neoplatonism, he call them ‘Platonists! The Alexandrians, a constellation of genius as Plato’s men. “ This returns us to the point made at the beginning of this chapter, that Sufi traditions and Western metaphysical thought have the same roots in the Neoplatonic system.

Transcendentalists, like Neoplatonists and Sufis, believed in the inherent goodness of the universe and the immortality and eternity of the soul. Transcendentalism was emerged in America against John Locke’s and other European rationalism as well as against organised and institutionalised religion because for Transcendentalists organised religion and materialistic rationalization corrupt the inherent goodness of man. Emerson taught cosmic unity, in his theory of ‘Oversoul’ Emerson proposed, like Neoplatonic idea of Emanation and Sufi concept of constant revelation, the supreme animating spirit of the universe, which is linked with man’s latent thought or intuitional form of knowledge. Lawrence discussed this idea with reference to Emerson, Whitman and Hardy in his philosophical essays most of which were written at the same time when he was working on his novel *Women in Love*. In his *Climbing Down Pisgah* which is a later essay survived as a typed script, Lawrence talked about Emerson’s idea of ‘Oversoul’ called God, One Spirit and the Wholeness. However, he disagreed with Whitman’s supposedly humanizing the idea of cosmic unity and wholeness as taught by Emerson and later by Hardy. Lawrence might be referring to Whitman’s politicizing the mystic idea of cosmic unity with democracy and equality of man. Lawrence did not like the idea of equalizing the mystic cosmology with political and social slogan of equality of man advanced by many Western writers such as theosophical society of Madam Blavatsky.

Returning to English Orientalists of the Victorian period, British writers’ enthusiasm for Persian language and literature became more significant as it turned out to be more academic based and pursuant of knowledge. Some of the bearucrates and diplomats of the Empire wrote very informative accounts of their journeys and even treatises

on the Persian poets and literature. Sir Gore Ouseley wrote the *Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets*, he was a British ambassador to Persia and he selected Persian names for his daughter and son. Another British diplomat John Malcolm's *History of Persia* was later according to Yohannan duplicated by Sir James Frazer. This work is also believed to be the early source of Mathew Arnold's poem *Sobrab and Rustum* along with French Orientalists works on Persian literature. According to Yohannan, 'this work contained one of the fullest early accounts of Soufeesim - and Sufi poets'.

Another diplomat James Justinian Morier based in Tehran wrote a novel called *Hajji Baba*. Duncan Forbes a professor of King's College, who regarded Persian literature as the French of the East, wrote a grammar of the Persian language for the purpose of the study of Persian literature in 1844. Another Victorian scholar Forbes Faloner translated a range of Persian texts including selections from the *Bostan* of Saadi, Jami's *Salaman and Absal* and most importantly Jami's treatise on Sufism – *Tuhfat-ul-Abrar*. Many minor writers were influenced by Carlyle's lecture and published pieces on Persian literature those including Borrow, Milnes Thackeray and Tholuck who wrote on Sufi pantheism. However, further developments in publishing anthologies of Persian poetry were very significant with regard to the popularization of Persian literature among reading public. One such anthology called *Rose Garden of Persian* published by Luisa Costello. Yohannan notes that the poems in this anthology were taken from the Greaves collection available at Oxford University, and he also notes that the anthology ran through many editions and became a popular subject in magazine discussions of the day. Even a cotton manufacturer named Samuel Robinson published a series of translations from the major Persian poets including Nizami and some part of Rumi's *Masnavi*.<sup>56</sup>

The availability of so many Sufi texts during the first half of the nineteenth century and particularly the volume of published books and magazine pieces about Persian Sufi literature noted above during the first two decades of the Victorian period after the new language policy in India indicates the enduring legacy of the early orientalist involvement with Persian language and literature. The favourable view taken by English and German Romantics and those of American transcendentalists towards Sufi metaphysics in Persian literature became a great vehicle of influence and parallelism not only for later Victorian English writers like Arnold and Tennyson but the mystical charm of Sufi literature continued to be important to early twentieth century English literature.



However, here it is important to mention some more important literary figures of the later Victorian period with regard to their efforts in the study of Persian literature. One of foremost Persian scholars and enthusiasts Professor Edward Byles Cowell was influenced by Jone's work and went on to Oxford where he studied Persian manuscripts in the famous Bodleian library and translated many poems of Hafiz. According to Yohannan, while in Oxford he read Jami's mystical allegory *Salaman and Absal* together with Edward Fitzgerald. From Oxford, he travelled to India where he took a teaching job in Calcutta, while in India he famously found a manuscript of Khayyam's quatrains in the Asiatic Society Library of Bengal, which he sent to his Oxford friend Fitzgerald. This manuscript later became Fitzgerald's famous *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* published in 1859. Cowell catches the spirit of Sufi thought when he says,

The Sufis [...] spring up apparently by a necessary law in the human mind [...] The inherent love of mysticism, which lies in the heart, finds in every religion the necessary warmth to quicken it [...] The Eleusinian mysteries, the Hindu Brahmanism, the Persian Sufeyism, and in our own time, the new German philosophy, are only development of the same deep rooted principles in the soul, under different outward circumstances of time and place.<sup>57</sup>

Though Cowell does not mention Plotinus's Neoplatonism, instead he equates Sufi ontology with the Greek mysteries of the ancient Mycenaean period that existed before Greek civilization. However, it is no more valid because Sufism is not mysterious of that kind of obscurity. Nonetheless, Cowell is right in his assertion and in his view that one should look towards Greek philosophical traditions for the roots of Sufi metaphysics in general and more interestingly in his parallelism with German metaphysics and Hindu Brahmanism. It is important to note that the most common concept within Sufi thought – Unity of being or oneness - also assumes a concept of a single source of existence which is not possible through the orthodox creation theory of the Abrahamic religions but through emanation. For example the mirror image in Sufi literature as we can see in Jami:

All mirrors in the Universe I wee / Display thy image with its radiant sheen / Nay, in them all, soast thy effluent grace. / 'Tis Thyself, not Thine image that is seen.

In Rumi with more eloquence,

Woman is a ray of God: / She is not the earthly beloved. / She is creative: you might say she not created.<sup>58</sup>

How the poet creates an image of creative nature of being and in this way Sufis are so successful in their delineation of the theme of unity of being. Because of emanation from the source, one strives hard to reunite with the source, which makes you complete and satisfied. In the history of metaphysics, this view is only possible, or one might say it is only existed in its totality in the Neoplatonic system. Plato's original theory of Form does not allow the unity of all being because there are many categories of Forms in the ideal world and not only one form for everything. In the multiple nature of different categories of Ideal Forms and in the Judeo-Christian tradition, including Islam, we have a dualistic theory – opposed to monism as discussed with regard to Neoplatonism and Sufism, theologies of all three religious traditions equal and independent existence of good and evil, creator and creature are emphasised, which does not allow oneness of being. Equally, in Zoroastrianism, there is the concept of two Agents 'light' and 'darkness' where existence of one is the absence or defeat of other. The only other parallel one can find, as Cowell observed, in Sankara's metaphysic in Hindu mythology where the concept of the unconscious intelligence called Parusa is the cause of all existence, all levels of being are emerging through him although Parusa is indifferent or unconscious of the lower levels of being – the material and sensible world. A similar notion of metaphysical reality proposed in Neoplatonism as argued in the first part of this chapter. D. H. Lawrence in his essay *Him With His Tail in His Mouth*, written in the same time as he was writing his philosophical essays such as *The Crown* and also the novel *Woman in Love*, has referred to the idea of creation in Indian metaphysics – 'Purusha'. Lawrence creates the interesting analogy of Dragon – the ancient symbol of immortality and creation as the same as Plato's Idea and the Parusa – the primal source from whose body the universe was created. The Indian myth also narrates that the final salvation is only possible when one can only get rid of this body by becoming the part of the Parusa's unconscious being. Lawrence even pursued his analogy of cosmic unity with Biblical theory of creation and he quoted Genesis's announcement that Jehova has created man in 'His Own Image', which indicates for Lawrence, that "the end is one with the beginning."<sup>59</sup> Lawrence regards creative process as a force and spark coming from the unknown, he notes that Henri Bergson's 'life-energy' or life force is the same is the ancient idea of 'logos' and 'dragon'.

Victorians interest in Sufi thought continues to be illuminating through such examples as Robert Vaughan who wrote *Hours with Mystics* which include Persian Sufism, and he notes Emerson's

sympathy with Sufi literature and thought. Important names of the Victorian English like Lord Tennyson and Mathew Arnold read and imitated Persian literature. One can find the images of ‘the musk of the rose’, ‘the breeze of morning’ and ‘the planet of love’ in Tennyson’s poetry.<sup>60</sup> Tennyson in his letter to John Forster 1854 wrote, “A reason for my not writing much is the bad condition of my right eye which quite suddenly came on as I was reading or trying to read small Persian text.”<sup>61</sup> Tennyson’s closed association with Cowell, FitzGerald and Carlyle must have an effect with regard to his study of Persian literature. Arnold, who had a brother as Director of Public Instruction in The Punjab the land of Sufi saints in India, wrote his epic poem *Sobrab and Rustam* based on a legendry story in Firdausi’s great epic *Shahnama*.

Although Tennyson’s and Arnold’s poetry does not have any deep Sufi imprint on it, the allusions to Persian literature in their works and their understanding of Persian literature shows the broader involvement of the Victorian age with Sufi thought found in Medieval Persian poetic works. The publication of FitzGerald’s celebrated *Rubaiyat of Umar Khayyam* in 1859, which ran into more than twenty editions in just four decades was followed by another more important Sufi text, that of the renowned Sufi poet Farid-u-Din Attar’s *Mantiq-al Tair*. FitzGerald’s translation came with the title *The Bird Parliament* in 1862. E. H. Winfield’s celebrated translation of Rumi’s mystical poetry titled *Masnavi-I Ma’navi, the Spiritual Couplets of Maulana Jalalu’d-din Muhammad Rumi*, was published in 1889. These Sufi texts were read widely in Europe and America by general readers as well as by the authors and scholars. Sufi images and anecdotes become part of English language through such words as ‘dervish’, ‘Imam’, ‘peer’, ‘faqeer’, Sufi dance and many others. In this way elements of Persian Sufi literature become part of English during the course of the nineteenth century.

In 1857 the Indian soldiers of the East India company revolted against the company rule in India which resulted the direct rule of the English Queen in India. The British Empire became more and more entrenched into the life and society from the Indian Sub-Continent to Afghanistan. The trips and travels from Britain to India and other South Asian countries became more frequent.

Although colonial snobbery and the perceived higher status of the colonial master in general prevented English men and women from learning a great deal about the culture and belief systems of the subjugated people, the academic pursuit of oriental knowledge never abated but rather accelerated during the later part of nineteenth

century. Yohannan observes two major factors in Victorian England – one an obstacle to Sufi thought and the other helpful in allowing Sufi literature and metaphysics to prevail. He notes the nineteenth century English evangelical dislike of Sufism in Persian literature as an obstacle to Sufi thought's approval in the literary circles. Because of the conservatism and puritanical traditions in the Victorian England, the Sufi thought might not have welcomed in many quarters.

The other thing Yohannan notes is the newfound kinship with the Persian people and their language, which developed through William Jones's theory of the Indo-European family of languages and consequently the Aryan race and common ancestry. The view that Persians have common ancestors with European people and their language and literature is one of their own and different from Semitic people and traditions made Europeans more sympathetic towards their Persian kinsmen. The idea of evangelical dislike and also colonial snobbery might be applicable to the public at large as these were the realities of the age which was no doubt in a time of conservative bourgeois and evangelical puritanism. Nonetheless, these repressive concepts could also have been the very reason for many to seek the fresh air of freedom and release through Sufism's literature of rebellious unorthodoxy. The phenomenal popularity of Khayyam's Rubaiyat, the Masna'vi of Rumi and Hafiz's Ghazal in the late nineteenth century, texts which celebrate drunkenness, wine and love of flesh but give them a deeper mystical and religious meaning show another aspect of the age. The later Victorian age and the early twentieth century manifest this rebellious mood when the crisis of representation in art became an important issue for many artists. As Yohannan observes, by the twentieth century "Emerson in America and the Victorians in England had successfully accommodated [Persian literature] to English modes of thought and forms of speech."<sup>62</sup>

The pursuit of the discovery and translation of Sufi texts remained an important mission in literary circle in early twentieth century as well such as the new translations of Mahmood Shabistri's *Gulshane Raḡ*, Hakeem Sana'i's *Hadiqat-al Haqiqat* and Nicholson's eight-volume edition of Rumi. However, the important thing to say here is that more and more researchers and literary critics became conscious of Sufi literary writings and their influence and importance in contemporary Western society. Serious academic work such as R. A. Nicholson's *A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism* in 1906 shows the importance of academic

involvement with Sufi thought and its history. It is interesting to note that Arthur F. J. Remy of Columbia University was exploring and appreciating the impact of Sufi poets on German Romantics in 1901. So, one can see as early as in the beginning of the Twentieth century the feeling existed in the academic circles that the impact of the Persian poetic traditions and its Sufi themes had been significant for past two centuries. The impact of oriental humanism, as manifested in Sufi traditions and present in Buddhist and Hindu mythologies, was taking shape in Western society.

Literary clubs like the Omar Khayyam Club and a more ambitious social movement the Theosophical Society was formed. The Omar Khayyam Club was established in the late nineteenth century with famous member such as Thomas Hardy, Viscount Wolselev, Sir George Robertson and others. The club met annually at a dinner for the celebration of Khayyam's poetry and his love of humanity. Helena Blavatsky's Theosophical Society was formed during the same time with a similar view of the universal brotherhood of humanity. Encouraged and inspired by such literary and social movements many dervishes both real and fake ones visited Western countries and many Western individuals visited dervishes and khanqas of the east in search of their own subjective truths.

One such esoteric thinker was Georgei Ivanovitch Gurdjieff who spent many years in company of Eastern dervishes and gurus in Constantinople, Central Asia, India, and Tibet. He claimed having occult knowledge, set up the Institute for the Harmonious Development at Fontainebleau in France where novelist Katherine Mansfield died. Among his disciples was Richard Orage the influential editor of *English Weekly* and *The New Age*. According to Galin Gurdjieff's esoteric ideas influenced many writers of the early twentieth century including Ouspensky, Huxley and Isherwood. Apart from pseudo-oriental ways of esotericism and the search for the truth of ancient and Medieval Eastern wisdom proposed by new humanistic and spiritual societies, there was a realization among genuine philosophical circles that nineteenth century realism and the materialist approach to the understanding of the cosmos was not sustainable.

## **Conclusion**

In the light of the preceding discussion of the Romantic and post-Romantic writers of the West and their encounters with the Persian Sufi literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it can be said that parallels already existed in Eastern and Western metaphysical

traditions from the early and later Middle Ages. It can be safely concluded that medieval Islamic Sufi literature in particular and Islamic metaphysical writings in general remained an important contributor to the development of modern western metaphysics.

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# IQBAL'S LAST MESSAGE TO HUMANITY

Dr. Saleha Nazeer

## ABSTRACT

*Iqbal's last Message to Humanity* is a sequel to *Iqbal's Final Address to God and the Prophet*. The message is carried forward by the sequel to give the comprehensible perspective of Iqbal's dialogue with Muslim Ummah, Humanity and the lovers of God. Iqbal draws attention of the humanity to the universal paradigm of human nature and the faculties related to the outward actions and its manifestation. The Muslim Ummah should follow the patterns of God so that they may attain purification of soul through the outward actions including the reflective thought process of human beings. The humanity again is linked up with Prophet Adam (peace be upon him) where humanity becomes connected to the Oneness of God. Iqbal is taking his readers towards the Oneness, Tawheed or what can be called the Ultimate reality of God. Iqbal terms the callous character building by Pseudo Saint and Mullah as a dead wood in his book. The current text is an effort to rediscover Iqbal's message to mankind and to convey his thoughts to the contemporary French reader through the French translations of selected Persian quatrains from Iqbal's *Armaghān-e Hijāz* (The Gift of Hijaz). In the course of selection of the quatrains to be translated into French, preference has been given to stanzas that introduce and expound upon the basic philosophical theme of Iqbal's concept of khudi. While rendering the quatrains into French, I have been conscious of the fact that the French reader might not be aware of the concept of khudi nor of the associated lexique of Iqbal that helps the reader to comprehend and visualize this concept of khudi. The readers will find a brief comment in footnotes wherever it was felt that the translated lexique in French, though simple and self explanatory in the source language of the interconnected ideas have been interwoven to elaborate the macro concepts of time and space in finitude as well as in infinity.

*Iqbal's last Message to Humanity* is a sequel to *Iqbal's Final Address to God and the Prophet*. The message is carried forward by the sequel to give the comprehensible perspective of Iqbal's dialogue with Muslim Ummah, Humanity and the lovers of God. Iqbal draws attention of the humanity to the universal paradigm of human nature and the faculties related to the outward actions and its manifestation. The Muslim Ummah should follow the patterns of God so that they may attain purification of soul through the outward actions including the reflective thought process of human beings. The humanity again is linked up with Prophet Adam (peace be upon him) where humanity becomes connected to the Oneness of God. Iqbal is taking his readers towards the Oneness, Tawheed or what can be called the Ultimate reality of God. The first part deals with the celestial vision and the ways of integration which were taught to humanity through the last Prophet. As Allah says in Quran "I created the Jinn and humankind only that they worship me", and in this context some commentators have viewed it as "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known, so I created the world".<sup>1</sup> Iqbal explicates that it is very important for every generation to recognise Allah and his message and the ways through which one can connect to Allah. The critique is also offered by Iqbal on the character building role by Pseudo Saint and Mullah in our contemporary society that they have minimised the significance of soul by emphasizing upon the exaggerated ways and have distorted the Islamic philosophy in the macro picture of the universe. Iqbal terms the callous character building by Pseudo Saint and Mullah as a dead wood in his book.

The subtlety of Iqbal's thought is that he pays importance to the recognition of the connoisseur heart itself. Iqbal centralizes the concept of *Faqr* which has two elements: the one is reason and the other meditation. The two of them, amalgamated, give birth to the quality of *Faqr*. The practice of *Faqr* makes your soul freed from the material prospects of life and affirms the Self that is the perspective of Iqbal's seal of human being (*insan e kamil*). The seal is used in the real sense of Self affirmation.

The current text is an effort to rediscover Iqbal's message to mankind and to convey his thoughts to the contemporary French reader through the French translations of selected Persian quatrains

from Iqbal's *Armaghān-e Hijāz* (The Gift of Hijaz). The first part of this posthumous book of Masnawi style poetry is in Persian and the second part is in Urdu.

Amongst the following five thematic sections of Iqbal's *Armaghān-e Hijāz*, the first two sections have been dealt with in the previous translation titled *Iqbal's final address to God and the Prophet*<sup>2</sup>. This translational research explores the remaining three dimensions as mentioned by Iqbal at the core of the text. The profundity of Iqbal's philosophy can be understood through these three dimensions. There is a deep connection of this work left by Iqbal for humanity as this work has been considered as his last unpublished work before his demise:

- A respectful address to God
- A respectful address to the Prophet
- Address to the Muslim Ummah
- Address to Humanity
- Address to the lovers of God<sup>3</sup>

In the course of selection of the quatrains to be translated into French, preference has been given to stanzas that introduce and expound upon the basic philosophical theme of Iqbal's concept of khudi. While rendering the quatrains into French, I have been conscious of the fact that the French reader might not be aware of the concept of khudi nor of the associated lexique of Iqbal that helps the reader to comprehend and visualize this concept of khudi. The readers will find a brief comment in footnotes wherever it was felt that the translated lexique in French, though simple and self explanatory in the source language of Persian, might be a trial for the reader to understand the real meaning that Iqbal wanted to convey. The interconnected ideas have been interwoven to elaborate the macro concepts of time and space in finitude as well as in infinity. As the matter of fact, the lens of Iqbal's connotations of terms like perfect and the ideal man, *Fagr*, slavery and freedom and the death of khudi etc. have been explained in the footnotes in order to facilitate the French reader to understand the interconnected ideas of the poet.

### خُصُورِ لَيْلَتِ

#### Adresse à la nation musulmane

(1)

مَجُو از مَن کلامِ عارفانہ  
کہ مَن دارم سرشتِ عاشقانہ

سر شکِ لاله گون را اندرین باغ  
بیفشانم چو شبنم دانه دانه<sup>۴</sup>

Ne me demande pas la poésie soufie<sup>5</sup>

Car j'ai un tempérament amoureux

Comme la rosée, j'arrose goutte à goutte

Mes larmes sanguines<sup>6</sup> dans mon jardin d'intérieur

بمنزل کوش مانند مه نو  
درین نیلی فضا هر دم فزون شو  
مقام خویش اگر خواهی درین دیر  
بحق دل بند و راه مصطفی رو<sup>۷</sup>

Comme la lune croissante, essaie d'arriver à la destination

Dans ce ciel bleu, avance sans arrêt

Si tu veux une place dans ce temple du monde

Aime Dieu et suis le chemin du prophète

مسلمان از خودی مرد تمام است  
بخاکش تا خودی میرد غلام است  
اگر خود را متاع خویش دانی  
نگه را جز بخود بستن حرام است<sup>۸</sup>

Avec khudi, le musulman devient l'homme parfait

Il reste en esclavage tant que sa khudi est morte dans son être

Si tu es conscient de ta propre valeur

Tu sauras que dépendre sur autre que toi-même est interdit

کشودم پرده را از رومی تقدیر  
مشو نومید و راه مصطفی گیر  
اگر باور نداری آنچه گفتم  
ز دین بگریز و مرگ کافر می<sup>۹</sup>

J'ai enlevé le voile du destin

Ne sois pas désespéré, prends le chemin du Prophète<sup>10</sup>

Mais si tu ne crois pas sur ce que je dis

Quitte ta foi islamique et accepte la mort d'un mécréant !

خدا آن ملتی را سروری داد  
که تقدیرش بدستِ خویش بنوشت  
به آن ملت سروکارے ندارد  
که دہقانہں برائے دیگران کشت<sup>۱۱</sup>

Dieu bénit cette nation avec la royauté  
Qui transcrit son destin avec ses propres mains  
Il ne s'intéresse pas à cette nation  
Dont le paysan cultive pour les autres<sup>12</sup>

## خودی

Khudi

(2)

کسی کو بر خودی زد "لالہ" را  
ز خاک مردہ رویاند نگہ را  
مدہ از دست دامن چنیں مرد  
کہ دیدم در کمندش مہر و مہ را<sup>۱۳</sup>

Celui qui empreinte sa khudi avec l'unicité de Dieu  
De son être mort, il crée un regard visionnaire  
Ne laisse pas partir un tel homme  
Car j'ai vu des lunes et des étoiles dans son lasso

تو امے نادان دل آگاہ دریاب  
بخود مثل نیاگان راہ دریاب  
چساں مؤمن کند پوشیدہ را فاش  
ز "لا موجود الا اللہ" دریاب<sup>۱۴</sup>

O ignorant! Découvre le cœur connaisseur  
Comme nos ancêtres, connais-toi toi-même  
Comment un fidèle dévoile les secrets?  
Apprends-le du fait que «Rien n'existe que Dieu»<sup>15</sup>

## انا الحق<sup>۱۶</sup>

Je suis la Vérité

(3)

انا الحق جز مقام کبریا نیست  
سزائے او چلیپا بہست یا نیست

اگر فردے بگوید سرزنش به  
اگر قومے بگوید ناروا نیست<sup>۱۷</sup>

Dire « Je suis la vérité » n'est dû qu'à Dieu<sup>18</sup>

Mérite-t-on d'être pendu pour l'avoir dit ?

Si une seule personne le dit, elle doit être réprimandée

Mais si une nation le dit, c'est permis<sup>19</sup>

وجودش شعله از سوز درون است  
چو خس او را جهان چند و چون است  
کند شرح اناالحق همت او  
بی هر "کن" که می گوید "یکون" است<sup>۲۰</sup>

La ferveur de cette nation l'a rendue comme une flamme

Pour elle, ce monde matériel est comme une brindille de bois mort

Sa volition suffit pour expliquer la profondeur de « Je suis la Vérité »

Si elle commande 'Soit !', l'affaire s'accomplit

پرد در وسعتِ گردون یگانه  
نگاه او به شاخ آشیانه  
مه و انجم گرفتارِ کمندش  
بدستِ اوست تقدیر زمانه<sup>۲۱</sup>

Elle s'envole seule dans de vastes cieux

Son regard est fixé sur son but

Le soleil et la lune sont les captifs<sup>22</sup> de son lasso

Le sort du temps est dans sa main

صوفی و ملا

Soufi et Moulla<sup>23</sup>

(4)

گرفتم حضرت ملا ترش روست  
نگاهش مغز را نشناسد از پوست

اگر با این مسلمانی که دارم  
مرا از کعبه می راند حق اوست<sup>۲۴</sup>

J'accepte que Monsieur le Moulla n'est pas très sympa

Il n'arrive pas à distinguer entre la peau et le corps

Mais si l'on considère la foi musulmane que j'ai

Il aura, lui, raison de me chasser de la Grande Mosquée

به بندِ صوفی و ملا اسیری  
حیات از حکمتِ قرآن نگیری  
بآیاتش ترا کار می جز این نیست  
که از "یسین" او آسان بمیری<sup>۲۵</sup>

Tu es prisonnier de Soufi et de Moulla

Tu n'apprends pas le savoir-vivre de la philosophie coranique

Avec ses versets tu n'as que cette affaire :

Que la récitation de sa sourate *Yā-sin*<sup>26</sup> te facilite ta mort !

ز من بر صوفی و ملا سلامی  
که پیغام خدا گفتند ما را  
ولرے تاویل شان در حیرت انداخت  
خدا و جبرئیل و مصطفی را<sup>۲۷</sup>

Je salue le Soufi et le Moulla

Car ils nous ont communiqué le message de Dieu

Mais leur exégèse<sup>28</sup> a étonné

Le Prophète, Gabriel, et Dieu

ز رومی گیر اسرار فقیری  
که آن فقر است محسود امیری  
حذر زان فقر و درویشی که از و  
رسیدی بر مقام سر بزیری<sup>۲۹</sup>

Apprends le secret de *faqr*<sup>30</sup> par Rumi

Car ce *faqr* est même envié par la richesse

Méfie-toi de cette pauvreté et cette indigence

Qui ne te mènerait qu'à l'humilité



خلافت، فقر با تاج و سریر است  
زہیے دولت کہ پایاں نا پذیر است  
جوان بختا! مدہ از دست، این فقر  
کہ یے او پادشاہی زود میر است<sup>۳۱</sup>

Le faqr pratiqué avec la royauté s'appelle le califat  
Heureux soit cette richesse<sup>32</sup> qui ne connaît pas le déclin !  
O jeune roi ! ne perds pas ce faqr !  
Car sans lui, la royauté ne reste, elle, non plus !

### خلافت و ملوکیت

#### Califat et impérialisme

عرب خود را بہ نور مصطفی سوخت  
چراغِ مردہ مشرق بر افروخت  
ولیکن آن خلافت راہ گم کرد  
کہ اول مؤمنان را شاہی آموخت<sup>۳۳</sup>

Les Arabes se sont illuminés avec la lumière<sup>34</sup> du Prophète  
Ils ont rallumé la lanterne éteinte de l'Orient  
Mais ils ont perdu ce grand califat qui, pour la première fois,  
Apprit la royauté aux musulmans

خلافت بر مقام ما گواہی است  
حرام است آنچه بر ما پادشاہی است  
ملوکیت ہمہ مکر است و نیرنگ  
خلافت حفظ ناموس الہی است<sup>۳۵</sup>

Le califat atteste la hauteur de notre rang  
Ce qui s'appelle la royauté, est illégitime pour nous<sup>36</sup>  
L'impérialisme n'est que la ruse et la tromperie  
Pendant que le califat est le gardien de l'honneur divin

ہنوز اندر جہاں آدم غلام است  
نظامش خام و کارش ناتمام است  
غلام فقر آن گیتی پناہم  
کہ در دینش ملوکیت حرام است<sup>۳۷</sup>

Dans ce monde, l'homme est encore esclave de l'homme  
Son système social est défectueux et son travail<sup>38</sup> est inachevé  
Je suis esclave de ce bienfaiteur du monde<sup>39</sup>  
Dans la religion de qui la royauté n'est pas permise

### ترک عثمانی

Le Turc ottoman

به ملکِ خویش عثمانی امیر است  
دلش آگاه و چشم او بصیر است  
نه پنداری که رست از بندا فرنگ  
هنوز اندر طلسم او اسیر است<sup>40</sup>

Le Turc ottoman est l'émir dans son pays  
Il a un cœur connaisseur et un regard visionnaire  
Mais ne crois pas qu'il s'est libéré de la prison de l'Occident<sup>41</sup>  
Il est toujours enchaîné dans son charme<sup>42</sup>

### دخترانِ ملت

Filles de la nation musulmane

بہل امے دخترک این دلیری با  
مسلمان را نہ زبید کافری با  
منہ دل بر جمال غازہ پرورد  
بیاموز از نگہ غارت گری با<sup>43</sup>

O ma fille ! abandonne ces façons de séduire !  
Cette infidélité ne convient pas aux musulmans  
Ne sois pas amoureuse de la beauté de maquillage<sup>44</sup>  
Apprends plutôt comment conquérir de ton regard visionnaire

ضمیر عصر حاضر بے نقاب است  
کشادش در نمود رنگ و آب است  
جہانتابی ز نور حق بیاموز  
کہ او با صد تجلی در حجاب است<sup>45</sup>

L'esprit du temps moderne s'est dévoilé  
Son épanouissement est en exposition de ses couleurs et ses lumières

Apprends à illuminer ce monde avec la lumière divine  
Qui, malgré une centaine d'épiphanies, reste en cachette

جہاں را محکمی از امہات است  
نہاد شان امین ممکنات است  
اگر این نکتہ را قومے نداند  
نظام کاروبارش بے ثبات است<sup>۴۶</sup>

Le monde est fort grâce aux mères  
Leur rôle est de garder les possibilités  
La nation qui ne comprend pas cette sagesse  
Son système de vie sociale dissolue

مرا داد این خرد پرور جنونے  
نگاہ مادر پاک اندرونے  
ز مکتب چشم و دل نتوان گرفتن  
کہ مکتب نیست جز سحر و فسونے<sup>۴۷</sup>

Cette passion intellectuelle m'a été passée  
Par le regard de ma pieuse mère  
A l'école, on n'apprend ni un regard visionnaire ni un cœur  
connaisseur

Car l'école n'est que l'enchantement et la magie

اگر پندی ز درویشے پذیری  
ہزار است بمیرد تو نمیری  
بتولے باش و پنهان شو ازین عصر  
کہ در آغوش شبیرے بگیری<sup>۴۸</sup>

Si tu accepte le conseil de ce derviche  
Mille nations mourront mais toi tu ne mourras pas  
Sois comme Batoul<sup>49</sup> et reste en cachette dans ce monde  
Pour que tu fasses naître un autre Shabbir<sup>50</sup>

### عصر حاضر

L'époque moderne

چہ عصر است این کہ دین فریادی اوست  
ہزاراں بند در آزادی اوست

ز روم آدسیت رنگ و نم برد  
غلط نقشی که از بهزادی اوست<sup>۵۱</sup>

Quelle époque que la religion se plaint d'elle  
Il y a mille chaînes dans sa liberté même  
Du visage de l'homme, elle a enlevé la couleur et la fraîcheur  
Par le mauvais dessin de sa peinture

نگاهش نقشبند کافری ها  
کمال صنعت او آزی ها  
حذر از حلقه بازار گانش  
قمار است این همه سوداگری ها<sup>۵۲</sup>

Son regard crée les dessins païens<sup>53</sup>  
Sa perfection industrielle est de créer des idoles de pierre<sup>54</sup>  
Ne passe pas près de ses cercles  
Car tout son commerce n'est qu'un jeu de hasard

جوانان را بد آموز است این عصر  
شب ابلیس را روز است این عصر  
بد امانش مثال شعله پیچم  
که بی نور است و بی سوز است این عصر<sup>۵۵</sup>

Cette époque a appris le mal à ses jeunes  
Cette époque a transmis la nuit sombre de Satan au jour  
Comme une flamme je me suis enroulé aux pans de cette époque  
Car cette époque manque de lumière et d'endurance

مسلمان فقر و سلطانی بهم کرد  
ضمیرش باقی و فانی بهم کرد  
و لیکن الامان از عصر حاضر  
که سلطانی به شیطانی بهم کرد<sup>۵۶</sup>

Le musulman a mis en liaison le *faqr* et la royauté  
Son esprit a fait entremêler cette vie et la vie de l'au-delà  
Mais de cette époque moderne, au secours !  
Car elle a mis en liaison le satanisme et la royauté

## تعلیم

### Education

ز علم چاره سازم بے گدازم  
بسے خوشتر نگاه پاک بازم  
نکو تر از نگاه پاک بازم

دلی از هر دو عالم بی نیازه<sup>۵۷</sup>

De ce savoir qui se sert des affaires mondaines mais manque la chaleur

Le regard pieux est beaucoup mieux<sup>58</sup>

Mais ce qui est encore mieux qu'un regard pieux

C'est un cœur qui ne dépend pas sur les deux mondes<sup>59</sup>

ادب پیرایه نادان و داناست  
خوش آن کو از ادب خود را بیار است  
ندارم آن مسلمان زاده را دوست  
که در دانش فزود و در ادب کاست<sup>۶۰</sup>

La politesse est le costume de tout, de savant ainsi que d'ignorant

Il est heureux, lui, qui s'est embelli de la politesse

Je n'aime pas ce musulman

Qui a de l'intellect mais manque de politesse

کسی کو "لا اله" را در گره بست  
ز بند مکتب و ملا برون جست  
بآن دین و به آن دانش سپرد از  
که از ما می برد چشم و دل و دست<sup>۶۱</sup>

Celui qui passe sa vie en pratiquant la philosophie de l'unicité de Dieu

Il réussit à s'enfuir des chaînes de l'école et de Moulla

Ne poursuis pas cette religion et ce savoir

Qui nous arrache la vision, le cœur et le pouvoir d'agir

### حضور عالم انسانی

آدمیت احترام آدمی  
با خبر شو از مقام آدمی

Adresse à l'humanité

L'humanité, c'est le respect de l'homme

Sois courant du rang de l'homme

تو بهم مثل من از خود در حجابی  
خنک روزی که خود را بازیابی  
مرا کافر کند اندیشه رزق  
ترا کافر کند علم کتابی<sup>۶۲</sup>

Comme moi tu n'es pas visible à toi-même  
Heureux sera ce jour quand tu te découvriras  
Le souci de gagner la vie m'a rendu mécréant  
Et la lecture simple des livres t'a rendu mécréant

## دل

Coeur

زمانه کار او را می برد پیش  
که مرد خود نگهدار است درویش  
همین فقر است و سلطانی که دل را  
نگه داری چو دریا گوهر خویش<sup>۶۳</sup>

Le temps fait avancer son travail  
Car l'homme qui possède la maîtrise de soi est en fait derviche  
Ceci est le *faqr* et ceci est la royauté  
Qu'on garde le cœur comme la mer protège la perle

جهان مهر و مه زناری اوست  
کشاد بر گره از زاری اوست  
پیامی ده ز من هندوستان را  
غلام آزاد از بیداری اوست<sup>۶۴</sup>

Le monde du soleil et de la lune est son esclave<sup>65</sup>  
De ses larmes chaque problème se résout  
Donne mon message à l'Inde  
Qu'avec un cœur réveillé, l'esclave devient libre

## خودی

Khudi

خودی را از وجود حق وجودی  
خودی را از نمود حق نمودی

نمیدانم کہ این تابندہ گوہر  
کجا بودی اگر دریا نبودے<sup>۶۶</sup>

Dieu est le terrain de l'existence de *kbudi* ,  
*Kbudi* se manifeste grâce à la manifestation divine,  
Je ne sais pas où cette perle lumineuse serait,  
S'il n'y avait pas l'océan ?

### بہ یاران طریق

Adresse aux confrères religieux

سجودے آوری دارا و جم را  
مکن اے بے خبر رسوا حرم را  
میر پیش فرنگی حاجت خویش  
ز طاق دل فرو ریز این صنم را<sup>۶۷</sup>

Tu te prosternes devant Darā et Jam<sup>68</sup>,  
O ignorant ! Ne déshonore pas le sanctuaire !  
Ne montre pas tes besoins à l'europpéen !  
Jette cette idole de la voûte de ton cœur !

اگر این آب و جاہے از فرنگ است  
جبین خود منہ جز بر در او  
سریں را ہم بہ چویش دہ کہ خر  
حقے دارد بہ خر پالان گر او<sup>۶۹</sup>

Si cette gloire et cette majesté viennent de l'Occident,  
Alors prosterne toi-même à son seuil ;  
Présente tes fesses à sa trique,  
Car celui qui fabrique le bât, a un droit sur l'âne;

فرنگی را دلے زیر نگین نیست  
متاع او ہمہ ملک است دین نیست  
خداوندے کہ در طوف حریمش  
صد ابلیس است و یک روح الامین نیست<sup>۷۰</sup>

Aucun cœur n'est subjugué par l'Occident ;

Tout le pays est sa propriété, mais pas la foi ;  
Il est ce dieu autour du sanctuaire duquel,  
Il y a une centaine de Satan mais pas un seul Gabriel ;

بهشته بهر پاڪان حرم هست  
بهشته بهر ارباب هم هست  
بگو بپندی مسلمان را كه خوش باش  
بهشته في سبيل الله هم هست<sup>۷۱</sup>

Un paradis est destiné aux pieux du Harem  
Un paradis est réservé aux travailleurs  
Dis au musulman de l'Inde que sois heureux, toi aussi  
Un paradis existe aussi par charité en chemin de Dieu<sup>72</sup>

## Notes and References

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- <sup>1</sup> Armin Eschraghi. *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages*, 2008. Chapter Doi: 10.1163/ej.9789004165656.i-711.22, pp.91-100
- <sup>2</sup> Saleha Nazeer. *Iqbal's Final Address to God and the Prophet*, in *Iqbal Review*, 2010, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>۴</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، شیخ غلام علی اینڈ سنز، لاہور، ص ۹۳۵۔
- <sup>5</sup> Gnostique
- <sup>6</sup> Au lieu de créer des vers, Iqbal produit des larmes sanguines ; image d'angoissement en témoignant l'état d'es musulmans
- <sup>۷</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۳۷۔
- <sup>۸</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۳۹۔
- <sup>۹</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۳۹۔
- <sup>10</sup> Respecte et poursuis l'enseignement du Prophète !
- <sup>۱۱</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۰۔
- <sup>12</sup> Dont les citoyens ne travaillent pas pour eux-mêmes mais rendent service ailleurs;
- <sup>۱۲</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۱۔
- <sup>۱۳</sup> اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۱۔
- <sup>15</sup> Iqbal soutient la philosophie de l'unicité de Dieu selon la doctrine islamique pour faire comprendre la profondeur des secrets de cette vie.
- <sup>16</sup> Les fameuses paroles du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle mystique Mansour bin Hallāj qui les prononça en extase.



- ۱۷ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۲۔
- 18 Aucun croyant n'a le droit de le dire quand on atteste que toute sublimité est à Dieu unique.
- 19 Parce que c'est toute la nation qui atteste le pouvoir, la royauté et la sublimité de Dieu.
- ۲۰ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۳۔
- ۲۱ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۳۔
- 22 Iqbal évoque le thème de pouvoir briser les limites du temps et de l'espace, de les dépasser et de fouiller dans l'au-delà avec un regard visionnaire et les attributs de l'homme parfait. Il idéalise les pouvoirs de khudi, cette force intérieure dont dépend la maîtrise du soi et l'esprit libre qui est prêt à se mettre à la découverte de ce vaste univers. L'homme devient donc vainqueur et conquéreur lorsqu'il se libère des limites du temps et de l'espace.
- 23 Moulla se dit d'un savant religieux qui exerce son autorité avec de fausses connaissances ; terme employé au sens péjoratif ;
- ۲۴ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۳۔
- ۲۵ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۵۔
- 26 Cette sourate du Saint Coran, appelée le cœur du Coran, est connu pour de grandes mérites. Une des mérites est que sa récitation apporte la paix et la tranquillité à l'âme qui meurt. Traditionnellement dans les sociétés musulmanes, il est recommandé de réciter cette sourate auprès des personnes lorsque leurs derniers moments de vie s'approchent.
- ۲۷ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۶۔
- 28 Commentaire et explication qu'ils ont ajoutés au message sacré de Dieu
- ۲۹ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۵۹۔
- 30 *Faqr*, en philosophie islamique, il signifie cet état de pauvreté qui libère l'homme de toute dépendance matérielle; ce n'est donc pas la pauvreté au sens péjoratif du terme. Je reproduis ci-dessous un de mes passages tiré de ma thèse de doctorat, exploitant ce terme en détail:
- La pauvreté mentionnée dans le Coran est composée de deux éléments: la méditation et la raison. Les deux se fusionnent pour faire naître la qualité de *faqr*. La raison ne se complète qu'avec la méditation. Pratiquer le *faqr* est un exercice qui libère l'esprit, et qui facilite la maîtrise de soi. C'est la qualité essentielle de l'homme idéal d'Iqbal ; l'homme idéal est celui dont la 'khudi' est développée, et qui possède un esprit libre, grâce à son *faqr*.
- Pour plus de discussion sur *faqr*, cf. la thèse sur *La critique iqbalienne de la modernité* par S. Nazeer, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, 2011, p. 140-143.
- ۳۱ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۶۱۔
- 32 Richesse de Califat
- ۳۲ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۱۔
- 34 Le message et l'enseignement du Prophète
- ۳۵ اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۲۔
- 36 Illégitime pour nous – c'est-à-dire la royauté seule ne nous est permise par la loi divine et sacrée de l'islam

- ۳۷ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۲۔
- 38 Responsabilités de l'homme au cours de cette vie
- 39 Référence au Prophète Mohammad (paix et bénédictions soient sur lui)
- ۳۸ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۳۔
- 41 Référence à l'impérialisme et au colonialisme de l'Occident
- 42 D'après Jalāl Al-e Ahmad, le réformateur et le sociologue iranien du 20e siècle, les musulmans, surtout les savants et les chefs des pays musulmans sont toujours atteints de l'occidentalité. Cf. *Occidentalité* de J. Al-e Ahmad pour une étude détaillée du terme.
- ۳۹ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۴۔
- 44 *Mettre du rouge à jones* est le terme exact employé dans le vers
- ۴۰ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۵۔
- ۴۱ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۵۔
- ۴۲ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۵۔
- ۴۳ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۶۔
- 49 *Batoul*: c'est le nom de *Fatima Zahra*, la fille du Prophète Mohammad (paix et salue soient sur lui) ;  
Iqbal conseil les filles musulmanes de poursuivre le modèle de la vie de Fatima Zahra (que Dieu soit content avec elle) qui a donné naissance à l'*Imam Hussain*, connu aussi sous le nom de *Shabbir*, et qui a montré un courage ferme contre les forces sataniques. La bataille de *Karbala* reste comme un témoignage d'une volonté ferme en l'honneur de l'ordre divin et contre les forces sataniques.
- 50 Le nom de *l'Imam Hussain*, le petit fils du Prophète, et le grand martyr de la bataille de *Karbala* en 7<sup>e</sup> siècle.
- ۴۴ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۷۔
- ۴۵ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۷۔
- 53 Qui ont un caractère d'infidélité et de méconnaissance envers Dieu
- 54 Réf. à l'art de *Azar*, le père d'Abraham, qui sculptait les idoles de pierre
- ۴۶ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۷۔
- ۴۷ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۷۸۔
- ۴۸ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۸۰۔
- 58 Car le regard pieux est pur de toute convoitise
- 59 Le cœur qui n'a pas besoin d'autrui, ni de ce monde ni de l'autre
- ۴۹ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۸۱۔
- ۵۰ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۸۳۔
- ۵۱ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۹۹۲۔
- ۵۲ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۰۰۔
- ۵۳ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۰۱۔
- 65 Esclave du coeur
- ۵۴ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۰۳۔
- ۵۵ اقبال، علامه محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۲۱۔

<sup>68</sup> Dārā: Darius; Jam: le titre ancien des rois de la Perse.

<sup>٦٩</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۲۳۔

<sup>٧٠</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۲۳۔

<sup>٧١</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، ص ۱۰۲۸۔

<sup>72</sup> *Fi Sabil-Allah*: expression arabe signifie la charité en chemin d'Allah; emploi ironique et satirique pour montrer du doigt les musulmans qui attend la royauté sans rien faire;



A STUDY OF IQBAL'S CONCEPT OF  
AESTHETICS AS DIDACTIC IN  
SADEQUAIN PAINTING AT LAHORE  
MUSEUM

Alia Hadi Ali/Aqeel Abbas

## ABSTRACT

Allama Iqbal has written on various academic, literary, social and philosophical topics. He has also made the concept of beauty the subject of his poetry and prose writings. The paintings of prominent painter and artists Sadeqain have an important place in the artistic interpretation of Allama Iqbal's concept of beauty. These paintings are displayed in the Lahore Museum which convey Allama Iqbal's concept of beauty and ideology through visual content and calligraphy. Allama Iqbal was of the view that reality can be expressed and described through beauty. Every beautiful thing is a manifestation of God. According to him, the artist's job is to highlight the hidden beauty scattered in the universe. The paintings made by Sadiqain also explain Allama Iqbal's concept of self. The change of the world is in the hands of human beings. Sadiqain's painting of Bal Jibril's early poems is of extraordinary importance. These highlight the meaning through visual expression and colors. Sadiqain has made these parts of Allama Iqbal's poetry the subject of his painting, in which the problems faced by the human race, the secrets of the universe, the meaning of life, the role of man in the universe, oppression and authority, evolution and survival, and reason and love are included. Sadiqain's painting describes Allama Iqbal's concept of self in a way that how this concept can be a source of self-realization and human evolution.

## **Introduction**

Iqbal emphasis on the theory of beauty and his writing emphasizes on the intellectual change within an individual or among the whole society. This change is interpreted visually through many artists but one of the paintings by Sadequain presents at Lahore Museum communicates Iqbal's ideology through visuals and text (calligraphy). This paper will give comparison of two different expressions of poetry and image and will visually communicate the message for interpreting art and it's didactic for masses.

This paper, on a broader sense is a content analysis of Iqbal's poetry and related artwork for interpreting the hidden reasons and didactics. Sadequain interprets his inspiration and crux of Iqbal's poetry through his calligraphic verses and paintings present at the Lahore Museum, Lahore.

There are different writers and scholars who gave analysis over Iqbal's concepts. Shafique documented the illustrated biography of Iqbal's verses on different theorist and their contribution for the masses for deeper understanding of the Muslim scientists. It was Iqbal's presidential address during the oriental conference held in Lahore in 1923, made reply to various questions regarding the Muslim preference, as a mode of self-expression, on architecture over music and painting. Iqbal further elaborated it by giving the references of Ibn Taimiyah, Ghazzali, Razi and Suharwardi Maqtul who were forerunners of beacon and described the concept of Art and spatial sciences along with philosophy. This revealed the true spirit of our culture and Islam which provided basis for the modern and western culture earlier in 10<sup>th</sup> CE. Their theories and work that any form interprets through any field of aesthetic must have reasons to serve and bring change for masses.<sup>1</sup>

Iqbal believed that during the development of his theory of art the reality was revealed through beauty. Every beautiful object has expression and is a manifestation of that divine beauty which envelopes the whole universe. He explained that the function of artist is to reveal that hidden beauty which encompasses the whole universe.<sup>2</sup>

Iqbal's inspirations: A short address on Iqbal's inspiration from the Quran, from the Quran ending with a quotation of a poem from Iqbal's Bal-I Jibril, with both in Urdu and English. Talk given at the East London Mosque, 1949.<sup>3</sup>

Morality in love is a dominant part in Iqbal's poetry is an analyses by Shelly. He further explains that great instrument of moral good is the imagination and poetry triggers that imagination. Shelly consider poet as prophet as it gives new dimension to life by transforming his own state into concrete fact.

Poet grasp the deepest reality tend to produce them in others too. According to Iqbal poet must produce this state of mind and if the poet succeeds in doing so, he is accomplishing the task of a prophet.

Iqbal liked the concept of Shelly that a true poet interprets reality and reveals its secrets to humanity.<sup>4</sup>

### **Iqbal analysis with the form of arts**

Iqbal explains the hidden motive in the poetry of the poet. He rejects the art which may shut man's eye from reality and indulge him in the dreams dragging away him from reality. He takes his own art of poetry and analyze it with other forms of art in comparison to serving it with reasons for the masses.

در یم اندیشہ انداز د ترا  
از عمل بیگانه می سازد ترا<sup>5</sup>

Dream of Thought

It makes you alien to action

Similar concept is given in his Urdu poetry

سرود و شعر و سیاست کتاب و دین و ہنر  
گہر ہیں ان کی گرہ میں تمام یک دانہ  
ضمیر بندہ خاکی سے ہے نمود ان کی  
بلند تر ہے ستاروں سے ان کا کاشانہ  
اگر خودی کی حفاظت کریں تو عین حیات  
نہ کر سکیں تو سراپا فسوں و افسانہ  
ہوئی ہے زیر فلک امتوں کی رسوائی  
خودی سے جب ادب و دین ہوئے ہیں بیگانہ<sup>6</sup>



Anthem, poetry, politics, books, religion and art  
Homes are all single grains in their knot  
His conscience is from the khaki servant  
Their star is higher than the stars  
If you protect yourself, then life itself  
If you can't do it, it's all about art and fiction  
There has been a disgrace to the nations under the sky  
When literature and religion are alien to the self

اے اہل نظر ذوق نظر خوب ہے لیکن  
جو شے کی حقیقت کو نہ دیکھے، وہ نظر کیا

*O people of sight, taste is good, but  
He who does not see the reality of the thing, sees it*

In the early writings of Iqbal, he admired the connectivity and used the word of intoxicating with reference to the enchanted poetry of Hafiz Shirazy when he was young. But later when Iqbal had this theme of existence of an individual seeing world with an open sight of mind and soul, then he rejected the idea of Hafiz Shirazi of being intoxicated in fantasy world which had no connection with the real life itself.

Iqbal insisted and rejected the art which may shut man's eye from the visual reality and push him towards the sleep of ignorance. Whereas, he compares the poetry of Urfi Shirazi turning the light on the heart of the listener; Art for life is a level of perfection where beauty and power units by transforming into love to reform self – actualization. Leave the luxuries and come to term with bitter realities to attain self-actualization and art for the sake of life and not enjoyment.

Poet gives new meanings to whatever he sees in nature. It is not the art to express the feeling, it is to know through unknown reality and its true meanings.

The Iqbal refers through his poetic ability that one can amplify hidden capabilities and face the reality with courage. The art should resolve the man within a way that can enable him to face the challenges of self-edifice. Art should imply as an escort with human mind and enrich its power to make the life more meaningful. A poet does not only see the nature as it is, he also specks what ought to be by resisting nature.

Iqbal emphasizes that the Muslims are adopting everything from west but not even knowing that if it is good for them or not. It is ruining their own identification and one day they will disappear from the stage of life.

The example of oneness is combining the two and producing a third life. Poets translate the abstract world in reality. According to Iqbal poetry does not work on logical patterns yet there is always something elusive to it which is the real beauty and at the end the art is beauty not truth.

The poet says that beauty without appreciation and practicality is useless. And if one does not pay thanks to Allah and does not walk on the path shown by the God, it is useless of being aware. Creative passion behind poetry is a blind force. The true will to live and strive is inspired by the moral impulse and becomes the love when self identifies itself with the objects of love.

### **Art for the sake of serving humanity**

Iqbal explains that a person who regards spiritual depth for one self is not valid until there is some valid reason behind it. Or one shows internal strength in his way of living life.

God glorification is explained by the poet as the whole world gold to silver, beauty to skill everything is bestowed and made by God.

The poet explains again that whatever there is in world is there since the world came into existence. This world is made for the Allah's beloved Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) but for people they will have their judgment on their acts.

### **Sadequain's inspiration by Iqbal's poetry**

Iqbal's section is comprised of 16 paintings and 14 sections of each of the two murals, where each section of the mural measuring 4 x 9 feet, is based on Iqbal's poetry. For each of the paintings and murals, their transliteration, translation and illustration are inscribed on the opposite page of the corresponding painting.

Iqbal of *Baal e Jibreel* is no longer a poet mourning about socio-political issues, instead unleashes the great human spirit in the form of *Mard-e-Momin*, and inherits the qualities of his creator and capable of changing destinies with a single glance.

This painting also reveals the Iqbal's concept of *khudi* and changing world is in the hands of an individual depending on the basic condition of self-realization.

Painting by Sadequain below is his take on one of the early poems in Iqbal's *Baal e Jibreel*. Interpreting Iqbal's concept in visuals and colors.



1. Source: Holy sinner, *Treasures of time, State Bank of Pakistan*. Mohatta Palace Karachi

Iqbal interprets the works of the philosophers of the past and states that the fine arts have been associated with all kinds of religions from the beginning. Man's finest architecture, which is a mixture of beauty and grandeur, both beautiful and glorious, can be seen in their temples. Stone carving, fetish carving and the painting have also been associated with religion from the beginning.

As opposite to Plato, Iqbal's poetry does not express an illusionary world beyond human senses but a real with all its history and time (that can only be viewed with the inner sense).

Iqbal takes love from the early concepts of Napoleon and Plato. According to which everything is connected with its inner and reflected out later.

Iqbal gives reference of Avicenna and believes that the whole core for achieving something is the ultimate struggle aiming for beauty.

### **Iqbal and foreign poet's analysis**

Some of the distinguished philosophers are painted by Sadequain in the above painting. Here Iqbal's review of philosophers is interpreted in visual art.

The biggest reality of beauty is that it never stays forever, it is there for some time and then it just disappears or changes. This aspect of constant change in beauty with times is also explained by Keats in the same way that if the beauty stops then the struggle is not that adoring.

Iqbal perceived reality in terms of love, and not in terms of beauty in his later years. His concept of beauty undergoes certain changes in attaining the love of the creator and then love being everything. Love for Iqbal is the sole of the creation, beauty, and the power which grows human life.

Iqbal shares his feelings on creativeness with Blake and Coleridge. He believes that creativity is the attribute which we share with God. He believes that God is the poet and the supreme creative artist who makes others follow him.

Plato believed that the poet is not morally responsible for whatever he expresses as the words are ordered by divine force outside him. Unlike Plato, Iqbal says as man has got more privileged than others, therefore he bears greater responsibility to God.

Neitzche perceived Art and human self in two categories *Apollonian* and *Dionysian* and prefers Dionysus self which is the manifestation of change and vitality. Iqbal categories it with *Jalal* and *Jamal* and suggests a counter balance between two. He explains that *Jamal* without *Jalal* is nothing.

### **Poetic interpretation of Sadequain in Paintings**

Sadequain interpreted the poetry of Ghalib, Iqbal and Faiz. These interpretations are awe inspiring because of their thematic intensity. He was deeply interested in the issues that have challenged the best minds of human race focusing the question about mysteries of the universe, meaning of life on our planet and beyond, role of human beings in the universe, freedom and self-determination, survival and progress, and finding the fine line between reasons and emotions. The concept of *kehudi*/self, interpreted by Iqbal is similar in sadequain paintings, his verses painted illustrates various states of self-realization and consciousness. As archetypal expression of mystic vision, these paintings transcend our latent susceptibilities. This holds a beacon to the path of enlightenment, guides through the gateway of spiritual freedom, and provides a conduit to transpersonal truth. In these paintings, Sadequain seeks to share his observation, experiences, and interpretation in seeking the truth, and

the relationship to the world around him and beyond, having reasons to promote and preserve human and there responsibility for others.



2. Source: Holy sinner, *Treasures of time*, State Bank of Pakistan. Mohatta Palace. Karachi

### Iqbal's Verses:

دیکھے تو زمانے کو اگر اپنی نظر سے	افلاک منور ہوں تے نور سحر سے
خورشید کرے کسب ضیا تیرے شر سے	ظاہر تری تقدیر ہو سیمائے قمر سے
دریا متلاطم ہوں تری موج گہر سے	شر مندہ ہو فطرت تے اعجاز ہنر سے
اغیار کے افکار و تخیل کی گدائی	کیا تجھ کو نہیں اپنی خودی تک بھی رسائی؟ <sup>۸</sup>

If you look at the times with your own eyes  
 May the heavens be enlightened by the light of dawn  
 Khurshid kare kisb zia tere sharar se  
 Apparent progress is destiny from Seema Qamar  
 The river is turbulent with waves  
 Be ashamed of nature's miracles  
 Begging for the thoughts and ideas of Aghyar  
 Don't you have access to your own self?

Iqbal interpretation of verses reveal his believes during the development of his theory that reality is revealed through beauty. Every beautiful object is the manifestation of that divine beauty which envelopes and surrounds the whole universe. He explained that the function of an artist is to reveal that hidden beauty which

encompasses all universes. Further, Sadequain interpreted Iqbal theory stating that, the work of art cannot be produced by creative intuition only. According to Iqbal the desires which are generated out of fire of passion are fountain heads of Art. He further says that when we observe in God's world, we see deeper things within which are not clear just by looking at them. .

**Art for Reason by Iqbal:**

Iqbal himself is a master of expressions and lyrical visuals. In addition to being a poet, he was also a sage and could look wisely at the source and purpose of fine art. Most of the great poets have passed away who were perfect in their art, but they did not say anything about its true essence. Iqbal, auspiciously, was one of the few people who had such a delicate blend of poetry and wisdom in his nature that it became difficult to separate them from each other.

This refers to Sadequain's work during 1976-77 explaining Iqbal's thematic intensity of verse interpreted through painting in which painting from *Kuliyat-e-Iqbal* depicts moon rising, flying angel and world in collusion are shown in detail.

**Sadequain painting at Lahore Museum:**

Painting in bottom have figures, painting canvases and utensils covered with cobweb. Sadequain depicted the cobwebs engulfing society.

Art is not just sake of amusement joy or giving false imagination but serves as a tool for the individual to think and analyze oneself deeply and make himself aware of the real world. The challenges of self-identification, whom, Why and What an individual is doing.



Contemporary Art Gallery Lahore Museum,

Photo courtesy: Lahore Museum.

Size: 63. 2x88. Acc no PNG. 4

Painting above is a visual representation of figures evolved with phantasmagoric exploration of form and substance. It emerges with series of canvases in background and painting material in front. Figures are strong and subtle, stripping anatomizing recreating the skeletal forms beneath the visual flesh skeletons. Male and female figures are stuck with self-realization. They are in process to know their contribution or part to depict through skill they are keeping. It shows evolvment in new social and emotional credo of the essential unity of material things. All are caught in the agonizing toils of an evolutionary process of struggle goading them upwards from ground. He represented it as social commentary by showing cob-webbed canvases and one of the figures is encircled by the crown of atrophied oblivion. His huge canvasses are stylized and deliberately contrived though it is depicting the conflict of peaceful forces. Sadequain paintings are also the timeless inspirational point exerted from the poetry of Iqbal.

This depiction of Iqbal's paintings were visualized by Sadequain attentively, but more so to their forms, than their features. He focused on the elongated limbs or the tortured bodies to capture the emotion of the subject of his work rather than on delicate features or vivid color scheme. For capturing interpretation and the concept, he used monochrome colors along with distortion which reflects emphasis on the subject matter hidden behind the visuals. These visual showed his interest in the diverse literature and inspiration through the concepts which he painted.

لیکر تو خطوط کے سہارے ، آجا  
واپس مرے صادقین پیارے آجا  
ایوان کے دریا کے کنارے آجا  
تو خلوتِ تصویر میں بولی تصویر

Come to the house by the river  
You spoke in solitude  
With the help of letters, come  
Come back dear Sadequain

Sadequain reveals about letters which states about responsibility which he has to fulfil eventually. Without any reason painting the picture have no worth. Reason to call him back is to give reason for doing work and interpret narrative which benefits later. Here the letters are the reminder of his work. Although Iqbal is not against

writing drama instead he insisted that it is an imitation which wrecker's oneself by showing something false and is not real.

بڑھتے ہوئے طوفاں میں چلا آیا ہوں  
پھر کوچہ جاناں میں چلا آیا ہوں  
ایوان کے ایوان میں چلا آیا ہوں  
میں کوچہ جاناں سے نکل کر واپس

I have come to the House of Commons  
Get out of the main street and go back  
I have been in growing storms  
Then I went to Kocha Janan (beloved)

Sadequain explained himself through different verses. That he needs to come back from where he started his journey; when his thoughts and vision were aligned. But after roaming around at wrong paths, I am back to the state of being loved by my loved ones. Here Sadequain explains about to be sure about what one is doing. This act must have a vision to follow. Here he points out from his interpretation to Iqbal's struggle for reality in which Iqbal insisted on leaving a comfortable life and come to know the bitter realities faced by a thinker. Iqbal takes art a constant struggle.

اسد عمر کارکھ کے جام، واپس پہنچا کرنے جو ہے میرا کام واپس پہنچا  
سوٹھ کا تھا، مگر منزل نقاشی میں میں صبح کا بھولا شام واپس پہنچا

Asad Omar's rakh jam, returned It belonged to it, but the floor was in painting All I have to do is get back to work I forgot the morning and returned in the evening.

Here Sadequain negates omer Khayum philosophy of doubt on almost every facet of religious belief, this is the reflection of Iqbal's poetry with a sensuous image which serves mere for the adoration is rejected by Iqbal. He argues that the real art of poetry which is not just versification but the one which opens up the secrets of life and reality.

ایوان کی شہزادی کے سر پر نہ تھا تاج  
میں خانہ تصویر میں پہنچا جب آج  
ہاں مؤقلم و لوح کا گڑا تھا مزاج  
حلقے میں رباعی کے جو دو دن رہ کر



Han was in a bad mood by staying in the circle for four days. The princess of the house did not have a crown on her head when I arrived at the box office today.

Sadequain describe that he has remain static for four days. Painting is not complete due less effort. Paints and brushes are not prepared for painting. Painting subject is to paint crown of princess head. But without reason it seems impossible to paint. Love is the only source which brings the reality of soul and heart. And here not having crown on head means symbolically not presence of reality and sincerity.

مجھ سے مری آنکھوں سے کہ بہتا خوں تھا  
میں شہر مصوری میں پلٹا یوں تھا  
خیام کے کوچے میں گیا ہی کیوں تھا  
پھر خانہ مانی میں یہ بولی اک لوح

I was back in town painting then in Khana Mani it was a tablet. There was blood flowing from my dead eyes why did he go to the tent coach?

Sadequain support and repeat inspiration from Iqbal that poetry needs reason and direction with logic. Poetry without reason are just words and they are effortless. That's why moving to wrong places is explained by and believing in intoxicated world concept given by Omer Khayyam is negated. Iqbal emphasis that the poetry dwells a person towards right and wrong, how one can write about immoral pleasure devoting poetry.

To imitate nature means not giving your creativeness a chance to express oneself Poet empressees the vitality and energy of his own being by using images of nature. The aesthetic theory of stern believes that poetry expresses that creative energy which manifests itself in self-expression. They believe poet as co-worker in the process of creativity. For them poetry is a source of ecliptic rapture (Sensuous involvement).

آیا نہ تو، گو میں نے بچھائیں آنکھیں  
لیلائے مرعانی سے لڑ آئیں آنکھیں  
اک لوح یہ بولی میری آئیں آنکھیں  
کیوں کوچہ خیام میں جا کر تو نے

A tablet said this to my eyes why did you go to Kocha Khayyam?  
No, even though I rolled my eyes fight the eyes with Leila Marani

Sadequain explains that he was at wrong place where poetry was not good for him because he was saying verses without any reason and expression of guidance. Omer Khayam philosophy about life and poetry abandonment of the individual in the world. Sadequain is not Existentialists he believe that society restricting an individual's life or actions and stopping inhibit to have its free will. Every person need to contribute its part for benefiting and believing other growth.

ہر جال کو حیرت کی نظر سے دیکھا  
شوخی نہ شرارت کی نظر سے دیکھا  
لوحر نے شکایت کی نظر سے دیکھا  
میں خانہ تصویر میں پہنچا جب آج  
بالکل ہی تو اجنبی وہاں تھا پیارے  
کہتی ہے کہ اب تک تو کہاں تھا پیارے

Happiness did not look with mischief  
When I arrived at the box office today  
He looked at Har jal (everywhere) with amazement  
Lohr looked at the complaint. That alley is not yours, dear  
Now the box pictures every tablet from me  
Absolutely, the stranger was there, dear  
She says where you have been so far dear

Sadequain explains that he discourages himself to produce art which reflects joyous attributes in it. His painting reflects Iqbal's concept of art for reason discussed above. He narrates about going wrong way in his prose written on painting at Lahore Museum. An artist must discover within the depth of his own being. It is our light which is reflected in everything which is in surrounding.

In the world God has made nothing wrong, it's just that one has to open the eye within and look around with its third eye to speculate things and relate it to one self in right way.

تصویر میں ساحری کی سو جھی کیوں تھی  
عرفی کو مصری کی سو جھی کیوں تھی  
کل میں نے بھی کہہ لئے تھے اردو مصرعے

مل مجھ کو بھی شاعری کی سوچھی کیوں تھی  
رکھتے ہوئے موقلم نکھاری اک رات  
وہ زلف قلم لیکے سنواری اک رات  
تفریح میں یوں سفر میں چلتے چلتے  
خیام کے کوچے میں گزاری اک رات

Why was there is no understanding in the picture?  
Why he was saying poetry Lu (nickname) he had no understanding?  
Yesterday I had also asked why I had an understanding of poetry  
One night he kept the pen and decorated it  
I spent a night in a tent coach while traveling in this way for fun.

Sadequain says that he is holding pen to write but why he is doing it if he does not know its use. Secondly, he regrets about time for which he was convinced by the Omer Khayyam's concept of intoxication. He further says, it was wastage of all efforts done for writing and painting in past if that work has no light for others.

### **Conclusion:**

Iqbal says to poet that when one is away from something, is better than having something because the struggle to achieve it is more important. To achieve something one should struggle all the time and it should carry on till the end of life.

Then again poet reinforces that poetry cannot be detached from life. He believes that real poetry springs out from the actual experience of human life. An artist makes an art alive by pouring his soul into it. Poet says in his verses that philosophy and knowledge is the only understandable way when one has to do a lot of effort to make it understandable.

Poet again argues in his verses no matter if one wants to have mastery in painting, music or sculptor he has to strive hard, otherwise it is in vain. By poet's point of view passion or intensity are the forces lying behind on a work of Art. A work of art is the outcome of passion or intensity hidden inside the poet. And this is the main factor which will be visible whatever art work is done.

Iqbal further explains that the poet is gifted with the quality to not only look into the future but also to instigate struggle done by humanity and achieve the destiny. Iqbal says that poets has great responsibility because they are the eye of the nation. Iqbal expresses

that the spiritual health of the people depends on the inspiration of its poet and artist. Iqbal insisted again and again that a life denying idea can destroy a nation more than anything else.

Iqbal's concept to express art and poetry is didactic and is depicted in Sadequain's painting present at museum collection. It also expresses his thought for skills, interest of individualism and the way to benefit the society through quest of self-realization. This concept for representing skills and through verses is followed by Sadequain. Iqbal interlaces verses and concept to introduce the didactics in all fields of Art, design and craft. This concept is followed by many others over the years. Art, design and craft are represented in different modes and mediums. But with reference to above verses Iqbal emphasizes on the work particularly which brings change for the humanity, the skills which represent the approach of living and growing a person as individual. He also insisted that your work must not dragging you away from reality and practical approach. It must give you practical approach in which your view towards religion and everyday life is balanced.

Iqbal disapproves the concept of art which does not move the people to bring about a change while on the other hand he says how European society was up-grading for bringing change. He wanted the same for his own nation.

## Notes and References

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- <sup>1</sup> Shafique Ali Khurram, *Iqbal: An illustrated biography*, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 2010.
  - <sup>2</sup> Baqir Naseem Ajmi, *Iqbal's Conception of Fine Arts*, (Carvan), March 1958, pp. 22-30.
  - <sup>3</sup> Abdul Hakeem Khalifa, *Fikr Iqbal Bazam-e-Iqbal*, Pakistan, Lahore, 1964.
  - <sup>4</sup> (Shelly, pp 21)

<sup>۵</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (فارسی)، شیخ غلام علی اینڈ سنز، لاہور، ص ۷۳۔

<sup>۶</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (اردو)، اقبال اکادمی پاکستان، لاہور، ص ۶۱۲۔

<sup>۷</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (اردو)، ص ۶۳۰۔

<sup>۸</sup> اقبال، علامہ محمد، کلیات اقبال (اردو)، ص ۶۳۳۔

# TWO IMPORTANT LETTERS

Gul Ahmad

## ABSTRACT

This article contains two important letters, one from the well-known Iqbal-Scholar and researcher, Dr. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen, which he wrote to Dr. Lawrence H. Barfield on 12th May 1984, and the other from Dr. L. H. Barfield's reply to that letter on 8th August, 1984. Dr. L. H. Barfield was professor in the Department of Ancient History and Archeology at the University of Birmingham. He was the son of Nancy May, daughter of Allama Iqbal's teacher sir Thomas Arnold. There is also a letter from Allama Iqbal to Nancy May Arnold which he wrote on 11th January 1911. In his letter, Dr. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen had requested for information about the biographical sketches of Dr. Barfield's mother Nancy May Arnold, his grandmother Celia May Hickson and grandfather Sir Thomas Arnold.

This article consist of two letters, the first letter is from Dr. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen which he wrote to Dr. Lawrence . H. Barfield on May 12, 1984 regarding research in Iqbal Studies, in which he requested to provide some information while the second letter was written by Dr. Barfield in response to the above letter.

Dr. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen was a renowned researcher and scholar of Iqbal. He has done valuable research work in the field of Iqbal Studies. He started his service from Higher Education Department, Punjab as Lecturer in Urdu. He was interested in Iqbal Studies, so he started his research in the same field. Keeping in view his interests in the field of Iqbal Studies, Allama Iqbal Open University hired his services. He served on different posts in departments of Urdu and Iqbal Studies of Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad. He also remained chairman of Iqbal Studies Department. He completed his Ph. D. on “مکاتیب اقبال کا تنقیدی جائزہ”. His books include اوراقِ کم گشتہ، نقوش قائد اعظم اقبال کے معاشی نظریات، ارمغان اقبال and “Mementoes of Iqbal”. Moreover, he wrote many research articles on Iqbal Studies that were included in different research journals.

Dr Lawrence Barfield, archaeologist and historian, was born on June 11, 1935 in Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire. He is son of Nancy May Arnold, the daughter of Thomas Arnold. He studied at the universities of Cambridge, Ljubljana and Pavia and worked at the University of Bonn and the Rheinischeslandes museum before taking up a post at the University of Birmingham in 1966, where he remained until retiring as Reader in 2000. He got into archaeology while at Merchant Taylors’ school, when he and Professor Martin Biddle, University of Oxford, were exempted games to excavate the Manor of the More, Cardinal Wolsey’s palace, which was at the edge of the school grounds. In 1955 he went up to Magdalene College, Cambridge, to read archaeology and anthropology, resolving to specialize in prehistoric archaeology. On graduating he began a Cambridge Ph. D on the Neolithic of northern Italy and the Balkans, spending a year at the University of Ljubljana as a British Council exchange student, and travelling all over Yugoslavia and northern Italy. He then focused on the north Italian Neolithic, and was an exchange student at the Collegio Borromeo, University of Pavia,

after which he was offered a post as assistant in the Department of Vor-und Frühgeschichte in Bonn. It was while he was in Bonn that he began digging at the Rocca di Rivoli, an important Neolithic site near Verona. He stayed in Bonn for three and a half years, moving from the university to the Landesmuseum where he conducted several excavations, dating from the Bronze Age to Roman. After returning to Cambridge to finish his Ph. D, he became a lecturer at the University of Birmingham in 1966.

Dr. Lawrence Barfield was the most influential specialist on north Italian prehistory. Although his particular period was the Neolithic and Copper Ages, his interests ranged widely, and included Paleo-Indian stone tools of the Atacama desert in Chile, a fortified imperial villa in the German Rhineland and the Roman salt industry at Droitwich, Worcestershire.

Alongside his busy programs of excavation and publication in Italy, he was also active in English prehistory, particularly that of the West Midlands, with an interest in the interpretation of mounds of burnt stones, which he intriguingly proposed might be evidence of prehistoric saunas. Even on National Service he kept his hand in, digging a trench at the 1st-millennium BC city of Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Aqaba and surveying in the Libyan desert near Trauma.

Dr. Barfield made several groundbreaking contributions to north Italian prehistory. As well as his excavations at Rocca di Ravioli, where he established a chronology for the later Neolithic, he also excavated at Fimon, Molino Casarotto, a Neolithic site; at Monte Covolo, which has a 3,000-year sequence from the late Neolithic to the middle Bronze Age; at the RiparoValtenesi, Manerba, a Copper Age cemetery in a rock shelter with collective burials in wooden chambers; at Ponte di Veia, a flint production site; and at the Rocca di Manerba.

In 1971 he published a seminal work, *Northern Italy before Rome*, in Thames & Hudson's *Ancient Peoples and Places* series, which provided the first proper synthesis of north Italian prehistory; this work remains unsurpassed and is still used by students and scholars today. Other major contributions included his recognition of the Monti Lessini near Verona as the principal source of high-grade flint in prehistoric north Italy, and his work on the Iceman, which he dealt with in scientific publications — pointing out its significance for dating the beginning of the Italian Copper Age to the fourth millennium BC — and in the popular book he co-authored with E. Koller and A. Lippert, *Der Zeuge aus dem*



Gletscher: Das Rtsel der frhenAlpen-Europer (1992). His important project, Excavations in the RiparoValtenesi, Manerba, 1976-1994 was published in 2007 by the Italian Institute of Prehistory and Protohistory at Florence, of which he had been elected a foreign member.

Lawrence was shy and self-effacing, and consequently his eminence and enormous contribution in Italy were overlooked by many in the UK, but his loss was deeply felt in the Italian archaeological community. He was an engaging teacher who brought prehistory to life for generations of students, and inspired and unofficially taught many Italian archaeologists. Unlike many professionals, he paid great attention to amateurs: in return he was dearly loved.

- He has 71 works in 182 publications in 3 languages. Most widely held works are as under:
- Northern Italy before Rome; 20 editions published between 1971 and 1990 in English.
- Beakers in Britain and Europe; 6 editions published in 1977 in English.
- Roman Droitwich: Dodderhill; 5 editions published between 2005 and 2006 in English.
- Excavations at Whitemoor Haye Quarry; 2 editions published in 2006 in English.
- Der Zeugeausdem Gletscher; 7 editions published in 1992 in German.
- Beitragezur Archäologie des römischenRheinlands; 15 editions published in 1968 in German.
- The excavations on the Rocca di Rivoli; 10 editions published in 1976 in English and Italian.
- Burnt mounds and hot stone technology; 5 editions published in 1991 in English.
- Excavations in the Riparo Valtenesi; 5 editions published in 2007 in English and Italian.
- Excavations on the Rocca di Rivoli (Verona); 7 editions published in 1966 in English and Italian.

He died of mesothelioma on July 2, 2009, aged 74.<sup>1</sup>

The text of one letter each from Dr. Lawrence H. Barfield and Dr. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen is given below. For better comprehension and explanation, necessary notes are given as well.

[1]

Allama Iqbal Open University,  
Islamabad.  
12th May, 1984.<sup>2</sup>

My dear Dr. Barfield,

I feel very happy to write to you. I have received a letter from Prof. Dr. Waheed Ahmad<sup>3</sup> of Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad who had an opportunity to see you while he was doing his researches in England. The letter was written by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, the poet philosopher of Pakistan to Mrs. Barfield [at that time Miss. Nancy].<sup>4</sup> A copy of the letter is enclosed.<sup>5</sup> I intend to edit this letter with sufficient notes for getting it published in a Research journal of my country. I shall be very grateful to you if you kindly furnish me necessary information about your mother,<sup>6</sup> grandmother<sup>7</sup> and grandfather.<sup>8</sup> I shall use this information in my article with your compliments.

Yours sincerely,

Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen.

To,  
Dr. L. Barfield  
Department of Archaeology,  
University of Birmingham,  
England.<sup>9</sup>

[2]

Department of Ancient History and Archaeology,  
The University of Birmingham,  
P. O. Box. 363, Birmingham B15 2TT.  
Dated: 8<sup>th</sup> August, 1984.

Dear Shaheen,

Thank you letter of 12<sup>th</sup> May. I apologize for not replying sooner. I am pleased to hear of your interest in my family's relationship with Iqbal and I was interested to know that you have one of the letters that I loaned Dr. Waheed Ahmad some years ago.

I would like to know more precisely what information you require about my mother and her family. I really know little more about my grandfather himself than is published in his obituary [Proceedings of British Academy c. 1931].<sup>10</sup> He died before I was born. My colleague here at Birmingham University, Dr Said Durrani<sup>11</sup> [Physics Dept. ], has written an article on Sir Thomas's relationship with Iqbal which I understand will be published shortly<sup>12</sup>. I will let you know when this happens.

I am of course anxious to have the letter returned to me as soon as it is possible as the loan is somewhat overdue.<sup>13</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
L. H. Barfield

To,  
Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen,  
Department of Iqbaliyat,  
Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

### Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/lawrence-barfield-archaeologist-and-historian-xsf2w7q5w3b>

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Saeed Akhter Durrani also mention about this letter in his book named:

”اقبال یورپ میں“

انھوں (ڈاکٹر بارفیلڈ) نے مجھے اطلاع دی کہ اسلام آباد سے ایک صاحب کا (یعنی ڈاکٹر رحیم بخش شاہین، جو معروف محقق اقبال ہیں) خط انھیں موصول ہوا ہے۔ (ڈاکٹر سعید اختر درانی، اقبال یورپ میں، نئی دہلی: انجمن ترقی اردو (ہند)، ۲۰۰۴ء، ص: ۲۷)

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Waheed Ahmed received his higher education from the United Kingdom. On his return, he continued to work as a Professor of History at Quaid-e-Azam University. After that, he served as the Director General of Quaid-e-Azam Academy, Karachi. The main focus of his study was Quaid-e-Azam and Tehreek-e-Pakistan. Here are the detail of some of his important books; Sind Story 2011, Toad To Indian Freedom, Jinnah-Irwin Correspondence, Diary and Notes of Mian Fazal. I. Hussain, Jinnah-Linlithgow Correspondence etc.

<sup>4</sup> Nancy May Arnold was born on 28th Nov, 1896 in Subcontinent. She completes her studies from Cambridge University. She married with engineer Robert Harry Barfield (1895 To 1977). She have four children. Dr Lawrence H. Barfield is one of them.

<sup>5</sup> The said letter is as under:

Lahore,  
11th Jan, 1911.  
My dear Nancy,

Last Monday early in the morning when I was meditating over the vanities of life my servant brought me your Xmas card. You can imagine how glad I was to receive it, especially because it put me in mind of the happy days that I had spent with my Guru in England. I am indeed thankful to you for this nice present.

I suppose you getting on well with your lessons in Botany. When I come next time to England to kiss the feet of my Guru, I hope you will educate me in the names of all the flowers that grow in the beautiful valleys of England. I still remember the sweet=Williams, the blue bells, the tulips; tulips, so that you see that your pupil has not got a bad memory.

You know that my Guru is at present very busy-looking after the welfare of younger humanity- so do act a good prophet between his Divinity and the poor mortal Iqbal, who is anxious to know all about him. I am sure he will not stint his revelations to you which you will communicate to me in due course.

I am afraid I must close this letter now . The little black daughter of my Sice is crying downstairs, and has been disturbing my quite since mourning. She is a perfect nuisance, but I have to tolerate her, because her father is a very dutiful servant.

Please do remember me to father, mother, auntie and Marcus if you ever write to him.

Yours affectionately,  
M. D Iqbal

Miss. Nancy Arnold,  
22 Launceston Place, Kensington Gate,  
London, W(England)

<sup>6</sup> About Nancy May Arnold.

<sup>7</sup> Celia May Hickson was born on 1st May, 1852 in London. Her father name was George Hickson and mother name was Ellen Celia Hickson. She is a niece of Theodore Beck. In 1892 Thomas Arnold married with her. She died in 1931 aged 79.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Thomas Walker Arnold (19th April 1864- 9th June 1930) was born in Devonport. He received his early education at the City of London School where he mastered the Sanskrit language. In 1883, he got himself enrolled at Cambridge College where Mr. Robertson Smith and Mr. Cowell were his teachers. He learned Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Russian and Portuguese in the College. In 1886, He passed the Tripos exam and in 1917, He was elected an honorary fellow of the same college. He then moved to India and took up the profession of teaching at MAO College Aligarh where he remained associated till 1898. During this period, he published his first book "Preaching of Islam". The same year, he joined the Indian Education Service and became Professor of Philosophy at Government College, Lahore, where a philosopher gushed from Iqbal. Besides, he was also the Dean of Oriental Faculty. His tenure in this college is from February 1, 1898 to February 29, 1904. His second book Al-Mu'tazilah was published here. In 1904 he moved to Britain where he started working as a Deputy Librarian in the India Office Library, London. In 1909, Professor Laurel Morley formed an organization to help Indian students studying in Britain. Arnold was appointed the organization's education adviser who held this position for eleven years. He also worked as an English editor of Encyclopaedia Britannica of Islam in the UK. This encyclopaedia was printed from Holland. He was also the editor of the Islamic section of the same encyclopaedia. At the same time he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

In 1912 he was awarded the title of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire (C. L. E). Some of his important books are mentioned below;  
Court Painting of the Grand Mughuls; 1921  
The Caliphate; 1924  
Survivals of Sasanian and Manichean Art in Persian Painting; 1924  
Painting in Islam; 1928  
The Islamic Faith (Co Author); 1928  
The Islamic Book (Co Author); 1929  
Bihzad and His Paintings in the Zafarnameh Manuscript (Co Author); 1930.

<sup>9</sup> Dr Saeed Akhter Durrani mention about this letter in his book.

ڈاکٹر سعید اختر درانی، اقبال یورپ میں، نئی دہلی: انجمن ترقی اردو (ہند)، ۲۰۰۲ء، ص: ۲۷

<sup>10</sup> The Proceedings of the British Academy is a series of academic volumes on subjects in the humanities and social sciences. The first volume was published in 1905. Up to 1991, the volumes (appearing annually from 1927) mostly consisted of the texts of lectures and other papers read at the academy, plus obituary notices or “memoirs” of Fellows of the British Academy. From 1992 the Proceedings became an irregular series through the addition of thematic volumes of papers, typically derived from academic conferences held at the academy. After 2011-2012, the publication of the texts of lectures was transferred to the new online open access Journal of the British Academy, and the publication of obituary notices was transferred to a separate Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy series. The Proceedings of the British Academy series therefore now focuses on the publication of themed volumes of essays, and is open to proposals from prospective volume editors. The series has always been published on behalf of the British Academy by Oxford University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Renowned Scientist, Archeologist and Iqbal Scholar Dr. Saeed Akhtar Durrani was born on 8th Dec, 1929 in Faisalabad. Dr. Durrani was Chairman of the Iqbal Academy (UK) from 1987 to 2015. He organized a number of International Conferences on Iqbal - highlighting in particular his cultural and metaphysical contributions. He had also established himself as a leading authority on the life of Allama Iqbal - especially in Europe. Dr. Durrani was the author of two books on Allama Iqbal's life *اقبال یورپ میں* and *نوادار اقبال یورپ میں*. In these two books he had brought out many aspects of Allama Iqbal's life that were totally unknown before. It was under Dr. Durrani's stewardship that a new portrait of Allama Iqbal was commissioned (in November 1990) by the Iqbal Academy UK from the renowned Pakistani portraitist, Gulgee, and in a historic and glittering ceremony (November, 1993), installed in the Great Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge - Iqbal's alma mater in England - among the portraits of other great sons of that institution, such as Newton, Byron, Tennyson and Rutherford. Earlier, Dr Durrani had also played a leading role in the discovery of Allama Iqbal's first place of residence in Cambridge (1905-06), viz. 17 Portugal Place, where the Government of Pakistan put up a commemorative plaque in 1978. In 1987, Dr. Durrani found in the Cambridge University Library a unique copy of the first edition 1920 of Nicholson's famous translation of Iqbal's Persian masnavi, *Asrar-i-Khudi* which first introduced Iqbal to the western World. This copy bore very extensive corrections and amendments, in Iqbal's own hand, together with what amounted to a reasoned critique of the

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translation. Dr. Durrani was also instrumental in organizing 'Iqbal in Europe – Centenary Celebration at Trinity College, Cambridge (June 19-20, 2008) and installation of memorial plate of Allama Iqbal's poem 'Shakespeare' at Shakespeare birthplace in April, 2010. He died on 16th July, 2018 in Birmingham U.

([https://www.allamaiqbal.com/new/obituary\\_dr\\_saeed\\_akhter\\_durrani.html](https://www.allamaiqbal.com/new/obituary_dr_saeed_akhter_durrani.html))

<sup>12</sup> That article was published in journal *اقبال* نمبر، دسمبر ۱۹۷۷ء

<sup>13</sup> According to Dr Saeed Akhtar Durrani, Dr. Waheed Ahmad returned all the documents and letter in 1998.

(ڈاکٹر سعید اختر درانی، اقبال یورپ میں، نئی دہلی؛ انجمن ترقی اردو (ہند)، ۲۰۰۳ء، ص: ۲۷)

TRANSFORMATION OF IQBAL'S  
THOUGHTS FROM WESTERN  
NATIONALIST TO PAN-ISLAMIC  
PHILOSOPHER

Sumaira Bibi

## ABSTRACT

Dr Muhammad Iqbal's Philosophical approach revolves around psychology, ethics, politics and religion. During his young age nationalism attracted most of the Iqbal's attention among other modern concepts and ideologies. In his poetry, speeches and letters he often expressed his opinion about the non-territorial based nationalism, as some of the poems in Bang-i-Dara show him an Indian Nationalist, while his later poems particularly after the European invasion into the Muslim World and the Nationalist Movements in the Middle East have a very striking Pan-Islamic touch. His approach on this particular subject matter was completely different from his contemporaries like Abul Kalam Azad and Hussain Ahmad Madni. According to the initial thinking of Iqbal, he was of the view that Islam is a strong binding force which binds all the Muslims living in different parts of the world regardless of geographical and territorial separation. When Iqbal in his famous presidential address of 1930 demanded a separate territorial homeland for the Muslims of India, it gave the critics a chance to spread misunderstanding about his transformation from an ardent nationalist of Western type to a universalist of the Islamic pattern. In order to grasp the transformation of Iqbal's thoughts, a brief account of historical circumstances and his stay in Europe 1905-1908 is very important. During this time Iqbal eye witnessed the international turmoil in world politics when European Powers had been involved in intensive rivalry to fulfill their nationalistic ambitions.



For students of Philosophy and History, it is intellectually stimulating to know the causes and circumstances which led to the transformation of Iqbal's thoughts. The problem apparently seems to be complex but a thorough study of Iqbal's poetry and other writings and an objective examination of the circumstances leaves no doubts about his perceptions about Quranic concept of Muslim universalism, when he had consistently advocated the unity of Islam as a world phenomenon but after his tour to Europe his attitude crystallized and took a more tangible shape.<sup>1</sup> The period of Iqbal's philosophy towards nationalism can be divided into two phases, before 1905 and after 1908. During 1910 to 1923 Iqbal had not actively participated in the political affairs as he many times asserted that politics is not my cup of tea, but on the other hand his primary concentration had been on poetic and philosophic works. He wrote stirring poetry which created political and religious awakening among the Muslim communities.<sup>2</sup>

In the esteem of Nationalism Iqbal was also helped by the Turkish experience. The abolition of Khilafat particularly convinced Iqbal that, "Islam is neither Nationalism nor imperialism but a league of nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinction for facility and reference only. " There can be no denying that Iqbal's intellectual formulation of the idea of a separate Muslim state influenced largely the thinking of Jinnah which had consequently led to Pakistan while Iqbal abhorrently rejected European Nationalism which was based on Material considerations. Moreover it is a matter of great interest to realize Iqbal's bent of mind towards Persian writing during his stay in European. On one hand he is considered 'Spiritual Father' of Pakistan. On the other his message of Eastern revivalism placed him in the ranks of twentieth century's major intellectuals. In his times Iqbal was praised as much as Tagore in the level of intellectual capacities. A man himself neither wrong nor inconsistent in his ideologies, but there might be some situation or external circumstances which convert his inner self. This was happened with Iqbal which changed Iqbal's political and philosophical thoughts and outlook. Therefore Muslim Nationalism was a heartfelt desire of Iqbal to secure the unity of religion and stat in Islam.<sup>3</sup>

The initial phase of Iqbal's thought proved temporary and vanished after having seeing the European expansion and their highly destructive policies for the realization of their nationalistic ambitions. European powers in the name of 'Nationalism' were using their influences to increase their hegemony over the weakened nations. And the basic scheme of Western imperialism was to dismember the unity of the Muslim World by popularizing the ideology of 'Territorial Nationalism' among Muslim Countries. European antagonistic ambition to scatter the unity of Muslim *Ummah* through these tactics had disillusioned Iqbal. This was the transitional phase of Iqbal.<sup>4</sup>

### **Iqbal as an Ardent Nationalists**

A man living in a country must shows his patriotism, affiliation and devotion with his country, same was the case with Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Iqbal too was very patriotic in his early phase of his life. During these days his poems in praise of Ram Chandra and Nanak and Ram Tirath are just tributes to religious teachers of their communities, as our Islam teaches to respect the creeds of other communities living in the same state. As a young poet, Iqbal had never taken any interest in the political affairs but many of those his poems show that he was an ardent supporter of nationalism and rejected territorial based nationalism which had often led to war and hatred among the human being belonging to different cultures and religions. In a poem *Tarana-i- Hindi* of this period he said,

"We are Indians and India is our motherland. "<sup>5</sup> Between 1895 and 1905 he wrote poems in support of Indian Nationalism. He had made appeal for the union of different communities of India. He wanted to eradicate bigotry and fanaticism from India. He himself wrote,

"Very clearly from the writings of the European scholars I had come to know that the basic scheme of Western imperialism was to dismember the unity of the Muslim world by popularizing territorial nationalization among its various components".<sup>6</sup> In his another poem, *Tasvir-i-Dard* Iqbal laments over the miserable condition of his countrymen and warns them about the danger ahead. Disunity among the various faction of the country tortures him he resolved this problem by putting the various religious groups in India in a string and denotes them like beads in rosary. In this stage of life Iqbal's perceptions largely resembled with the early political thoughts of Quaid-e-Azam. When Quaid-e-Azam was hailed as the ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity. Both leaders of the Indian-

Subcontinent were optimistic enough that by unity they can get rid from British rule in India.

*Saare Jaban sa Acha ha Hindustan hamara*

*Hum bulbala ha is ka ya gulistan humara*

*Mazhab nabi sikhata apis ma ber rakna*

*Hindi ha hum watan ha Hindustan huamra*

*Younan-O-Misar Roman sab mit gaye jaban sa*

*Ab tak mager ha baqi ha namonishan hamra.*<sup>7</sup>

Iqbal thus during these days was one of the preeminent Poet-Philosopher of the Subcontinent. The frequently used appellation as Poet-Philosopher is well deserved. Because his poetry and philosophy do not exist in isolation from each other both are deeply integrated with each other, rather his poetry serves as a vehicle for his philosophical approaches. It was during this period that he wrote many poems in support of Indian nationalism but side by side with this approach he has preceded the love for his religion and culture.<sup>8</sup> Iqbal emphasized upon the unity of Muslim *Ummah* after having realized that European countries are jeopardizing the interests of Islam and Muslims. He said:

It is not only the unity of language culture or country or the identity of economic interest that constitutes the basic principles of one nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe, and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the Society founded by Prophet of Islam.<sup>9</sup>

He condemned the nationalism of the West as their territorial type of nationalism failed to appeal him. He found it unsatisfactory of deeper emotional and spiritual reason. He thus turned away from such concepts of nationalism. Loyalties to the nations have been replaced by the spiritual loyalties to the world of nation of Islam. He had gone to Europe as a nationalist and returned as an earnest Pan-Islamic.<sup>10</sup> After his return to India he devoted himself for the true interpretation and message of Islam and the spiritual value for which it stood. Obviously it was Iqbal's love and passion for Islam as an ideal and sufficient for man's every want in this world and the world hereafter. His perspective was not limited to India, but had been extended to entire world of Islam.<sup>11</sup>

The subsequent events compelled the Muslims to demand separate homeland for the Muslims of India. It was so, because maneuvering and manipulation of the Congress had transformed

their ideologies. Hence the demand for Pakistan was not made on the philosophy of hatred towards the Hindus but the Muslims wanted to safeguard their distinct Islamic culture and civilization and both communities failed to make a unanimous constitution, which would have been accepted for the minorities of India.<sup>12</sup>

### **Impacts of Prof. Arnold on Iqbal's Academic and Professional Life**

Iqbal was largely impressed by Prof. Arnold as a student he had close association with him approximately for six years. During this period Iqbal attained country wide fame by his poems which he had presented in the annual sessions of Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam. Further Iqbal produced his first book in Urdu 'Political Economy' which was published in 1904. The dynamism and Persuasion behind this book was also Arnold. Prof Arnold made Iqbal realized to write this book.<sup>13</sup> When Prof Arnold left India the best substitute for Prof. Arnold was no doubt Iqbal for the post of lectureship. It can be assumed that Prof. Arnold might have facilitated Iqbal in getting this job although Iqbal had good academic record but at that time too reference of an influential person for getting job might be needed. It was so because Prof. Arnold had been Dean of the Department of Philosophy in Government College Lahore, and Dean of the Oriental Faculty of Punjab University Lahore. It is undeniable fact that not only in academic but in professional life too Prof. Arnold paved the way to Iqbal and persuaded him to adopt teaching profession. Dr. Wahid Qureshi said, "Iqbal has appointed as Arabic reader in 1899 in Oriental College in the tutelary of his kind teacher Prof. Arnold. "So Prof. Arnold's motivation epitomized the courage of Iqbal's conviction.<sup>14</sup>

In Cambridge and London Iqbal was eager and highly spirited to keep him engage in scholarly discussion. He was also politely self-assertive. During 1907, in a picnic gathering in Cambridge in which apart from Iqbal every one was putting his arguments about the mystery of life and death. Iqbal kept himself silent, as many knowledgeable scholars were present. Meanwhile Prof. Arnold turned towards Iqbal and asked about the said theory. Iqbal said:

"Life is the beginning of death and death, the beginning of life".<sup>15</sup>

In June 1907, Prof Arnold informed that rare manuscript had been discovered in Germany that needed deciphering, that he considered Iqbal as the most appropriate scholar to examine the manuscript and convert into simple text, the conversation between

the student and teacher in their respective positions was as in these words:

Iqbal: You are my teacher and I am your student. What should I do?

Arnold: you are the right man for this responsible task. Sometimes a student excels his teacher, in your case the student will surpass his teacher.

Iqbal: As a teacher you know better than me, if this is your wish, I shall obey it.<sup>16</sup>

### **Iqbal's Close Association with his teachers Dr. J. M. E. McTaggart**

Iqbal was greatly influenced by the teaching methods of Dr. J. M. E. McTaggart. As an obliged student Iqbal admired his teachers but side by side tried to find out mysteries that often came in his subconscious. He was absorbing new ideas which were antitheses of his earlier political philosophy.<sup>17</sup> Iqbal did not borrow the philosophical system and definition of Western philosopher. He had used their techniques and methods of researches to make comparative analyses and study various phenomena of society and nature.

### **External Factors led to internal change.**

Iqbal's poetry was direct response to his immediate circumstances. For Iqbal value of human life and against pacifism, materialism and expansionism. Idealization of European culture and civilization was now a nightmare for Iqbal. Since he has been an eye-witnessed of Western violence to shatter the unity of Muslim *Ummah*, just to break them in smaller units and to play with them as pawns. He explained the prevailed situation in these words in Babg-gDara II, a poem which he wrote between 1905-1907,

*Iqam-e-Jahan Ma Raqabat To Isi Sa*

*Taskbeer Ha Maqsood Tijarat To Isi Sa*

*Khali Ha Sadaqat Sa Siyasat To Isi Sa*

*Kamzor Ka Ghar Hota Ha Garat To Isi Sa*<sup>18</sup>

Another vital reason which has changed Iqbal's perceptions were the evil designs of Western powers against Middle East and North Africa. The Ottoman Empire which held suzerainty over these areas was in a state of complete decay and disintegration. Various territorial units of the empire under Western influence were imbibing a pattern of Western nationalism. Due to the backwardness, lack of religious education and stagnation the hold of Islam in the life of an

average Muslim was very weak and the Muslims in these areas were filling the vacuum by blind emulation of the West.<sup>19</sup>

Italy attack on Tripoli (1911) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) were a great setback for the Muslim world which had change their superior status and unity in the whole world. Consequently the Muslims of India too were deeply resented the policies of the British Government in the Middle East which had led to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The main objective of this disintegration was to breakdown the strength of Muslim *Ummah* which in future they would be able to use as pawns in the game of European imperialism. Hence it is universally believed that Iqbal formulated his social, economic and political thought only after his first hand contact with Europe.<sup>20</sup> Iqbal has explained and largely condemned Western nationalism in these words:

Very early from the writings of European scholars, I had come know that the basic scheme of Western imperialism was to dismember the unity of Muslim world by popularizing territorial nationalism among its different parts. This kind of nationalism is poisonous for the modern civilization of man and it is particularly so in the case of Muslims because it is contrary to the fundamentals of their faith.<sup>21</sup>

*Ro La Ab Dil Khol K Ai Dida'e Khoon'na Ba Baar*  
*Wo Nazar Ata Ha Tabzibe Hijazi Ka Mazaar*  
*Tha Jahan Hungama In Sebra Nashinno Ka Kabi*  
*Behar Bazji Gha Tha Jin K Safeeno Ka Kabi*  
*Zalzle Jin Sa ShabnShabo K Darbaro Ma Tha*  
*Bijliyo K Ashiyana Jin Ki Tahvaro Ma Tha*<sup>22</sup>

It is also very important to discuss the historical circumstances to grasp fully the development of Iqbal's concepts of Muslim Nationalism or *Millat*. Muslims were entered into the Subcontinent as conquerors and scattered in different parts along with their specific culture and heritage. With the passage of time one dynasty changed by another bit after the death of great Mughal Emperor Aurengzeb, Muslims had to suffer due to the absent of an effective ruler. The whole of the Subcontinent was divided and subdivided into smaller states or independent units on behalf of titular authority of the King at Dehli. So the British fully exploited the differences and used for their own benefit. Hence Iqbal after considering historical facts tried to find out a prestigious place for the Muslims of India.<sup>23</sup>

### **Islam as a complete code of conduct**

Islam by nature cannot be merged with the other creed. It has its distinct social, economic, and political structure. As soon as it is amalgamated into another system, Islam is tarnished out of shape. In

view Iqbal there is no harm to create relationships with other religious communities, to praise their good things, writing patriotic songs, desiring freedom for the whole of India and the same time due rights for the Muslims of India. Iqbal after his voyage to Europe warned the Muslims Poet-Philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal has left a legacy to be followed by other scholars. His own reconciliatory approach between the West and Islamic World gave insight to make comprehensive comparative analyses.<sup>24</sup> He explained the concept of Muslim society in these words:

The point which I wish to stress is that Islam has a far deeper significance for us than merely religion. It has a peculiar national meaning so that our communal life is unthinkable without a firm grasp of the Islamic Principle. The Idea of Islam is, so to speak our eternal home or country in which we live, move and have our beings. To us it is above everything else as England is above all to the Englishman and 'Deutschland Uber Alles' to the German.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout his stay in Europe Iqbal used to meet with the Western philosopher to discuss the matters pertaining to education and philosophy. This was the period when Muslim scholars were lagging behind in the field of education, but it was Iqbal who was invited by the Western philosopher to deliver lectures at Caxton Hall. After that he delivered a series of lectures in UK in which he highlighted the shortcoming of the western Culture which caught the attention of his many contemporary philosophers and statesmen.<sup>26</sup> To Iqbal Islamic moral values are dearer to him but these had been overshadowed by Western values and way of Islam. Iqbal got disillusioned during his stay in Europe when he saw their extremist approaches for Reason and Matter, while Eastern societies are more concerned with spirit and mysticism. But Iqbal belief was based upon harmony for these both realities.<sup>27</sup>

### **Spirit of Change**

There is universal acceptance of Iqbal's greatness as a poet and philosopher. The Western scene forced Iqbal to reconstruct his thought by coming face to face with a society which was different from his own society. But Iqbal remain rooted in Islam before and after his voyage to Europe, as he belonged to a religious family. But the Western interaction had been helpful for him in developing rational bases for his beliefs.<sup>28</sup>

Iqbal was witness by the tragic event of World War I and the disaster through which the Muslims had to suffer. Iqbal as a leading exponent of Islamic thought and institutions believed in a

progressive spiritual universe and spiritual being with their distinct individualities realizing their destiny by mastering their environment under a universal structure founded on divine law and organization.<sup>29</sup> Allama Iqbal's personality has been nourished upon a concrete and well-integrated religious historic and Islamic culture and history was in his blood. But the irony of the situation is that the world in which he is living was antagonistic to whatever Islam stood for. Islam advocates freedom but Muslim *Ummah* was suffering from subjugation and deprivation from their basic rights. There was a sharp difference between what he believes and what is happening around him. In Europe he saw first time that the acceptance of Western Nationalism was the negation of Islamic values. As Islamic values cover all human territories that are free from race and language differences.<sup>30</sup> He said:

Islam is a principle of social action. So Islam itself accommodates nationalism. But its nationalism is not territory, race and linguistic nationalism it is free from these restrictions. As Islam accepts sovereignty of God not sovereignty of man. So Islam has no quarrel with International Nationalism.<sup>31</sup>

### **Mystical and Territorial Aspects of Nationalization.**

The basic difference between Iqbal's Nationalism and other nationalism was that he has based his nationalism on religion rather than material and rivalry with other nationalists. It is much more spiritual and humanitarian type of nationalism which is far beyond from cruelty and territorial based nationalism.<sup>32</sup> Nationalism became an ideology during nineteenth century although having all disadvantages it had been a potent factor in the political, social and religious affairs of the civilizations. It was surprising that it became a universal phenomenon but no one could define it comprehensively and its definition remained more or less elusive. Nationalism demands same loyalty and sacrifices perhaps more than religion as Herbert Luthy Said about nationalization,

Every Attempted definition of the 'Nation' and 'National Idea' or 'National feeling' ends in mysticism. It can only be expressed in images, and symbols, flags, myths, totems, folklores, cults, rites. Representing a sense of belonging to one collective body of individuals essentially different from individuals of any other collective body which is rationally inexpressible.<sup>33</sup>

*In Taza Khudao Ma Sab Sa Bara Watan Ha*

*Jo Parhan IS Ka Ha Wo Mazahab Ka Kaffan ha*<sup>34</sup>



## **Factors Weakening Muslim Nationalism.**

After the upheaval of 1857, British Government settled their own political and educational system. Even the Europe benefitted from the Muslims endeavors. But the contemporary young man instead of endeavoring to make their own contribution, take pride in the achievement of their ancestors. Because national progress is a dynamic process. Among the political institutions which decisively weakened Muslim Nationalism in India was the Caliphate.

*Ro La Ab Dil Khol K Ai DiDai KhonanaBa Baar*

*Wo Nazar Ata Ha Tahzib Hijazi Ka Miẓaar*

*Tha Jaban Hungama In Sebra Nashino ka Kabi*

Kept in mind all these factors Allama Muhammad Iqbal has tried to mould Muslim thought. Infect national solidarity and the urge for mutual help distinguished man from animal. Qur'an has explicitly enunciate the doctrine of Muslim brotherhood, "*Innama al-Muminun akhawatu fasalhabu bayna a akhawiykum waataqu Allah-alkum tarhamun*",

The believers are but, a single brotherhood:

So make peace and reconciliation between your two contending brothers;

And fear God, that yet, May receive mercy.<sup>35</sup>

The ideal of Muslim community as a universal brotherhood of believers depends upon their faith, but in real life the Muslims living in different countries persuade their cultural values rather than Islam, which is indeed a greatest binding factor to amalgamate multiple ethnic and linguistic groups into one *Ummah* of believers.<sup>36</sup>

Today we have lost our national rights which ancestors gained with their blood. While the Islamic nations used to be the ruling nation, it is bereft of this sacred right. This is a day of tears and mourning for the Muslims brethren.<sup>37</sup>

*Jamaat ki Izzat Ma sab ki Izzat Ha*

*Jamaat ki Zillat ma sab ki Zillat*<sup>38</sup>

The thoughts of Iqbal were blending of East and West traditions. Because Western Philosophers themselves used to evaluate and study the philosophic systems of earlier Muslims. So to some extent the origin of their syntheses to some extent was Islam. As Islam itself is the origin of all social and medical sciences, all sources of knowledge have been originated from Quran. In Europe Iqbal found a pathway

to examine Eastern and Western thoughts to reach on a definite conclusion.

*Apni Millat Par Qiyas Iqwan-e-Magrib Sa Na Ker*

*Khas Ha Tarkeeb Ma Qoum Rasool-e-Hashmi*

*In Ki Jma'at Ma Ha Mulke0o-NAsb Per Inhisar*

*Qoowat Mazhab Sa Mustabkam Ha Jamiyat Teri*

*DAmin-e-Din Hath Sa Choota to Janiyat Kaha*

*Aur Jamiyat Hoi Rubsat To Millat Bi Gai.*<sup>39</sup>

In Europe he found, that the idea of nationalism is inadequate to solve the problems of humanity. Atheism and secularism approaches of the Western culture along with the materialistic preferences awakened Iqbal to rethink about his earlier approach. Competition of man with another man and one nation with the other nation could not be the bases of his idealistic society. He composed following lines in 1907:

Oh residence of the earth God' earth is not your shop;  
The gold which you are thinking to be genuine will now prove to be of  
low value;  
Your civilization is going to commit suicide with her own dagger;  
The nest which is made on a frail bought cannot but the insecure.<sup>40</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Nationalism in the light of Muslim thought is distinguished from Western political thought. If the word is used in Muslim Political thought it has entirely different meanings from what it means in the West. In Muslim thought it means universal oneness of the Muslims irrespective of geographical distances and racial disparities . At one stage of Islamic history it meant for both political and religious unity. According to him Islam is not merely a religion but a complete social order which has provided complete code of conduct through Quran and practical examples of Prophet (PBUH) and his followers. The demand of a separate state was an outcome of his philosophical approach that the Muslims belong to worldwide spiritual fraternity, and not on the philosophy of hatred towards the Hindus. The approach of Iqbal was positive in the demand of separate territory for the Muslims of India. It was a crowning achievement of his life, a practical vindication of his philosophy, the power and glory of God on this earth.

During initial phase of Iqbal's professional career it is no doubt that the role of Prof. Arnold had been dominant and quite convincing. If Iqbal did not get aspiration from his teacher he might not have been influenced by the Western Education. His urge for Western education brought him in Europe and here he saw the other side of the same coin. The change in Iqbal's outlook about the Western culture and civilization would have never been changed if he would not have seen it during his stay at Europe for three years. Western culture does not rely on social, moral and religious values. It is based upon expediency and materialism.

A new Iqbal emerged after 1908 with typically new dimension and enthusiasm. A teacher can transform a person's whole life, behavior and even a student's ideology. This is clearly evident from Iqbal's life and his aspiration which he got from his teacher who led him to Europe for advance studies. In the subsequent years a poet with new vision and zeal appeared in the political and social arena of the Indian Subcontinent. The ideology, outlook and way of thinking can be changed with the passage of time. Two factors are responsible for this change, first his experience which a man gets through the interaction with the outer world and, second the circumstances (political, social or domestic). Here Iqbal has resemblance with Jinnah's case in which for many years he had been advocating Hindu Muslim unity but Congress's policies of political maneuvering and atrocities during Congress rule led him to a new dimension. So it is a logical phenomenon that the various factors lead to inner change, as happened with Iqbal and Jinnah. Hence we can conclude that, Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a league of Muslim Nations. Iqbal has used the word *Ummah* and *Millat* to describe this concept.

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- <sup>27</sup> Herbert Luthy, *A Rehabilitation of Nationalism*, in K. A Jalenski (Ed), *History and Hope: Tradition Skepticism*, London: 1962, p-85.
- <sup>28</sup> Zarb-e-Kaleem, p-69.
- <sup>29</sup> S. M. Shahid, *Muslim: Muslim Political Thought and Institutions*, 2004, Lahore, p.533.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid, 1., p-154.
- <sup>31</sup> Latif Ahmad Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, p-7.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 6.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, p. 7, p.173.
- <sup>35</sup> Al Qur’an, (49:10).
- <sup>36</sup> EJJ Rosenthal, *Islam in the Modern Muslim State*, (Cambridge: 1965), p-28.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid,
- <sup>38</sup> Altaf Hussain Hali, *Musaddas*, p-57.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid. p-279
- <sup>40</sup> Shamloo, Ed., *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Lahore, 1948, p-10.