The main philosophical idea in the writings of Muhammad Iqbal (1877 - 1938)

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THE MAIN PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS
IN THE WRITINGS OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL (1877 - 1938)
VOLUME 1
BY
RIFFAT HASSAN

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Durham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

MARCH 1968

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School of Oriental Studies, Elvet Hill, Durham.
I. Chapter One contains the biographical details of Iqbal's life.

II. Chapter Two is concerned with Iqbal's Theory of Knowledge. Man gains knowledge of inner and outer reality by means of sense-perception, reason and intuition. The emphasis is on Intuition or "Ishq"?

III. Chapter Three contains Iqbal's views on Space and Time. Of special importance is the distinction Iqbal draws between serial time and pure duration.

IV. Chapter Four gives Iqbal's views about the Universe and God. Nature is a phase of God's consciousness. God is both immanent and transcendent, and is also constantly creative. All life is individual and the scale of egohood runs from the almost-inert (matter) to the Ultimate Ego (God).

V. Chapter Five deals with the Self - the pivot of Iqbal's thought and deals with questions relating to the reality, origin, evolution and nature of the Self, the freedom of the will, man's destiny, and personal immortality.

VI. Chapter Six describes the stages of the development of the Self and the factors which strengthen or weaken 'Ahwāl' (Selfhood). It also deals with Iqbal's conception of the Perfect Man and the influences which have a bearing on it.

VII. Chapter Seven is concerned with the salient ideas underlying Iqbal's religious (and socio-political) philosophy - 'Tawhid' (the oneness of God), Muhammad (the Perfect Man for excellence), prayer, the difference between 'mystic and 'prophetic' consciousness, Iblīs (Sātān) and the personal relationship between God and Man.
VIII. Chapter Eight gives Iqbal's views on the nature, function and importance of Art.

IX. Chapter Nine describes the development of Iqbal's political philosophy from its first stages to the last. Special stress is laid on the universal nature of Iqbal'a vision. This chapter also elucidates Iqbal's ideas about Pan-Islamism, imperialism, socialism, democracy and the relationship between the individual and the community.

In the conclusion an attempt is made to see Iqbal's philosophical position as a whole, to understand the essential aims of his philosophy and the degree of its indebtedness to various sources and traditions, and to evaluate Iqbal's contribution to modern philosophy.
It was my mother who first led me to the magic world of poetry and philosophy. To her, who has been my greatest friend and teacher in life, I dedicate this study, with deep love and gratitude.

RIFFAT HASSAN.
P R E F A C E

The enormous output of work which has been done on Iqbal in recent years, particularly in Pakistan, is enough to deter any prospective research student. One would be inclined to think after seeing the Iqbāl-bibliography that all possible avenues of research are virtually closed, that all that is needed or had to be done, has been done. But, in fact, this is not the case. Although every major bookshop in Pakistan has a section on 'Iqbāliyat', yet the truth is, that by far the greater bulk of the work done on Iqbāl touches only a very limited part of his art and thought. Apart from the work of some devoted Iqbāl-scholars, including some European and American writers (notably Professor Bausani, Professor Schimmel, Dr. Jan Marek, and Professor Whittemore), most writings on Iqbāl are merely repetitive and devoid of any deep insight or critical apprehension. This applies equally to the work of Iqbāl's admirers and his detractors. When the subjective element has been sifted from the objective comment, one is left with disappointingly little to guide a student who wishes to understand the complex world of Iqbāl's thought.

As a philosopher, Iqbāl has won wider acceptance outside Pakistan than in Pakistan. Iqbāl's position as a
poet and as a political figure rests secure, but Iqbal
the philosopher is still a long way from being generally
recognised. The average literate man in Pakistan knows
vaguely that Iqbal is a philosopher and probably also
knows something about some of his concepts (such as the
concept of 'Khudi') but if one were to question him fur­
ther, one would discover that to him the philosophising
of Iqbal is no different from the philosophising of most
other poets. Most poets tend to philosophise, he would
say, and so does Iqbal. Perhaps he philosophises a little
more than the others - that is why he is known as a poet-
philosopher.

Nor is this the view only of the layman. While I
was in Pakistan collecting material for this study, I had
an opportunity of meeting several post-graduate students
reading Iqbal's philosophy for one of their M.A. papers.
To my profound amazement, I learnt that most of them did
not consider Iqbal a philosopher at all. Their opinion,
I discovered, was based on one common idea - that there
is no system in Iqbal's thinking. Some of them attributed
this lack of system to the fact that Iqbal had not written
any 'text-book' of philosophy. It is rather surprising
that Iqbal's Lectures - which, incidentally, are read by
few other than students of philosophy - are not considered
by many to be a philosophical work. It is undeniable that
the Lectures are hard to understand. The arguments very often do not follow a logical order and are not laid out systematically. There are frequent repetitions and digressions. Nonetheless, the Lectures are a major contribution to world philosophy. But even if it is conceded that they do not constitute a 'textbook' of philosophy, or disregarded altogether, Iqbal - on the strength of his poetry alone - would still qualify for the title of a philosopher. There are, after all, as many different varieties of philosophers as there are of poets. All poets do not write in rhymed verse; all philosophers do not write 'textbooks.'

But the general idea - that there is no system in Iqbal's thinking - must be considered carefully. In my opinion, it is the chief obstacle in the way of Iqbal's recognition as a philosopher. This idea is based on the assumption that every philosopher has a philosophic system. I accept the validity of this assumption. Random philosophising, however brilliant, does not make a philosopher. There must be discernible in the thinking of a philosopher, at least the outlines of a structure formed by his most important ideas and concepts. The question 'Is Iqbal a philosopher?' can, then, be resolved into the question 'does Iqbal have a philosophic system?' In my opinion, the answer is - not just that Iqbal has such a system but
that it is remarkably consistent in some ways - as this study hopes to show.

It is not possible to say precisely why so many readers of Iqbal - including students of philosophy - should fail to see any method in his thinking. It is possible to suggest several answers. To my mind the two most important causes or reasons for the widely-prevalent opinion that Iqbal has no philosophic system, are a) his prominence as a poet and as a political figure; b) the fundamental opposition between poetry and philosophy.

To a considerable extent Iqbal's prominence as a poet and as a political figure obscures his importance as a philosopher. Compared with a poet, a philosopher's appeal is naturally far more limited. Many more people read Keats than read Kant. Furthermore when one has grown up believing Iqbal to be first and foremost, a poet - as most Pakistanis, at least of the present generation, have done, it is not always easy to see him as a philosopher. Coleridge, for instance, was also a metaphysician, but to most people he is simply a poet.

Not only does Iqbal the poet, but also Iqbal the spiritual founder of Pakistan, stands in the light of Iqbal the philosopher. Strictly speaking, Iqbal was never a politician though he participated in politics. As he himself admitted,
his interest in politics was only secondary. But this confession which is of fundamental importance from the viewpoint of students of his philosophy, is brushed aside in the enthusiasm of a young nation to make him a political hero. Iqbal was, of course, one of the pioneers of the independence movement. In fact, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that if there had been no Iqbal there might well have been no Pakistan. The influence he wielded was tremendous. His personal reputation - not only as a poet, but also as a man of unswerving convictions and incorruptible honesty - had a great deal to do with the rallying of Muslims under the banner upheld by the Qaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Nevertheless it is wrong, in my opinion, to give Iqbal, the political leader, precedence over Iqbal, the philosopher. The political circumstances of his time had, of course, a considerable influence on his philosophy. But Iqbal was, essentially a philosopher and not a politician. A politician's actions and utterances are determined, to a large extent, by motives of political expediency. His philosophy, in other words, is derived from his politics. But in Iqbal's case, his political views are derived from his philosophy. It seems to me that if this distinction is not clearly made, it is not possible to arrive at a fair estimate of Iqbal as a philosopher (particularly as a political philosopher).
Something also needs to be said about the opposition between poetry and philosophy. A number of people have difficulty in accepting as philosophy what is written in the form of poetry. By its very nature, poetry working through symbols avoids statement and prefers suggestion, whereas philosophy dealing with logical categories and concepts, demands preciseness in thought and expression. Therefore, in a sense, a poet-philosopher is a paradox. But this paradox finds its basis in human nature itself. There is, in human beings, a straining both towards, and away from, definition of thought and feeling. This psychological phenomenon has found different expressions and outlets at different times in the history of literature and philosophy. Sometimes it has led to poetry becoming philosophical, as in the case of the metaphysical poets; sometimes to philosophy becoming poetical, as in the case of Nietzsche; sometimes to a complete bifurcation between poetry and philosophy (the quarrel between the poet and the philosopher being an ancient one); sometimes to a joining of poetry and philosophy, as in the case of mystic-metaphysicians such as 'Aṭṭār and Rūmī, and also as in the case of Iqbāl.

Iqbāl's philosophical system is not something 'given.' It has to be constructed from a number of philosophical
ideas which appear in his prose and poetical writings. In one sense, Iqbal's thought consists not of one but of several systems, since he has dealt with and made contributions to many different branches of philosophy, i.e. epistemology, metaphysics, philosophy of religion, aesthetics and political philosophy. However, the thread of some central ideas and concepts runs through these various systems and links them into a larger whole.

In this study an attempt has been made both to analyse and to synthesise Iqbal's main philosophical ideas. The first chapter gives the important biographical details of Iqbal's life and is intended to familiarise us with Iqbal the man. The second chapter covers the field of epistemology. The third, fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to Iqbal's metaphysics. The sixth and seventh chapters contain ideas which have metaphysical and ethical import, but are, perhaps, best described as forming the bulwark of Iqbal's religious thought. The eighth chapter deals with Iqbal's aesthetics, and the ninth chapter with Iqbal's political philosophy.

Some important work has been done on segments of Iqbal's thought, particularly in the sphere of metaphysics, but so far no attempt has been made to study Iqbal's philosophy in toto. It is hoped that this study will succeed in filling, to some small degree, this wide gap in the field of Iqbal studies.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

My thanks are due, first and foremost, to my supervisor Mr. J. A. Haywood whose unfailing kindness has been a source of great strength to me at all times. I also thank the Department of Oriental Studies, in general, and Mr. I. J. C. Foster, The Keeper of Oriental Books of the University Library, in particular, for all the help given to me.

During the course of my research I have received encouragement and help from a number of scholars who have special interest in Iqbal. Among them my sincere thanks go to my grandfather, Ḩakām Āḥmad Shujā‘ (a lifelong friend of Iqbal and a co-editor with him of some textbooks), my uncle Faqīr Saiyid Waḥīd-ud-dīn (author of Iqbal's biography Rozgār-e-Faqīr) and Syed ʿAbdul Vāḥid (the author of several books on Iqbal). I would also like to thank Mr. Ḥādī Ḥusain for allowing me access to his unpublished writings. Among other scholars who have helped me in one way or another during my course of study, I would like to thank Professor A. Bausani, Professor A. M. Schimmel, Mr. V. G. Kiernan, Dr. Jan Marek, Dr. ‘Ashiq Ḥusain Batāvī and Mr. Mulk Rāj Anand.

A large number of friends, both here and at home, have
been of help to me in the collection of material for this study, and in many other ways. My special thanks are due to Miss Durray Shahwār Kureshī and Mr. Jehān Dāwar Burki for their unfailing help. I would also like to thank Miss Fākhra Qureshi, Miss Tehseen Qureshi, Miss Mīnoo Rāmyār, Miss Durdāna Gīlānī, Miss Nasreen Muftī, Mr. Nūr-ul-Islām and Mr. Maḥboob Asghar. My brothers Syed Viqār Mueen Ḥassan, Syed Jamshed Nasīm Ḥassan and Syed Tāriq Amīn Ḥassan, and my sister Miss Saman Ḥassan, have been of great assistance to me in collecting valuable material and I would also like to thank them.

I owe a debt of deep gratitude to Mrs. M. Holdsworth and Miss E. Chilton, of St. Mary’s College, Durham, for their many kindnesses to me in the past years. Last but not least, my earnest thanks go to Mrs. C. Bates and Miss Marion Alderslade who typed the manuscript so painstakingly.

RIFFAT ḤASSAN.
## TRANSLITERATION
*(Taken from Platts' Hindustâni - English Dictionary)*

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*ô, ë denote short vowels*

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The symbol hamza is denoted by an apostrophe (‘).
LIST OF IQBAL'S MAIN WORKS USED EXTENSIVELY IN THE STUDY

CHAPTER I: Iqbal - Biographical Sketch and Introduction

- Iqbal's Ancestry
- Date of Birth
- Education
- Iqbal's Career as an Educationist
- Iqbal as a Lawyer
- Iqbal and Politics
- Iqbal's Literary Career
- Some Details of Iqbal's Life
  Marriages - Travels - Knighthood - Illness and Death - Last Visitor - Burial.

CHAPTER II: Iqbal's Theory of Knowledge

- Possibility and Importance of Knowledge
- Sources of Knowledge
- Modes of Knowledge
  (2) Reason: The connotation of 'reason' and its importance - Nature and function of 'thought' - the sphere of 'thought' - Iqbal's use of
'reason' in a double sense - Attack on mechanistic interpretation of life - Iqbal's attitude to 'reason'.

(3) Intuition: Definition of 'intuition' - possibility of intuitive knowledge - characteristics of intuitive (mystic) experience.

- **REASON AND INTUITION**
  The dependence of reason upon intuition - the dependence of intuition upon reason - contrast between Reason and Intuition (Love) in Iqbal's poetry.

- **IQBAL'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE**
  In conclusion.

**CHAPTER III: IQBAL'S IDEAS ON SPACE AND TIME**

- **SPACE**
  Zeno's arguments: unreality of Space -
  The Ash'arites: atomic space - Russell:
  Theory of mathematical continuity -
  Bergson: psychological approach - 'Irāqī:
  space as relative - Ouspensky: varying dimensions of space - Newtonian view of space - Space and Relativity.

- **TIME**
  Newton: absolute time - The Ash'arites:
  atomic time - Time and Relativity -
Ouspensky - time as the fourth dimension of space - Time as relative: Dāwānī and 'Irāqī - Rāzī and the debate on time - McTaggart: the unreality of time - Nietzsche: cyclic time - Bergson: serial and non-serial time - Bergson: pure duration known intuitively - Bergson: time as creative - Bergson: time as non-teleological movement - The Qūr'ān and the two aspects of time - Time: to sum up - TIME (AND) SPACE IN IQBAL'S POETRY

CHAPTER IV: THE UNIVERSE AND GOD IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY p.179
- THE NATURE OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD
  Descartes, Locke and Berkeley: theory of matter and its refutation - matter and relativity - Iqbal's conception of matter.
- PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD
  The cosmological argument - the teleological (physico-theological) argument - the ontological argument - the argument from innate ideas - Iqbal's "working proof" for the existence of God - Royce - Rashdall - James Ward - Green - To sum up.
- **NATURE AND GOD**
  Nature as finite but boundless -
  Pantheism and Deism - Panentheism.

- **THE CONCEPTION OF GOD**
  Personality - Infinity - Creativeness -
  Knowledge - Omnipotence - Eternity.

- **THE UNIVERSE AND TELEOLOGY**

**CHAPTER V: THE SELF IN Iqbal's Thought**

- **THE SELF: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION**
  Creation - The Fall of Man - Emergence -
  Rejection of mechanistic interpretation of evolution - Emergent Evolution -
  Bergson and Iqbal creative Evolution -
  Evolution and Teleology - Evolution:
  Iqbal's interpretation and attitude -
  Opposition an impetus to evolution -
  Theory of Evolution: application to politics and ethics.

- **REALITY OF THE SELF**

- **ASPECTS OF THE SELF**
  Efficient and Appreciative Self - Body and Soul.

- **THE NATURE OF THE SELF**
  The Self as a soul - substance - The Self as a stream of consciousness - The characteristics of the Ego.
- **FREEDOM OF THE WILL AND MAN'S DESTINY**

Arguments from Psychology - Personal Causality known through purposive action
- Can both God and Man be free? -
Creation implies freedom - The Qor'an and freedom of the will - the rejection of the idea of redemption - Freedom implies risk and responsibility - Iqbal's rejection of the doctrine of 'Qismat' - Man as maker of his own destiny - Submission to the Will of God - Conflict between Necessity and Freedom - Iqbal's rejection of the idea of 'fanā'.

- **IMMORTALITY OF THE SELF**

Metaphysical and ethical arguments for Immortality - materialism and immortality - Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence - The Qor'an and immortality - Iqbal's views on death and immortality - 'Barzakh' - Resurrection of the body - Heaven and Hell.

**CHAPTER VI: THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'KHUDI' AND IQBAL'S 'MARD-E-MOMIN'**

- **THE MEANING OF 'KHUDI'**

- **THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SELF**

- **THE FACTORS WHICH STRENGTHEN THE SELF**
Desire - Love - 'Faqr' - 'Ṣaiyādī' - Suffering - Forbearance - Courtesy - Obstructions.

- **THE FACTORS WHICH WEAKEN THE SELF**
  'Suʿāl - Despair, Grief and Fear - Servitude - 'Nasab - parastī'.

- **THE THREE STAGES OF THE SELF**
  Obedience - Self-Control - Vicegerency of God.

- **IQBAL'S 'MARD-E-MOMIN' AND OTHER INFLUENCES**
  Iqbal and Nietzsche - Iqbal and Jīlī - Iqbal and Rūmī.

**CHAPTER VII: IMPORTANT IDEAS FROM IQBAL'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY**

- **'TAUHID'**
  'Lā' and 'Illā' - 'Tauḥīd' the basis of Islāmic Polity - Iqbal's interpretation of 'At-Tauḥīd' - Iqbal and 'Tauḥīd'.

- **MUḤAMMAD**
  The Prophet of Islām as Perfect Man - The Prophet of Islām as Social Leader - The Prophet's 'Meʿrāj' (Ascension) - Iqbal and the finality of Prophethood.

- **PRAYER**
  Prayer is instinctive in origin - Prayer is not auto-suggestion - The
social significance of Prayer - various parts of ritual prayer transmuted into symbols - protest against mechanism and ostentation in prayer - prayer is a means of self-discovery and self-affirmation - prayer leads to freedom - Any act may be an act of prayer - Prayer as petition.

- 'MYSTIC' AND 'PROPHETIC' CONSCIOUSNESS
- GOD AND MAN
- IBLIS (Satan)
  Iblīs as the principle of activity - Iblīs as a principle of evil - creature of Fire versus Creature of Clay - Iblīs and predestination - Iblīs as a Unitarian - Satan in the poetry of Milton and Iqābīl - Iblīs as a tragic hero.

CHAPTER VIII: IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF ART
- PURPOSE OF ART
- ATTACK ON 'DECADENT' ART
- TRANSITION FROM 'AJAM TO HIJAZ
- IS 'DECADENT' ART NOT ART AT ALL?
- ATTACK ON ALL ART
- TRUE POETRY VERSUS VERSIFICATION
- ART AS IMITATION
- ART AS IMPROVEMENT ON NATURE
- EMPHASIS ON CREATIVENESS
- THE POET AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY
- VISION AND DESIRE
- ART AND LIFE
- INTENSITY IN ART
- ART AND BEAUTY
- POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY
- IQBAL AND NIETZSCHE
- IQBAL AND THE STURM AND DRANG SCHOOL
- BEAUTY AND LOVE IN IQBAL'S AESTHETICS
- IQBAL AND SHELLEY
- THE POET AS PROPHET
- IMPORTANCE OF ARTISTS
- QUESTIONS ABOUT IQBAL'S AESTHETICS
  (1) Inspiration and purpose;
  (2) Iqbal's functionalism and 'universal' Art.
- IQBAL'S AESTHETICS: SUMMING UP

CHAPTER IX: IQBAL'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY - DEVELOPMENT AND SALIENT IDEAS p. 523

- FIRST PHASE: THE TEMPLE OF LOVE
  Difference between 'nationalistic' and 'patriotic poetry - 'Political' poetry - importance of action - Religion and the material world - First phase: summing up.
SECOND PHASE: SOJOURN IN EUROPE
Emphasis on Love - Iqbal and Capitalism
- Reaction against the West - Iqbal and Islam - Beginning of the stress on Islamic internationalism.

THIRD PHASE: THE VISION UNVEILED
Iqbal and India - nationality in Islam defined - Rejection of nationalism - characteristics of the Islamic 'millat'
- condemnation of Secularism - Rejection of geographical ties - the homogeneity of the Islamic community - Iqbal's philosophy accused of being exclusive - unity of man's spiritual and temporal life - the development of the communal ego - Iqbal's position reviewed.

IQBAL'S POLITICAL THOUGHT DIVIDED INTO PHASES

- IQBAL AND PAN-ISLAMISM
- IQBAL AND IMPERIALISM
- IQBAL AND SOCIALISM
- IQBAL AND DEMOCRACY
- THE INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

CONCLUSION p. 589

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Iqbal's Ancestry


Iqbal's ancestors were Brahmans of 'Sapru' sub-caste. A Brahman belonged to the highest caste of Hindus and was known for the subtlety of his intellect and his fine aesthetic sensibility. Iqbal was proud of his Brahman ancestry.

1. My body comes from the paradise of Kashmir, My heart from the sanctuary of Hijaz and my song from Shiraz.
3. Ibid. p. 239.
Regarding his ancestors' sub-caste 'Sapru,' Iqbal himself throws light on the etymology of the word: "With the advent of Muslims in Kashmir, the Brahmins of Kashmir were, by virtue of their conservatism or for some other reasons, not favourably inclined towards the Muslim sciences and their language. The first group among them that devoted itself to a study of the Persian language etc., and after attaining proficiency therein won for itself the confidence and trust of Muslim rulers earned the title of 'Sapru.' 'Sapru' is ordinarily understood to mean a person, who is the first to take a step towards learning... My father held that the epithet was used by the Brahmins of Kashmir to express their disapproval and contempt for those of their kinsmen who had instead of their ancient literature applied themselves to the pursuit of Islamic

1. Mir and Mirza have staked their heart and faith on politics, it is just this son of a Brahman who knows the secrets (of reality).
2. Look at me for in Hindustan you will not see another Son of Brahman familiar with the secrets of Rûm and Tabriz.
studies. Gradually the name acquired a permanent association and came to be regarded as a sub-caste. The late Dīwān Tek Ėand, once a Commissioner in the Panjāb, was a great student of Philosophy. In a meeting at Ambālā he told me that the word 'Sapṛū' was derived from 'Shāhpur' an ancient Irrāniian King, and that the Sapṛūs were of Irrāniian origin, who had migrated to Kashmir before the advent of Islām in Irān. They however, came to be regarded as Brahmans because of their superior intellect and wisdom.¹

One of Iqbal's ancestors was known as "Lol Ḥājī" (Lover of Ḥājī)² who performed many pilgrimages to Mecca on foot. He became a disciple of Bābā Naṣīr-ud-Dīn who was an outstanding saint. One of the descendants of 'Lol Ḥājī' was a mystic Muḥammad Akbar whose piety was held in esteem.³ In the third line of his succession was Shaikh Jamāl Dīn. Either he, or his four sons namely, 'Abdul Raḥmān, Muḥammad Ramzān, Muḥammad Ra蜚q, and Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, migrated to Siālkot, at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shaikh Nur Muhammad, who was the father of Iqbal was the eleventh son

of Shaikh Muḥammad Rafīq.

Nūr Muḥammad had a small but successful clothing business in Sialkot. He had four daughters and two sons. Iqbal was the younger of the two sons. Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad had not received a regular education but he was by no means illiterate or mentally unsophisticated.¹ He was a deeply religious man, a man who lived his religion, and added to his piety was a deep strain of mysticism. Iqbal learned a good deal from his father. To his last day he was to remember how one day his father had said to him that while reading the Qurʾān it was necessary for him to believe that the Book was meant specially for him and that Allāh Himself conversed with him.² Perhaps it was the memory of his father’s exhortation which inspired the lines:

\[
_\text{مَزْهَبُ يُقَدِّمُ لَنَا مِنْ خَبَرٍ فَرِّصَاءَ}
\]

(\textit{Bal-e-Jibrīl}, p. 112)


3. Unless the Book (the Qurʾān) is revealed to your conscience, The knots cannot be untied by Rāzī or the author of the Kashshāf (Abū’l-Qāsim Maṭīmūd Zamakhsharī).
Iqbal has also referred to his forefathers' predilection for mysticism. To his son Javid he wrote:

\[\text{The house of which you are the light, Has a taste for mysticism.}\]

A reference to it was made also by Akbar Allahabadi who wrote on the death of Iqbal's mother:

\[\text{The qualities which were born in Iqbal, Which endeared his name to the nation, Bear witness to the fact that his parents were pious, Godly and charitable and understood the secrets (of reality) (Quoted by QuraishI, M.A. "Aspects of Iqbal's Biography", p. 70).}\]

No account, however brief, of Iqbal's family background would be complete without a mention of his mother Imam Bibi, who belonged to a Kashmiri family in Sambaryal, District Sialkot. She was a wise and pious lady known for her kindness and spirit of self-sacrifice. To her memory Iqbal has dedicated one of the most beautiful and moving elegies in the language. His glowing tribute to her

1. ButtThe house of which you are the light, Has a taste for mysticism.

2. The qualities which were born in Iqbal, Which endeared his name to the nation, Bear witness to the fact that his parents were pious, Godly and charitable and understood the secrets (of reality) (Quoted by QuraishI, M.A. "Aspects of Iqbal's Biography", p. 70).

has made immortal the image of a lady who passed her days in quiet anonymity amongst her dear ones.

Iqbal's devotion to his elder brother Shaikh 'Atā Muḥammad (1859-1940) deserves to be mentioned. Shaikh 'Atā Muḥammad looked upon Iqbal almost as a son and helped him in every way. Many incidents are known which point to the great love the two brothers had for each other.

For his brother the poet prayed:

1. Because of your guidance my destiny became luminous as a star
   The house of my forefathers became a storehouse of honour.
   In the Book of Life your life was a golden page,
   It was a lesson in the ways of religion and the world.

2. That second Yusuf to me, the light of Love's assembly,
   Whose brotherhood is the comfort of my life,
   Whose affection obliterated the differences of you and I,
   And reared me in an atmosphere of love,
   May he be happy as a rose in the garden of this world,
   For he, life of my life, is dearer to me than life.
One thing stands clear even after a cursory glance at Iqbal's background. He was proud of his heritage — proud of it because, in a sense, it had made him what he was — a man not very well-off by worldly standards but well aware of his spiritual wealth and his love for God. Perhaps it is possible to see in the quiet pride which Iqbal took in his lineage and legacy, the reflection of a greater pride — the supreme pride which he took in being a man which made him audacious enough to fling a challenge before the Almighty:

\[ \text{1. Priceless treasure is the agony and burning of desire, I would not exchange my manhood for the glory of Godhead.} \]

In the vast annals of history, it is hard to find a person who took more joy and pride in being a man than the humble tailor's son who was born in a small Panjab town and whose birth was not even registered.

**DATE OF BIRTH**

Iqbal was born in Sialkot. Unfortunately while there is complete agreement about the place of his birth, there is considerable disagreement about the date on which
he was born. Most often the date is given as 1873,¹ or more specifically as 22 February, 1873.² The main reason for regarding this year and date as Iqbal's date of birth is that in the municipal records there is an entry relating to the birth of a son born to Shaikh Nur Muḥammad. One research scholar³ has been able to collect the evidence of members of Iqbal's family and affirms that the record is authentic but that the son referred thereinto is not Iqbal but an elder brother who died in infancy. Iqbal's own birth was not recorded but such an occurrence was by no means uncommon at that time.

Some writers have given Iqbal's year of birth as 1876.⁴ When Iqbal submitted his Ph.D. thesis at Munich University in 1908, he attached a biographical note to it. In this note he wrote that his date of birth was the 3rd of Zi'l-qa'd 1294 A.H. (A.D. 1876). 1876 was, therefore, accepted as the correct year of his birth. Professor Jan Marek has shown,⁵ however, that the correct conversion of 3rd Zi'l-qa'd 1294 to a date in the

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² As for instance in Beg, A. A. The Poet of the East Lāhore, 1961, p. 4.
⁵ Marek, J. "The Date of Muḥammad Iqbal's Birth" Archiv Orientalní, Prague, 1958, pp 617-620.
Christian era would be to November 9, A.D. 1877. Faqīr Saiyid Waḥīd-ud-dīn also supports the idea of November 9 as being the date of Iqṭāl's birth. He has arrived at this conclusion by means of his personal contact with members of Iqṭāl's family. (For instance, he mentions that it was common belief in Iqṭāl's family that he was born on a Friday. Now from the years 1298 A.H. to 1296 A.H. only the 3rd of Zi'il-qa'd of the year 1294 falls on a Friday.) It has also been pointed out that if November 9, 1877 is accepted as Iqṭāl's date of birth it would accord better with the different phases of his academic life at school, college and University than if it is assumed to have been as early as 1873. Since the conversion of the Muslim era into the Christian era is a very complicated process involving complex mathematical calculations, Iqṭāl made an approximate rather than an accurate conversion. After the publication of the illuminating studies devoted to the clarification of this point, it is now generally being accepted that November

5. In particular the writings of Waḥīd-ud-dīn, F. S. Marek, J. and Vāḥid, S.A.
9. 1877 is the date of Iqbal's birth.

EDUCATION

Like children from most late-nineteenth century lower middle class Muslim families Iqbal started his education in a 'maktab' in Sialkot. He was a good and conscientious student and won many distinctions throughout his academic career. He won scholarships for his performance in class V Examination, the Middle Examination (which he passed in 1891) and the Matriculation Examination (which he passed in 1893). Apart from his family, perhaps the strongest influence in Iqbal's early academic life was that of Maulana Mir Hasan who was a friend of his father and a renowned scholar of Arabic and Persian. Maulana Mir Hasan was born on 8 April, 1844 at Firozwalah, District Gujranwala, and died on 25 September, 1929,1 nine years before the death of his illustrious pupil. Maulana Mir Hasan taught Iqbal at the Scotch-Mission School, Sialkot, which later became an Intermediate College.2 Iqbal passed the F.A. Examination in 1895 with distinction and once again won a scholarship.

Maulānā Mīr Ḥasan encouraged Iqbal in every way and besides giving him a serious introduction to Persian literature, he was also responsible for inculcating in Iqbal a deep sense of dedication to Islāmic culture and literature. The love and gratitude that Iqbal cherished for his teacher did not diminish with time. In 1905, on his way to England, when he visited the shrine of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya at Delhi, he recited his well known poem 'Iltija'-e-Musafir in which he referred thus to his old teacher:

1

In 1922, when Iqbal’s name was recommended for knighthood, he insisted that his old teacher be given the title

2. That light of the revered house of 'Alī,
   Whose abode will always be as sacred as the Ka‘ba to me. And whose being caused the embryo of desire to grow within me,
   Developing in me by means of his humanity and benevolence,
   a better insight into reality.
   Pray that the Lord of sky and of the earth
   Blesses me by granting it to me to be his pilgrim once more.
of Shams-ul-'Ulama. When asked if his teacher had produced a work of note, Iqbal is reported to have said that he was himself the living book of his tutor.\textsuperscript{1} Since the Scotch Mission College at Sialkot had no degree classes in 1895 Iqbal moved to Government College, Lahore. He was once more very fortunate in the choice of his teacher, and came under the influence of Mr. (later Sir) Thomas W. Arnold, who after ten years at Aligarh had joined the Government College, Lahore, in 1898 as Professor of Philosophy. He initiated Iqbal to the methods of critical reasoning and the scientific approach of the West to the problems of life. When Sir Thomas Arnold resigned on 26 February, 1904, and returned to England, Iqbal was deeply aggrieved. In a poem\textsuperscript{2} dedicated to Arnold he wrote:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Wahid-ud-din, F.S. Rozgar-e-Faqir, Vol. I, p. 44.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Bang-e-Dara, p. 73
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
The tiny particle of my heart was soon to expand to hold the sun.
The broken mirror was soon to become a reflector of the world.
The tree of Desire was soon to become green,
Ah! who knows what I was soon to become.
The cloud of grace withdrew from the garden and went away,
For a short while it dropped rain on the buds of Desire and then moved on.
\end{quote}
Sir Thomas Arnold exercised profound influence on the young student of Philosophy, and also on the young poet. It was he who (along with Sir 'Abdul Qādir) persuaded Iqbal not to abandon his poetic career at a point in Iqbal's life when (like Milton and Keats before him) he could not decide whether he wished to lead a life of speculation or a life of action. That he should have achieved both and have built up a philosophy of dynamism and action is perhaps his greatest achievement. Iqbal owed much to the loving personal influence of his two teachers Maulānā Mīr Ḥasan and Sir Thomas Arnold, the first revealing to him the wealth and beauty of his own heritage, the second inspiring him with a desire to understand the West.

To return to Iqbal's academic distinctions: he graduated in 1897, winning a scholarship and two gold medals for excellence in English and Arabic. In the M.A. degree which Iqbal took in Philosophy in 1899, he won the "Nānak Bakhsh Medal" for standing first in the examination. Iqbal matriculated in Cambridge University as Advanced Student of Trinity College on 21 October, 1905. He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts on 13 June, 1907 having submitted a dissertation for that degree which

was approved by the special Board for Moral Science on 7 May, 1907. While at Cambridge, Iqbal studied under McTaggert and James Ward.

Iqbal was also admitted to The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn on 20 October, 1905, and he was called to the Bar in the Trinity Term 1908. Before being called to the Bar he had to keep terms and pass the Bar Examination.

Iqbal submitted a thesis on The Development of Metaphysics in Persia at Munich University in Germany to Professor F. Hommel on 4 November, 1907, (the residence requirement of two years being waived in his case) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Iqbal's Career as an Educationist.

On 13 May, 1899, Iqbal joined the Oriental College as McLeod Reader in Arabic. At that time Sir Thomas Arnold was the acting Principal of the College. Iqbal was on leave without pay from July 1902, to 3 October, 1902, and from 2 March, 1903 to 2 June, 1903. During his stay at...

1. Information received by letter reference E.15/392 from University Registry, The Old Schools, Cambridge, University dated 13 September, 1966.
Oriental College Iqbal wrote an article on "The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as Expounded by 'Abdul Karim al-Jilani." He also summarised and translated into Urdu, Stubbs' 'Early Plantagenets' and Walker's 'Political Economy.' During this period he wrote his first book, also on political economy. In the Preface he stated that Sir Thomas Arnold had encouraged him to write the book which, incidentally was the first book on Economics in Urdu. He also expressed his gratitude to Shibli who had revised the terminology and language in some parts of the book.

Iqbal was appointed an additional Professor of English from 1 January, 1901 at the Government College, Lahore. In July 1901 he reverted to Oriental College. In May, 1903, Iqbal left Oriental College and on 3 June, 1903 he became an Assistant Professor of English and Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore. Whilst at the Oriental College, Iqbal taught B.O.L and Intermediate classes. To the B.O.L. students he taught History and Economics, and to the Intermediate students Psychology and Logic. At Government College, Lahore, Iqbal taught Philosophy and English.

In 1905, Iqbal was granted leave extraordinary for three years to study in England and he proceeded abroad.

2. Published in 1903, Reprinted by the Iqbal Academy, Karachi, 1961.
While in England Iqbal taught Arabic for six months at University College, London.

Iqbal returned to Lahore on 27 July, 1908, and after a short time he resigned from the Government College, Lahore, having decided to concentrate on his legal practice which he started in October, 1908. As Iqbal was getting settled in his new profession Mr. Wyatt Jones, Professor of Philosophy in the Government College, Lahore, died and Mr. Robson, Principal of the College approached Iqbal to take up the work as a part-time Professor. As Iqbal was unwilling to give up his legal work, the Government of the Panjab requested the Chief Court authorities to take up Iqbal’s cases only in the afternoon. This arrangement went on till the 1st January, 1911 when Mr. L. P. Saunders of Decca College, Poona, was appointed as a permanent Professor of Philosophy in the Government College. Iqbal was offered a post in the College in the Indian Education Service - at that time a rare honour for any Indian. Iqbal refused the offer. He knew he had to choose between a legal and an educational career. He decided on the former. On the day he resigned Ali Bakhsh, his old and faithful servant, asked Iqbal why he had left his teaching job.

Iqbal answered that he had a message to deliver to his people and he could do it better if he adopted an independent profession like law.\(^1\)

It was about this time that Iqbal was offered a part in the M.A.O. College, 'Aligarh (later on Muslim University, 'Aligarh) Iqbal refused this also.\(^2\) In 1918 Dr. Haig, Professor of Philosophy in Islamia College, died and at the request of the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam, Iqbal taught philosophy to the M.A. classes for about two months.\(^3\)

Although Iqbal did not adopt teaching as a profession, yet he never lost interest in educational programmes and problems. For many years he was the Dean of Faculty of Oriental Studies and Chairman of the Department of Philosophy.\(^4\) He was also in close association with the Islamia College, Lahore.\(^5\) During the sessions of the Round Table Conference in London, he worked on the various committees connected with the educational reforms.\(^6\)

In 1933, he was invited, along with some other educationists, by the Afghanistān Government to visit the

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5. ibid.
country and give suggestions regarding educational reforms in Afghanistan in general and the administration of Kabul University in particular. ¹ Iqbal took great interest in the Jamia-Millia of Delhi and was always prepared to help its promoters in any way he could. ² He has left "a permanent impression on three important Universities of the East: Kabul, the Panjab, and the Jamia Millia." ³

Iqbal was a fine teacher. One of his pupils to whom he taught the poetry of Shelley, states that Iqbal's sensitive appreciation of Shelley was quite unforgettable. He would explain Shelley's poetry often with the help of Urdu verses (his own and others') and his lectures were so engrossing that students were sorry when a lecture ended. ⁴ Iqbal was also a very kind and sympathetic teacher, ⁵ who realized that a teacher educates not only by virtue of the knowledge he imparts but also by means of his personal example and influence. A teacher must not only enlighten but also inspire:-

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1. Vahid, S. A. *Iqbal: His Art and Thought*, p. 17
2. Ibid. pp 17-18.
3. Ibid. p. 18.
5. Vahid, S. A. "Iqbal as a Teacher" p. 93.
Iqbal's contribution as an educationist, then, cannot be minimized, although he was not directly connected with education for the major portion of his professional life. This is so, because as an eminent educationist points out, "Education, in its full and correct signification, must be visualised as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of the individual and the community. If this is clearly understood, it follows that the emergence of an outstanding creative thinker, who has a distinctive message to give or new values to present before the world, is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the educationist, and the more his ideas catch the imagination, the understanding and the enthusiasm of his contemporaries, the greater must be his influence as an educative force."  

What is Iqbal’s philosophy of Education? He sums it up himself in a letter, "Modern India ought to focus on the discovery of man as a personality - as an independent 'whole' in an all-embracing synthesis of life."

1. Was it the gift of the (teacher's) eye or the wonder of the School, That taught Isma'il the ways of being a dutiful son?  
But does our education today tend to awaken in us such a sense of inner wholeness? My answer is no. Our education does not recognize man as a problem, it impresses on us the visible fact of multiplicity without giving us an insight into the inner unity of life, and thus tends to make us more and more universal in our physical environment. The soul of man is left untouched and the result is a superficial knowledge with a mere illusion of culture and freedom. Amidst this preeminently intellectual culture which must accentuate separate centres within the 'whole' the duty of higher minds in India is to reveal the inner synthesis of life.\footnote{1}

IQBĀL AS A LAWYER

Iqbal started his practice of law in 1908. Although he was a conscientious lawyer,\footnote{2} it does not seem evident that he regarded his profession as a vocation.\footnote{3} In a letter to a friend, he gives us one reason why he adopted law as a profession. "As you know literature is not and never has been a profession in India. Music and painting are professions of a certain extent, literature is not. I know this from personal experience. I have written something in the way of literature but I have to earn my daily living at the Bar.\footnote{4}"

2. Vāhid, S. A. Iqbal: His Art and Thought p. 18
Law is demanding profession and requires undivided attention which Iqbal was not able to give to it due to his literary and socio-political activities. Also, he was temperamentally an unambitious man and was not interested in earning more than he required for his needs. However, the fact of his not being entirely successful at the Bar did cause Iqbal considerable heartburning as is apparent from his letter to Sir William Rothenstein, "my rivals and other interested persons have always carried on a propaganda against me on account of my literary pursuits and tried all sorts of means to prejudice the men in authority against me in order to ruin my career as a professional man. In this they have succeeded so far. Please excuse this personal reference. I should have never mentioned it to a less sympathetic mind."

Iqbal whose own life was lived in accordance with his exhortation to his son

\[
\text{میں فرسّی امیری پیچھے ہیں}
\]

\[
\text{ودی م نہیں عربی پیس کام پیہاگی اکر}
\]

\[(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 198)\]

suffered not so much on account of financial insecurity

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1. Vāhīd, S. A. Introduction to Iqbal, p. 11.
3. Quoted in Since Fifty, p. 47.
4. My way lies not in being rich but in being poor; Your Selfhood do not sell, in poverty win renown.
as he did due to the lack of understanding of people who mattered to him.

Iqbal lost his voice in 1934 and could not practise law after that.

IQBAL AND POLITICS

Iqbal was interested in the political situation and problems of his country as no sensitive and intelligent young Indian could fail to be, but it was only when he came to realise most of the Muslim political leaders lacked political sagacity and insight that he began to take an active interest in politics.¹

Iqbal was a member of the Committee of the Muslim League formed in London in 1908 by the Rt. Hon. AmIr 'AlI.² On his return from England, Iqbal took interest in the working of the Muslim League but did not participate actively in politics from 1910-1923.³ During this period he was trying to create political consciousness and bring about an awakening of his people.⁴

In 1924 Iqbal joined the National Liberal League of Lahore but not finding it very effective resigned from it later on.⁵ In 1926, he was elected as a member of the

⁴ ibid.
⁵ ibid. p. 269.
Panjāb Legislative Assembly, and as the various speeches and statements made during his membership of the Council indicate, he took interest in, and made important contributions to, the deliberations of the Legislative body.

In 1928, Iqbal became Secretary of that branch of the Muslim League which functioned under the Presidentship of Sir Muḥammad Shafi. Along with other members of the League, he appeared before the Simon Commission which had been appointed by the British Government to report on the introduction of further political reforms in the Sub-Continent. The Commission was considerably influenced by the evidence given by the delegates of the League.

While participating eagerly in Panjāb politics, Iqbal was also interested in All-India politics. In 1929 he attended the Muslim Conference held in Delhi under the Chairmanship of the Āga Khān. "He made some important contributions to the deliberations of the Conference." In 1930 he was selected to preside at the annual Session of the Muslim League held at Allāhabād. In his historic

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6. ibid.
7. ibid.
Presidential Address, Iqbal said, "I would like to see the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."¹

In his "remarkable speech"² Iqbal laid down the exact historical composition of what is now West Pakistan.³

As an eminent historian remarks, "much was to be done before that conception could make its way into the hearts and the souls of Muslim masses, but the idea was born."⁴

In 1931 Iqbal attended the Second Round Table Conference in London and served as a member of the Minorities Committee.⁵ He returned to Lahore on 30 December, 1931, "most disappointed at the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders at the Conference, and convinced more than ever, that the only solution of the political troubles of the sub-continent was a division of the country."⁶

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1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, pp 170-171.
2. Williams, L. F. R. "Iqbal Day Speech" delivered at a meeting held at Overseas House, London, on 22 April, 1959.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
6. ibid. p. 283.
On 21 March, 1932 Iqbal presided at the All-India Muslim Conference held at Lahore. In his momentous address Iqbal stressed the intimate link between individual and collective life. "He who desires to change an unfavourable environment must undergo a complete transformation of his inner being. God changeth not the conditions of a people until they themselves take the initiative to change their condition by constantly illuminating the zone of their daily activity in the light of a definite ideal. Our ideal is well defined. It is to win in the coming constitution a position for Islam which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country."  

In 1932 Iqbal was invited to attend the Third Round Table Conference. While the Conference was in progress, Iqbal grew so dissatisfied with its proceedings that he resigned and returned to India.

In 1936, on Mr. Jinnah's suggestion, Iqbal undertook to work for the Panjāb Parliamentary Board, which was to conduct elections under the 1935 Constitution. Muslim politics were in chaos at that time and Mr. Jinnah was facing a very hard time. "But in the midst of all

this darkness there shone a flickering light in Lahore and this was Iqbal who stood steadfast by Jinnah in those trying days and helped him to charter the course of Indo-Muslim politics."¹ When Iqbal died, Mr. Jinnah sent this message to his son: "To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go he stood like a rock, and never flinched one single moment."² On 24 March 1940, when the Pakistan Resolution was passed by the Muslim League at Lahore, Mr. Jinnah said: "Iqbal is no more amongst us, but had he been alive he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."³

No one today disputes that Iqbal "played a very vital part in the founding of Pakistan."⁴ However, a full appreciation of Iqbal's political wisdom and far-sightedness is yet to come. Iqbal was perhaps not a politician in the sense in which Mr. Jinnah or Mr. Nehru were, but he could see further than almost any other of his contemporaries could. Recounting his meetings with Iqbal, L. F. Rushbrooke Williams observes, "Looking back on that time, it seems to me that many of us who were

working, as we hoped, for the federation of a united India, tended to undervalue the skill and sagacity of Sir Muḥammad Iqbal and indeed I would not altogether exempt from that category Qā'id-e-A'zam himself because I remember being present at various meetings in which Sir Muḥammad Iqbal insisted that a pre-requisite of the full participation of the Muslim population of India in any projected federation must be their continued protection by a communal electorate. At that time Qā'id-e-A'zam was not convinced and I myself who was working as a delegate and representative of the Indian states' side of India, thought that much of Sir Muḥammad Iqbal was saying, however, valuable it might have been in the past, was perhaps outdated in the 1930s and yet how right he was and how wrong we were, because no sooner were the beginnings of the first stage of federation in operation in 1937 than all the fears that he had outlined with such gravity and with such prophetic foresight were, from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim community only too fully realised.¹

It was part of Iqbal's greatness that he not only formulated the conception of a Muslim state in India, and outlined its physical boundaries, but also laid down the characteristics which such a state must have,

¹ Williams, L. F. R. "Iqbal Day Speech."
if it were to provide an opportunity for the development of the individual and the community, the part and the whole. These characteristics were:

(i) It should be founded on monotheism which Iqbal regarded as an essential element in the conception of the brotherhood of man. Monotheism acted as a unifying force, and broke down the division of mankind into belligerent groups. As Iqbal said:

\[
\text{اين لا دو صد سطين بيچي قد لنس}
\]

\[
\text{سیه ار از اسرار لود breadcrumb است دلسن}
\]

\[(Rumūz-e-Bekhūdi, p. 182)\]

(ii) It should have inspired and devoted leadership or prophethood. Iqbal writes:

\[
\text{از رسنال دو بان انت پي با}
\]

\[
\text{از رسنال دين با آينچ با}
\]

\[
\text{از رسنال فردسرو لميني است}
\]

\[
\text{بنیه ماينف است}
\]

1. Williams, L. F. R. "Iqbal Day Speech."
3. This one breath, winding in a hundred breasts, is but one secret of the Unity. (translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, London. 1953. p 69.)
(iii) It should have an ethical code embodying the ideals and aspirations of that society. For the Muslims, such a code is the قُوْمُّ: 

وَيْلٌ إِلَىٰ لَهُمْ يُبْلِهَا اٍلْوَٰلِدَةُۢنِمْ

(iv) It should have a cognizable centre in space; a territorial focus of the activities and loyalties which such a state would engender. For the Muslims the spiritual centre is Mecca.

(v) It should have an ideal objective.

1. On Prophethood is based our existence on this earth, From prophethood are derived our religion, our code. The Prophet moulded hundreds of thousands of us into one, So that various parts were inseparably welded into each other. From prophethood we attained unity of tune, It imparted to us the unity of breath and the unity of objective. (Translation by Vāhid, S. A. Iqbal: His Art and Thought, p. 50).

2. The final message to all humankind Was borne by him elect of God to be A mercy unto every living thing. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Mysteries of Selflessness, p. 38).
(vi) It should aim at conquest over the forces of nature. It should utilize the mechanical and scientific discoveries of the West without subordinating itself to Western values and culture.

(vii) It should develop a combined social personality which will act as an extension and as a realization of the individuality of its free citizens.

(viii) It should give full scope for the development of womanhood in all its potential and actual aspects.

**IQBAL'S LITERARY CAREER**

Iqbal was a precocious youth and at a very early age began to write poetry which promised much to the perceptive eye. He took to writing verse seriously probably whilst he was at the Scotch Mission College, Sialkot. He attended the small-scale poetry symposiums held in the town and was sometimes asked to recite his own poetry. When he was an Intermediate student, he sent his poems for correction to Dāg.  

Dāg Dehalvi (1831-1905) was one of the renowned exponents of Urdu poetry who had accepted the tutorship of the Nizām of Hyderabad after the fall of Delhi. Shortly afterwards Dāg told Iqbal that his poems needed no correction. Such a statement from so eminent a poet must have been a source of great encouragement to the young Iqbal. Iqbal always remembered the debt he owed to Dāg:

\[
\text{Iqbal, it is the miraculous touch of the venerable Dāg Which has made one like you both eloquent and a poet.}
\]

Dāg too lived long enough to see Iqbal's name become a bright new star on the literary horizon of India. Sir 'Abdul Qādir recounts how in a meeting with Dāg in Hyderabad, Dāg had expressed his pride at once having had the privilege of correcting Iqbal's poetry.

Dāg's poetry had considerable influence on the young Iqbal, and Dāg's lively spontaneity became a noteworthy feature of Iqbal's early 'gazals'. Soon however, the mind of the younger poet widened its horizons in its search for new pastures and found modes of expression other than the 'gazal' whose form tended to impose restrictions of subject and scope.

1. Iqbal, it is the miraculous touch of the venerable Dāg Which has made one like you both eloquent and a poet.
In 1895, Iqbal came to Lahore the centre of the development of Urdu which was replacing Persian as the language of the intellectual élite. In Lahore it was customary for persons who had a taste for literature to meet at a few well-known places. In 1896 Iqbal was introduced to the higher literary circle of Lahore, which had its centre at Bāzār-e-Ḥakīmān, inside Bātī Gate. Bāzār-e-Ḥakīmān was the venue of the meetings of the ‘Urdu Bazm-e-Mushā‘ara’ which had been founded by Ḥakīm Shujā‘-ud-Dīn Muḥammad for the purpose of encouraging the growth of Urdu poetry. Weekly meetings were held at the residence of Ḥakīm Amin-ud-Dīn. Iqbal frequently took part in the ‘mushā‘aras’ held there. It was on one of these occasions that he recited his famous couplet:

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\text{Rozgār-e-Faqrār, Vol. II, p. 73)}
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Mirzā Arshad Gorganī of Delhi, an Urdu poet of stature, was much impressed and foretold a great future for Iqbal.  

1. I have this on the authority of my grandfather Ḥakīm Ahmad Shujā‘, the son of Ḥakīm Shujā‘-ud-DīnMuḥammad and the cousin of Ḥakīm Amin-ud-Dīn. Also corroborated by Vāḥid, S.A., Iqbal: His Art and Thought, p. 4.

2. Taking them to be pearls, the Glorious One Gathered what were the fallen tears of shame.

Iqbal used to recite his poems at Bazar-e-Hakiman before he recited them in public. Amongst the poems read there were "Nala-e-Yatim," "Hilal-e-'Idd" and "Ta'awir-e-Dard" which were soon to rank among the favourite poems of the nation.

An organization to which Iqbal was devoted all his life was the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam (Society for the Defence of Islam). The annual sessions of the Anjuman fulfilled an emotional need of the Indian Muslims and became national festivals. Muslims attended these sessions devotedly in order to participate in the efforts of their leaders and to affirm the unity of their purpose.

Iqbal made an almost-sensational debut in 1900, when he read his poem "Nala-e-Yatim," (The Orphan's Lament) at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Anjuman. The poem begins with a lamentation, "an essay in that plaintive and pathetic mode which often recurs in his early verse." The lament is followed by an entreaty addressed to the Prophet of Islam. The poem ends with the Prophet’s exhortation that the orphans be treated with compassion – for he too had been an orphan:

Every age has found its spokesmen and interpreters in its creative artists. Iqbal even at the beginning of his long and fruitful poetic career possessed a genius for being able to feel the pulse of the nation and captivate the mood of the hour. 'Nāla'-e-Yatīm' indeed not a remarkable poem had a remarkable response because it struck a chord of emotional cognizance of deep-rooted psychological needs of those who came to listen to it. The orphan's lament was also the lament of the Indian Muslims who felt desolate and abandoned in an atmosphere of political bondage and spiritual poverty. Iqbal continued to read his poems at the meetings of the Anjuman and it was at a meeting in April 1911 that Iqbal read his famous 'Shikwa' - a poem which commands such a unique place in Urdu literature that Iqbal's fame could rest secure on it alone. A few months later, Iqbal read his 'Jawāb-e-Shikwa'. In 1912, Iqbal's 'Shanfa aur Shā'ir' was published which gives quite a clear idea of the message which the poet was to deliver.

1. To you is entrusted the safeguarding of the dignity of my orphan state.
The publication of *Asrar-e-Khud*I in 1915 was a great event. His attack on *Fārīg* brought on a storm which took a long time to subside. Iqbal had undertaken to shake millions out of slumber and sloth and it was no easy task to accomplish. However, with the publication of *Asrar-e-Khud*I, Iqbal's commitment of the philosophy of the Ego (with all that its practical application entailed) was complete. *Rumūz-e-Bekhud*I which dealt with the development of the communal ego, was published in 1918. In 1923 appeared *Payām-e-Mashriq*, Iqbal's answer to Goethe's *West Östlicher Divān*. In 1924 *Bāng-e-Darā* was published. It was the first collection of Iqbal's Urdu poetry and contained most poems such as 'Tarāna-e-HindI', 'Tarāna-e-Millī', 'Shikwa', 'Jawāb-e-Shikwa', 'Shama aur Shā'ir', which had already become a part of the literary history of Urdu poetry. In addition to these poems, *Bāng-e-Darā*, also contained 'Khizr-e-Rāh', published in 1921 and 'Tulū'-e-Islām', published in 1922. These poems are amongst Iqbal's finest Urdu poetry.

*Zabūr-e-'Ajam* was published in 1927, and was followed by Iqbal's magnum opus, *Jāvid Nāma*, modelled on Dante's *Divine Comedy* in 1932. In 1935, *Bāl-e-Jibrīl*, and in 1936 *Zarb-e-Kalīm*, two volumes of Urdu poetry appeared. In 1934 Iqbal had published a Persian poem *Musāfīr*, on account of his visit to Afghānistān and in

Iqbal's friend Sir 'Abdul Qādir has enumerated the principal themes dealt with by Iqbal in his Urdu works. These themes are to be found running through all poetical works by Iqbal and may be summed up thus:

(a) The importance of the 'individual' and the need to develop the potentialities of the 'Ego'.

(b) The exalted station of man in the hierarchy of the universe and the unlimited possibilities of his further rise to perfection.

(c) The necessity of spiritual guidance to control man's material progress, which if left uncontrolled, could spell disaster.

(d) A warning to the nations of the West of the calamitous consequences which will accrue if they continue to advance on purely materialistic lines, neglectful of the spiritual sphere of human life.

(e) A warning to the nations of the East in general and to Muslims in particular, to remember their spiritual heritage and eminence.

Besides his poetical works, Iqbal wrote three works in English: **Ilm-ul-Iqtisād**, (the first book on Political Economy in Urdu) appeared in 1903; Iqbal's doctoral thesis on The Development of Metaphysics in Persia was published in London in 1908; and his lectures on The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam were first published in 1930. Iqbal also wrote numerous articles in Urdu and English in various journals and newspapers. A number of collections of his articles, letters, speeches and statements have been published.

**SOME DETAILS OF IQBAL'S LIFE.**

MARRIAGES: Iqbal was married three times. His first marriage took place in 1895, when he was barely eighteen years old. His first wife was from Gujrat and came from a wealthy family. She bore Iqbal a son (Aftab Iqbal) and a daughter (Maryam who died in infancy). This marriage was not a success. Iqbal's first wife died in March 1917. His second wife was from Lahore and bore him two children (Jaivid Iqbal and Munira). She died in May 1935. Iqbal's third wife was from Ludhiana. She died in 1924.

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2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
8. ibid.
TRAVELS: Iqbal visited Europe thrice - the first time as a student, when he spent three years (from 1905-1908) and then twice later on in life to attend the Round Table Conferences held in London. In 1933 he met Mussolini in Rome. Mussolini whom Iqbal described as "Luther without his Bible" asked Iqbal what he thought of the Italians and Iqbal answered him "They are quick-witted, they are handsome, they are artistic and they have many years of civilization behind them, but they have no blood."

Iqbal also met Henri Bergson in Paris and when Iqbal told him of the Prophet's Tradition 'Do not vilify Time for Time is God', Bergson appeared amazed at the profundity of such an observation. In 1933, Iqbal also visited Spain and went to Jerusalem to attend the Islamic Conference held there.

Amongst other visits undertaken are Iqbal's visit to Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Seringapatam and 'Alligah in 1928 on a lecture tour. In 1935 he paid a long visit to his friend Sir Ross Masood at Bhopal. In 1933 Iqbal visited Afghanistan along with Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi and Sir Ross Masood.

1. Iqbal quoted by Sir Malcolm Darling "Iqbal Day Speech" delivered at the Iqbal Day meeting held at Overseas House, London, on 22 April, 1959.
2. ibid.
6. ibid.
KNIGHTHOOD: Iqbal was knighted on 1 January, 1923. The actual ceremony of knighting him was carried out by the Viceroy of India, on behalf of King George V, at a later date in 1923.1

ILLNESS AND DEATH: in 1924 Iqbal developed kidney trouble but was cured of it by ‘Abdul Wahab Ansari known as Hakim Nabina, the blind physician.2 Iqbal lost his voice in 1934.3 In 1937 he developed cataract in his eyes.4 Iqbal’s illness took a serious turn on 25 March 1938 and he died in the early hours of 21 April, 19385 in the arms of his faithful servant ‘Ali Bakhsh. Half an hour before his death he recited the following verses:-

The departed melody may recur or not.
The zephyr may blow again from Hijaz or not.
The days of this Faqir have come to an end,
Another seer may come or not.

(Translation by Vahid, S. A. Iqbal: His Art and Thought, p. 231).

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1. Information received in a letter dated 16.8.66 from the Secretary, Central Chancery of the Orders of Knighthood, St. James’s Palace, London.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p. 23.
6. The departed melody may recur or not.
The zephyr may blow again from Hijaz or not.
The days of this Faqir have come to an end,
Another seer may come or not.

LAST VISITOR: Iqbal's last visitor was his German friend, Baron von Veltheim\textsuperscript{1} with whom Iqbal discussed many problems, ranging from poetry and philosophy to politics, which had interested him during his lifetime.

BURIAL: Iqbal was given almost a sovereign's burial. He was buried near the gate of the Bādshāhī Mosque in Lahore, with 10,000 people or more in attendance.

It is not possible to give an adequate idea of the richness or achievements of Iqbal's life merely by mentioning the important events which took place in it. Iqbal has yet to find a biographer who will do full justice to the man who was not just a poet or philosopher or a politician but one whose versatile genius could not be circumscribed in words, who wanted "to melt the world in the fire of his heart,"\textsuperscript{2} and create a whole new world. In many ways Iqbal was a remarkably simple man, but anyone who has tried to form a clear picture of the man behind all the legends which he created, knows that coming to know Iqbal is like exploring a new country - there is so much to see, so much to know, so much to understand. But as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Vāhid, S. A. \textit{Iqbal: His Art and Thought}. p. 14.
\end{itemize}
Iqbal's friend and first translator wrote: "It is worthwhile to become acquainted with Iqbal's rich and forceful personality. Granted that the difficulties are great, so is the reward."\(^1\)

CHAPTER II

IQBAL'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

POSSIBILITY AND IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE

According to Kant, the perceptual manifold must fulfil certain formal conditions in order to constitute knowledge. For him, the noumenon or the 'thing-in-itself' is only a limiting or regulative idea. If there is some actuality corresponding to the idea, it transcends 'actual' experience, and consequently its existence cannot be rationally demonstrated. The subject-matter of metaphysics falls outside the boundaries of experience and cannot by systematised by space and time, and therefore, according to Kant, metaphysics is impossible. In Kantian terms, religion is equally impossible, but according to Iqbal, it is possible to attain knowledge of ultimate Reality and therefore both metaphysics and religion are possible. In Iqbal's words, "Kant's verdict can be accepted only if we start with the assumption that all experience other than the normal level of experience is impossible."¹

According to Iqbal, "it is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his

¹. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 182.
own destiny as well as that of the universe."¹ In order that man may achieve the fullest possible development of his self and his environment, it is essential for him to possess knowledge. His "life and the onward march of his spirit depend on the establishment of connections with the reality that confronts him. It is knowledge that establishes these connections."²

Man suffers greatly because his knowledge is limited but it is often the consciousness of the incompleteness of his knowledge which provokes greater endeavour and leads to an intellectual renaissance:

ناورانی هی می کراییم، تو تئ نم هم
دشت تا میم می آست یت برت نم هو

³ (Bāng-e-Darā, p. 5)

**SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE:** Iqbal, following the Qor'ān, maintains that there are two sources of knowledge - the inner consciousness of man ('anfus') and the outer world of nature ('āfāq').⁴

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2. Ibid.
3. My very weakness may be the source of power,
The mirror of my wonder may be the enzy of Jamshed's (world-revealing) cup.
Iqbal also mentions the study of **HISTORY** as a source of knowledge. "History or, in the language of the Qur'an, 'the days of God,' is the third source of human knowledge...

... It is one of the most essential teachings of the Qur'an that nations are collectively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this proposition the Qur'an constantly cites historical instances, and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and present experience of mankind."¹ Iqbal himself is a great believer in the study of history as a source of knowledge and inspiration. In a poem he says:

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\begin{align*}
\text{دل هارے بار عہردیاں ہے علی بن} \\
\text{نہ ہیں سہائون کوہ اہم خولے دالی بین} \\
\text{ہو گیا کہ نہ کی شان علی کا فور} \\
\text{کہ تار جاتی امی شان علی کا فور} \\
\text{(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 159)}
\end{align*}
\]

This third source of knowledge may be subsumed under the second source of knowledge i.e. knowledge of the external world.²

Iqbal cannot be easily or exclusively classified as an 'empiricist', 'rationalist' or 'intuitionist' since he

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¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 138.

² Our hearts are not free of the memory of past ages, This nation will not forget its rulers. Though over for this nation are the days of the glory of its might, Yet the days of the glory of its beauty are yet to come.

³ Dār B. A. "Intellect and Intuition in Bergson and Sufis" p. 82.
combines sense-perception, reason and intuition in his theory of knowledge. He defines knowledge as "sense-perception elaborated by understanding" ('understanding' here does not stand exclusively for 'reason' but for all non-perceptual modes of knowledge). There are two ways of establishing connections with the reality that confronts us. The direct way is by means of observation and sense-perception, the other way is through direct association with that reality as it reveals itself within.

MODES OF KNOWLEDGE

(1) SENSE PERCEPTION

Importance of Empirical Study:

Iqbal repeatedly points out the empirical attitude of the Qur'an which lays great emphasis on the observable aspects of reality so that by reflective observation of nature man may attain "consciousness of that of which nature is regarded as a symbol." According to Iqbal, Nature stands in the same relation to the Ultimate Ego as character does to the human self. He holds that "the scientific observation of nature

3. Ibid. p. 15.
keeps us in close contact with the behaviour of Reality, and thus sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it ... The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer."

In Asrār-e-Khudi Iqbal criticises Plato (and by implication all the thinkers who were influenced by Plato in this respect) for reducing the world of phenomena to a myth:

2. He was so fascinated by the invisible
   That he made hand, eye, and ear of no account.
   He disbelieved in the material universe
   And became the creator of invisible Ideas.
   Sweet is the world of phenomena to the living spirit,
   Dear is the world of Ideas to the dead spirit.
   (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, pp 57-58)
In *Zabur-e-'Ajam* Iqbal laments over such modes of thinking which have reduced the living world to a mirage:

1. Alas, the western mind hath soiled
   The springs of knowledge undefiled.
   Stoic alike and Platonist
   Have shrouded all the world in mist.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Persian Psalms*, p. 21.)

2. Thou hast closed thine eyes, and said,
   "The world's a dream, no less:"
   "Open thine eyes: this dream-aved
   Is all of wakefulness."
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Persian Psalms*, p. 67)
perpetual change of the winds, the alternation of day and night, the clouds, the starry heavens, and the planets swimming through infinite space." The cultures of the ancient world failed, says Iqbal, because their approach to Reality was entirely introspective and they moved from within outwards. This gave them theory without power, and on mere theory, no durable civilization can be based. Nature and Ultimate Reality.

Iqbal regards empirical science as an indispensable stage in the evolution of man. He says that the Universe, by offering obstruction to man, sharpens his faculties "and prepares us for an insertion into what lies below the surface of phenomena." The Prophet of Islam regarded Nature as one of the signs of God and protested against unhealthy mysticism which forgot that reality lives in its own appearances. Iqbal does not believe in man's withdrawal from the world of matter which, despite its temporal flux, is organically related to ultimate Reality.

When the Spirit of the Earth welcomes Adam, it asks him to

2. Ibid, p. 15.
3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 114.
4. Ibid.
observe the natural phenomena around him for Reality is both concealed and revealed in them:

Nature and Self.

According to Iqbal, knowledge starts with the concrete. Nature confronts the self as the "other" existing per se, which the self knows but does not make. The Self develops when there is interaction between the ego and the non-ego. "The life of the ego is a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this area of mutual invasion. It is present in it as directive energy and is formed and disciplined by its own experience:"

1. Open your eyes and see the earth and the sky! feel the air, see the sun rising from the East! see the open revelation concealed in veils!


3. Dar, B. A. Iqbal's Gulshan-i Raz-I Jadid and Bandagi Nameh, p. 27)

Iqbal wants to emphasise the fact that the self is not passive in the act of knowledge. The human mind is not a 'tabula rasa' on which external objects simply leave an impression. He states that "the realisation of the total self comes not by merely permitting the wide world to throw its varied impressions on our mind, and then watching what becomes of us."² Iqbal refers to Einstein who had taught that the knower is intimately related to the object known, and that the act of knowledge is a constitutive element in the objective reality.³ Iqbal, then, does not deny the objectivity of nature, but merely the passivity of the knower.

1. It first floods things with an irradiating light,
   And then brings them within its laws' superior might.
   It is awareness which has brought it closer to the World
   And through the world has its own mystery unfurled.
   (Translation by Ḥusain, H. The New Rose-Garden of
   p. 5)

2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 115.

3. Ibid. p. 111.
(2) **REASON: The connotation of 'reason' and its importance.**

It is often said that Iqbal was opposed to reason, that he was anti-rationalist or anti-intellectual. Much confusion has occurred because neither Iqbal nor most of his critics state exactly what is meant by 'reason'. In its widest sense, the word 'reason' stands for all that differentiates man from the lower animals and expresses itself in the practical sphere and in activities which are non-cognitive or not purely cognitive. ¹ Obviously, Iqbal is not, and no one suggest that he is, opposed to 'reason' in its widest connotation.

When it is said that Iqbal is anti-rationalist, the word 'reason' is used to stand for the 'discursive' or 'ratiocinative' faculties as opposed to the 'intuitive' faculties. Used in this sense, 'reason' is responsible for both theoretical (deductive) and empirical (inductive) sciences. The question to be asked is whether Iqbal is, in fact, opposed to 'reason' in this narrower sense of the word. The evidence is that Iqbal, far from denying the value or validity of reason, always commended it. He cites enthusiastically the Qur'anic verses (2:28-31) which state that man's superiority over angels lay in his power to 'name' things i.e. to form

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concepts. Concepts are not abstract logical entities. They are based on, and indissolubly linked with, facts of sensation. It is the knowledge of things and their inherent nature that exalted man over celestial creatures, and it is only through an unceasing struggle to attain the knowledge of things that man can maintain his superiority with justice in the world.

It is with the weapon of conceptual knowledge that man is able to gain mastery over the elements and forces of Nature. Without reason, science would be impossible, and without science very little progress would be made in the material sphere. Iqbal believed strongly in the power and utility of science, and it is he who speaks through Ahmad Shâh Abdâli in Javid Nama and calls for "nimble intellects."

Nature and function of 'thought':

In his theory of knowledge, Bergson draws a sharp distinction between the character of our conceptual knowledge of the external world and consciousness as known from within. The intellect in its scientific study of the external world proceeds by analysis and classification. For analysis, the world must be considered as composed of isolatable objects externally related to each other; for classification these must be regarded as repeatable instances of similar kinds. So the world is interpreted in terms of limited kinds of discrete units, undergoing repeatable rearrangements in space.

1. The power of the West comes not from lute and rebeck, not from the dancing of unveiled girls, not from the magic of tulip-cheeked enchantresses, not from naked legs and bobbed hair; its solidity springs not from irreligion, its glory derives not from the Latin script. The power of the West comes from science and technology, and with that selfsame flame its lamp is bright: For science and technology, elegant young sprig, brains are necessary, not European clothes, If you have a nimble intellect, that is sufficient, If you have a perceptive mind, that is sufficient. (Translation by Arberry A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 129)
Hence the intellect thinks naturally of static objects in spatial juxtaposition; it does not grasp fundamental changes through time, but imagines change as a succession of instantaneous spaces. The intellect therefore, Bergson says, "spatializes."

Iqbal does not agree with Bergson as regards the nature and function of thought. For him though outwardly thought spatializes and makes use of only mechanical categories "to break up Reality into static fragments, its real function is to synthesize the elements of experience by employing categories suitable to the various levels which experience presents. It is as much organic as life." Thought has a deeper movement which goes beyond mechanism.

The sphere of 'thought':

Iqbal criticises Kant and Gazzâlî for circumscribing the sphere of reason and concluding that reason could not yield knowledge of ultimate Reality. Iqbal says that the idea that thought is essentially finite and cannot capture the Infinite, is based on a mistaken notion of the movement of thought in knowledge. "It is the inadequacy of the logical understanding which finds a multiplicity of mutually

repellent individualities with no prospect of their ultimate reduction to a unity that makes us sceptical about the conclusiveness of thought". The logical understanding is unable to see this multiplicity as a coherent universe since it proceeds by generalisations based on resemblances, and these generalisations are fictitious unities which do not affect the reality of real things. Thought, however, has a deeper movement in which it can reach an immanent Infinite. In its essential nature, thought is not static but dynamic, unfolding its interval infinitude in time like the seed which, from the first, carries within itself the organic unity of the tree as a present fact. Thought reveals itself in serial time as a succession of finite concepts appearing to reach a unity which is already present in them. In fact, says Iqbal, "it is ... the presence of the Infinite in the movement of knowledge that makes finite thinking possible." In Iqbal's opinion, what Kant and Gazzâlî failed to see was that thought, in the very act of knowledge, passes beyond its own finitude. In its progressive movement thought surmounts its finitude, the implicit presence within it of the Infinite, keeping alive within it the flame of aspiration and sustaining it in its endless pursuit. Thought, then, is not inconclusive, because

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. pp 6-7.
it is "on its own way a greeting of the finite with the infinite."\textsuperscript{1}

Iq\textbarmal's use of 'reason' in a double sense:

It may be seen that Iq\textbarmal uses the word 'reason' or 'thought' in two senses. This, in one sense, is the crux of the problem for it is here that the confusions begin. More often than not (particularly in his poetry) Iq\textbarmal uses the word "thought" to stand for the "logical understanding" which has a sectional nature, but sometimes he also refers to "the deeper movement of thought" which is identical with intuition. When Iq\textbarmal criticises "reason" or "thought" it is always its former and not its latter aspect.

Attack on mechanistic interpretation of life:

We have seen that Iq\textbarmal and Bergson are in disagreement regarding the nature and function of intellect, but Iq\textbarmal follows Bergson in attacking the mechanistic interpretation of life. He thinks that the application of mechanical concepts employed by natural sciences for the organization of knowledge is relative to the level of experience to which such concepts are applied. The concept of 'cause', for instance, does not apply to the purposive action of human beings of whom free-will is predicated. Mechanical concepts, useful as they are for purposes of scientific inquiry, are inadequate for a

\textsuperscript{1} The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Isl\textaham, pp 7. 
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. pp 43-44.
comprehensive analysis of life. Iqbal quotes the well-known biologist J. S. Haldane who points out that mechanical causality cannot, for instance, explain self-maintenance and reproduction. It has been assumed by mechanists that bodily organisms are so constructed as to maintain, repair and reproduce themselves. When an event is stated in mechanical terms it is stated as a necessary result of certain simple properties of separate parts which interact in the event. For a mechanical explanation the reacting parts must first be given. The idea of a mechanism which is constantly maintaining or reproducing its own structure is self-contradictory, for such a mechanism would be a mechanism without parts and therefore not a mechanism. It is, therefore, not possible to apply static concepts to vital processes. In Iqbal's opinion, it is a mistake to apply concepts which are relevant to one level of experience to another, quite different, level. Like Bergson he opposes mechanism because it forces into the strait jacket of physical concepts the dynamic processes of life. In the language of poetry, Iqbal expresses it thus:

\[
\text{زندگی عقل خلاق سر فکری}
\]

(\text{Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 78})

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 43-44.
3. Life and knowledge are two different things, Life is heart-burning while knowledge is the working of the mind.
Iqbal's attitude to 'reason':

Much has been written about Iqbal's criticism of "reason". One writer states that, like Bergson, whenever Iqbal describes thought he condemns it as a mere intellectual mechanism devised only to control the world of space and matter.¹

As we have seen, Iqbal distinguishes between two types of reason:

\[ 
\text{اث‌ دل‌ش ن‌ز‌ر‌ان‌ی ان‌ دل‌ش بِر‌ه‌ی‌ال‌ی} \\
\text{س‌ه‌ دل‌ش ن‌ز‌ر‌ان‌ی س‌یر‌ت ان‌ مَز‌ا‌ی‌ال‌ی} \\
\](Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 31)

Iqbal does not condemn "reason" even when its connotation is restricted to discursive reason since he has repeatedly pointed out its power and utility. What he does, in fact, is to point out the limitations of discursive reason.

Iqbal, like Bergson, did react against the predominant trend in modern thinking "to regard the Intellect as providing a wholly adequate instrument for the guidance of life's activities."² Like Kierkegaard Iqbal refuses to hand the monopoly of revealing reality to Rationalism.³ He does not regard

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1. Rahmān, F. "Modern Muslim Thought" p. 22.
2. There is a knowledge which gives light, and a knowledge which proceeds by logic,
   Discursive knowledge is abundance of curiosity.
science as the measure of all things. "Science seeks to establish uniformities of experience, i.e., the laws of mechanical repetition. Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination, and thus falls outside the domain of necessity. Hence science cannot comprehend life."¹

Iqbal criticises the purely intellectual method of approaching reality because it does not take account of feelings, purposes and values. In his opinion, the predicament of the modern man is that his life is wholly overshadowed by the results of his intellectual activity and he has ceased to live soulfully i.e. from within having been cut off from the springs of life.² To the "philosophy-addicted" modern man Iqbal says:

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 50.
² Ibid, pp 186-187
³ The shell of Hegel's thought is without a pearl, This magic is all an illusion. Intellect does not lead to the vision, Philosophy is detachment from life.

(Zarb-e-Kalı̄m, p. 10)
The most obvious limitation of discursive reason is that it cannot capture the organic wholeness of life, and can give only "static snapshots" of reality. At best, discursive reason can beget science, "the piecemeal apprehension of some limited portion of aspect or Reality: it cannot encompass Reality itself." The fact that scientific knowledge is fragmentary does not take away from its value provided science does not assert dogmatically the self-sufficiency of its facts and methods and ideals.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of scientific knowledge is the confidence it gives to man. But this confidence can easily become exaggerated into a sense of power which seeks dominion rather than truth. With Tagore, Iqbal believes that man's moral and intellectual development must proceed side by side. He would have endorsed Tagore's words that "man with his mental and material power far outgrowing his moral strength is like an exaggerated giraffe whose head has suddenly shot up miles away from the rest of him, making normal communications difficult to establish."

Like the existentialists, Iqbal sounds a warning that an idolatrous attitude towards reason and science leads in the direction of dehumanisation.¹ Lenin protests before God:

\[
\text{ знать Найта дейшер итег нота сан норма бар,}
\text{ушел к Талб Фарахан Ноткар сика}
\text{появилось вие Садан ки Гурраба оома кая}
\text{эйне эмурки дина ви саркар Рана сика}
\text{используемся ими же абзацем бла}
\text{девня ти Хум Дже Ингаль атира}
\text{16 дней Менцд жем Дже Риза Рана сика}
\text{ыбар-э-Калим, п. 67 (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 67)}
\]

1. 'Erfan, N. "What is Common between Existentialists and Iqbal" p. 32.
2. Death to the heart, machines stand sovereign,
Machines that crush all sense of human kindness.
(Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 43)
3. Love fled, Mind stung him like a snake: he could not force it to vision's will;
He sought the orbit of the stars yet could not travel his thoughts world.
Entangled in the labyrinth of learning,
Lost count of good and ill;
Enchained the sunbeams, yet his hand no dawn
On life's dark night unfurled.
(Translation by Khan, N. A. "Tagore and Iqbal" pp 52-53)
There, are questions which the Intellect cannot answer:

There are questions which the Intellect cannot answer:

1. Armagan-e-Hijaz, p. 244

The intellect is "freed" by modern education but it is unable to cope with its "freedom".

The intellect is "freed" by modern education but it is unable to cope with its "freedom".

Another limitation of "thought" is its operation being "essentially symbolic in character, veils the true nature of life, and can only picture it as a universal current flowing through all things. The result of an intellectual view of life therefore, is necessarily pantheistic." In other words, since thought works out its end through symbols, which are in essence, general, its result is deindividualization.

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1. The dust of the wayside has been granted the love of Beauty, The Intellect cannot tell what is the reason.
2. Education liberates the Intellect, But leaves the thoughts incoherent and disorderly.
(3) **INTUITION. Definition of 'intuition':**

In Iqbal's philosophy great emphasis has been laid on 'intuition' as a mode of knowledge. The word 'intuition' is derived from a verb which means 'looking at', and its extended use seems to have originated as a metaphor from sight.¹ "It would stand, presumably, for a mental inspection in which a direct revelation is made to the mind, comparable to the direct revelation which accompanies the exposure of a physical object to the eye."² The word is used in the works of Descartes and Locke to mean the apprehension of indubitable, self-evident truths. Descartes explains how intuition is "not the fluctuating testimony of the senses, nor the misleading judgment that proceeds from the blundering constructions of imagination, but the pure intellectual cognising of which an unclouded and attentive mind is capable, a cognising so ready and so distinct that we are wholly freed from doubt about that which we thus intellectually apprehend."³ Locke describes intuitive knowledge as "the clearest and most certain that human frailty is capable of. This part of knowledge is irresistible, and, like bright sunshine, forces itself immediately to be perceived, as soon as ever the mind turns its view that way, and leaves no room for hesitation, doubt, or examination, but the mind is perfectly filled with

1. Stocks, J. L. "Reason and Intuition" p. 3.
2. Ibid.
the clear light of it."\(^1\) Hence the traditional philosophical meaning of 'intuition' is knowing with absolute certainty, or knowing in such a way that there is no room for doubt. **Possibility of intuitive knowledge:**

Kant in showing the limitations of pure reason had also demonstrated the impossibility of 'intuitive' experience without which metaphysics and religion are not possible. But paradoxically enough, in proving the relativity of the finite objects of experience to the intelligence, he also showed "though without himself being fully conscious of it, and almost, we might say, against his will, that we cannot admit the validity of the empirical consciousness without admitting the validity of the consciousness of that which, in the narrower sense of the word, is beyond experience."\(^2\)

It can be seen clearly from his Lectures that Iqbal is very anxious to show the possibility and validity of the intuitive consciousness. If intuitive experience is possible then it follows that both metaphysics and religion are possible.

Kant had rejected the possibility of metaphysics because it dealt with that which could not be systematised by the categories of space and time and therefore, in his opinion, could not constitute knowledge. But supposing, says Iqbal, that there is more than one kind of space and one kind of

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time, then it is quite possible "that there are other levels of human experience capable of being systematized by other orders of space and time - levels in which concept and analysis do not play the same role as they do in the case of our normal experience."¹ Iqbal agrees with Kant in regarding space and time as subjective but he does not look upon them as unvarying modes into which all our knowledge is moulded. Rather, they admit of new meaning in relation to various grades of experience and their import varies as psychic powers increase or decrease.²

Iqbal has devoted a considerable portion of his Lectures to discussing the question of the nature of Space and Time. It was necessary for him to do so in order to demonstrate the possibility of levels of experience which were free from the "normal" spatio-temporal determinations. The importance he attached to this question can be gathered from his words, "In the history of Muslim Culture, we find that both in the realm of pure intellect and religious psychology, by which term I mean higher Sufism, the ideal revealed is the possession and enjoyment of the Infinite. In a culture with such an attitude the problem of Space and Time becomes a question of life and death."³ In the course of his discussions Iqbal has reviewed the various conceptions of Space and Time held by

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islâm, p.132.
thinkers from the ancient to the present times. Iqbal's conception of Space and Time which forms a very interesting part of his thought has been discussed in detail in a later chapter. Over here, it would suffice to say that Iqbal distinguishes between kinds of Space and Time, and points out there are levels of experience which refer not to these forms of experience in their ordinary connotation, but to "the interpenetration of the super-spatial 'here' and super-eternal 'now' in the ultimate Reality."¹ Such an interpenetration suggests "the modern notion of space-time which Professor Alexander, in his lectures on Space, Time and Deity regards as the matrix of all things."²

Iqbal believes, then, in potential types of consciousness which lie close to our normal consciousness and yield life and knowledge.³ Such knowledge is gained through intuition. Iqbal describes the main features of intuitive experience when he enumerates the characteristics of mysticism which deals with the ultimate by way of intuitive apprehension.⁴

Characteristics of Intuitive (Mystic) Experience:
(a) The characteristic of intuition which has traditionally been most emphasised is its indubitability. "Intuitionism is the theory which asserts, in the face of all sceptical

¹. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 137.
². Ibid.
³. Ibid. p. 185.
criticism, that absolutely certain knowledge occurs in
human experience."¹ Iqbāl states that according to the
Qor'ān, the heart or 'qalb' (the seat of intuition) is
"something which 'sees' and its reports, if properly
interpreted, are never false."²

(B) It is immediate experience of Reality. A notable
writer on mysticism writes, "we can claim for those whom
we call mystics - and, in a lesser degree, for innumerable
artists and contemplative souls - that experience at its fullest
and deepest does include the immediate apprehension of an
unchanging Reality, and that this apprehension, in one form
or another, is the sheet-anchor of the religious consciousness."³

Intuitive experience is direct like perception but
sensation is not involved in it. As Plato said, intuitions
come "in a flash".⁴ Iqbāl the poet says:

achtsammasi

ًاس زسیلاً دا رسیاں کو سکری سمجھئیا پین

(Bal-e-Jibrīl, p 29)

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 16.
3. Underhill, E. "Can the new Idealism dispense with
   Mysticism" pp 149-150.
5. In one leap Love traversed the length,
   I had thought that the earth and sky were boundless.
or, as he says in the Introduction to *Zabūr-e-'Ajam*:

> وادی عشق لیس دور دوران است
> 
> نشور مادی مدل سال می‌کنیم

(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 2)

For Iqbal the immediacy of mystic experience lies in that in it God is known as other objects are known. "God is not a mathematical entity or a system of concept mutually related to one another and having no reference to experience."²

As Ibn 'Arabi pointed out, God is a percept not a concept.³

(c) Intuitive experience possesses an unanalysable wholeness. In it Reality is given as one indivisible unity. Iqbal compares intuitive consciousness with discursive consciousness. "When I experience the table before me, innumerable data of experience merge into the single experience of the table. Out of this wealth of data I select those that fall into a certain order of space and time and round them off in reference to the table. In the mystic state, however vivid, such analysis is not possible."⁴ A writer observes that, here, Iqbal is denying, by inference, that immediacy to normal experiences which he associated with them earlier.⁵

1. *Very far and wide is the valley of Love,*
   But there are times when the journey of a hundred years is completed in the duration of a sigh.


Iqbal is not denying the immediacy of sense-perception but rather trying to show the relative importance of analysis in the two types of consciousness. The rational consciousness specialises in analysis and synthesis but in the mystic consciousness all the diverse stimuli run into one another forming a single unanalysable unity in which the ordinary distinctness of subject and object does not exist.\(^1\) The distinction between the discursive and intuitive consciousness as regards the apprehension of part and whole has also been brought out by H. H. Price. "In discursive consciousness, there is a passage of the mind from one item to another related item, for instance, from a subject to a concept under which we classify it, or from premises to conclusion ... And when we have discursive consciousness of a whole or complex of any sort (as in counting) although the whole may be vaguely present to the mind from the first, yet definite consciousness of the whole comes after consciousness of the parts. In intuitive consciousness, on the other hand, consciousness of the whole comes before definite consciousness of the parts. And there is no passage of the mind; whatever we intuit is present all at once. We might say that intuitive consciousness is 'totalistic', not 'progressive' or 'additive'!\(^2\)

Intuitive experience is objective. Iqbal thinks it is erroneous to think that the mystic state is "a mere retirement into the mists of pure subjectivity." The mystic, for instance, experiences God or the ultimate Reality as both immanent and transcendent. He is in direct communion with the 'Other' and momentarily loses consciousness of himself as a distinct and private personality. But he emerges from his experience possessing "a Supreme Richness - unspeakable Concreteness - overwhelming Aliveness, having been a witness to that Being which gives Becoming all its worth."

Iqbal compares the objectivity of intuitive experience with the objectivity of social experience. We know other minds only by inference and yet "the knowledge that the individual before us is a conscious being floods our mind as an immediate experience." One test of the objectivity of our social experience is that other persons respond to us. Iqbal bases the objectivity of religious experience on the testimony of the Qur'an that God responds to our call: "And your Lord saith, call Me and I respond to your call" (40:62) "And when My servants ask thee concerning Me, then I am nigh unto them and answer the cry of him that crieth unto Me." (2:182)

2. Ibid.
Iqbal advances another argument to substantiate the claim that religious experience - which is based on intuition - is objective. "The very fact that religious life is divided into periods indicates that like the student of the scientific method, the practical student of religious psychology learns to sift experience critically in order to eliminate all subjective elements, psychological or physiological, in the content of his experience with a view finally to reach what is absolutely objective." ¹

To meet the charge that intuitive experience is purely subjective, Iqbal points out a number of times that intuition is not a faculty of knowledge qualitatively distinct from reason or perception, but rather as a quality which is implicit in cognition at every level.² Thus while intuition is feeling, this does not mean that it is purely subjective since feeling itself has cognitive content as Bradley and Whitehead have shown.³ In Iqbal's opinion, this may be seen if we reflect on the character of our knowledge of our Self. Man rises from the intuition of the finite self to the awareness of life as a centralising ego and the ultimate experience of God as a universal, unifying, telic power.⁴

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
(e) **Intuitive experience is incommunicable.** One of the most oft-repeated objections to intuitive experience is that being incommunicable, its reality cannot really be established. To this Evelyn Underhill would reply: "If expressibility be indeed the criterion of the real, as some philosophers have dared to suggest - and this leads us to the strange spectacle of a Real World laboriously keeping pace with the expanding vocabulary of man - not only our mystical but our highest aesthetic and passional experiences, must be discredited; for it is notorious that in all these supreme ways of human knowing and feeling, only a part of that which is apprehended can be expressed; and that the more completed and soul-satisfying the experience the more its realization approximates to the mystic's silence where all lovers lose themselves."¹

According to İqbāl, the incommunicability of mystic experience is due to the fact that it is essentially a matter of inarticulate feeling, untouched by discursive intellect.² But intuitive experience has a cognitive content which can be translated into idea. Feeling is outward-pushing as idea is outward-reporting.³ The mystic reports not directly but through symbols and "the wonder surely is

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3. Ibid.
not that these reports tell so little; but—when we consider our human situation and resources—that they tell so much. The reports are always oblique, but so are the reports of all artists; of whom it is probably true to say that the greater the aesthetic values which they seek to communicate, the more oblique is the method involved.\(^1\)

(f) According to Iqbal, intuitive experience reveals Reality as an eternal 'now' and reveals the unreality of the serial character of time and space.\(^2\) "All intense religious experience—more than this, all experience in which transcendental feeling is involved—appears to be accompanied by a marked slowing-down of consciousness, a retreat to some deeper levels of apprehension where reality is experienced not merely as succession but as existence: a genuine escape from the tyranny of "clock-time", though not a transcendence of duration."\(^3\)

But according to Iqbal this state, does not abide, although it gives a sense of overwhelming authority to those who have experienced it. Both the mystic and the prophet return to levels of ordinary experience, but for Iqbal the return of the prophet is of greater meaning than that of the mystic.\(^4\)

3. Underhill, E. "Can the new Idealism dispense with Mysticism?"
Mystic experience springs from the 'heart' but it is not qualitatively different from 'normal' experience. According to Iqbal, the seat of intuition is the 'heart' "which in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception."¹ Professor Nicholson tells that in mystic thought, "the qalb, though connected in some mysterious way with the physical heart, is not a thing of flesh and blood. Unlike the English 'heart' its nature is rather intellectual than emotional, but whereas the intellect cannot gain real knowledge of God, the qalb is capable of knowing the essences of all things, and when illuminated by faith and knowledge reflects the whole content of the divine mind, hence the Prophet said, 'My Earth and My Heaven contain Me not, but the heart of My faithful servant contains Me."²

Iqbal does not regard intuitive experience as 'mysterious'. It is "a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word does not play any part. Yet the vista of experience thus opened to us is as real and concrete as any other experience."³ Iqbal differs from William James who regards religious experience as being completely unconnected with normal experience. According to

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 16.
William James, religious experience cannot be deduced by analogy from other sorts of experience. It refers to a wider spiritual environment which the ordinary, prudential self cannot enter.⁴ Iqbal, on the other hand, extends the sphere of normal experience to cover mystic experience, since whatever be the mode of knowledge, it is the same Reality which operates on us.²

(h) Intuitive experience reveals life as a centralising ego. It makes us aware of "the simple fact of experience that life is not a formless fluid, but an organizing principle of unity, a synthetic activity which holds together and focalizes the dispersing dispositions of the living organism for a constructive purpose."³ The intellect tries to reduce the rich variety of experience to a concept, but intuition does not proceed by universalization and as a consequence is able to reveal the true character of concrete things, namely, that every living entity converges upon an egohood.⁴ Like the existentialists Iqbal holds that the intuitive consciousness grasps Reality not in an abstract theoretical way but in a decisively personal manner.⁵ This 'intuitive insight into individual essence' has been aptly described by Mr. Roth writing on the philosophy of Spinoza: "Abstract recognition passes into

concrete appreciation. Man is then conscious of nature as a unity, but not as before from the outside. He feels it in himself; he understands its wholeness in and from his own being. He thus not only contemplates externally the ways of the universe in which, like everything else, he is caught up. He not only sees himself as one item in the detail controlled by an all-embracing cosmic order. Nature for him is more than an abstract whole of general laws. It is a concrete system of self-directing individualities. He knows himself in it as an individual, and realizes his place in it among other individuals. He grasps both himself and things, not in their universal aspect only, but in their unique singularity.  

1. Mr. Roth quoted in Stocks, J. L. "Reason and Intuition" p. 12.

REASON AND INTUITION

The dependence of Reason upon Intuition: Intuition is opposed to demonstration in that it needs no proof and is a single act while reasoning is a complicated process. But reason cannot function without intuition. All demonstration starts with propositions which are themselves incapable of proof. Plato had believed that it was possible to have innate knowledge of universal ideas. "Knowledge of truth, he would have said,
is acquired by metaphysical intuition, and the function of logic or scientific method is then deductive."¹ Not only does all reasoning begin with intuitions, intuition is operative continuously throughout every process of reasoning, since every step in the reasoning, taken by itself, is an intuition, self-evident and needing no external justification.² It has been truly said that the necessity of intuitive experience has in the principle that we discover new truths neither by logic nor by scientific investigation, but by reaching out beyond the given, grasping the new thoughts, as it were, in the dark, and only afterwards consolidating them by means of reasoned proof.³ Iqbal writes of the intellect's indebtedness to intuition

³

Reason is also dependent on intuition in another way. While speaking of thought and intuition Iqbal said, "the one grasps Reality piecemeal, the other grasps it in its wholeness.

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². Stocks, J. L. "Reason and Intuition" p. 8.
⁴. The Intellect, whose bold flame enkindles the universe, Learns from Love the art of lighting it up.
The one is present enjoyment of the whole of Reality; the other aims at traversing the whole by slowly specifying and closing up the various regions of the whole for exclusive observation.\(^1\) Now, an act of reason is a process which occupies a considerable stretch of time. The question arises: how does the thinker hold together the successive moments of his thought? At the end of a process of reasoning there is a conclusion but it depends for its truth and meaning on what was revealed in the course of the process. It is intuition "in its characteristic function of making possible the keeping of a whole in mind,"\(^2\) which enables the thinker to hold together in his mind all the steps of the process. "We cannot suppose", says J. L. Stocks, that the thinker, as he proceeds to each new proposition, remembers all the propositions which he has previously asserted, and it is equally impossible that he has forgotten them: he has them, evidently, in some real sense in mind. As propositions, as assertions, they are dead and gone; but their work remains. Each proposition, as it is asserted, has its felt source and confirmation in an intuition of the relevant whole, and contributes something to the development of the intuition, so that, when the development is fruitful, other assertions are possible thereafter which were not possible before."\(^3\)

2. Stocks, J. L. "Reason and Intuition" p. 9.
3. Ibid. p. 9.
It is implicit in Iqbal's thought that reasoning is not an autonomous, self-directing power, but dependent on intuition (or 'Love' as he calls it in his poetry) if it is to possess real value and validity. A philosophy which is not based on 'intuition' is lifeless:

He rejects reason which does not recognise intuition:

1. It is either dead or in a state of stupor
   The philosophy which is not written with the heart's blood.

2. Better a man were blind,
   Better a thousandwise,
   Than knowledge to have in mind
   That the seeing heart denies.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Persian Psalms*, p. 103.)

Spinoza had described intuitive knowledge as the goal of thought and "the function of reasoning may in fact be described without inaccuracy as precisely the development of intuition." Iqbal approves whole-heartedly of 'reason' which has 'intuition' as its goal:

1. It is either dead or in a state of stupor
   The philosophy which is not written with the heart's blood.

2. Better a man were blind,
   Better a thousandwise,
   Than knowledge to have in mind
   That the seeing heart denies.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Persian Psalms*, p. 103.)

The dependence of Intuition upon Reason.

Iqbal states that intuition and thought rejuvenate each other. The Ego grasps Reality both by intuition and intellect:

\[
\text{(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 222)}
\]

In his Lectures Iqbal supports Gazzālī's view that intellectual discipline ought to precede intuitive insight.

Although the final intuition remains unproven and unprovable yet intuition is not a certainty arising from mere inspections to which reason makes and can make no contribution. Although intuition goes beyond reason yet it does not exclude

1. If Vision is the goal of the Intellect, It becomes both the path and the guide! Intellect elucidates this world of small and colour, It nurtures the eye and the emotions. (Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, p. 150)

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 3.

3. There is a whole world in the crystal bowl he has, But he reveals it slowly phase by phase. (Translation by Husain, H. *The New Rose - Garden of Mystery*, p. 4.)

Bergson also states "We do not obtain an intuition from reality that is, an intellectual sympathy with the most intimate part of it - unless we have won its confidence by a long fellowship with its superficial manifestations."^2

Iqbal would not have subscribed to a rationalism which stood for "the view that the world can be known and life lived by something like a set of geometrical theorems,"^2 but if rationalism stood "for the faith that truth, independent of place and position, is attainable to man"^3 then Iqbal would have supported it wholeheartedly. He realized, as Locke and Mill had done, that "an intuition which claims sacrosanctity and declines the test of reason is ... a moral and social offence, a mere misnomer for blind prejudice and crass superstition."^4

Iqbal is very anxious to find in reason an ally for intuitive experience. He says, "Indeed, in view of its function, religion stands in greater need of a rational

1. The world regards the intellect as the light of the way, Who knows that passion also has a faculty of reasoning?  
2. Bergson, H. An Introduction to Metaphysics  
   (Translation by Hulme, T. E.) London, 1913. p. 77.  
4. Ibid. p. 17.
foundation of its ultimate principles than even the dogmas of
science. Science may ignore a rational metaphysics; indeed,
it has ignored it so far. Religion can hardly afford to
ignore the search for a reconciliation of the oppositions of
experience and a justification of the environment in which
humanity finds itself." Iqbal states clearly that as regions
of normal experience are subject to interpretation of sense-
data for our knowledge of the external world, so the region
of mystic experience is subject to interpretation for our
knowledge of God. In one sense, then, reason is the
interpreter of intuitive experience, and "philosophy has
jurisdiction to judge religion." But, as Iqbal points out,
religion has no need to be afraid of reason which can give
only a sectional view of Reality. It can find room within
its "universe that thinks and knows" for all values, whether
scientific, aesthetic, ethical or mystical, finding in the
transcendent the worth and meaning of the immanent, and in the
immanent a graded revelation of the transcendent.

The relationship and relative importance of Reason and
Intuition.

At the very outset of his Lectures, Iqbal states that

2. Ibid, p. 18.
4. Ibid, p. 42
5. Underhill, E. "Can the new Idealism dispense with
Mysticism?" pp 155-156.
there is no reason "to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other." More has been written on the apparent conflict between reason and intuition (or between 'aql' or 'ilm' and 'ishq') in Iqbal's works than on any other aspect of his thought. Yet, there is no doubt that "as a philosopher .... Iqbal has given intellect its full right besides the intuitional experience." He went so far as to say that "thought and intuition are organically related."^2

If Reason and Intuition are organically related, it follows that neither can function alone but both must operate together. In its deeper movement thought becomes almost identical with intuition (which, following Bergson, Iqbal describes as a higher kind of intellect). In its narrower sense, reason may be contrasted with intuition, but only in the way in which analysis-synthesis may be opposed as complementary processes within a developing whole of thought. The basic relationship between remains: reason and intuition remains unaltered, since intuition, "is always found in intimate relation to the reasoning process, never in sheer opposition to it."^7

7. Ibid. p. 16.
Throughout his writings Iqbal is anxious to show that there is no bifurcation between the temporal and spiritual aspects of life. If intuition and reason are completely unrelated and if intuition alone can reach ultimate Reality, then reason has to be left behind. In some places Iqbal says precisely that this should be so:

\[
\text{گذر ما فقیہت ایسے ہے جس پر پورے جراغ دادے ہیں، مرحلہ پیشے ہے یہ} \]

\((\text{Baal-e-JibrIl, p. 119})\)

But in fact, one of the chief aims of Iqbal's philosophy is to show "that neither the world nor thought should be left behind."² His ideal is to unite Reason and Intuition, Power and Love, State and Religion:

\[
\text{تکہو خیری ایسی این است این است}
\]

\[
\text{عین ملک است کو وہم پرین است} \]

\((\text{Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 210})\)

Both reason and intuition are necessary for the fulfilment of human destiny. Both must be employed to grasp the fulness of life. "To see the self only in the state of concentrating

1. Pass beyond the Intellect, for this light
   Is but the wayside lamp, it is not the destination.

2. Raja, P. T. "The Idealism of Sir Mohammad Iqbal"
   The Visvabharati Quarterly August-October 1940.

3. This is indeed a truly regal state,
   In which Religion is Dominion's comate.
   (Translation by Hadi Husain. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 5)
its power, of making itself a pearl or diamond, is as
wrong as to see it exclusively in its exterior activity.\(^1\)
In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd" Iqarrera tells us that it is sinful
to see the world "with one eye."

\[\text{(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 208)}\]

Iqarrera tries to show that there is something in common between
reason and intuition (or Love)

\[\text{(Zabūr-e-'Ajam p. 36)}\]
or between intuition and reason:

1. Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, pp 105-6)
2. With one eye it sees the 'khalvat' (reclusion) of his self,
   With one eye it sees the 'jalvat' (manifestation) of his self.
   If it closes one eye, it is a sin,
   If it sees with both eyes, it is the condition of the Path.
   (Translation by Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 105.
3. Intellect is passion too,
   And it knows the joy to view.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 19)
Perfect knowledge – that, which unites reason and intuition – destroys the idols which stand in the way of the attainment of ultimate Reality.

1. The world does not understand realities, Passion is an attire that fits the Intellect.

2. That knowledge is an Abraham to its own idols To which God has granted the friendship of the heart and eye Which is not short-sighted and combines The vision of Moses and the experiment of the philosopher.

3. Make intellect a companion of your heart.
and "Bergson's Message" is, in fact, his own too:

(Payām-e-Mashriq, p. 247)

Iqbal has criticised Gazzālī for abandoning Reason and regarding mystic intuition as the only true source of the knowledge of ultimate Reality. When everything has been said about Iqbal's defence of reason (as against Bergson for instance) and the importance he gave to it, his fundamental position is, at least in one sense, not very different from Gazzālī's. As Professor Whittemore remarks, "At the heart of Iqbal's philosophy has the existentialist conviction that Reality is inexpressible purely in terms of reason and science. This is not to deny the import of these latter. Whatever view of man, Universe and God we ultimately arrive at, it must, Iqbal thinks, be one in which the data of science are accounted for, one in which the demands of reason for coherence are met. Yet below and above the level of

1. If thou wouldest read life as an open book,
   Be not a spark divided from the brand.
   Bring the familiar eye, the friendly look.
   Nor visit stranger-like thy native land.
   O thou by vain imaginings be-fooled,
   Get thee a Reason which the Heart hath schooled!'
   (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. "Iqbal's "Message of the East"" p. 122)
science there is that which man knows simply because he feels it and intuits it."¹ Bergson too had felt that there is something in the universe analogous to the creative spirit of the poet, a living, pushing force, an élan vital which eludes the mathematical intelligence and can be appreciated only by a kind of divining sympathy or a feeling which approaches nearer to the essence of things than reason.²

Iqbal holds, then (with Bergson, Bradley, Whitehead, Ibn 'Arabi, Gazzâlî, Rûmî and others) that it is through intuition that the Ultimate is known. The experience which leads to this gnosis is not a "conceptually manageable intellectual fact; it is a vital fact, an attitude consequent on inner biological transformation which cannot be captured in the net of logical categories."³ Whitehead calls this vital way "transmutation" and Bradley refers to it as the transformation involved in the passage from the relational to the super-relational level of experience.⁴ Iqbal, following the Qur'an calls it "Iman" which is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind, it is a living assurance begotten of a rare experience."⁵ It is "Iman" which makes the reader of the Book into the

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1. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 64.
2. Thilly, F. A History of Philosophy, New York. 1931. p 5, 7 & 8
Contrast between Reason and Intuition (Love) in Iqbal's Poetry:

Perhaps the most common contrast in Iqbal's poetry is between 'ishq' and 'aql'. Scientific knowledge is equated with 'aql' and mystic knowledge with 'ishq'. The former is usually associated with the West and the latter with the East.

In Iqbal's verse the use of both 'Reason' and 'Love' is very wide. We are told that Love "as applied to the mystics is to be understood in its deepest fullest sense; as the ultimate expression of the self's most-vital-tendencies, not as the superficial affection or emotion often dignified by this name ... It is a condition of humble access, a life-movement of the self: more direct in its methods, more valid in its results - even in the hands of the least lettered of its adepts - than the most piercing intellectual vision of the greatest philosophical mind."  

1. No one knows this secret that the Momin
   Though he appears as the reader, is in fact the Book (Qur'an)
Underlying Iqbal's poetry is the idea that the world yields its secret only to him who sees with the eyes of Love:

\[ \text{(Payam-e-Mashriq, p. 178)} \]

What is the difference between scientific and mystic experience? The poet asks. The answer is given in Javid Nama:

\[ \text{(Javid Nama, pp 133-134)} \]

Iqbal often refers to Intellect as "the wayside lamp"—which shows the way to the destination but cannot give

1. Look at the world with the eyes of love to attain its secret.
   For the world, in the eye of the intellect is merely a show of magic.

2. The task of science is to see and consume, the work of gnosis is to see and augment; science weighs in the balance of technology, gnosis weighs in the balance of intuition; science holds in its hand water and earth, gnosis holds in its hand the pure spirit; science casts its gaze upon phenomena, gnosis absorbs phenomena into itself.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 90)
knowledge of the Ultimate:

The poet is inspired by Love and so he has a more direct and intimate access to Reality than the metaphysician:¹

Knowledge which is not incandescent with love and remains a stranger to its travails, is of no avail

¹ (Bal-e-JibrIł, p. 120)

Intellect lights up the wayfarer's eyes;
What is Intellect? It is the wayside lamp!
What tumult is within the inner house
What can the wayside lamp know of it?

² Avicenna gets lost in the dust raised by (Lailâ's) camel;
But the hand of Rûmî goes straight to the curtain of(her) palanquin.

⁵ Be it 'Atṭar or Rûmî or Râzî or Gazzâlî,
Nothing can be achieved without the lamentation at dawn.
Reason can yield only 'Khabar' (knowledge) and cannot yield to 'Nazar' (vision)

(Iqbal Nama, p. 5)

IQBAL calls the Intellect "a question" and Love "the
The 'heart' (dil) says to the 'mind' (*aql)

1. Creation’s miracle is due to the fire of Love,
Knowledge stops at Attributes, Love sees the Essence.
Love is peace and stillness, Love is life and death,
Knowledge was born a question, and Love the hidden answer.

2. You apprehend the secret of life,
I see it with my eyes.
You yield knowledge and I the direct vision,
You seek God, I reveal Him.

3. "The Eye cannot attain Him," said the Mind;
Yet Yearning's glance trembles in hope and fear.
It grows not old, the tale of Sinai,
And every heart yet whispers Moses' prayer.
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 8).
Compared with the treasures hidden in the ocean of Love, the intellect has very little to offer:

1. Pass beyond the Intellect and come to grips with the waves of the ocean of Love,
   Because in the shallow stream of the Intellect there are no pearls.
2. In knowledge there is wealth, and power and joy,
   But there is one difficulty – one cannot find oneself.
3. Lose yourself in your heart and discover the secret of life.

An idea found often in Iqbal's poetry is that it is Love and not Reason which lead to life-giving and life-renewing action:

1. (Payam-e-Mashriq, p. 203)
2. (Zarb-e-Kalim, p. 78)
3. (Bal-e-Jibril, p. 48)
And so the poet urges:

"it is a sheath without a sword:

For a seeker of knowledge, Iqbal prays that he may learn to understand what lies beyond the superficial meaning of words:

1. The scientists or philosophers give form to what is inner but cannot give it life, For they have neither the Hand of Moses nor the Spirit of Jesus.

2. Let your heart be wakeful, for till it is awake Ineffective is your stroke, ineffective is my stroke.

3. Who has stolen the mighty sword of Love? In the Hand of Knowledge there is but an empty sheath 0 sāqī.

4. May God acquaint you with some thing momentous For in your ocean's waves there is no motion. You cannot do without your books because You only read the books, you do not know them.
Love "flies into the Divine Presence" unlike reason which moves through the crooked paths of secondary causes:

\[
\text{اصطالتنا صائناً رست عنقل}
\]

\[(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 179)\]

Love, on the other hand, is not circumscribed by anything, and works like lightning:

\[
\text{ی نیاندرنی خل سال سان را}
\]

\[
\text{دیر ذندد رنر دودور راه را}
\]

\[
\text{عقل رنکوته حکاک خی برید}
\]

\[
\text{بیمنت اد فلول یپورد}
\]

\[
\text{کوه بیش سلت بون چم بور}
\]

\[
\text{دل سرخلی ایر پون ماام لور}
\]

\[(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 17)\]

Reason is cautious and fearful and proceeds slowly. Love is audacious and proceeds unhesitatingly — bold in manner and unswerving in resolve:

2. Reason makes its way from fact to fact.
   (Translation by Arberry A. J. *Jāvīd Nāma*, p. 113)
3. Love knows nothing of months and years, late and soon, near and far upon the road. Reason drives a fissure through a mountain, or else makes a circuit round it; before love the mountain is like a straw, the heart darts as swiftly as a fish (moon)
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Jāvīd Nāma*, p. 32)
One significant difference between Reason and Love is that the former is calculating and cowardly but the latter risks all without fear:

1. Science is founded upon fear and hope, 
Lovers are troubled by neither hope nor fear, 
science is fearful of the grandeur of creation, 
Love is immersed in the beauty of creation, 
science gazes upon the past and the present, 
Love cries, 'Look upon what is coming!' 
Science has made compact with the canon of constraint 
and has no other resource but constraint and resignation, 
Love is free and proud and intolerant 
And boldly investigates the whole of Being. 
(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvid Nāma, p. 93)

2. If the intellect is calculating it is mature, 
If love is calculating it is imperfect. 
Fearlessly Love leapt into the fire of Nimrūd, 
While Intellect yet watches by the brink.
To the West (which Iqbal identified with the cold, loveless Intellect) Iqbal sent this message:

And because Love is "more brave than Intellect" the poet writes:

Iqbal "struggles mercilessly against that Intellect which is separated from Love." Wisdom comes only through suffering or 'soz' (a synonym for love) and the poet prefers such wisdom to analytic knowledge:

1. O breeze take this message from me to the wise men of the West,

   That Intellect since it opened its wings has become more of a prisoner.

   For Love strikes the heart like lightning while Intellect only domesticates it.

   Love is more brave than Intellect the practiser of deceits.

   (Translation by Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, pp 116-117.)

2. On the morn of Creation, Gabriel said to me,

   Do not accept the heart is a slave of the mind.

The Intellect is waylaid by a thousand doubts but Love pursues its objective with single-minded dedication:

1. Better one distress of heart
   Than all Plato's learned art
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 17)

2. Do not seek guidance from the Intellect
   Which has a thousand wiles!
   Come to Love which excels
   By the singleness of its purpose.
   (Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbal's Educational Philosophy, pp 135-136)


Iqbal regards loveless Intellect as being allied to Satan and forces of evil, of magic and idolatry. In Payam-e-Mashriq he quotes Rumi's famous line "From Satan logic and from Adam love." In Javid Nama he writes:

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Iqbal often refers to the mind as a creator of Idols, and as Love as the destroyer of these idols:

1. If it (science) attaches its heart to God, it is prophecy, but if it is a stranger to God, it is unbelief. Science without the heart's glow is pure evil, for then its light is darkness over sea and land ... Its power becomes the faithful ally of Satan; light becomes fire by association with fire. Science without love is a demonic thing, science together with love is a thing divine. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 64.

2. Now and now Mind breaketh through What idols it designed; Come, for love believeth true, And infidel is Mind (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 67)
shown breaking the idols of his father. Love is a real 'Muslim' because it only worships the One, whereas reason still wears the 'Zannār' - the Magian's Girdle - "which means not only that it creates new idols before which ignorant people prostrate themselves but also that it is still limited by the spell of serial time which hinders man from grasping the fulness of Divine time."¹

The thought is repeated in times such as these:

إِنْمَا الْحُبُّ وَالْعُبُودَةُ لِلرَّحْمَانِ

إِنْ مَاتَ الْحُبُّ عَرَضَتْ نَيْنَاءً وَمَا فَتْرَتْ

² (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 153)

Love, in effect, becomes the criterion for faith:

اِذَا هُوَ حُبُّ فَلَنَا حُبُّ وَأَمْلَاءُ

إِنْ مَاتَ الْحُبُّ حُبُّ مَلَائِكَةَ

³ (Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 54)

Iqbal is unhappy over the fact that modern education does not teach the value of Love but insists on the supremacy of reason:

2. Love is the first teacher of the Mind, the Heart and the Eye, If there is no Love, religion and its precepts are but an idol-house of fantasies.
3. If there is Love, even unbelief is faith, If there is no Love, even a Muslim is a pagan.
Only Love can lead to vision, to the true realization of man's deepest self:

Reason can conquer only the visible world, but Love is more ambitious:

1. Modern knowledge is the greatest blind idol-making, idol-selling, idol-worshipping!
   Shackled in the prison-house of phenomena,
   It has not overleaped the limits of the sensible.
   (Translation by Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbal's Educational Philosophy, p. 136)

2. So long as knowledge has no portion of Love it is a mere picture-gallery of thoughts.
   This peep-show is the Sāmirī's knowledge without the Holy Ghost is more spell-binding.
   Without revelation no wise man ever found the way,
   he died buffeted by his own imaginings;
   without revelation life is a mortal sickness, reason is banishment, religion constraint.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nāma, p. 23)
And if man is constant in love, he can capture God Himself:

"And if man is constant in love, he can capture God Himself."

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 26)

1. Man's reason is making assault on the world, but his love makes assault on the Infinite
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 26)

2. Be a lover constant in devotion to thy beloved, That thou mayst castanoose and capture God.
   (Translation Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p.36.

3. Love is the preface to the ancient book of Eternity, Human intellect is mortal but Love is eternal.
Perhaps one of the best known contrasts between Reason and Love occurs in Rumūz-e-Bekhudi where Iqbal sums up the chief differences which, in his opinion, are to be found between them:

1. Shrine of Cordoba! from Love all your existence is sprung, Love that can know no end, stranger to then - and - now. (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 38)
1. Unto Love belongs
   The true believer, and Love unto him
   Love maketh all things possible to us.
   Reason is ruthless, Love is even more,
   Purer, and nimble, and more unafraid.
   Lost in the maze of cause and of effect
   Is Reason: Love strikes boldly in the field
   Of Action. Crafty, Reason sets a snare;
   Love overthrows the prey with strong right arm.
   Reason is rich in fear and doubt; but Love
   Has firm resolve, faith indissoluble.
   Reason constructs, to make a wilderness;
   Love lays wide waste, to build all up anew.
   Reason is cheap, and plentiful as air;
   Love is more scarce to find, and of great price.
   Reason stands firm upon phenomena,
   But Love is naked of material robes.
   Reason says, "Thrust thyself into the fire;"
   Love answers, "Try thy heart, and prove thyself."
   Reason by acquisition is informed
   Of other: Love is born of inward grace
   And makes account with Self. Reason declares,
   "Be happy, and be prosperous;" Love replies,
   "Become a servant, that thou mayest be free."
   (Translation by Arberry, The Mysteries of Selflessness, p.26)
IQBAL'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: In conclusion

In a letter to K. G. Saiyidain Iqbal has summed up his theory of knowledge and made its aims clear: "I have generally used the word 'knowledge' in the sense of knowledge based on the senses. It gives man Power which should be subordinated to Religion. If it is not subordinated to Religion, it is a Satanic force. This knowledge is the first step to true knowledge, as I have pointed out in JavidNama. The knowledge of Truth is gained first through the senses and then through direct realization. Its ultimate stages cannot be encompassed within consciousness. Knowledge, which cannot be circumscribed within consciousness and which is the final stage of Truth is also called Love or Intuition. Intellect, divorced from Love, is a rebel (like Satan) while Intellect, wedded to Love, has divine attributes. A Muslim should try to convert such knowledge, which is based on senses and is the source of limitless power, to Islam, i.e. transform this (unbeliever) Bu Lahab, into (the perfect Momin) 'Ali. In other words, if the power of knowledge is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind."

Iqbal, the poet-philosopher, scanning the mass of phenomena, finds his own heart, and in his heart and at the heart of the universe like T. S. Eliot and Dante, he finds love.

1. Iqbal's letter quoted in Saiyidain, K. G. Iqbal's Educational Philosophy, pp 145-146.
Knowledge begins with sense-perception ('Ilm') and ends with knowledge of ultimate Reality ('Ishq'). A synthesis of 'Ilm' and 'Ishq' is the basis of 'Khud'!

Knowledge is desired not for its own sake, but for the sake of the power and vision it gives. Man should possess knowledge so that he can transform the world and himself. Philosophy and all thinking should not be just the product of one's mind, but must contain and express the inner concern of a human being. Philosophy, for Iqbal, is not a disinterested study of concepts and ideas. It is a vocation where one's whole life is at stake. Philosophy aims not to increase knowledge, but to give vision and to lead to purposeful action. As the existentialists believe the ultimate aim of philosophising is not to see something but to be something.¹

Iqbal was facing a problem which other poets and thinkers have faced before and since his time - the reconciliation of science and religion, reason and faith, intellect and intuition. Like T. S. Eliot Iqbal too seems to wonder "where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?"² While reading his poetry one is also reminded of Tennyson who facing a similar dilemma had arrived at a conclusion not very different from Iqbal's:

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1. 'Erfān, N. "What is common between the Existentialists and Iqbal" p. 60.

Who loves not knowledge? Who shall rail
Against her beauty? May she mix
With men and prosper! Who shall fix
Her pillars? Let her work prevail.

Half-grown as yet, a child, and vain-
She cannot fight the fear of death.
What is she, cut from love and faith,
But some wild Pallas from the brain

Of Demons? fiery-hot to burst
All barriers in her onward race
For power. Let her know her place,
She is the second, not the first.

A higher hand must make her mild,
If all be not in vain; and guide
Her footsteps, moving side by side
With wisdom, like the younger child:
For she is earthly of the mind,
But Wisdom heavenly of the soul.

In his theory of knowledge, as in other parts of his philosophy, Iqbal was trying to demonstrate that there was no bifurcation between the temporal and spiritual aspects of life, to show that religion could be compatible with science, that religious experience could "unify, inspire and crown man's deepest thought and will, and place the self in fuller and truer relation with the objective world." It has truly been observed that Iqbal was "one of the most important vindicators of the power of religion. He proved that the scientific modern man can also be the man of faith and that out of the most rigorous questioning to which a powerful intellect can subject it, faith can emerge not only unimpaired, but strengthened."
CHAPTER III

IQBAL'S IDEAS ON SPACE AND TIME.

A theory of space and time is an integral part of cosmology. In his Lectures, Iqbal too has devoted considerable attention to elucidating the concepts of space and time (he places much greater emphasis on the latter than on the former). He has discussed a number of conceptions of space and time held by various thinkers through the ages. It is useful to see how far he agrees with or differs from them, for it throws considerable light on his own cosmology.

SPACE.

Zeno's arguments: unreality of space.

To examine first the concept of space, it is to be seen that Iqbal begins by referring to Zeno's paradox. Zeno's arguments, in some form have afforded grounds for most of the theories of space and time and infinity which have been constructed from his day to our own.¹ These arguments are as follows:

(a) In order to traverse a distance, a body must first traverse half the distance. There still remains half of the distance left to traverse. When it traverses half of this distance, there still remains half, and so on.

ad infinitum. (b) Achilles and a tortoise run a race. If the tortoise is given a start, Achilles can never catch up with it. For he must first run to the place from where the tortoise started. When he gets there, the tortoise will have reached another point. When Achilles reaches that point the tortoise will have reached a third point. This will go on ad infinitum, and so Achilles will never catch up with the tortoise. (e) An object cannot be in two places at the same time. Therefore at any given moment in its flight, an arrow is in one place and not in two. But to be in one place is to be at rest. Therefore in each and every moment of its flight it is at rest, and cannot move.¹

Zeno bases his argument on the idea that space is infinitely divisible, and consequently all movement in space is unreal because it is impossible to pass through an infinity of points in a finite time. The unreality of motion implies the unreality of an independent and objective space.² Zeno asks the question: how can one go from one position at one moment to the next position at the next moment without in the transition being at no position at no moment? This argument rests on the assumption that space and time consist of an infinite number of

points and instants. If between two points the moving body will be out of place, then clearly motion cannot take place.¹

The Ash'arites: atomic space.

The Ash'arites tried to resolve the paradox of Zeno. They did not believe in the infinite divisibility of space and time, "but put forth rather a quantum theory of space and time inasmuch as they considered space, time and motion to be made up of points and instants which cannot be further subdivided."² If there was a limit to the divisibility of space and time, then movement from one point to another would be possible in a finite time. They explained motion thus: space is generated by the aggregation of atoms. Motion is the atom's passage through space. They could not, however, say that when in motion a body passed over all the intervening points in space, as this would imply the existence of a vacuum as an independent reality.³ Hence they put forward the notion of 'Tafra' or 'Jump' which is similar to the modern quantum jumps postulated by Planck and Bohr. According to this theory the changes of state of a dynamical system are discrete and not continuous. A particle appears at certain discrete

¹. Šiddīqī, R. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space", Iqbal as a Thinker, pp 10-11.
². Ibid, pp 11-12.
orbits and takes no notice of any intermediate orbits. ¹ Professor Whitehead writes, "It is as though an automobile moving at the average rate of 30 miles an hour along a road did not traverse the road continuously, but appeared successively at the successive milestones remaining for two minutes at each milestone."² Ibn Hazm refuted the Ash'arite notion of atomic time and space. He regarded time and space as continuous, a view shared by the mathematician Cantor and his successors.³ Iqbał confesses that he is unable to understand the Ash'arite solution to the paradox of Zeno involving the question of an independent Space.⁴ Russell: theory of mathematical continuity.

Bertrand Russell has tried to refute Zeno's paradox by arguments based on Cantor's theory of mathematical continuity. In the modern theory of numbers and sets of points, it is shown that between any two points there are an infinite number of points. There are no infinitesimals which make the movement impossible. The arrow is at rest at every moment of its flight but this does not mean that it does not move. There is a one-one correspondence between the infinite series of positions and infinite

¹ Siddiqi, R. "Iqbał's Conception of Time and Space", p. 12.
³ Siddiqi, R. "Iqbał’s Conception of Time and Space " pp 13-14.
⁴ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 69.
series of instants. Thus to every given instant of time there is a corresponding position of the moving body, and to every position of the moving body there is a corresponding instant of time. This correspondence, between instant and point is called movement. This theory makes it possible to affirm the reality of space, time and movement, and at the same time to avoid Zeno's paradox.¹

According to Iqbal the one-one correspondence between the infinite multiplicity of instants in a finite interval of time and an infinite multiplicity of points in a finite portion of space, does not solve the difficulty arising from divisibility. The mathematical conception of continuity applies not to movement regarded as an act, but to the picture of movement as seen from outside. The act of movement as it is experienced and single and indivisible. The flight of the arrow observed as a passage in space is divisible, but its flight regarded as an act cannot be divided.²

**Bergson: psychological approach.**

Iqbal agrees with Bergson that Zeno's paradox can only be resolved by approaching the problem psychologically. According to Bergson, motion is an indivisible act which should be looked upon as a unit or whole and not reduced to its component parts. In other words, if movement is

divided into static units, it is impossible to get back the original movement out of the disparate parts. The space traversed by the arrow is divisible because it is a matter of quantity or extension but the movement is not divisible because it is an intensive act of quality. It was this confusion between quality and quantity or between real time and spatialized time which gave rise to Zeno's puzzles. ¹

'Iraqī: space as relative

Iqbal refers in some detail to the conception of space held by the Muslim thinker 'Iraqī who believed in more than one kind of space. According to him there are three kinds of space:

(a) The space of material bodies. This has three classes:

(i) The space of gross bodies of which we predict roominess. In this space movement takes time, bodies occupy certain places and resist displacement. (ii) The space of subtle bodies, e.g. air and sound. In this space two bodies resist each other and their movement can be measured in terms of time which, however, differs from the time of gross bodies. (iii) The space of light. The velocity of light reduces time to almost a zero. Also, the light of a candle spreads in a room without displacing the air. It shows that the space of light is more subtle than the

¹. Dārī, B.A. "Intellect and Intuition in Bergson and Šūfīs" p. 70.
space of air. "In view of the close proximity of these spaces, however, it is not possible to distinguish the one from the other except by purely intellectual analysis and spiritual experience."¹ The space (a) has a metric i.e. there is a distance associated with it.²

(b) The space of immaterial bodies. 'Irāqī briefly describes the main varieties of space operated upon by the various classes of immaterial beings, e.g. angels. The element of space is not entirely absent from these spaces, for immaterial beings, while they can easily pass through stone walls, cannot altogether dispense with motion which, according to 'Irāqī, is evidence of imperfection in spirituality. The highest point in the scale of spatial freedom is reached by the human soul which, in its unique essence, is neither at rest nor in motion.³

(c) The space of God is absolutely free from all dimensions and constitutes the meeting point of all infinities.⁴

According to Iqbal, 'Irāqī is here vaguely struggling with the concept of space as an infinite continuum. But due to a lack of mathematical knowledge and a psychological inclination towards the Aristotelian concept of a fixed universe, he could not see the full implication of his thought even though his mind moved in the right direction⁵

². Siddiqi, R. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space." p. 16.
³. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 136-137.
⁴. Ibid. p. 137.
⁵. Ibid. pp 137-138.
Iqbal agrees with 'Iraqi in holding that there is more than one kind of space. For instance spatial specifications denoted by words such as 'proximity', 'contact' and 'mutual separation' which apply to material bodies do not apply to God. "Divine life is in touch with the whole universe on the analogy of the soul's contact with the body. The soul is neither inside nor outside the body, neither proximate to nor separate from it. Yet its contact with every atom of the body is real, and it is impossible to conceive this contact except by positing some kind of space which befits the subtleness of the soul. The existence of space in relation to the life of God, therefore, cannot be denied; only we should carefully define the kind of space which may be predicated of the Absoluteness of God."²

In Iqbal's opinion it is not sufficient merely to reduce space and time to a vanishing point-instant when describing the space-time of God. The philosophical path leading to God as the omnipsyche of the universe lies through the discovery of living thought as the ultimate principle of space-time. 'Iraqi, conceived God's relation to the universe on the analogy of the human soul to the body, but he did not reach this position through a criticism of the spatial and temporal

2. Ibid.
aspects of experience (or, in other words, by realizing the true nature of space and time) but simply postulated it on the basis of his spiritual experience. However, although Iqbal does not agree with 'Iraqi in toto, he seems to think that by insisting on the plurality of space-orders, 'Iraqi made a significant contribution to Muslim thought.2

Ouspensky: varying dimensions of space.

It is clear that for Iqbal space is relative to subjective constitution. The Russian thinker P. D. Ouspensky in his Tertium Organum supports this viewpoint. According to Ouspensky, the space of the human being has three dimensions. It is, however, possible to increase or decrease the number of dimensions by increasing or decreasing the psychic powers. For the snail which possesses only sensation and sees the world as a line, space is one-dimensional. Animals have perception and see the world as a surface, and for them space is two-dimensional. Human beings are able to form concepts and measure cubes and for them space is three-dimensional. Thus space is relative to the psychic level.3 The fact of there being dimensions less than three, leads us to the possibility of there being dimensions more than three,

2. Ibid. p. 183.
depending on an augmentation in psychic powers.\(^1\)

**Newtonian view of space.**

In the Cartesian scheme of things, extension constitutes matter, and matter constitutes space, which is therefore a plenum – there is no void.\(^2\) Gassendi rejected the doctrine that space is a plenum, and regarded matter not as being co-extensive with space, but as being capable of movement in space of which it occupied only a part.\(^3\)

Newton adopted Gassendi's principles and regarded space as having a reality of its own, independently of its occupation by material bodies or of its perception by any human mind: it was infinite in extent and eternal in duration. Thus Newton declares that "absolute space, in its own nature, without regard to anything external, remains similar and immovable," and "all things are placed in space as regards order of situation."\(^4\) Iqbal does not hold that space is absolute and consequently rejects the Newtonian conception of space as well as the materialism to which it led.\(^5\)

**Space and Relativity.**

According to Newton space and time presented frameworks of reference subsisting independently of the observer.\(^6\)

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3. Ibid. pp. 75-76.
Einstein who put forward his general theory of Relativity in 1915, discarded the assumption that space was a uniform characterless vacuum and postulated that it had a property of curvature, varying from point to point.¹ According to Einstein, so far from being frameworks in which, as perceived by us, things exist in the same way under all sets of conditions, and which are always uniform, it is due to the position of the observer that they present themselves with the shapes and measurements we attribute to them as being of their essence. It is only relatively that the current ideas of the relations in them of objects are true, or that they themselves exist as they are. The space and time we observe may have derived their form from the conditions affecting the observers, and so they may turn out to be relative, not absolute.²

Just as we are in the habit of thinking that a unique meaning is to be given to space, that whatever meaning is given to spatial relations in respect to the instrument on the earth the same meaning must be given to them in respect to the instrument on the comet or at rest in the ether,³ we tend to think that the framework of time is quite independent of the framework of space. "But if both space and time are stripped of what is unessential, and

¹. Whittaker, E. Space and Spirit, p. 102.
presented in their bare nakedness, they look different. If there were no succession in time, and everything appeared as at one instant, a little reflection shows that we could not apprehend the positions of points in space. Their reality depends for us on their separation, which itself depends on transition, and this on succession in time. On the other hand, if, in the absence of all separation in space, there were only one spatial point in which existence centred for us as time elapsed, it is equally clear that intervals of time would have no meaning. Duration could be immeasurable, for it is by spatialising, as on the dial of a watch, that we measure it. Space and time are really abstractions from a reality which includes both in mutual implication. 1

Thus, according to the theory of relativity, time and space are mutually dependent. The universe is not made up of two separate categories, time and space, but of a single space-time continuum. The three-dimensional world becomes four-dimensional, having four elements, i.e. length, breadth, height and time. Space and time are real, but relative. 2 "It is not as frameworks subsisting as self-contained phenomena independently of the objects in them, such as are the independent space and time Newton thought of, but as what gets meaning only in our thought about them,

that we really discover space and time in our actual experience.\textsuperscript{1}

Iqbal is in general agreement with the theory of relativity as regards the nature of space.\textsuperscript{2} He regards space not as something given or static, but as a "dynamic appearance"\textsuperscript{3} which is relative to various levels of experience. The true nature of space (and time) is realized when one sinks into "one's deeper self," or, in other words, when one does not take a purely intellectual viewpoint, because, in Iqbal's words:

\begin{quote}
زرد دو، نَکُن طَرْع مَکْان لَست
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{4}(Zabur-e-'Ajam p. 216)

\textbf{T I M E.}

Time is a central concept in Iqbal's philosophy. From various accounts we know that the tradition 'lā tasubbū ad-dahr' i.e. Do not vilify Time (for Time is God), accompanied Iqbal all his life.\textsuperscript{5} He even surprised Henri Bergson with it when he visited the French philosopher in

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Haldane, R. \textit{The Reign of Relativity}, pp 46-47.
\item[2.] Siddiqi, R. "Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space" p. 29.
\item[3.] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 137.
\item[4.] The intellect built Space upon the void.
\item[5.] Schimmel, A. M. \textit{Gabriel's Wing}, p. 290.
\end{itemize}
Paris. "He took this prophetical word for a designation of that overwhelming reality of which time and space are only aspects." In 1933, he wrote, "If 'dahr' is continuous and extended and if it is Allāh himself - what then, is space? Just as if time is a kind of reflection of 'dahr,' so space must also be a kind of reflection of 'dahr.'"\(^2\)

Iqbal emphasises time more than space. Time is more fundamental than space; it is related to space as soul is to the body. It is the mind of space.\(^3\) Pure duration is the matrix of the whole universe.\(^4\)

**Newton: absolute time.**

Newton conceives of time as he conceives of space, as a kind of actually subsisting framework in which objects are set, and so as belonging to the actual in the same fashion for every kind of individual observer, however he may observe, and without reference to any condition.\(^5\) According to Newton, all motions may be accelerated or retarded, only the flow of absolute time cannot be changed. The same duration with the same persistence occurs in the existence of all things, whether the motion be rapid, slow or zero.\(^6\)

Iqbal refers to Newton's description of time as 'something which in itself and from its own nature flows equally' and

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

The Ash'arites: atomic time

Time, though it cannot be regarded as objective, is not to be regarded as something unreal. Iqbal also admits that although we possess no sense-organ to perceive time, it is a kind of flow, and as such, has a genuine objective or atomic aspect. Modern quantum theory which assumes the discontinuity of matter, confirms the Ash'arite theory of atomic time. Iqbal quotes Professor Rongier in support: "Contrary to the ancient adage, Nature non facit saltus, it becomes apparent that the universe varies by sudden jumps and not by imperceptible degrees. A physical

2. Ibid. p.74.
system is capable of only a finite number of distinct states. Since between two different and immediately consecutive states the world remains motionless, time is suspended, so that time itself is discontinuous: there is an atom of time." According to the Ash'arites, then, time is a succession of individual 'nows'. It follows that between moments of time there is an unoccupied moment of time or a void of time. Iqbal finds the idea of atomic time unsatisfactory. This idea is due to the ignorance or neglect of the psychologically subjective aspect of time and considers time almost as a created, objectively given fact, whereas a personal, living Creator is posited. Now if this Creator is living, one must somehow be able to predicate a time of Him. In Iqbal's words, "we cannot apply atomic time to God and conceive Him as a life in the making, as Professor Alexander seems to have done in his Lectures on Space, Time and Deity. A better understanding of Divine Time can be obtained through introspection, seizing that experience of appreciative time which alone can account for creativeness. In this way, time precedes space psychologically, and is the source of space.

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 74.
2. Ibid. p. 73.
4. Ibid.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 75.
Time and Relativity.

As we have seen, Iqbal is in general agreement with the theory of relativity as regards the concepts of space and time but he raises one objection to it. Iqbal thinks that Einstein's theory considers time to be unreal. "A theory which takes time to be a kind of fourth dimension of space must, it seems, regard the future as something already given, as indubitably fixed as the past. Time as a free creative movement has no meaning for the theory. It does not pass, events do not happen; we simply meet them."¹ According to an eminent mathematician, Iqbal has a misconception about the theory of relativity which regards time as a fourth dimension, not of space, but of the space-time continuum. Thus the theory gives as much reality to time as to space.² It is to be pointed out that Iqbal did not presume to understand all the implications of the theory of relativity, since he was not a mathematician. "It is not possible," he said, "for us laymen to understand what is the real nature of Einstein's time."³

Ouspensky - time as the fourth dimension of space.

Iqbal objects to the conception of time held by the Russian writer Ouspensky in his book *Tertium Organum*.⁴ Ouspensky regards time as a fourth dimension of space and

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

Thus time which was viewed as succession, at one stage, is reduced, at another stage, to what does not differ in anything from the other lines and dimensions of space.\(^1\) Ouspensky regarded time as a genuinely new direction in space because of its serial character. If it is divested of this character, in Iqbal’s opinion it cannot be regarded as an original direction.\(^2\) Iqbal has another objection to Ouspensky’s viewpoint. Razi-ud-Din Siddiqi writes, "Iqbal is right when he objects to the theory of serial time put forward by Ouspensky... that on the basis of this theory, it would be possible, by a careful choice of the velocities of the observer and the system in which a given set of events is happening, to make the effect precede the cause."\(^3\) "It appears to me" writes Iqbal, "that time regarded as a fourth dimension of space really ceases to be time."\(^4\)

**Time as relative: Dawani and ‘Iraqi.**

Mulla Jalal-ud-Din Dawani and ‘Iraqi take a relativistic view of time. According to the former if we take time to be kind of span which makes possible the appearance of events as a moving procession and conceive this span to be a unity, then we cannot but describe it as an original state of

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2. Ibid. p. 40.
3. Siddiqi, R. "Iqbal’s Conception of Time and Space", p. 30
Divine activity, encompassing all the succeeding states of that activity. Dawânî adds that a deeper insight into the nature of succession reveals its relativity, so that it disappears in the case of God to Whom all events are present in a single act of perception.¹

Iqbal finds 'Iraqî’s view of time even more satisfactory.² 'Iraqî conceives of infinite varieties of time, relative to the level of being intervening between materiality and pure spirituality. The time of gross bodies may be divided into past, present and future, and until one day is over the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings also possesses a serial character but its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more than a day in the time of an immaterial being. Rising to the highest level we reach Divine time which is absolutely free of the quality of passage, and does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change. It is above eternity, having neither beginning nor end. The priority of God is not due to the priority of time; on the other hand, the priority of time is due to God’s priority. The Qur’ân describes Divine time as the ‘Mother of Books’ in which the whole of history freed from causal sequence, is gathered up in a single super-eternal ‘now’.³

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 75.
³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 75-76.
As has been pointed out, Iqbal’s conception of "time in God" differs, in fact, even from ‘Iraqi’s viewpoint, being based on psychological experience unknown to the Muslim philosophers. According to ‘Iraqi’s conception of Divine Time, divine knowledge is the same as "omniscience in the sense of a single indivisible act of perception which makes God immediately aware of the entire sweep of history regarded as an order of specific events, in an eternal 'now'." Iqbal does not hesitate "to carry the robust anthropomorphic conception of God in the Qur’an to its farthest consequences," denying God this 'passive omniscience' of traditional theology. Iqbal says, "By conceiving, God’s knowledge as a kind of reflecting mirror, we no doubt save His fore-knowledge of future events, but it is obvious we do so at the expense of His freedom. The future certainly pre-exists in the organic whole of God’s creative life, but it pre-exists as an open possibility, not as a fixed order of events with definite outlines."

Razi and the debate on time.

For Iqbal, Fakhruddin Razi sums up the debate on time in Muslim thought with a declaration of scepticism concerning the real nature of time. Razi’s book is mainly explanatory.

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 78.
4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 79.
This does not surprise Iqbal since Razī's method was, on the whole, objective, and "a purely objective point of view is only partially helpful in our understanding of the nature of time. The right course is a careful psychological analysis of our conscious experience which alone reveals the true nature of time."¹

McTaggart - the unreality of time.

Iqbal refers to Dr. McTaggart's argument relating to the unreality of Time. According to McTaggart, time is unreal because every event is past, present and future. "Past, present, and future are incompatible determinations. Every event must be one or the other, but no event can be more than one... But every event has them all. If M is past, it has been present and future. If it is future, it will be present and past. If it is present, it has been future and will be past. Thus all the three incompatible terms are predicable of each event, which is obviously inconsistent with their being incompatible, and inconsistent with their producing change."² To illustrate the point let us take a concrete example. Queen Anne's death is past to us, it was present to her contemporaries and future to William III. Thus the event of Queen Anne's death combines characteristics which are incompatible with each other.³

¹. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 76.
In Iqbal's opinion, McTaggart's argument proceeds on the assumption that serial time is final. "If we regards past, present, and future as essential to time, then we picture time as a straight line, part of which we have travelled and left behind, and part lies yet untravelled before us. This is taking time, not as a living creative movement, but as a static absolute, holding the ordered multiplicity of fully-shaped cosmic events, revealing serially, like the picture of a film, to the outside observer."

Iqbal refers to C. D. Broad who points out that a future event cannot be characterised as an event. Before the death of Queen Anne the event of her death existed only on an unrealized possibility. Iqbal's answer to McTaggart's argument is that the future exists only an open possibility and not as a reality. When an event is described as being both past and present it cannot be said to combine incompatible characteristics. "The fallacy is in regarding 'E is occurring now' as analysable in a way similar to the analysis of 'X is red': not only is 'now' regarded as a quality like 'red', but a confusion is made between E, an event, and X, a substance."

Iqbal states that when an event X does happen it enters into an unalterable relation with all the events that have happened before it. These relations are

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p. 58.
not at all affected by the relation of X with other events which happen after X by the further becoming of Reality. Hence there is no logical difficulty in regarding an event as both past and present.¹ Iqbal admits, however, that McTaggart's argument "requires much further thinking" even though it does not touch real time or pure duration to which the distinctions of past, present and future do not apply.²

Nietzsche - cyclic time.

Iqbal criticises Nietzsche's view of time as it appears in connection with his doctrine of Eternal Recurrence.³ In the third book of Thus Spake Zarathustra Nietzsche introduces the theme of Eternal Recurrence. This doctrine states "that all things recur eternally, and we ourselves with them, and that we have already existed an infinite number of times before and all things with us."⁴ So for Nietzsche "everything goes, everything comes back; eternally rolls the wheel of being."⁵ Whatever is happening now will happen again and has happened before. The great things of the world recur, but so do the small. The return is "not to a new life or a better life or a similar life: I shall

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. p. 114.
return eternally to this identical and self-same life, in the greatest things and in the smallest."

According to Nietzsche, time is not a subjective form; it is a real and infinite process which can only be conceived as 'periodic'. On the principle of the conservation of energy the quantity of energy in the universe is constant. The world is a closed off unity in which there can be no dissipation of energy. The amount of energy being fixed, various combinations of energy-centres recur an infinite number of times. Time is thus pictured by Nietzsche as repeating itself in identical cycles. It has no beginning or end. Iqbal regards Nietzsche's viewpoint as a kind of mechanism based on the hypothetical constancy of quantity of energy. According to Iqbal, Nietzsche does not "seriously grapple with the question of time. He takes it objectively and regards it merely as an infinite series of events returning to itself over and over again." Iqbal points out the difference between Nietzsche's concept of time and his own concept as described in Asrar-e-Khuda it is regarded as a straight line. Life, therefore, to Nietzsche is repetition, to Asrar-e-Khuda creation. The perfection of the perfect man according to Islam consists in realising this aspect of time which can be described only as the eternal 'now'.

Nietzsche there is no such thing as the eternal 'now'."

Ibn Khaldūn - time as movement.

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

Bergson: serial and non-serial time.

In his view of time, Iqbal comes nearest to Bergson of whom he says "among the representatives of contemporary thought Bergson is the only thinker who has made a keen study of the phenomenon of duration in time." Bergson uses 'time' in two senses. In its narrow or superficial sense it means spatialized or clock time. In its wider or real

4. *Ibid*.
sense it is conceived as 'durée' which is not mere blank lastingness, enduring through a hypostatized, spatialized Time - it is ceaseless, continuous flow in which all things live and move and have their being. Like Heraclitus, Bergson insists that the notion of ceaseless change is fundamental, but unlike him he does not stultify the notion by permitting cyclic repetition. For him, durée evolves ever new and newer forms, that is, it is genuinely creative.

Like Bergson, Iqbal distinguishes between the serial and non-serial aspects of time. The former is associated with what Iqbal calls the efficient self and the latter with the appreciative self. The efficient or practical self is related to the spatial world. While retaining its unity as a totality, the efficient self reveals itself as a series of discrete (quantum) states. The time of this efficient self is just a dimension of the space-time continuum. It is of the serial character postulated by the Ash'arites. The time in which the efficient self lives is the time of which we predicate 'long' and 'short'. It is hardly distinguishable from space. Time, thus regarded, is not true time, according to Bergson. The appreciative ego lives in pure duration, i.e. change without succession. According to Iqbal, the unity of the appreciative ego is like the unity

2. Ibid.
of the germ in which the experiences of its ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience permeates the whole. There is no numerical distinctness of states in the totality of the ego, the multiplicity of whose elements is wholly qualitative. There is change and movement but they are not divisible. Their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character. The time of the appreciative self is a single 'now' which the efficient self spatializes into a series of 'nows'.

Bergson also points out the difference between time as infected by the idea of space and pure time: "When we speak of time we generally think of a homogeneous medium in which our conscious states are ranged alongside one another as in space, so as to form a discrete multiplicity. Would not time, thus understood, be to the multiplicity of our psychic states what intensity is to certain of them - a sign, a symbol, absolutely distinct from true duration? Let us ask consciousness to isolate itself from the external world, and, by a vigorous effort of abstraction, to become itself again. We shall then put this question to it: does the multiplicity of our conscious states bear the slightest resemblance to the multiplicity of the units of a number? Has true duration anything to do with space? ... if time, as the reflective consciousness represents it, is a medium in which our conscious

states form a discrete series so as to admit of being counted, and if on the other hand our conception of number ends in spreading out in space everything which can be directly counted, it is to be presumed that time, understood in the sense of a medium in which we make distinctions and count, is nothing but space ... it follows that pure duration must be something different."¹ It has been pointed out that Bergson does not deny succession to pure duration. For him the flow of pure duration is a succession of interpenetrating states. Iqbāl takes away succession altogether. For him pure duration is eternity in the sense of change without succession.²

Bergson: pure duration known intuitively.

Iqbāl agrees with Bergson that pure duration is known intuitively rather than intellectually.³ Bergson points out the barrenness and artificiality of intellectual abstraction which cannot perceive the organic unity of life. "Instead of attaching ourselves to the inner-becoming of things, we place ourselves outside them in order to recompose their becoming artificially. We take snapshots, as it were, of the passing reality."⁴ Iqbāl's distinction between intellect and intuition, like Iqbāl's, is in alignment with

his distinction between spatialized time and durée. In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd" Iqbal says:

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1. Unable to perceive infinity,
The intellect just multiplies pure unity.
Lame, it likes to stand still;
And blind, give up the kernel for the shell.
The stars and planets that we see
Are fragments of reality —
Creations of the intellect
Which must dissect.
We never saw Time with our inner sight
And have invented year and month and day and night.
(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p.7)

2. The Intellect counts every breath
With a clock's hand,
As if breath were Time's unit.
So it can never comprehend
And take the measure of Infinity.
It only fashions night and day,
Imaginary parts of Time.
Afraid to seize the flame,
It gathers sparks alone.    (Trans. by Husain, H. Ibid. p.14)
He compares the intuitive and the intellectual mode of perceiving reality:

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\text{Zabur-e-'Ajam p. 228)
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Thus for Iqbal, it is "only in the moments of profound meditation, when the efficient self is in abeyance, that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience." However, it is to be remembered here that Iqbal does not agree with Bergson in thinking that thought only spatializes living processes. For him, in its deeper movement, that is "in its true nature" thought "is identical with life." Bergson: time as creative.

Iqbal shares with enthusiasm an idea found both in the Qur'an and in Bergson's philosophy, namely, that time is creative. Bergson vehemently opposed the old idea expressed in Ecclesiastes that "there is nothing new under the sun." On the contrary, he urges, that if we picture duration as a

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1. Life's essence is eternal, though
   Seen with the body's eye
   It is a part of Time.
   (Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 157)


3. Ibid. pp 51-52.

ceaseless flow, we are bound to hold some kind of an evolutionary view in conjunction with it. Time is not static, it is a process continually working towards ever new forms which cannot be predicted. He takes the example of a painter. "The painter is before his canvas, the colours are on the palette, the model is sitting - all this we see, and also we know the painter's style: do we foresee what will appear on the canvas? We possess the elements of the problem; we know in an abstract way, how it will be solved, for the portrait will surely resemble the model and will surely resemble also the artist; but the concrete solution brings with it that unforeseeable nothing which is everything in a work of art." 

According to Bergson, "science can work only on what is supposed to repeat itself - that is to say, on what is withdrawn, by hypothesis, from the action of real time" and thus "concentrated on that which repeats, solely pre-occupied in welding the same to the same, intellect turns away from the vision of time." Iqbal also points out that creation and not repetition is the characteristic of real time. "If time is real, and not a mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion, then every moment in the life of reality is

1. Cleugh, E. M. *Time*, p. 120.
original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable... To exist in real time is not to be bound by the fetters of serial time, but to create it from moment to moment and to be absolutely free and original in creation... creation is opposed to repetition which is characteristic of mechanical action. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism.¹

Bergson: time as non-teleological movement.

Despite the many similarities between the thought of Bergson and Iqbal, there are certain significant differences. Bergson denies the teleological character of Reality on the ground that it makes time unreal. According to him "the portals of the future must remain wide open to Reality" otherwise it will not be free and creative.² Thus if teleology is admitted the primordial freshness of durée will be nullified. Iqbal points out that this objection only holds good so long as teleology means the acting out of a plan in view of a pre-determined purpose. "Such a religious predestinationism would destroy the freedom of both God and man."³ Teleology is to be understood not as a mechanical but as a vitalistic-creative process - a line

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 50.
² Ibid. pp 53-54.
not already drawn, but a line in the drawing - an actualization of open possibilities. The world-process "is purposive only in this sense that it is selective in character and brings itself to some sort of present fulfilment by actively preserving and supplementing the past." ¹ For Iqbal, then, ultimate Reality "is pure duration in which thought, life and purpose interpenetrate to form an organic unity."² In his opinion Bergson's mistake was that he overlooked the forward-looking aspect of consciousness which makes it teleological.³

According to Iqbal, Bergson was wrong in that he considered pure time as preceding the Person, of whom alone both pure duration and elan vitel can be predicated.⁴ Pure time cannot keep the multiplicity of objects and events together. The multiplicity of nature broken up into innumerable instants can only be grasped by the appreciative act of a lasting self which can build it up together in a lasting synthesis.⁵ For Iqbal, time - although an essential element in reality, is not reality itself.⁶

In Greek and Hindu thought time was bound to things visible and escape from it was possible only through self-annihilation, but Iqbal boldly introduces Time into the very

2. Ibid. p. 55.
5. Ibid. pp 161-162.
heart of God.\(^1\) God is not the unmoved mover; the God portrayed by the Qur'an is an active, changing and living God.\(^2\) For Iqbal, God lives both in eternity and in serial time. The former means change without succession while the latter is organically related to eternity in so far as it is a measure of eternity.\(^3\) In \textit{Javid Fama}, Iqbal attempts to portray life in the non-serial time of the world beyond creation:

\begin{quote}
درگر قسم از هار و ابیضات
با نامه دو خجاق سه عبات

پس می‌سازند است این عيان
مارع، ار ملی، نادر است این عيان

اسرار عالم عالم دین هن
محل ادا کردن کتاب دین‌هت

لازاذه خون Haven لوع در
نایه اقدامون و آب در نژا

فرسان اورا مالی دیرت
هرسان اورا امال دیرت
\end{quote}

\(^1\) Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal", p. 162.
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 163.
\(^3\) Ibid.
The Qor'ān and the two aspects of time.

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

Hence it is possible for Iqbal to interpret logically the two contrasting statements on creation in the Qor'ān: "All things have we created bound by a fixed decree: and Our command is no more than a single word, like the twinkling

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1. I passed beyond the bounds of this universe and set foot in the undimensioned world, a world without both right and left, a world devoid of night and day. In that universe was another world Whose origin was from Divine fiat, undecaying, and every moment transformed, unimaginable, yet there clearly visible, every moment clothed in a new perfection, every moment clad in a new beauty. Its time had no need of moon and sun; in its expanse the nine spheres are contained. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Jāvīd Nāma, pp 113-114).


of an eye" (54:50); 1 "and do thou trust in Him who liveth and dieth not; and celebrate His praise who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days; and then ascended His Throne; the Merciful." (25:60) Viewed intellectually, one Divine day, in the terminology of the Qor'ān and the Old Testament becomes equal to a thousand years. But from another viewpoint, the process of creation is a single act as swift as the twinkling of an eye. Iqbal illustrates this point further. The sensation of red is caused by a wave-motion of the frequency of 400 billions per second and is practically incalculable, yet it is received by the eye in a single momentary act of perception. 3

Time: to sum up.

Iqbal believed that "a keen sense of the reality of time and the concept of life as a continuous movement in time is typical of Islam." 4 We have seen the importance he attaches to time in his own philosophy. His concept of time "fits in nicely into the general movement of revival of personalism which is under way in today's religious philosophy." 5 Professor Bausani observes, "Iqbal's own contribution is that of Islamic experience,

2. Ibid. p. 393.
which we would do well to consider with greater attention and appreciation."¹ Professor Schimmel thinks that the religious importance of Iqbal's ideas about time deserves special attention, for "what he wanted was surely not to add a new system of scientific explanations to this most difficult problem, but to draw the attention of the Muslim world back to the contact with the living God. Through a revaluation of the twofold aspect of time he aimed at an actualization of this burning but long forgotten issue for Muslim religious life."²

TIME (AND SPACE) IN IQBAL'S POETRY.

In his poetry, Iqbal often describes serial time as the 'zannār' the magian's girdle. This symbol "shows Iqbal's fine psychological insight - he could not yet foresee what H. Corbin proved many years later that the zannār is the typical Zurvanistic symbol."³ Zārvān is the old Irānian God of Time.⁴ He is conceived as a sorcerer whose spell has to be broken. The man of God recognising the personal creative activity of God, and realizing this power in his own self can break the spell of Zarvān by participating in God's time.⁵

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² Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 298.
³ Ibid. p. 296.
Most of Iqbal's ideas on time are brought together in "Nawā'-e-Waqt" a poem "which has been praised by Dr. Razī-ud-Dīn Siddīqī, Pakistan's well known authority on atom-physics, as a perfect commentary on Einstein's theory of relativity." It is worth quoting in full:

Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 293.
1. In my bosom I hold the sun and the stars,
If you look within me, I am nothing, if you look within
yourself, I am life itself.
My dwelling-place are cities and deserts, palaces and
solitary dens.

I am malady and pain, I am the balm and limitless joy;
I am the world-vanquishing sword, I am the fountain of
eternal life.

Čingez and Temūr raised but specks of my storm,
The turmoil of the west is but a spark of my fire.
Man and his universe are my handiwork,
From the labour of great men, my spring is born.
I am the fire of hell and the peace of heaven.
See this wondrous phenomenon - I am still, yet I move,
In the crystal ball of my present see the glimpse of
future days.

See hidden in me a thousand glorious worlds,
Thousands of swift-moving stars and thousands of blue skies.
I am the garment of humanity, and God I behold,
My spell is destiny, freewill is your chant,
You love a Lailā I am the wilderness where you roam so
wildly.

Like the soul I am free of your how and wherefore,
You are the secret of my being and I of yours.
In your soul I am hidden, out of your soul I arise.
I am the traveller and you the destination, I the field
and you the harvest.

You are the glow and the music of the gatherings.
O wanderer on sea and land, return to your heart;
See in a cup an ocean without bound,
You are the lofty wave from which my storm arose.
Space and Time are not absolute realities, says Iqbal:

ジョン・ナマ p. 19

Serial time is related to, in fact it derives its reality from, pure duration:

バール・ジブリル p. 127

In his Lectures, Iqbal said, "timeless experience embodies itself in a world-making or world-shaking act and in this form diffuses itself in the time-movement and makes itself effectively visible to the eye of history." He repeats this thought again in his famous poem on the Mosque of Cordoba - the Essence reveals its possibilities in a tangible form in serial time:

1. Open wide your eyes upon Time and Space, for these two are but a state of the soul. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 33).
2. What other sense have your nights, what have your days, but one Long blank current of time empty of sunset or dawn? (Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 38)
Space and Time are brought into existence by the very act of creation and are then broken into moments:

1. Day succeeding to night - moulder of all time’s works.
   Day succeeding to night - fountain of life and of death.
   Chain of the days and nights - two-coloured thread of silk woven by Him that is, into His being’s robe.
   Chain of the days and nights - sigh of eternity’s harp,
   Height and depth of all things possible, God-revealed.
   (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 37.)


3. New tidings slowly come drop by drop from my pitcher gurgling of time’s new sights,
   As I count over the beads strung out on my threaded rosary of days and nights.
   (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 50.)


1 (Bal-e-Jibril p. 126)
2 (Bal-e-Jibril, p. 175)
3 (Bal-e-Jibril, p. 175)
4 In Javid Nama, Zervan the God of serial time, instructs the adept how to conquer him and how to reach the Eternal Now:
The Prophet's saying "Iī ma'a Allāh waqt," i.e. 'I have a time with God (where even Gabriel has no access),' has become, in more or less explicit form, a leitmotif of Iqbal's whole thinking, beginning from the Asrār. Many mystics have

1. I am life, I am death, I am resurrection,
   I am the Judgment, Hell, Heaven and Hourī,
   Man and angel are both in bondage to me,
   This transitory world is my own child;
   I am every rose that you pluck from the branch,
   I am the matrix of everything that you see.

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

expressed their unitive experiences through this tradition.\footnote{Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 297.}

Maulānā Rūmī has quoted it several times, and many mystics have built upon it a whole edifice of mystical meanings of the word 'waqt', as Ḥujwīrī sums up: "Waqt is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future... he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come."\footnote{Ibid.}

In a section of \textit{Asrār-e-Khudūf} entitled "Time is a sword," Iqbal gave his first detailed exposition of the concept of time. He wanted to make it clear that "the world of time is not to be regarded as a world of shadows signifying nothing, a play of illusion on the edge of a void as the Hindu mystagogues had preached. Time is real and time is important."\footnote{Singh, I. The Ardent Pilgrim, p. 89.} Time becomes a cutting sword:

\textit{سِيِّمَّةُ مَا تَجُوزُ دَرَارَةً \أَنَّا مَرَارًا دَسْتُمُّ كُلَّم
دَسْتُمُّ سِيِّمَّةُ ُدُرَارَةً مَا تَجُوزُ} \footnote{(Asrār-e-Khudūf p. 80)}

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

\begin{lyxlist}{0.5em}{0em}
\item \textit{Now shall I say what is the secret of this sword? In its flashing edge there is life. Its owner is exalted above hope and fear, His hand is whiter than the hand of Moses. (Translation by Nicholson, R. A. The Secrets of the Self, p. 134).}
\end{lyxlist}
The mystic Hujwīrī also refers to Time as a sword which "cuts the root of the future and the past, and obliterates care of yesterday and tomorrow from the heart. The sword is a dangerous companion: either it makes its master a king or it destroys him." For Iqbal, to live in pure duration
is to be at the centre of destiny.¹ "It is time regarded as an organic whole that the Qurān describes as 'Taqdīr' or the destiny."² By participating in God's time, man is no longer the vehicle of serial time, he is the rider of the mount.

ابّا مَكْحَرَكَ سَبّنَ، رَأَّبَهُ ثُرَرَنا

³( Zarb-e-Kalīm p. 36)

Real life is possible only "on this still point of time"

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⁴(Zabūr-e-'Ajam p. 93)

From "There is no God but God" too Iqbāl infers that man must free himself from the bondage of serial time through Love:

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 49.
3. The 'qalandar' is not the mount of time but the rider of the mount.
4. All thy life is breath to take,
   Knowing not, frail man,
   That true living is to break
   The days' talisman.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 58).
Love also frees man from the limitations of the intellect:

\[ \text{(Asrār-e-Khudi p. 85)} \]

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

\[ \text{(Zarb-e-Kalīm p. 7)} \]

1. We have honour from "There is no God but Allāh," We are the protectors of the universe. Freed from the vexation of today and tomorrow, We have pledged ourselves to love One. (Translation by Nicholson, R.A. The Secrets of the Self p. 140).

2. Intellect is the bondage of time and space, There is no time or space, nothing but "There is no God but God."


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

\[ \text{(Zabūr-e-'Ajam p. 216)} \]
Iqbal does not tire of saying:

سال دن از دوران نشست

(Zabur-e-'Ajam p. 237)

or of stressing the importance of Love through which the soul is freed from the bondage of time, and led to the 'meeraj' or the Ascension, to pure duration

زمان، نم حسابش ز سال د ماکب نست

(Payam-e-Mashriq p. 219)

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

1. The Self’s day is not measured by
The revolutions of the sky.
(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery,)

2. The reckoning of which is not by years or months.

3. There are yet other worlds beyond the stars,
There are yet other tests of Love to come.
With this world of hue and scent be not content,
For there are other gardens too to see.
Be not entangled in this Day and Night,
There are other times and spaces too for you.

(Baal-e-Jibril pp 89-90)
CHAPTER IV

THE UNIVERSE AND GOD IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

THE NATURE OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD.

For Iqbal the external world exists. In perception and in every other form of knowledge, there is the confronting 'other'. "The duality of subject and object is a necessity of all knowledge."\(^1\) According to the old science there is presented in experience an external extended world, which exists in its own right independently of its appearance to the mind of the individual observer. This scientific approach leads to the materialistic world-view - "a void or expanse from which all objects may be abstracted but which itself is a homogeneous, immobile, continuous reality; a matter whose ultimate nature is undiscovered, possibly undiscoverable, but which is distributed unequally in masses in the expanse; and a duration or a lapse of time from which events may be abstracted and which is then itself a homogeneous, unchanging, continuous, measurable, reality."\(^2\) We have seen that Iqbal does not subscribe to such a world-view as regards his ideas on space and time. We shall see that

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his concept of matter also differs from the materialistic and dualistic standpoint.

**Descartes, Locke and Berkeley: theory of Matter and its reputation.** Iqbal disagrees with those physicists who hold that nature is material, made up of small, hard, inert, impenetrable, and indivisible physical entities called atoms of which objects are made, and existing in a void called space. According to Iqbal, this view is based on the attribution of substantiality to things. Iqbal points out that the scientific view of nature as pure materiality is associated with the Newtonian view of space as an absolute void in which all things are situated. However, "the criticism of the foundations of the mathematical sciences has fully disclosed that the hypothesis of a pure materiality, an enduring stuff situated in an absolute space is unworkable."²

According to Descartes, matter meant simply corporeal form.³ Extension was the only attribute which was inseparable and indistinguishable from material substance. Every other attribute—colour, weight, sonority, shape could be thought absent, but if we abstracted from its extension, material substance itself would be annihilated.⁴ Locke distinguishes between primary and secondary qualities of substance.

3. Whittaker, E. *Space and Spirit*, p. 73.
Primary qualities are those "such as are utterly inseparable from the body, in what state so ever it be; such as in all the alterations and changes it suffers ... it constantly keeps; and such as sense constantly finds in every particle of matter which has bulk enough to be perceived." Primary qualities include solidity, extension, figure, motion or rest, and number. Secondary qualities "are nothing in the objects themselves, but powers to produce various sensations in us by their primary qualities i.e. by the bulk, figure, texture, and motion of their insensible parts, as colours, sounds, tastes, etc." In other words, primary qualities are objective, they exist "whether any one's senses perceive them or not," but secondary qualities are subjective.

Iqbal refers to Berkeley's refutation of the theory of matter as the unknown cause of our sensations. Berkeley pointed out that Locke's primary qualities were as subjective as his secondary qualities. The idea of extension and solidity obtained through the sense of touch is also a sensation in the mind. The idea of extension cannot be separated from the idea of colour and other secondary qualities. One never perceived an extended thing which was not at the same time coloured and so on. The primary qualities are inseparably united with the secondary. One could not abstract the latter

1. Locke, J. Philosophical Works, pp 143-144.
2. Ibid, p. 144.
and leave behind an extended substance, which is that and nothing else.\(^1\) Hence the subjective idealism of Berkeley refutes the theory of matter as the solid substratum underlying phenomenal reality and being the cause of our sensations.\(^2\)

Iqbal observes that on the basis of Locke's theory, colours and sounds are nothing more than subjective states. He writes "If physics constitutes a really coherent and genuine knowledge of perceptively known objects, the traditional theory of matter must be rejected for the obvious reason that it reduces the evidence of our senses on which alone the physicist, as observer and experimenter, must rely, to the mere impressions of the observer's mind. Between Nature and the observer of Nature, the theory creates a gulf which he is compelled to bridge over by resorting to the doubtful hypothesis of an imperceptible something, occupying an absolute space like a thing in a receptacle and causing our sensation by some kind of impact. In the words of Professor Whitehead, the theory reduces one half of Nature to a 'dream' and the other half to a 'conjecture'. Thus physics, finding it necessary to criticise its own foundations has eventually found reason to break its own idol, and the empirical attitude which appeared

\(^1\) Thilly, P. A History of Philosophy, p. 338.

to necessitate scientific materialism has finally ended in
a revolt against matter."¹

Iqbal supports Berkeley in his rejection of Locke's
type of matter, but unlike Berkeley, he does not deny the
existence of the external world.² There are times when he
speaks in Berkeley's idealistic vein and seems to regard the
world as being reducible to the self³ i.e. as not existing
in its own right:

हाल प्रकृति में नहीं वसीबा
केबीहाले नौड़ाक्षीबिहा

⁴ (Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 213)
but on the whole this is not Iqbal's philosophical position.
In his Lectures he says "since objects ... are not subjective
states caused by something imperceptible called matter, they
are genuine phenomena which constitute the very substance of
Nature and which we know as they are in Nature."⁵

Matter and Relativity

Iqbal does not deny the existence of matter but he does
deny its substantiality and in this he is supported by the
theory of relativity which destroys, not the objectivity of
nature but the view of substance as simple location in space.⁶

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 33.
2. Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iqbal, p. 60.
3. Apart from our manifestation the world is nothing,
   For without us there would be no light and no sound.
As Russell observes, the theory of relativity by merging time into space-time has damaged the traditional notion of substance more than all the arguments of the philosophers.¹

The commonsense view of matter is something which persists in time and moves in space, but modern relativity-physics holds matter to be a system of inter-related events rather than a persistent thing with varying states.² As Professor Whitehead points out about the new science, "in the place of the Aristotelian notion of the procession of forms, it has substituted the notion of the forms of process. It has swept away space and matter, and has substituted the study of the internal relations within a complex state of activity."³

In other words, the whole spatial universe has become a field or force or a field of incessant activity.⁴

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¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 34.
² Ibid.
⁴ Ibid. p. 36.
Thus for Iqbal Reality is not something inert or given. It is a process of becoming.\(^1\) He agrees with Professor Whitehead that "Nature is not a static fact situated in an a-dynamic void, but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow which thought cuts up into isolated immobilities out of whose mutual relations arise the concepts of space and time."\(^2\)

Iqbal's Conception of Matter

We have seen that Iqbal describes Nature as an event rather than as a 'thing'. "What we call things are events in the continuity of Nature which thought spatializes and thus regards as mutually isolated for purposes of action. The

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 34.
universe which seems to us to be a collection of things is not a solid stuff occupying a void. It is not a thing but an act."

Matter exists but matter is not that which is "elementally incapable of evolving the synthesis we call life and mind and needing a transcendental Deity to impregnate it with the sentient and mental." Iqbal defines matter as "a colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order, when their association and interaction reach a certain degree of co-ordination."

Like Bergson, Iqbal believes that an analysis of conscious experience throws light on the nature of matter, space and time. When we analyse our inner experience we find constant change and movement. "I pass from state to state. I am warm or cold, I am merry or sad, I work or I do nothing, I look at what is around me or I think of something else. Sensations, feelings, volitions, ideas - such are the changes into which my existence is divided and which colour it in turns. I change, then, without ceasing." Now change or movement from one state to another takes place in time. On the analogy of the self it may now be maintained that the physical world too exists in time. Since time

2. Ibid. p. 106.
3. Ibid. p.
is the peculiar possession of a self, the world must also be regarded as a self or ego.\textsuperscript{1} Thus in Iq\texteth{b}al, as also in Whitehead, philosophy of nature becomes a philosophy of organism.\textsuperscript{2}

Like Leibniz and McTaggart, Iq\texteth{b}al believes that Reality is spiritual and consists of only selves or monads.\textsuperscript{3} According to Leibniz, a monad is a simple, unique, indissoluble substance.\textsuperscript{4} There is a hierarchy of monads some being superior to others in the clearness and distinctness with which they mirror the universe.\textsuperscript{5} The monads range from the completely active to the almost inert. No created monad is completely inactive and none is completely active, but those at the lowest end of the scale would be mere matter, if there were any such thing. God is the only completely active monad. Iq\texteth{b}al too believes in degrees of consciousness. "Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man."\textsuperscript{6} There is, however, one

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iq\texteth{b}al, p. 65.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Whittemore, R. "Iq\texteth{b}al's Panentheism" p. 66.
\item \textsuperscript{3} R\texteth{a}j\texteth{u}, P. T. "The Idealism of Sir Mohammed Iq\texteth{b}al" p. 107.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Leibniz, G. W. Philosophical Writings (translated by Morris, M) London, 1965. pp 3-4.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Russell, B. A History of Western Philosophy, London, 1961. p 565.
\item \textsuperscript{6} The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Isl\texteth{a}m, pp 71-72.
\end{itemize}
monads, namely, that Iqbal does not believe in the 'windowlessness' of the monads. This 'windowlessness' makes interaction of any kind between monads impossible and necessitates the assumption of some kind of "pre-established harmony" to explain how in fact the states of one monad synchronise with the states of the other monads and the actuality of perception. For Iqbal the ego is not a closed-off unit. He visualises the life of an ego as "a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this area of mutual invasion."

For Iqbal, then, the universe is made up of ego-unities which are living, fluid and dynamic. They are in constant flux and any immobility and solidity which seems to exist is only an appearance. In the language of poetry

\begin{equation}
\text{فَرْضُ نَظَّرِيَّهِ سَكْنَاتُ}
\end{equation}

\begin{equation}
\text{ثُرْبِيْاَّ مَهْرَدِّة، كَاسِمَاتُ}
\end{equation}

(Bal-e-Jibrīl, p. 171)

Iqbal believes that we live in a growing universe which:

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.
4. Immobility and rest are deceptions of the eye, each particle of the universe throbs with restlessness.
is "not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched out in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing, and consequently is nothing." The question arises: can we conceive the universe as lacking deity? Iqbal's answer is: "By no means." This is so because "the movement of life, as an organic growth, involves a progressive synthesis of its various stages. Without this synthesis it will cease to be an organic growth. It is determined by ends, and the presence of ends means that it is permeated by intelligence." At the level of cosmic unity this intelligence must be conceived as Ultimate Self or Divine Ego. We shall see that Iqbal bases his "working proof" for the existence of God on this idea.

PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Since religious experience is personal and incommunicable, Iqbal advances reasons for believing in God's existence. He begins with an analysis of the theoretical arguments traditionally supposed to prove the existence of God, namely the Cosmological, Teleological and Ontological arguments.

The Cosmological argument may be stated thus: "Events continually happen in the world and every event requires a cause. And the non-divine substances which exist in the

2. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 67.
world cannot have existed eternally, the commencement of the existence of each of these substances is also an event, and will require a cause. Now an event may be caused by another event, but then this earlier event will, like every other, require a cause. If we recognize no causes but events, every cause will itself require a cause, and the series will never be completed. We must, therefore, believe that the ultimate cause of all events is not an event but a being, who never began to exist, and who therefore needs no cause. And this being is said to be God.¹

Iqbal objects to this argument on the following grounds:—

(a) A finite effect can only be traced back to a finite cause or to an infinite series of finite causes. To use the law of causation which states that everything must have a cause, to prove that there is an uncaused first cause, is to falsify the very basis on which the argument proceeds.²

(b) The first cause in the argument excludes its effect. Thus the effect limits the cause and reduces it to a finite cause.³

(c) The cause in this case cannot be regarded as necessary, because in a cause-effect relationship, the cause and the effect are equally necessary. Furthermore, the necessity of existence is not identical with the conceptual necessity of

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 28.
3. Ibid.
causation which is the utmost this argument can prove.¹

In Iqbāl's words, the Cosmological argument "really tries to reach the infinite by merely negating the finite. But the infinite reached by contradicting the finite is a false infinite, which neither explains itself nor the finite. The true infinite does not exclude the finite; it embraces the finite without effacing its finitude, and explains and justifies its being."² Thus, for Iqbāl, the movement from the finite to the infinite as embodied in this argument is quite unwarranted, and the argument fails in toto.³

Iqbāl would agree with the summing up of Kant's criticism of the argument: "The transcendental idea of a necessary and all-sufficient original Being is so overwhelming, so high above everything empirical, which is always conditioned, that we can find experience enough material to fill such a concept, and can only grope about among things conditioned, looking in vain for the unconditioned, of which no rule of any empirical synthesis can ever give us an example, or even show the way towards it. If the highest Being should stand itself in that chain of conditions it would be a link in the series, and would, exactly like the lower links, above which it is placed, require

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 28.
2. Ibid. pp 28-29.
3. Ibid. p. 29.
further investigation with regard to its own still higher cause. If, on the contrary, we mean to separate it from that chain, and, as a purely intelligible Being, not comprehend it in the series of natural causes, what bridge is then open for reason to reach it, considering that all rules determining the transition from effect to cause, may, all synthesis and extension of our knowledge in general, refer to nothing but possible experience, and therefore to the objects of the world of sense only, and are valid nowhere else?"¹

What Iqbal calls the teleological argument has also been called the argument from design or the physico-theological argument. It proceeds thus: "We seem first of all to desire the concept of purposiveness from our acquaintance with human action and to apply this concept by analogy to the living organisms observed on the surface of our planet. We then, by an immense leap, extend it to cover the whole of the vast universe, perhaps on the ground that this also is governed by law, although by law of a different kind; and we may feel this extension to be confirmed by our experience of the beauty in nature. Finally we argue that purposive activity in beings without intelligence must be directed by an intelligence outside and beyond themselves; and so we pass, because of the magnitude and power and order and

¹ Kant, I. Critique of Pure Reason (Translated by Müller, F.M.) London, 1925, p. 500.
beauty of the world, to the existence of an all-powerful and all-wise intelligence, to which we give the name of God."¹

Iqbal objects to the teleological argument on the following grounds: (a) The argument, at best, gives us an external contriver and not a creator and certainly not an Omnipotent God.² As J. S. Mill points out, every indication of design in the universe is "so much evidence against the Omnipotence of the Designer. For what is meant by Design? Contrivance: the adaptation of means to an end. But the necessity for contrivance - the need of employing means - is a consequence of the limitation of power. Who would have recourse to means if to attain his end his mere word was sufficient?"³

(b) If we suppose the external contriver also to be the creator of his material then it does no credit to his wisdom to create his own difficulties by first creating intractable material, and then overcoming its resistance by the application of methods alien to its original nature.⁴ "Our admiration of the power and skill of human designer is enhanced by the supposed intractableness of the materials with which he works; but when the divine designer is conceived of as himself the creator of these materials, he must ... be himself responsible for the original intractableness which he is supposed

⁴. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 29.
afterwards to manifest his skill in overcoming. Where difficulties are of one's own creating, no credit for wisdom can be due to the act which evades or vanquishes them."\(^1\)

(c) If the contriver is external to his material then he must always be limited by it, and must solve his problems like a human mechanic.\(^2\) As Mill observes, according to this argument, the Deity had "to work out his ends by combining materials of a given nature and properties. Out of these materials he had to contruct a world in which his designs should be carried into effect through given properties of Matter and Force, working together and working into one another. This did require skill and contrivance, and the means by which it is affected are often such as justly excite our wonder and admiration: but exactly because it requires wisdom, it implies limitation of power."\(^3\)

(d) There is no real analogy between the natural phenomena that we see and the work of a contriver. An artificer must isolate and then integrate his material, while Nature is composed of organic wholes.\(^4\)

Kant points out that the Physico - Theological argument really rests on the Cosmological argument. It proceeds "from the order and design that can everywhere be observed in the world, as an entirely contingent arrangement, to the existence of a cause, proportionate to it. ... The fact is that, after

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having reached the stage of admiration of the greatness, the wisdom, the power, etc. of the Author of the world, and seeing in further advance possible, one suddenly leaves the argument carried on by empirical proof, and lays hold of that contingency which, from the very first, was inferred from the order and design of the world. The next step from that contingency leads, by means of transcendental concepts, only to the existence of something absolutely necessary, and another step from the absolute necessity of the first cause to its completely determined or determining concept, namely, that of an all-embracing reality. Thus we see that the physico-theological proof, baffled in its own undertaking, takes suddenly refuge in the cosmological proof.¹

The Ontological argument was formulated first by Anselm and elaborated by thinkers such as Descartes, Leibniz and Hegel. This argument is an inference from God's nature to His reality.² The Cartesian form of this argument, which Iqbal quotes, is as follows: "To say that an attribute is contained in the nature or in the concept of a thing is the same as to say that the attribute is true of this thing and that it may be affirmed to be in it. But necessary existence is contained in the nature or the concept of God. Hence it may be with truth affirmed that necessary existence is in God, or that God exists."³ God is by definition a Perfect Being. If

¹ Kant, I. Critique of Pure Reason, pp 505-506.
existence is an element of perfection, no doubt the idea of a Perfect Being must include the idea of His existence.\[1\] But the crux of the Ontological argument is the contention that we are entitled, and indeed obliged, to pass from the thought or notion of God's perfection to knowledge of His existence - to knowledge that He must necessarily exist.\[2\]

Iqbal refers to Kant's well-known criticism of this argument.\[3\] The notion of a hundred dollars in my mind does not prove that I have them in my pocket. This argument moves from the logical to the real. Existence is not a quality at all. A thing with all its qualities either exists or it does not. If it receives no additional quality by existing. "If we decide to say that a being is perfect only when we are able to say that it exists, we are entitled to say that a perfect being must exist. But this alleged necessity is a logical necessity based on the use of language, and it should not be mistaken for an insight into the real necessity of things."\[4\]

Descartes advances another argument to prove the existence of God. This argument is often referred to as the Argument from Innate Ideas. Descartes is sure that he has the idea of "a Being sovereignly perfect" and "it only remains to me to examine how I have obtained this idea. I have not acquired it through the senses, and it is never presented to me unexpect-

edly, as sensible things are wont to be, when these act, or seem to act, on the external sense-organs. Nor is it a product or fiction of my mind; for it is not in my power to take from or add anything to it. Consequently the only alternative is to allow that it is innate in me, just as is the idea of myself.\(^1\) This argument relies on an application to the realm of ideas of the principle that the less cannot give rise to the greater. An idea of a Perfect Being, Descartes argues could not be brought being by an imperfect agency. But he himself is imperfect, as is shown by his state of doubt, which is inferior to knowledge. Hence there must really be a Perfect Being, who is the origin of this idea.\(^2\) Iqbal points out that "this argument is somewhat of the nature of the cosmological argument since it moves from effect to cause."\(^3\) Iqbal's "working proof" for the existence of God. According to Iqbal, the living God of the Qur'an is different from the purely intellectual God reached through the traditional arguments for the existence of God. The Ontological and Teleological arguments fail because "they look upon 'thought' as an agency working on things from without. This view of thought gives us a mere mechanician in the one case, and creates an unbridgeable gulf between the ideal and the real in the other."\(^4\) These arguments would acquire

4. Ibid. p. 31.
life only if thought and being are shown to be ultimately one.\(^1\) Iqbal does not give an elaborate "proof" of the existence of God, the true and living God, but he establishes the basis for a working proof.\(^2\)

According to Einstein, objective reality is not wholly independent of the act of knowledge. For the knower is intimately related to the object known, and the act of knowledge is a constitutive element in the objective reality. Thus in a sense, Einstein's theory confirms the idealistic position of Kant.\(^3\) In "Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid" Iqbal too denies the seeming absoluteness or independence of the objects of perception:

\[
\text{(Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 212)}
\]

2. Ibid.
3. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, pp 110-111.
4. You think you see the world outside yourself - these plains, hills, forests, deserts, seas and mines? But no, this world of smell and colour is a bouquet made by us:

Each flower self-existent, all collectively arrayed by us. It is the self that binds it with the string of vision's unity, which makes the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon parts of one entity.

(Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, pp 5-6)
According to Iqbal and the theory of relativity, then, the object known is relative to the observing self; its size and shape change as his position and speed change. "But whatever the position and speed of the observer, whatever his frame of reference, something must always remain which confronts him as his 'other'."¹ Iqbal puts forward a question: Is there something absolute in what appears to us as objective reality? His answer is an unqualified "No". "We cannot construe ever-present externality to mean the total independence or absoluteness of what appears as external to the self. Such an interpretation would contradict the very principle which discloses its relativity. If, then, in view of the principle of relativity, the object confronting the subject is really relative, there must be some self to whom it ceases to exist as a confronting 'other'. This self must be non-spatial, non-temporal Absolute, to whom what is external to us must cease to exist as external. Without such an assumption—objective reality cannot be relative to the spatial and temporal self. To the absolute Self, then, the Universe is not a reality confronting Him as His 'other'."²

Royce. Here Iqbal's argument resembles that of Royce who first proves the existence of objective reality and then passes on to prove the existence of God.³ According to Royce, our experience

1. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 111.
2. Ibid. p. 111-112.
is dependent upon our constitution and environment. We experience reality in fragments. "Every intelligent interpretation of an experience involves however, the appeal from this experienced fragment to some more organised whole of experience, in whose unity this fragment is conceived as "finding its organic place."¹ Supposing we deny, says Royce, that there is any absolutely organised experience and insist on a fragmentary experience. Then the question will arise: "What Reality has this fact of the limitation and fragmentariness of the actual world of experiences? If every reality has to exist just in so far as there is experience of its existence, then the determination of the world of experience to be this world and no other, the fact that reality contains no other facts than these, is, as the supposed final reality, itself the object of one's experience, for which the fragmentariness of the finite world appears as a presented and absolute fact, beyond which no reality is to be viewed as ever genuinely possible. For this final experience, the conception of any possible experience beyond is known as an ungrounded conception, as an actual impossibility. But so, this final experience is by hypothesis forthwith defined as One, as all-inclusive, as determined by nothing beyond itself, as assured of the complete fulfilment of its own ideas concerning what is,

in brief, it becomes an absolute experience. The very effort to deny an absolute experience involves, then, the actual assertion of such an actual experience. Thus there must be an Absolute Experience for which the conception of an absolute reality is fulfilled by the very contents that get presented to this Experience. "This Absolute Experience is related to our experience as an organic whole to its own fragments." According to Rashdall also, matter always implies mind. Space is made up of relations which would be meaningless apart from the mind which relates. "The relation between point A and point B is not in point A or point B taken by themselves. It is all in the 'between': 'between' from its very nature cannot exist in any one point of space or in several isolated points of space or thing in space, it must exist only in some one existent which holds together and connects these points." There can be no relatedness without mind, no space without relatedness and no matter without space. Therefore if matter exists, mind also exists. But it cannot exist merely for our sketchy experience. All the finite minds put together cannot comprehend the whole. Therefore if the

2. Ibid, pp 43-44.
5. Ibid. p. 11.
whole is to exist at all, there must be some one mind which knows the whole - that mind is, God.¹

James Ward's position also resembles that of Iqbal.²

The experience of finite individuals is relative and cannot be absolute. But when we remove the relativity implied by individual standpoints, we reach an Absolute Experience, the centre of living and acting spirit, whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere, an experience which is complete and all inclusive.³ According to Ward, the world is represented in its unity and entirety to God.⁴ "His is not a perspective view such as 'stand-point' implies nor is it a discursive view, such as our limited attention entails. God is ubiquitous and omni-continuitive. There are no broken lights' in him: he alone can say 'I am that I am'."⁵ Green

Iqbal's position is also, in a sense, similar to that of Green who, following Kant's dictum that the synthetic unity of apperception is present in every act of knowing, concludes that a spiritual principle is implied in the consciousness of events.⁶ The act of self-perception is a synthesis of relations in consciousness which keeps distinct the self and the various parts of the object although it holds it together in the unity of the perceptive act.⁷ This spiritual principle

is not the passive mind or the 'tabula rasa' conceived by Locke. It is a unifying relating principle which is the condition of all experience, not a precipitate of time but a living and permanent unity.¹

According to Green, man's knowledge of Nature is only an instance of the wider principle that consciousness is prerequisite to the existence of nature itself. By nature we mean "a system of unalterable relations." Now, any relation involves the familiar problem of unity in diversity. But the source of unity and connection cannot be inside nature, for nature is a process of change, and that which gives the world its permanent character cannot itself be subject to change. Intelligence, however, readily accomplishes that which in nature is inconceivable. A multiplicity of feelings and sense-impressions is ordered and unified at every moment of our experience. This is the way the world becomes one for each individual. But, since nature is obviously not dependant on particular human intellects for its existence, there must be a unifying factor prior to our finite minds. It must be the common source of the relations which constitute nature and our conception of it; and, "because the function which it must fulfil ... is one which, on however limited a scale, we ourselves exercise in the acquisition of experience, and exercise by means of such a consciousness", we are

¹ Green, T. H. Prolegomena to Ethics, pp 15-16.
justified in concluding that it, too, is "a self-distinguishing consciousness."¹ This consciousness is God.

To sum up: We have seen that for various reasons Iqbāl rejects the traditional arguments for the existence of God. It is through intuitive experience that one attains knowledge of God, or Iqbāl's Ultimate Ego, who combines the Absolute of philosophy with the Person of theology. Since mystic experience is not 'communicable' and 'verifiable' in the common sense of these words, Iqbāl seeks to establish a basis for a "working proof" of God's existence. He agrees with Einstein's theory of relativity which does not destroy the objectivity of Nature but regards it as being relative to the experiencing mind. Iqbāl's ideas have also some similarity with those of Royce, Rashdall, Ward and Green.

NATURE AND GOD

We have seen that according to Iqbāl "the universe does not confront the Absolute Self in the same way as it confronts the human self."² It is a fleeting moment in the life of God. "It is a structure of events, a systematic mode of behaviour, and as such organic to the Ultimate Self. Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self. In the picturesque phase of the Qurān it is the habit of Allāh."³

¹ Green, T. H. Prolegomena to Ethics p. 683.
² Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbāl, p. 112.
³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 56.
Nature is ego as event and act. "Reality", says Iqbal, "is ... essentially spirit. But, of course, there are degrees of spirit ... I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego; and I must add now that from the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. The creative energy of the Ultimate Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, functions as ego-unities.

The world, in all its details, from the mechanical movement of what we call the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in the human ego, is the self-revelation of the 'Great I am'."

The Universe as finite but boundless.

Iqbal supports Einstein's view that the universe is finite but boundless. It is finite because it is a passing phase of God's extensively infinite consciousness, and boundless because the creative power of God is intensively infinite. Nature has no external limits, its only limit is the immanent self which creates and sustains the whole.

According to Iqbal the universe is liable to increase. He translates the Qur'anic words "Innā ʾilā rabbika al-muntahā" (53:13) as "And verily towards God is thy limit." Professor Bausani comments: "This is a good instance of a characteristic

2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 112.
3. Ibid.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 68.
of Iqbal, that of interpreting in modern terms some Qur'anic passages which no doubt mean something else if literally translated. So here it seems that a literal translation would amount simply to say that every being's end is in God, a return to God. However, the metaphysical implications Iqbal wants to find in the verse are in no wise, in my opinion, contrary to the spirit of Qur'an.¹ Since Nature is organically related to the creative self, it can grow, and is consequently infinite in the sense that none of its limits is final - nature is organically finite only towards the innermost essence of God.² Iqbal expresses this thought thus in "Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid"

\[
\text{فَتَمَتَّتُ لَلاَّذِدَالِ وَلاَكُونَ اسْتَ}
\]

\[
\text{كُلُّ دِيْنُ مَعْلَمِ بِهِ كُونَ اسْتَ}
\]

\[
\text{كُلُّ اَمِّ دِيْنُ اسْتَ بَروُنَ سَيِّتَ}
\]

\[
\text{بَروُنَ لِيِتَ بِالَّاَكُونِ مُرَزَونَ نِيَسْتَ}
\]

³ (Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 216)

Pantheism and Deism

The relation of the Ultimate Ego to the finite ego may be conceived in several ways. For instance the Ultimate Ego may be regarded as the sole reality absorbing all the finite

2. Ibid.
3. Reality is beyond time and space, Don't say any more that the universe is without a limit. Its limit is internal, not external, There are no distinctions of low and high, more or less, in its internal aspect

(Translation by Dar, B. A. Iqbal's Gulshan-i Rāz-i Jadīd and Bandagi Namah, p. 23.)
egos, or as holding the finite egos within His own Self without obliterating their individuality, or as existing apart from finite egos. The first of the afore-mentioned positions is rooted in pantheism even though it attributes personality to Ultimate Reality. It is an advance on those pantheistic modes of thought which regard the ultimate nature of Reality as being impersonal in character e.g., light, or force. However, it negates the individuality of the finite egos. Professor Sharīf points out that in the first period of his thought, extending from 1901 to about 1908, Iqtābāl's writing had a pantheistic tinge. "God is universal and all-inclusive like the ocean, and the individual is like a drop. Again, God is like the sun and the individual is like a candle, and the candle ceases to burn in the presence of the sun. Like a bubble or a spark, life is transitory - nay, the whole of existence is transitory."^3

The first part of Bāng-e-Darā contains several poems referring to the doctrine of the immanence of God ("waḥdat-al-wujūd"). Nature from being the Word of God becomes God. God's immanence is described thus:

\[
\text{وَهَيْنَ كَنَّا فِي‌نَٰصِرَةٍ مَّعَ يَوْمِٰٓ}
\]

(Bāng-e-Darā, p. 71)

2. Ibid. p. 81.
3. Sharīf, M. M. About Iqtābāl and His Thought, Lāhore, 1964 p.11
4. Beauty is One though it is seen in all things.
At this stage, Iqbal's God is Beauty rather than Love and the same Beauty manifests itself in all things:

\[
\text{سن تاژا بیا هر یک شما ممکن هم}
\]

\[
\text{السان ممکن هم، خنگی ممکن هم}
\]

\[
\text{کرته سن حویلی به وصارت ای ای زن فقیه}
\]

\[
\text{گونو ممکن بچیک بخت، دو هیول ممکن بخت}
\]

1 (Bang-e-Dara, p. 88)

This idea is delicately expressed at one place when the poet refers to the 'promise' of God to reveal Himself on the Day of Judgment. Since God is visible in everything, the asks:

\[
\text{دُعِين دُلَو لابن بي ديلو فت مين تی}
\]

\[
\text{میر به دست حضر کا صبر آز ما لیکن کر هوا}
\]

2 (Bang-e-Dara, p. 101)

In 'sham'aa' (The Candle) Iqbal states the doctrine of 'wa'gdal-al-wujud' in much the same way as Ibn 'Arabi might have done i.e. he makes the beloved identical with the lover, since he considers the relation between the world and God as one of identity.3

1. Visible in everything is Beauty everlasting,
   It is speech in Man and a sparkle in the bud.
   The secret of One has become hidden in the Many,
   The fire-fly's glow is the flower's scent.
2. Those who have sight can see you even here,
   How then is the Promise of the Last Day a test of patience?
3. Faruqi, B. A. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid,
   Lahore, 1940, p. 91.
Iqbal's position here resembles that of Galib:

Iqbal's pantheistic ideas derive from Plato's conception of God as Eternal Beauty which is manifest in all things. "This Platonic conception, as interpreted by Plotinus, adopted by the early Muslim scholastics and adapted to pantheism by the pantheistic mystics, came down to Iqbal as a long tradition in Persian and Urdu poetry, and was supplemented by his study of the English romantic poets".

Iqbal, however, soon outgrew his pantheism. His old teacher at Cambridge, McTaggart wrote to him on reading Nicholson's translation of Asrar-e-Khuda, "Have you not changed your position very much? Surely, in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic." This is a very illuminating remark.

1. The hunter and the object of the hunt are the same.
3. The object, witness and witnessing is all the same thing, I'm wonderstruck what, then, can 'vision' mean?
4. Sharif, M. M. About Iqbal and His Thought, p. 11.
5. McTaggart quoted by Iqbal in Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 118.
For Iqbal, in his later thought, the relation of the finite to Infinite Ego is one in which "true infinite does not exclude the finite," but rather "embraces the finite without effacing its finitude and explains and justifies its being."\(^1\)

"It is clear", says Professor Whittemore, "that Iqbal does not intend that the Infinite be regarded merely as an abstract totality of finites."\(^2\) Iqbal's doctrine is not pantheism (meaning by this term the doctrine that the world is identical with God). This is confirmed by the fact that nowhere in his philosophy does Iqbal refer to God in terms of featureless totality.\(^3\) Referring to Farnell's view on the attributes of God, Iqbal remarks that the history of religious thought discloses various ways of escape from an individualistic conception of the ultimate Reality which is conceived as some vague, vast, and pervasive cosmic element, such as light. This is the view that Farnell has taken ... I agree that the history of religion reveals modes of thought that tend towards pantheism; but I venture to think that in so far as the Qurānic identification of God with light is concerned Farnell's view is incorrect ... Personally, I think the description of God as light, in the revealed literature of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, must now be interpreted differently ...

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 29.
2. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 71.
The metaphor of light as applied to God ... must, in view of modern knowledge, be taken to suggest the Absoluteness of God and not His Omnipresence which easily lends itself to pantheistic interpretation."¹ Iqbal always refers to God in terms such "Ultimate Ego", "Creative Self," "Ommipsyche" and to the finite in terms of egos or selves. "The reference is always plural. Even in his doctrine of transformation (transmutation) Iqbal is at pains to stress his conviction that the individual is neither in time nor eternity lost in God."² On Iqbal's words, "the end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it."³

Iqbal rejects deism, the view that the world is separate from God. Outside of God there is nothing, so deism is meaningless.⁴ Neo-Platonic ideas resembling the Buddhist Vedantas culminated in the famous doctrine of Monism. This doctrine preached the belief in an immanent God and considered the world as a mere incarnation. It substituted pantheistic deism for the personal and transcendent God of the Qor'an, and led to the blossoming of pseudo-mysticism.⁵

Iqbal attached Monism on practical ground also. For him

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 63-64.
2. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 72.
5. Maitre, L. C. Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal (Translated by Dar, M. A. M.) pp 6-7.
"all life is individual; there is no such thing as universal life."

Panentheism.

Iqbal's view is panentheistic, panentheism being the doctrine that the world is not identical with God, nor separate from God, but in God, who in His divine nature transcends it. Iqbal's view is panentheistic because "according to it God as individual, while not other than that universe which is His physical being, is more than the sum of egos and sub-egos of which this universe is composed."

The relation of the Ultimate Ego to the finite egos in Iqbal's philosophy has been summarised thus: "the Ultimate Ego holds the finite egos in His own Being without obliterating their existence. The Ultimate Reality must be regarded as of the nature of the self. But further this self does not lie apart from the universe, as if separated by a space lying between Him and ourselves. The Ultimate Self, therefore is not transcendent, as is conceived by the anthropomorphic theists. He is immanent, for He comprehends and encompasses the whole universe. But he is not immanent in the sense of the pantheists of the traditional type, because He is a personal and not an impersonal reality ... He is, in short, immanent and transcendent both, and yet neither the one nor the other. Both immanence and transcendence are

1. Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A. in Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. XVII.
2. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 72.
true of the Ultimate Reality. But Iqbal emphasizes the transcendence of the Ultimate Ego rather than His immanence.¹

In his rejection of the doctrine of unityism or 'wahdat-al-wujūd' Iqbal was deeply influenced by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, also known as Mujaddid-e-Alf-e-Ṣānī. In a letter written in 1917 Iqbal said "I have very great respect in my heart for Mujaddid Sirhind."² Like Iqbal, the Mujaddid passed through 'wujūdiyyat' or unityism and reached 'abdiyyat' or servitude.³ The Mujaddid stressed the transcendence of God. "He is beyond all 'shuyūn-o-i'tibārāt' or modes and relations, all 'zuhūr-o-buṭūn' or externalisation and internalization, beyond all 'burūz-o-kumūn' or projection and introjection, beyond all 'mawsūl-o-mafṣūl' or realisable and explicable, beyond all 'kashf-o-shuhūd' or mystic intuition and experience; may even beyond all 'maḥsūs-o-maʿqūl', empirical and rational, and beyond all 'mawhūm-o-mutakhayall' or conceivable and imaginable ... He the Holy One is beyond the Beyond, again beyond the Beyond, again beyond the Beyond."⁴

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD.

Personality: For Iqbal the ultimate ground of all experience is a rationally directed will or an ego. He points out that

¹. Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iqbal, pp 85-86.
⁴. Ibid. pp 119-120.
in order to emphasise the individuality of the Ultimate Ego, the **Qorān** gives Him the proper name of Allāh. As Bergson has stated in *Creative Evolution* individuality is a matter of degrees and is not fully realised even in the case of a human being. "In particular, it may be said of individuality," says Bergson, "that, while the tendency to individuate in everywhere opposed by the tendency towards reproduction. For the individuality to be perfect, it would be necessary that no detached part of the organism could live separately. But then reproduction would be impossible. For what is reproduction, but the building up of a new organism with a detached fragment of the old? Individuality therefore harbours its enemy at home." According to Iqbal, the perfect individual - God, cannot be conceived as harbouring its own enemy at home, and must therefore be regarded as a superior to the antagonistic tendency of reproduction. "This characteristic of the perfect ego is one of the most essential elements in the Qurānic conception of God; and the Qurān mentions it over and over again, not so much with a view to attack the current Christian conception as to accentuate its own view of a perfect individual."

Iqbal refers to the Qurānic verse which identifies God with light: "God is the light of heaven and earth: the

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2. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p.63.
similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall, wherein a lamp is placed, and the lamp enclosed in a case of glass, the glass appears as it were a shining star."(24:35)¹ We have already noted that Iqbal denies the pantheistic interpretation of this verse. He uses this verse to support his own personalistic conception of God as the Absolute. "No doubt," says Iqbal, "the opening sentence of the verse gives the impression of an escape from an individualistic conception of God. But when we follow the metaphor of light in the rest of the verse, it gives just the opposite impression. The development of the metaphor is meant rather to exclude the suggestion of a formless cosmic element by centralizing the light in a flame which is further individualized by its encasement in a glass likened unto a well-defined star."² In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd" Iqbal writes:

羟 روطنن داری دیر مکانات

e مملکت نیست مبز نوزرین السوات

³ (Zabūr-e-ʻAjam, p. 215)

Professor Schimmel refers to the Naqshbandī mystic Khwāja Mīr Dard of Delhi (1720-1784) who reached the conclusion that the metaphor of light for God suggests both Absolutism and Omnipresence which covers both transcendentalism and all-

¹. Sale, G. Translation of The Korān, p. 267.
². The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 63.
³. Do not seek the Absolute in the monastery of the world, For nothing is Absolute but the Light of the Heavens.
immanency of the Supreme Being.¹

For Iq-bal then, God is a Person. He is an ego also because He responds to our reflection and our prayer; for the real test of a self is whether it responds to the call of another self.² Iq-bal, however refutes the charge of anthropomorphism: "Ultimate Reality," he says, "is a rationally directed creative life. To interpret this life as a personality is not to fashion God after the image of man. It is only to accept the simple fact of experience that life is not a formless fluid but an organizing principle of unity—a synthetic activity which holds together and focalizes the dispersing dispositions of the living organism for a creative purpose."³

Infinity. Iq-bal, thus, conceives of God as a Person. The question then arises: does not individuality imply finitude? According to Iq-bal, "God cannot be conceived as infinite in the sense of spatial infinity. In matters of spiritual valuation mere immensity counts for nothing."⁴ True infinity does not mean infinite extension which cannot be conceived without embracing all available finite extensions. Its nature consists in intensity and not extensity. "The ultimate limit," says Iq-bal, "is to sought not in the directions of stars, but in an infinite cosmic life and spirituality."⁵

4. Ibid, p. 64.
5. Ibid, p. 132.
In contrast to the classical conception of God, Iqbal emphasizes the idea of a changing God.\(^1\) For him "the infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in infinite inner possibilities of his creative activity of which the universe as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not that series."\(^2\) Iqbal writes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{His inside is void of Up and Down,} \\
\text{But His outside is accepting Space. (Translation by Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 99.)}
\end{align*}
\]

Creativeness. Iqbal's universe is dynamic. The Ultimate Ego is essentially creative. By means of His Creativeness, He affirms His Reality. God is not a mere contriver working on something given. Iqbal believes that God created the world out of Himself. In orthodox Islamic theology, however, creation away means creation ex nihilo.\(^3\) Professor Whittemore observes "On this point it may well be that Iqbal has reconstructed Islamic religious thought somewhat more extensively than the original architects would care to acknowledge."\(^4\)

Iqbal points out that we are apt "to regard the act of creation as a specific past event, and the universe appears to

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 64.
3. His inside is void of Up and Down, But His outside is accepting Space. (Translation by Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing, p. 99.)
5. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 73.
us as a manufactured article ... Thus regarded the universe is a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created ... from the Divine point of view, there is no creation in the sense of a specific event having a 'before' and an 'after'\textsuperscript{1} Creation is a continuous and continuing process in time

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\text{\textit{كُمْ هُوَ لَخَضْتَ أَنَّهُ خَازِمُ وَبُور}}
\]

\textit{(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 171.)}

Professor Bausani states that in Muslim thought, utmost importance has always been given to creation, even going so far as to consider human acts as created in order to save the idea of the absolute creativeness of God. The Ashʿarites, in order to abolish the Aristotelian "causae secundae" which could compromise the freedom of the creative act of God, elaborated the theory of atomism. According to the Ashʿarites, the world is composed of 'jawāhir' - infinitely small parts or atoms which are indivisible. The essence of the atom is independent of its existence i.e. existence is a quality imposed on the atom by God. Before receiving this quality, the atom lies dormant. Since the creative activity of God is ceaseless, fresh atoms come to being every moment and

\textsuperscript{1} The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 65.

\textsuperscript{2} The caravan of being does not stop.

\textsuperscript{3} Bausani, A. "Iqbāl's Philosophy of Religion and the West" p. 19.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
therefore the universe is constantly growing.\textsuperscript{1} Iqbal too, as we have seen, believes in a growing universe, but unlike the Ash'arites, he thinks that the universe changes not "in an atomistic development moving from point to point but in a never ceasing organic movement in the Divine Ego itself. This is proved, for the philosopher poet, by the Qur'anic 'God attestation' (Sura 35:1) which hints at the ever fresh possibilities that may emerge from the fathomless depths of the intensive Divine life and be manifested in the created serial time.\textsuperscript{2} In a well-known couplet, Iqbal says

\begin{align*}
\text{بیِّا ناتِ ابیِّا نام سے شاہرے}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{لا دیہی سے دادم مرضی اکن فنیکر اکن}
\end{align*}

\text{(Bāl-e-Jibrīl, p. 44)}

and in a letter to Professor Nicholson, "the universe is not a completed act: it is still in the course of formation.\textsuperscript{1}\text{1}"

Opposing the Ash'arites' ideas on substance and creation, Iqbal points out that "they used the word substance or atom with a vague implication of externality; but their criticism, actuated by a pious desire to defend the idea of divine creation, reduced the Universe to a mere show of ordered

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{1.} The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 68-70.
  \item \textbf{2.} Schimmel, A. M. Gabriel's Wing. p. 100.
  \item \textbf{3.} Perhaps this universe is still incomplete, For each instant there can be heard the cry of "Be, and it came into being."
  \item \textbf{4.} Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xvii.
\end{itemize}
subjectivities which, as they maintained like Berkeley, found their ultimate explanation in the Will of God."

Knowledge: The Ultimate Ego is omniscient. In the case of finite beings, knowledge even if extended to the point of omniscience, must always remain relative to the confronting 'other', and cannot, therefore, be predicated of the Ultimate Ego who, being all-inclusive, cannot be conceived as having a perspective like the finite ego. Discursive knowledge cannot be predicated of an ego who knows and who also forms the ground of the object known.

For Iqbal omniscience does not, however, mean a single indivisible act of perception which makes God immediately aware of the entire sweep of history, regarded as an order of specific events, in an eternal 'now'. Dawahî, 'Irâqi and Royce conceive of God's knowledge in this way. Iqbal observes, "there is an element of truth in this conception. But it suggests a closed universe, a fixed futurity, a pre-determined, unalterable order of specific events which, like a superior fate, has once for all determined the directions of God's creative activity." Divine knowledge is not "passive omniscience" but "a living creative activity to which the objects that appear to exist in their own right are organically related. If God's knowledge is conceived as a

1. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, p. 57.
3. Ibid. p. 78.
4. Ibid. p. 78
5. Ibid. pp 78-79.
kind of a mirror reflecting preordained events, there is no room left for initiative and free creativeness. "We must, therefore, conceive of His knowledge as a perfectly self-conscious, living, creative activity - an activity in which knowing and creating are one."

Omnipotence Iqbal points out that omnipotence, abstractly conceived, is merely a blind, capricious power without limits. The Qur'an finds Divine omnipotence closely related to Divine wisdom, and finds God's power revealed, not in the arbitrary and the capricious, but in the recurrent, the regular and the orderly. Simultaneously, the Qur'an conceives of God as holding all goodness in His Hands. "If, then, the rationally directed Divine will is good," then, asks Iqbal, "how is it ... possible to reconcile the goodness and omnipotence of God with the immense volume of evil in His creation. The painful problem is really the crux of Theism." Iqbal wonders if, with Browning, one is to regard God as all-good, or, with Schopenhauer as all evil. According to Iqbal sin or evil is not something which hangs over mankind as a curse. It is looked upon as a challenge. It is the presence of evil which makes us recognise good, and acts as a whetstone for the development of personality. Iqbal's point resembles that of William James (as indeed he intends that

1. Sharif, M. M. About Iqbal and His Thought, p. 22.
3. Ibid., pp 80-81.
it should since he adapts James's language to his purposes). 1

"The teaching of the Qurān, which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil." 2

Professor Bausani points out that in Iqbal's conception of a continuously creative God there "lies also hidden a new solution of the old problem, the crux of theism, i.e. the problem of Evil. Nature is neither bad nor good in itself, it is one of the first exercises of God." 3 As the Qurān says: "Say, Go through the earth, and see how he originally produceth creatures: afterwards will God reproduce another production" (9: 19) 4

Eternity. God is eternal but not so in the sense in which a thing is supposed to last for all time. This implies a wrong view of time making it external to Him. 5 Iqbal's God is a changing God but change does not mean serial change. God lives both in eternity and in serial time. To Iqbal the former means non-successional change, while the latter is organically related to eternity in so far as it is a measure of non-successional change. "In this sense alone it is

1. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 76.
possible," says Iqbal "to understand the Qur'anic verse: 'To God belongs the alternation of day and night.' (23:82).\(^1\)

THE UNIVERSE AND TELEOLOGY

According to Iqbal, the movement of the universe has a purpose. He disagrees with Nietzsche who "recognises no spiritual purpose in the universe. To him there is no ethical purpose resident in the forces of history. Virtue, Justice, Duty, Love all are meaningless terms to him. The process of history is determined purely by economical forces and the only principle that governs is 'Might is Right.'\(^2\)

Iqbal considers Reality to be an ego-determined, ego-inspired flux within which purposes are at work. There are finite purposes when the determining egos are finite, but there is also a supreme purpose of which the Arch-Ego is the author - this Purpose is the development and perfection of ego, till they, on their finite scale, approximate to Deity.\(^3\) As Iqbal says:

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\text{\textit{...}}
\]

\((\text{B\text{\text{\text{\text{i\text{\text{\text{}}}Jibr}}}}l, \text{p. 79})\)

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.
2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 242.
4. Godhead lies in the building up of Selfhood.
The Universe is in its nature, teleological, not in the sense of mechanism which repudiates the idea of free activity but in the sense that the world has been created for a purpose.\(^1\) As the Qur'an says: "We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, by way of spērt: We have created them no otherwise than in truth" (Sūra 4:38)\(^2\)

According to Iqbal, the movement of the Universe is a genuinely creative movement which is not to be understood as being cyclic in which the end shall necessarily return to its starting point as in Greek philosophy. Whatever be the criterion by which to judge the forward steps of a creative movement, if it is conceived as cyclic, it ceases to be creative.\(^3\)

Iqbal does not believe that the universe is moving towards a fixed destiny. "To endow the world process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are termination of a career; they are ends to come and not necessarily premeditated."\(^4\) Iqbal believes in 'immanent' teleology which may be said to be at work in the creative activity of an artist. A writer's actual work is not to be taken as a mere transcribing of a pre-existent vision into words. The vision does not "pre-exist" save in a very vague sense, but comes into existence while the technical and physical work of painting or writing goes on. The artist starts

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with a tentative plan in mind but as the work develops it begins to have a life of its own and often the artist finds himself deviating from his original plan. The artist does have a purpose in that he wishes to create something, but the actual creation is not a pre-determined product. The Universe, or the analogy of our Self, is of a free, creative character. It is an organic unity of thought, life and purpose. It is "gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos," and is not "chaotic, false, cruel, contradictory and seductive" as Nietzsche thought. It has both a reason and a plan but the end like an ever-receding shore will forever remain in the future. "There is, therefore, no final state to the universe. It is a constantly progressing, self-generating and self-evolving universe, whose inner possibilities of growth and evolution will never know any limits."

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4. Nietzsche quoted by Enver, I. H. in Metaphysics of Iqbal, p. 75.
5. Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iqbal, p. 75.
CHAPTER V.

THE SELF IN IQBAL'S THOUGHT

THE SELF: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION

Since times immemorial philosophers have asked questions regarding the origin of Man. Sometimes he is looked upon as a being created by God who fell from a state of bliss due to an act of disobedience, sometimes, as Darwin postulated,1 as a creature who developed like all living organisms over the course of aeons, from a common primitive germ.

Creation. Iqbal refers to the Qur'anic description of the birth of Man. The process may be stated thus:2 man is created for a certain appointed period of time (Sūra 6:2), growing gradually from the earth (Sūra 32:7, 55:14), from an extract of certain elements of the earth (Sūra 6:2, 22:5), then by receiving nourishment (Sūra 17:70), being endowed with life and made up of water (Sūra 21:30) and black mud (Sūra 15:26) or plastic clay (Sūra 37:11), moulded into shape in due proportions (Sūra 15:26) as a life-germ, a clot of congealed blood (Sūra 96:2) growing into a lump of flesh, and further developing into bones clothed with flesh and finally emerging as a new creation.

Thus we find in the Qor'an explicit statements to the effect that man owes his existence to God. He is created by God from matter and moulded by Him as clay is moulded by the potter. He is created from blood and therefore is a living creature, since in all Semitic thought, blood represents the principle of life. If man has been created by God, then some questions arise, namely, regarding his appearance on earth, and how the theory of evolution applies to his emergence.

The Fall of Man. Iqbal points out that according to the Qor'an, the earth is the 'dwelling-place' of man and a 'source of profit to him' and that he is not a stranger to it. Man's first appearance on earth is not as the result of the Fall. Iqbal does not think that having been created by God, Man was placed in a supersensuous paradise from whence he fell on earth. The 'Jannat' (Garden) from which Man was expelled is not regarded by Iqbal as the Heaven which is the eternal abode of the righteous, "the reward of those who keep their duty" (Sūra 13:35) since the very first event which took place there was an act of

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 84.
disobedience. Iqbal regards the 'Jannat' associated with the Fall of Man as "a primitive state in which Man is practically unrelated to his environments and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants." It is a state of effortless bliss, which a Promethean like Iqbal could relish no more than Milton could.

According to Iqbal, the purpose of the Qor'anic narration is not historical, i.e., it does not refer to a particular event which took place at a particular time. The 'Adam' of the legend is a concept rather than an individual. (Iqbal points out that the Qor'an uses the word 'Bashar' or 'Insan' for Man, and uses 'Adam' only to designate Man in his capacity as God's vicegerent on earth.) Thus by 'Adam' is meant Man "who has become self-conscious, civilized and able to bear the burden of moral and spiritual responsibility which has been laid upon him from the very beginning of his existence, but the ability to bear which became manifest only when 'Insan' reached the stage of 'Adam'." Adam's story, is therefore, not the history of the first man, but the ethical experience, in symbolic form, of every man.

Emergence. For Iqbal evolution is a fact. He says:

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 84.
2. Ibid. p. 83.
3. Ibid.
He seeks support for the evolutionary theory not only in the Qur'an but also in the history of Muslim philosophy. Jahiz had hinted at the evolutionary process, and the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwan-al-Safa) had believed that the process of evolution advanced from the mineral to the human stage being directed or prompted by the inner spiritual yearning for a return to God. Iqbal has devoted considerable attention to the theory of evolution as stated by Ibn-e-Miskawaih. Miskawaih's theory is basically the same as that of the Brethren of Purity. According to Miskawaih evolution consists of four stages: the mineral, the vegetable, the animal and the human. Coral, date-palm and ape, mark the transition from the mineral to the vegetable, from the vegetable to the animal, and from the animal to the human kingdom respectively.

Iqbal's view of evolution has been greatly influenced

1. When Nature carves a figure, It takes a period of time to complete it.
3. The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, p. 29; also The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 121, pp 133-134.
5. Ibid. p. 472.
by Rūmī whose ideas on the subject were a message of hope and joy and did not bring the gloom and despair which came in the wake of Darwin's theory.¹ For Rūmī the lowest form of life is matter but matter is not dead or inert:

\[
\text{باد درون مقدود آتش بنشانه ان د}
\]

According to Rūmī, the self originated in the form of matter consisting of dimly-conscious monads. Rūmī's theory is stated thus:

\[
\text{آمد ادی ناقش جهاد سلما اندر نابلی عزیر}\\
\text{و نامبادی نام نادر از نیر}\\
\text{ما مکت حان صالح صنج یار}\\
\text{خاصه در دوشت پادرویان ران}
\]

3 (continued on p 231)

   Air and Earth and Fire are slaves, For you and I they are dead, but not for God.
3. First man appeared in the class of inorganic things Next he passed therefrom into that of plants. For years he lived on as one of the plants, Remembering nought of his inorganic state so different; And when he passed from the vegetive to the animal state, He had no remembrance of his state as a plant, Except the inclination he felt to the world of plants, Especially at the time of spring and sweet flowers;
For Iqbal, as for Ibn Miskawaih and Rumi, God is the ultimate source and ground of evolution. We have seen that for Iqbal matter is not something dead because from the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed:

Like the inclination of infants towards their mothers, which knew not the cause of their inclination to the breast. Again the great Creator, as you know, drew men out of the animal state into the human state. Thus man passed from one order of nature to another, till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now. Of his first souls he has now no remembrance, and he will be again changed from his present soul. (Translation by Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 121-122).

2. From its ray nothing comes into being save egos, from its sea, nothing appears save pearls. (Translation by Dar, B.A. Iqbal's Gulshan-i Rauz-i Jadid and Bandagi Namah, p. 36).
But although, as we have pointed out, in one sense the ego is eternal, it emerges within the spatio-temporal order due to the realization of the Divine possibility through the evolutionary process. The Ultimate Ego is immanent in matter and makes the emergent emerge out of it. There are various levels of being or grades of consciousness. The rising note of egohood culminates in man.

According to the Qur'an, in one sense, Man is of the earth, yet he is also divine in that God has breathed His own spirit into him (Sūra 32:9). Following this, Iqbal believes, on the one hand, the divine creation of Man and, on the other, the principle that Man has evolved from matter. It is possible to do this because in his thought there is no impassable gulf between matter and spirit.

For him matter is "endowed with such intrinsic powers that

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1. The origins of Selfhood no man knows, To dawn and eve no fellowship it owes. I heard this wisdom from the Heavenly Guide: "Not older than its wave the ocean flows." (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 22)


we should see 'spirit' sleeping in matter, awakening in plants, awake in animals, self-conscious in man."¹

Iqbal writes:

۲(Bang-e-Dara p. 143)

Rejection of Mechanistic Interpretation of Evolution.

Iqbal rejects, as Bergson did, the mechanistic views of biological evolution which began with Charles Darwin.³

Darwin had explained evolution as the mechanical operation of natural selection on variations arising apparently, by chance.⁴ A writer points out that natural selection cannot account for all organic evolution. "'Natural selection' is an unfortunate and most misleading word, and sounds as if Nature did this or that by a deliberate act of choice. — Natural selection does nothing, produces nothing. Its effect is purely negative. All it means is that in the struggle for existence the weak go to the wall and do not survive... 'Natural Selection' can be called the 'occasion' or 'condition' of organic evolution,

². That which is conscious in Man, sleeps a deep sleep In trees, flowers, animals, stones and stars.
but certainly not its cause. All plant and animal variations are due to inherent energy in the organisms themselves. ¹ Iqbal does not believe in "the blind and dreary mechanism of struggle and destruction" ² described by Darwin and Spencer.

Iqbal considers the concepts employed by mechanists to be inadequate for the analysis of life. For instance, mechanical causality cannot explain self-maintenance and reproduction ³ nor can it explain the emergence of the intellect from matter— a view necessitated by the application of physical concepts to life. ⁴ The word "epiphenomenon" was coined by T. H. Huxley to express his idea that consciousness is a one-sided phenomenon, a by-product or concomitant of organization, an effect possessing in itself no efficiency. ⁵ According to Iqbal, to describe life as "an epiphénomene of the processes of matter is to deny it as an independent activity, and to deny it as an independent activity is to deny the validity of all knowledge which is only a systematized expression of consciousness." ⁶

Iqbal, then, rejects Darwinism which forces into the strait jacket of physical concepts the dynamic processes of

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² Durant, W. The Story of Philosophy, New York, 1933, p.343.
³ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 13-43.
⁴ Ibid. pp 44-45.
⁶ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 40-41.
life and by stressing that the future is determined completely by the past, repudiates the duration, freedom and creation which are found in real life. Furthermore it throws no light on the ultimate nature of reality and does not admit the existence of a goal towards which evolution is progressing.

Iqbal believes in the "factual wholeness" of life described by the German biologist Driesch who maintains that there is an internal regulating principle within the organism which shapes it in the interest of the whole, guiding and moulding its purpose. This principle is interested not only in the development of the individual organism but in the development and evolution of life as a whole. Consciousness in all its phases of development and adaptation "possesses a career which is unthinkable in the case of a machine." To say that it possesses a career means that the sources of its activity cannot be understood save with reference to its remote past the origin of which lies in that spiritual reality which reveals itself in spatial experience but cannot be discovered by an analysis of it. In other words, it would seem that "life

3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 44.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 44.
is foundational and anterior to the routine of physical and chemical processes which must be regarded as a kind of fixed behaviour formed during a long course of evolution."¹

Emergent Evolution. Iqbal refers with approval to the theory of emergent evolution put forward by C. Lloyd Morgan.²

"Emergent evolution works upwards from matter, through life, to consciousness which attains in man its highest or supra-reflective level."³ It regards the emergence of the higher from the lower as being due to a driving force welling up from below and drawing upwards through activity.⁴ The emergent is an unforeseeable and novel fact in its own plane of being which cannot be explained mechanistically or resolved into that which has conditioned its birth and growth.⁵ According to the theory of emergent evolution even if soul-life emerges from a physical level it does not follow that the new emergent can be adequately explained in terms of the physical only.

Bergson and Iqbal: creative evolution. Like Bergson, Iqbal believes that "it is consciousness or rather supra-consciousness that is at the origin of life."⁶ This consciousness is the need of creation.⁷ Bergson believes in a

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 44.
⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 44-45.
⁷ Ibid.
sort of cosmic vitalism in which the vital principle or élan vital, as he calls it, is life itself as it has endured through the ages and evolution is the history of the effort of life to free itself from the domination of matter and to achieve self-consciousness.¹ In other words, evolution is the outcome of an impulse of life manifesting itself in innumerable forms.² The vital impulse determines the direction of evolution as well as evolution itself. This ever-changing activity is in fact life. Life is that which makes efforts, which pushes upwards and outwards and on. All the striving is due to the élan vital in us, "that vital urge which makes us grow, and transforms this wandering planet into a theatre of unending creation."³ In Bergson's view "the whole of nature is said to be the outcome of a force which thrusts itself forward into new and unforeseen forms of organised structure. These store and utilize energy, maintaining their power of growth and adaptive novelty up to a point and then relapse into repetitive routine and ultimately into the degradation of energy."⁴ According to Bergson, the universe shows two tendencies. There is a reality which is making itself in a reality which

¹ Magill, P. N. (Editor) Masterpieces of World Philosophy, p. 769.
² Urmson, J. O. (Editor) Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, p. 63.
³ Durant, W. The Story of Philosophy, pp 345-346.
⁴ Urmson, J. O. (Editor) Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, p. 63.
is unmaking itself. The laws of the tendency to repetition and the dissipation of energy are the laws of matter; the counter tendency is the thrust of life.¹ For Iqbal, the function of consciousness is "to provide a luminous point in order to enlighten the forward rush of life. It is a case of tension, a state of self-concentration, by means of which life manages to shut out all memories and associations which have no bearing on present action."² Like Bergson, Iqbal believes in the dynamic principle (whether it is called 'soul', 'life', 'personality', 'consciousness', or whatever else) within organisms. It is to this principle "that we owe our eyes, ears, hands, feet, nerves, brain, our physical everything. It simply called all our organs into being in response to stimuli or prompting from the Reality outside itself, i.e. Nature, which it wanted to interpret."³ Iqbal expresses this idea thus:

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\text{Iqbal believes in the dynamic principle within organisms. It is to this principle \textit{that we owe our eyes, ears, hands, feet, nerves, brain, our physical everything}. It simply called all our organs into being in response to stimuli or prompting from the Reality outside itself, i.e. Nature, which it wanted to interpret.}
\]

¹ Urmson, J. O. (Editor) Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, p. 63.
Iqbal’s well-known poem "Saqi Nama" contains most of his ideas on evolution:

1. The partridge’s leg is derived from the elegance of its gait,
   The nightingale’s beak from its endeavour to sing,
   Nose, hand, brain, eye and ear,
   Thought, imagination, feeling, memory and understanding -
   All these weapons devised by life for self-preservation
   In its ceaseless struggle.

(Translation by Nicholson, R.A. The Secrets of the Self, pp 25-26.)
Evolution and teleology.

Iqbal accepts Bergson's biological approach to the problem of evolution but unlike Bergson he takes a teleological view of the evolutionary process. Bergson rejects teleology which he calls "inverted mechanism" since it pertains to development tied to the realization of pre-determined ends. Therefore, according to Bergson, the vital urge to which emergence is due is both non-mechanical and non-teleological.

1. Down from the heights that rill comes leaping,
   Slipping, spurting, recoiling, creeping,
   Stumbling, recovering, while it winds
   Through a hundred turnings until it finds
   Its way. (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 46)
   Perpetual rolls life's ocean: all
   That it shows life ephemeral.
   From it, like smoke curls
   In fire, the body emerges, blent
   Of earth and moisture, irksome, yet
   In their leading life delights: life, set
   In the labyrinth, chafing, of the gross
   Elements; undying, transient; close
   Captive, thus undivisible,
   In diversity, yet in all things still
   Unparagoned, single. This immense
   Idol-temple, the world of sense,
   This world the three-dimension fence
   Was reared by Life.
   (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. quoted by Ahmad, A. "Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man" p. 14).

2. Lindsay, A. D. The Philosophy of Bergson, London, 1911, p. 28.
Lamarck's explanation of evolution is teleological, postulating in organisms a striving or will to evolve. McDougall built up a whole system of animal and social psychology on the basis of teleological causation as opposed to mechanistic causation, explaining animal and human actions in terms of inner drives tending towards some goal which satisfies the innermost being of the organism. Iqbal looks upon the creative urge not as mere blind will but essentially of the nature of thought and intelligence. Purpose holds a fundamental position in Iqbal's concept of the evolution of life.

Purpose is born of desire or the will-to-live. For Iqbal, the driving force of evolution lies in the conative

2. Siddiqi, M. "Iqbal's Concept of Evolution" p. 25.
3. Life is preserved by purpose, Because of the goal its caravan-bell tinkles. Life is latent in seeking, Its origin is hidden in desire. Desire keeps the self in perpetual uproar It is a restless wave of the self's sea. (Translation by Nicholson, R.A. The Secrets of the Self pp 23-24).
tendency of things. This tendency may be called love. For Iqbal all the processes of assimilation, growth and reproduction are manifestations of Love.¹ It is interesting to note that in Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion (1932) Bergson too is prepared to call 'elan vital' 'love' which is either God or from God.² It has been observed that Iqbal's theory of Love is little else than a theory of intrinsic teleology operating from within the mind and spirit of man in the shape of instinctive desires.³ This type of causation does not dispense with the idea of God, but God as conceived by the intrinsic teleologist is the creative principle of life, the guide who makes every organism conscious of its goal, implants in it the desire for the attainment of that goal.⁴

Man is not a mere episode or accident in the huge evolutionary process. On the contrary, the whole cosmos is there to serve as the basis and ground for the emergence and perfection of the Ego.⁵ The purpose of evolution is Man in whom Life gained freedom:

1. Siddiqi, M. "Iqbal's Concept of Evolution" p. 27.
2. Urmson, J. O. (Editor) Concise Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, p. 63.
4. Ibid.
Life finds its perfection in Man in whom it becomes self-consciousness for the first time since the beginning of creation.

The universe has waited for man for a long time:

The universe has been created so that Man's Selfhood may be revealed to him:

1. Life said, "I writhed in dust aeon after aeon, Now at last a door opens out of this old prison.
2. Since eternity it is involved in striving, It appeared in the form of man's clay.
3. You are the late-discovered meaning of the universe, The world of hue and scent have been searching for you.
4. Time's revolutions have one goal, To show you what is your own soul. 
(Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 49)
Evolution: Iqbal's interpretation and attitude.

As we have seen, like Leibniz Iqbal believed in grades of consciousness. Evolution is the transition from near-consciousness to consciousness and from consciousness to self-consciousness. In a very early poem Iqbal makes life describe the process of evolution thus:

Consciousness, in creating anew the universe from moment to moment for the sake of its self-expression, is continually breaking through its own resistance and outgrowing itself, and thereby gradually advancing towards its goal. For Iqbal, evolution is the passage of life and consciousness from the death like stupor of things almost unconscious to the first glimpse of 'I-am-ness' in Man. The transition from one plane of existence to another takes place not by means of total extinction but by the transformation of the lower into the higher self.

2. With what great effort have I made Rank by rank, part by part, Inorganic into organic, organic into animal, Animal into brute, brute into man.
4. Dar, B. A. A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy, Lahore, 1944, p. 54.
It is apparent from Iqbal's poetry that Iqbal regards the advent of Man on earth as a great and glorious event, not as an event signifying Man's sinfulness and degradation. For Iqbal, the Fall symbolizes a transition from "a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience ... man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of causality in one's own being."¹ Adam's emergence marks that stage in evolution when simple and conative tendencies, native impulse, instincts and propensities are transformed into self-conscious behaviour, purposive will and creative faculties.²

Greeting Adam, the Earth says:

إهدى بِنَاتٍٔ لَّهُ مِن مُّرَسِّلِ رَسُوسٍ
آهَ مِنْ قَدَ مَاتِبَ جَانَتُهُ مِنَ السَّرِّينِ
جَنَّتَ مِنْ بَنَانِ مِنْ ذَرَّاءِ فِي فُرْسِينِ
لَنَشْرَ مِنْ خَيْرٍ مَّ كَيْبُ مِنْ جَنْبِيَةِ

(Bal-e-JibrIl, p. 179)

3. The light of the world-illuminating sun is in your spark, A new world lives in your talents. Unacceptable is a Paradise which is given, Your Paradise lies hidden in your blood, O form of clay see the reward of constant endeavour.
In "Taskhīr-e-Fīrat" Iqbāl points out that Adam though created out of matter rises to eminence and glory. He possesses immense powers by means of which he can invade both the visible and the non-visible. He has much to do on earth and is in no hurry to return to his celestial abode. The daring poet says to God:

\[
\text{کاوش داران هیااب مرا استعاره}
\]

\[2\text{(Bal-e-Jibrīl, p. 9)}\]

Such is Man's evolution that even the heavenly bodies are beginning to fear his ascent:

\[
\text{درخ آدم خلاص گرم می‌ماند ماند\text{که وده با هر امر کامل نم می‌ماند}}
\]

\[3\text{(Bal-e-Jibrīl, p. 14)}\]

Man's evolution has, by no means, come to an end. His destiny lies far beyond this world. He has to conquer worlds yet uncreated.

2. Why did you ask me to leave the Garden of Eden? There is much to do in the world. Now you must wait for me!
3. Seeing man's ascent, the stars grow fearful, Lest this fallen star become the full moon.
Concerned as he is about the question of his origin, Iqbal is more anxious to know about the future of man:

1. This is the Self's first halting-place, Wayfarer, not your home. Its base Cinder-heap was not your flame's source: Not you by earth's, earth by your force Exists. Pierce its huge rocks, and climb! Burst the dark spells of space and time! The Self, true lion of God, is given For quarry the world, all earth, all heaven, As yet: creation's heart beats still. All things await your onset and Your restless urge of brain and hand.

(Translation by Kiernan, V. G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 49)
The man of courage does not put a limit to his evolution:

 Opposition an impetus to evolution. According to Iqbal, the greatest obstacle in the way of life is matter or Nature, and yet "Nature is not evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves."³ Life, in fact, as Iqbal conceives it, advances through opposition. Like Hegel, Iqbal thinks that life creates its own oppositions and contradictions in order to realize its potentialities.⁴

There can be no evolution without conflict. "According to my belief reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict which must inevitably lead to mutual adjustment. This conflict is a necessity in the interests of the evolution of higher forms of life and of personal immortality."⁵

1. Why should I ask of wise men what my origin is? I am anxious to find out what my destiny is.
2. In the wilderness of my madness Gabriel is a poor prey, O courage of manhood cast your noose and capture God.
Theory of Evolution: application to politics and ethics.

Like Nietzsche, Iqbal applies the theory of evolution both to politics and ethics though, in Iqbal's own words, his interest in conflict - which is the agent of evolution - is "mainly ethical and not political." Iqbal points out that "modern physical science has taught us that the atom of material energy has achieved its present form through many thousands of years of evolution yet it is unstable and can be made to disappear. The same is the case with the atom of mind - energy, i.e. the human person. It has achieved its present form through aeons of incessant effort and conflict; yet in spite of all this its instability is clear from the various phenomena of mental pathology. If it is to continue intact it cannot ignore the lessons learnt from its past career, and will require the same (or similar) forces to maintain its stability which it has availed itself of before." As Iqbal puts in the language of poetry:

\[
\text{"Life is exertion, it is not a right,}\]
\[
\text{It is meant only for acquiring knowledge of Self and the Universe.}\]

---

3. Ibid.
4. (Payam-e-MashtIQ, p.5)
REALITY OF THE SELF.

Iqbal's philosophy is the philosophy of the Self. "The Self is at once the starting, and the basic point of his thought. It is the Self which affords him a high road to metaphysics, because it is the intuition of the Self which makes metaphysics possible for him."\(^1\) According to Iqbal, the Self is a reality. As Descartes's historical utterance "Cogito ergo sum" i.e. "I think, therefore I am" stated, all thinking presupposes a subject who thinks. Iqbal puts it thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{سنار بور و سوء حور توشم} \\
\text{آرگویم چه مه و چیرستم} \\
\text{دشت این لازم ساده نیست} \\
\text{که در سینه می گوید کوههم}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^2\)(Payam-e-Mashriq p. 38)

Iqbal refers to F. H. Bradley who he considers of all modern thinkers to furnish "the best evidence for the impossibility of denying reality to the ego."\(^3\) In his first book Ethical Studies, Bradley assumes the reality of the self; in his Principles of Logic he takes it only as a working hypothesis; in his greatest work Appearance and

---

2. Whether I am, or not, I hold my peace —
   To say "I am" were self-idolatry:
   Who is the singer, then, and whose the song
   That cries "I am" within the heart of me?
   (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 11)
Reality he subjects the concept of the self to a searching examination.\(^1\) According to Bradley, quality and relation, substance and cause, space and time, self and object, are all of them, if taken as real, beset by insoluble contradictions and must therefore be dismissed as "appearance". The absolute reality must have a nature which transcends all these categories. Relations are grounded in the nature of their terms, and no term can be understood apart from its relations.\(^2\) Whatever may be our view of the Self it can only be examined by the canons of thought, which, in its nature, is relational, and all relations involve contradictions, yet though his "ruthless logic"\(^3\) has shown the Self to be "a mass of confusion,"\(^4\) yet, as Iqâbîl points out, "Bradley has to admit that the Self must be 'in some sense real,' 'in some sense an indisputable fact':"\(^5\)

For Iqâbîl, there is no doubt whatever about the reality of the Self. In fact, he says:

\[(Jāvīd Nāma, p. 239)\]

\(^1\) The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 98.
\(^2\) Urmson, J. O. (Editor) The Concise Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, pp 72-73.
\(^3\) The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 98.
\(^5\) The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 98.
\(^6\) He who denies God is an infidel for the mulla, He who denies the Self is a greater infidel to me.
He points out that "our feeling of egohood is ultimate and is powerful enough to extract from Professor Bradley the reluctant admission of its reality."\(^1\) The Self is undoubtedly real, though "its reality is too profound to be intellectualised."\(^2\) In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd," Iqbal puts forward his ideas on the reality of the Self:

\[
\text{(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 237)}
\]

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 98.
2. Ibid.
3. If you say that the "I" Is all pure fantasy, Nothing but an illusory Thing seen by the mind's eye, Then tell me whose experience Is this delusion of the inner sense? Who is the subject of this fantasy? Look inward at yourself: are you not he? Apparent though the world is, yet You have to prove that it exists; But doing so resists A Gabriel's ethereal wit. The Self, is on the other hand, Concealed from view, and yet It is self-evident, Beyond all argument. Reflect a little on this and Endeavour to find out The meaning of this mystery. The Self is not Illusion but Reality.

ASPECTS OF THE SELF.

Efficient and Appreciative Self.

We have already referred to the distinction Iqbal draws between the aspects of the Self. The Self has, Iqbal says, "two sides which may be described as appreciative and efficient."\(^1\) The efficient self is what associationist psychology concerns itself with - "the practical self of daily life in its dealing with the external order of things which determine our passing states of consciousness and stamp on these states their own spatial feature of mutual isolation."\(^2\) Thus the efficient self is that which is concerned with, and is itself partially formed by, the physical world.\(^3\) It apprehends the succession of impressions, living as it were, "outside itself... and, while retaining its unity as totality, (it) discloses itself as nothing more than a series of specific and consequently numerable states."\(^4\) Iqbal likens the efficient self to Kant’s transcendental unity of apperception\(^5\) which "according to the determinations of our state, is, with all our internal perceptions, empirical only."\(^6\)

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 47.
2. Ibid.
4. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 47.
5. Harre, R. "Iqbal: A Reformer of Islamic Philosophy" p. 335.
The Self has also an appreciative aspect which lives not in spatialised time but in pure duration. Iqbal is supported in his viewpoint that consciousness has a deeper aspect, by a notable scientist: "Feelings, purpose, values, make up our consciousness as much as sense-impressions. We follow up the sense-perceptions and find that they lead into an external world discussed by science; we follow up the other elements of our being and find that they lead — not into the world of space and time, but surely somewhere... consciousness as a whole is greater than those quasimetrical aspects of it which are abstracted to compose the physical brain."  

According to Iqbal the tragedy of the modern man is that he has become alienated from his deeper self. He is so caught up in the material world that "his hidden sources of spiritual energy" have become impoverished. To such a man Iqbal says:

\[ \text{ابین من مس دوئ کر با اسراع زندگی} \\
\text{از یک مراسمه ستان، ابیام سی!} \]

3 (Bāl-e-Jibrīl p. 48)

3. Look in, and in yourself, life’s secret see, To your own self be true, if not to me.
One becomes aware of the appreciative self "only in the moments of profound meditation, when the efficient self is in abeyance," and sinking into our deeper self we "reach the inner centre of experience."\(^1\) The unity of the appreciative ego is such that in it each experience permeates the whole. The multiplicity of its elements is, unlike that of the efficient self, wholly qualitative. "There is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible; their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character."\(^2\) The movement of the appreciative ego is not a movement in space and time since the time of the appreciative ego is a single 'now.'\(^3\)

The appreciative self is creative. It does not find things, it makes them. "Not only do we make things, but in political and ethical action among things, Iqbal believes that we also make our ends. He regards this as a consequence of the two kinds of experience, the inner and the outer. The result of our inner experience is the grasping of a continual succession of goals and purposes which give

2. Ibid. p. 49.  
significance to everything that happens."¹ Thus, for Iqbāl, the life of the Self consists in its movement from appreciation to efficiency, from intuition to intellect, from pure duration to serial time which is born of this movement.²

Body and Soul. For Descartes, there is one absolute substance, God, and two relative substances, mind and body, existing independently of each other but both depending on God.³ Iqbāl rejects the Cartesian bifurcation between mind and matter which cannot account for the interaction of the spiritual with material being.⁴ If body and mind are fundamentally different, as Descartes assumed, then "the changes of both run on exactly parallel lines, owing to some kind of pre-established harmony, as Leibniz thought. This reduces the soul to a merely passive spectator of the happenings of the body."⁵ Thus Iqbāl rejects parallelism.

If the mind and body are regarded as affecting each other, "then we cannot find any observable facts to show

¹ Harrè, R. "Iqbāl: A Reformer of Islamic Philosophy" pp 335-356.
² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 76.
⁴ Whittaker, E. Space and Spirit, p. 72.
⁵ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 105.
how and where exactly their interaction takes place, and
which of the two takes the initiative. The soul is an
organ of the body which exploits it for physiological
purposes, or the body is an instrument of the soul, are
equally true propositions on the theory of interaction."¹
Iqbāl refers to Lange's theory of emotion "which tends to
show that the body takes the initiative in the act of
interaction. There are, however, facts to contradict this
type ... even if the body takes the initiative, the mind
does enter as a consenting factor at a definite stage in the
development of emotion, and this is equally true of the
external stimuli which are constantly working on the mind."²
Thus interaction is also unsatisfactory. Iqbāl does not
believe in the duality of body and spirit. They are one
as becomes visible in action. "When I take up a book from
my table, my act is single and indivisible. It is impossible
to draw a line of cleavage between the share of the body and
that of the mind in this act."³ According to Iqbāl, "the

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 105.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
body is not a thing situated in an absolute void; it is a system of events or acts. The system of experiences we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. This does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body; it only brings them closer together. The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity; the acts composing the body repeat themselves. The body is accumulated action or habit of the soul; and as such undetachable from it. It is a permanent element of consciousness which, in view of this permanent element, appears from the outside as something stable.¹

For Iqbal then, body and mind are not two antithetical entities. His viewpoint is supported by many Vedantic systems.² We have seen that Iqbal regards matter not as something dead but as a sub-ego. Hence matter is itself resolved to spirit and will.³ "When seen in this light, it becomes fully evident that the determining force of the body is will and not matter. Will, or spirit, assumes the form of body in order to fulfil its purpose in the present

¹ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 105.  
² Raju, P. T. "The Idealism of Sir Mohammad Iqbal" p. 108.  
As is clear from Iqbal’s views on evolution, it is the creative will which evolves the various physical organs to aid it in its unceasing struggle for the realisation of its evergrowing ideals.

The body and soul are not two independent substances. The body is "the attribute of the same reality whose manifestation is the soul." In Javid Naama Iqbal says:

\[\text{Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Naama, p. 33}\]

3. You who say that the soul is the soul’s vehicle, consider the soul’s secret; tangle not with the body. It is not a vehicle; it is a state of the soul; to call it its vehicle is a confusion of terms. What is the soul? Rapture, joy, burning and anguish, delight in mastering the revolving sphere. What is the body? Habit of colour and scent, habit of dwelling in the world’s dimensions.

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Naama, p. 33)
Iqbal regards the bifurcation of the essential unity of Man's life into the physical and the spiritual spheres of being sinful:

\[
\text{تن دوّان را دو دو تادیرن عرام است}
\]

\[
\text{تن دوّان را دو تادیرن عرام است}
\]

\text{(Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 216)}

The soul is "the pure act, the body is only the act become visible and hence measurable."\textsuperscript{2} In Iqbal's thought there is great emphasis placed on the idea that "Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interests of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time."\textsuperscript{3} It is the violation of the essential unity of human life that has led to the cleavage between the temporal and the spiritual life of Man in the West:

\[
\text{تن دوّان را دو دو تادیرن عرام است}
\]

\[
\text{تن دوّان را دو دو تادیرن عرام است}
\]

\text{(Zabur-e-'Ajam, pp 217)}

\textbf{1.} To talk of body and soul as two separate entities is wrong, To see them as two is sinful.  
(Translation by Pehr, B.A. Iqbal's Gulshan-i Razi-i Jadid and Bandagi Namah, p. 24)


\textbf{3.} Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 163.

\textbf{4.} The West thinks Soul and Body to be separate; Hence the dichotomy between Religion and the State.  
The relation between the body and soul is the same as the relation between the Universe and God. The Universe is the objectification of God, and the body is the objectification of the soul. The body is necessary for the expression and manifestation of the soul. Both have their life and significance when they are related to each other.

\[\text{تن نہر دو مان نہر زنہر رہت}_\text{ن دیاں است}^2\text{(Zabūr-e-'Ajam, p. 117)}\]

However, for Iqbāl, the soul is more fundamental than the body since the latter owes its existence to the former which has its source in God.\(^3\) (Sūra 15:29, 32:9, 38:72)

**THE NATURE OF THE SELF.**

The Self as a soul-substance: Iqbāl refers to the school of thought represented by Gazzālī who considers the ego to be a simple, indivisible and immutable soul-substance, entirely different from the group of our mental states and unaffected by the passage of time. Our conscious experience is a unity because our mental states are related as so many qualities to this simple substance which persists unchanged during the flux of its qualities.\(^4\) Iqbāl does not regard the soul

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2. Body lives and spirit lives By the life their union gives. (Translation by Arberry, G. J. *Persian Psalms*, p. 75)
as a substratum in which mental states inhere and agrees with Kant's objections to the conception of soul as a metaphysical entity.¹ According to Kant, the 'I think' which accompanies every thought is a purely formal condition of thought, and the transition from a purely formal condition of thought to ontological substance is logically unwarranted.² Furthermore, the indivisibility of a substance does not prove its indestructibility, since, as Kant points out, the indivisible substance may disappear into nothingness like an intensive quality.³

This theory fails to satisfy both from a metaphysical and a psychological point of view.⁴ Iqbal points out that it is difficult to regard the elements of our conscious experience as qualities of a soul-substance in the sense in which, for example, the weight of a body is a quality of the body.⁵ "Observation reveals experience to be particular acts of reference, and as such they possess a specific being of their own. They constitute, as Laird acutely remarks, 'a new world' and not merely new features in an old world."⁶ Moreover, even if we regard experiences as qualities, we cannot know how they inhere in the soul-substance. "Thus

⁴. Ibid.
⁵. Ibid.
⁶. Ibid.
we see that our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego regarded as soul-substance, for by hypothesis the soul-substance does not reveal itself in experience.\(^1\)

Iqbal also points out that in view of the improbability of the different soul-substances controlling the same body at different times, the theory can offer no adequate explanation of psychological aberrations such as the schizophrenic personality.\(^2\)

The Self as a stream of consciousness. According to William James, the essence of the mental life is experienced as a "flow" in which each succeeding moment grasps back upon and "owns" its predecessor.\(^3\) According to James, there is "a kind of gregarious principle working in our experiences which have, as it were, 'hooks' on them, and thereby catch up one another in the flow of mental life. The ego consists of the feelings of personal life, and is, as such, part of the system of thought. Every pulse of thought, present or perishing is an indivisible unity which knows and recollects. The appropriation of the present pulse of thought, and that of the present by its successor, is the ego."\(^4\) Iqbal admits that James's description of mental life is "extremely ingenious" but it is not true to consciousness as we find it

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2. Ibid.
in ourselves, as "consciousness is something single, presupposed in all mental life, and not bits of consciousness mutually reporting to one another." The fact is that for all his demands that Hume's "bricks" of experience are not the entire picture, that the "mortar" which holds the bricks together is equally a part of experience. William James does accept Hume's bricks and must therefore deny that the self exists over and apart from the mental states which constitute experience. Iqbal rejects his viewpoint which "entirely ignores the relatively permanent element in experience" and cannot explain how one passing thought which is irrevocably lost can be known and appreciated by the present thought if there is no continuity of being between the passing thoughts. Iqbal does not suggest that the ego is something outside the mutually penetrating multiplicity called experience but wishes to stress the unity and continuity of the ego which is appreciated in the act of perceiving, judging, and willing.

The Characteristics of the Self.
(a) The ego is unique. According to Iqbal, the ego reveals itself as a unity of what we call mental states. Mental states do not exist in mutual isolation but exist as phases

2. Ibid.
of a complex whole, called mind. The unity which these
inter-related states possess is organic unity. Fundamen-
tally different from the unity of the parts of a material
thing. Mental unity is absolutely unique.¹

(b) The ego is not space-bound. Ḩasan ʿAbduʾl ʿAlī points out that
the ego is not space-bound in the sense in which the body
is space-bound. "We cannot say that one of my beliefs is
situated on the right or left of my other belief. Nor is
it possible to say that my appreciation of the beauty of
the Tāj varies with my distance from Agra. My thought of
space is not spatially related to space. Indeed the ego
can think of more than one space-order. The space of
waking consciousness and dream-space have no mutual relation."²

(c) The ego alone possesses time-duration. Ḩasan ʿAbduʾl ʿAlī states that
mental and physical events are both in time but the time-
span of the ego is fundamentally different from the time-
span of the physical event. "The duration of the physical
event is stretched out in space as a present fact, the ego’s
duration is concentrated within it and linked with its present
and future in a unique manner. The formation of a physical
event discloses certain present marks which show that it has
passed through a time-duration, but these marks are merely
emblematic of its time-duration, not time-duration itself.

True time-duration belongs to the ego alone."

(d) The ego possesses that privacy which reveals its uniqueness. Iqbal points out that private nature of inner experience. "In order to reach a certain conclusion all the premises of a syllogism must be believed in by one and the same mind... Again, my desire for a certain thing is essentially mine... My pleasures, pains and desires are exclusively mine, forming a part and parcel of my ego alone. My feelings, hates and loves, judgments and resolutions are exclusively mine... My recognition of a place or person means reference to my past experience, and not the past experience of another ego."

(3) The ego is spontaneous. The ego is a system of acts which possesses spontaneity as distinguished from the body which is "accumulated action."

(f) The ego is directive. Iqbal points out that according to the Qur'an, the essential nature of the soul is directive, as it proceeds from the directive energy of God (Sura 17:87). He draws attention to the distinction made by the Qur'an between 'Khalq' and 'Amr.' "'Khalq' is creation; 'Amr' is direction." The Qur'an uses 'Khalq' to indicate the relation of the Universe of matter to God, and 'Amr' to

2. Ibid. pp 99-100.
3. Ibid. p. 100.
4. Ibid. p. 103.
5. Ibid.
indicate the relation of the human self to the Divine Self.  

"'Amr'," says Iqbal "is not related to God in the same way as 'Khalq' is. The 'Amr' is distinct but not isolated from God." He, however, admits that we cannot "intellectually apprehend this relationship any more than Rumi" whose couplet he quotes:

[Arabic text]

It has been observed that "the world of 'amr' ... is the world of significance, of meaning; and represents from man's point of view the inward movement of God's creative power. What issues forth as a result of God's command 'Be' is both 'creation' and 'significance'." The self, then, belonging to the world of 'amr', consists of, and is known through, its directive attitude. Iqbal says, "you cannot perceive me like a thing in space, or a set of experiences in temporal order; you must interpret, understand and appreciate me in my judgments, in my will-attitudes, aims and aspirations."

1. *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 113.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. A contact beyond intuition and beyond imagination exists between the God of man and the soul of man.
FREEDOM OF THE WILL AND MAN'S DESTINY.

Arguments from Psychology. According to Iqbal, the Self possesses freedom of the will and is not a rigidly determined reality. Freedom is not a mere hypothesis. As the psychological argument in favour of the freedom of the will states, we intuitively perceive that we are free to choose and act. Iqbal has pointed out that the operation of thought is essentially not mechanical. The thinking self is free. This is the basic assumption of all knowledge.

One thought may lead to, and affect, another thought, but the relation between these two is not that of mechanical necessity. Furthermore, in every act of judgment, there is a judging self, and this self is felt to be free.

Iqbal's viewpoint is reminiscent of Nietzsche who said, "He who feels that his will is not free is insane, he who denies it is foolish." 

The associationists, to whom Iqbal refers, regard the human act of deliberation as "a conflict of motives which are conceived, not as the ego's own present or inherited

2. Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iqbal, pp 48-49.
3. Ibid. p. 50.
tendencies of action or inaction, but as so many external forces fighting one another, gladiator-like, on the arena of the mind... The final choice is ... determined by the strongest force." According to Iqbal, the controversy between the advocates of Mechanism and Freedom arises from a wrong view of intelligent action, namely, that ego-activity is a succession of thoughts and ideas, ultimately resolvable to units of sensations. As the German Configuration Psychology points out, "a careful study of intelligent behaviour discloses the fact of 'insight' over and above the mere succession of sensations. This 'insight is the ego's appreciation of temporal, spatial, and causal relation of things - the choice, that is to say, of data, in a complex whole, in view of the goal or purpose which the ego has set before itself for the time being." Thus by considerations based on Configuration Psychology, Iqbal refutes the arguments of those who claim that the determinism of the ego and that of Nature are not mutually exclusive, and that the scientific method is equally applicable to human action.

As a scientist points out, the principle of determinism, of strict causality, has been discarded even by physics. In 1927, Heisenberg discovered the Principle

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p. 22.
of Indeterminacy in Quantum Mechanics which demolished Newton's mechanical determinism. Heisenberg showed that the behaviour of even a single atomic particle is not determined; there are an infinite number of possibilities of which any one might happen.¹ Thus Iqbal's viewpoint is supported, rather than contradicted by science, even though he thought that the dynamic movement of life could not be fully understood by means of the concepts and categories of science.²

Personal causality known through purposive action:

It is man's fundamental experience of purposive actions, of striving towards and reaching ends which convinces Iqbal of the individual ego's efficiency as a personal cause.³ The ego stands outside the causal chain in which the advocates of determinism try to find a place for it. Iqbal points out that the causal chain "is itself an artificial construction of the ego for its purposes."⁴ The ego in order to deal with the material world, reduces the rich multiplicity of life to some kind of a system. "The view of environment as a system of cause and effect is thus an indispensable instrument of the ego, and not a final expression of the nature of Reality. Indeed in

². The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 50.
interpreting Nature in this way the ego understands and masters its environment, and thereby acquires and amplifies its freedom."\(^1\)

Can both God and Man be free?

The element of guidance and directive control in the activity of the ego shows that the ego is a free personal causality akin to the Ultimate Ego. God permitted, even purposed, the emergence of a finite ego, capable of private initiative and in so doing He limited the freedom of His own free will.\(^2\) The question arises: how can God and man both be free? Iqbal answers as follows: "The truth is that the whole theological controversy relating to predestination is due to pure speculation with no eye on the spontaneity of life, which is a fact of actual experience. No doubt the emergence of egos endowed with the power of spontaneous and hence unforeseeable action is, in a sense, a limitation of the freedom of the all-inclusive Ego. But this limitation is not externally imposed. It is born out of God's creative freedom, whereby he has chosen finite egos to be participants of his life, power and freedom."\(^3\)

Creation implies freedom:

The appreciative self lives in pure duration which means that it is not bound by the fetters of serial time

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but creates it from moment to moment and is absolutely free and original in creation. Iqbal points out that the very conception of life as a creative movement involves the idea of freedom. "In fact all creative activity is free activity. Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action." Professor Bausani observes that "Man is a Creator" could be given as the essence of Iqbal's philosophy of religion. The Qor'an too, says Iqbal, admits the possibility of creators other than God when it describes God as the best of creators (Sūra 23:14).

The Qor'an and freedom of the will.

Iqbal is constantly turning to the Qor'an to justify his belief in human freedom. As H. B. Smith writes, "There are authoritative passages in the Qor'an to justify both positions (i.e. freedom and predestination). Many passages state explicitly or imply a doctrine of complete predestination. A survey of the divergent passages will reveal the fact that wherever attention is centred on God, stress is laid on His absolute and ultimate sovereignty. It is in this connection that men's actions, good and evil alike, are thought of as directly caused by the Divine Will.

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 50.
2. Ibid.
4. Iqbal's quoted by Nicholson, R.A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. XVIII.
since nothing happens unless God wills it or permits it...
when the focus of attention is turned on man, however, it
is evident that man is endowed by God with freedom and
moral responsibility. Each man is a free moral unit, held
responsible by God for his thoughts, decisions, and actions."

Iqbal points out that Islam recognises man to be a
centre of latent power in that he is capable of responding
to or of rejecting God's guidance. "The truth is from your
Lord; wherefore let him who will, believe, and let him who
will, be incredulous." (Sura 18:28). Man is free to
choose between good and evil, and as he chooses so will he
be requited. "If ye do well, ye do well to your
own souls; and if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same"
(Sura 17:7). Iqbal would have agreed with Dante when he
said: "The greatest gift which God in His bounty bestowed
in creating, and the most conformed to His own goodness,
and that which He prizes the most, was the freedom of the
will, with which the creatures that have intelligence, they
all and they alone, were and are endowed."  

The power to act freely is not uniform. Iqbal points
out that Islam takes cognisance of this important fact of
human psychology - the rise and fall of the power to exercise

3. Ibid. p. 207.
4. Dante, A. quoted in The Encyclopaedia of Religious
the freedom of the will, and that it "is anxious to retain
the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished
factor in the life of the ego."¹

The rejection of the idea of redemption. Iqbal points out
that "the Qur'an in its simple, forceful manner emphasizes
the individuality and uniqueness of man."² It is in
consequence of this view that Islam rejects the idea of
redemption according to which one individual can bear the
sins and burdens of others.³ Iqbal finds the independent
moral responsibility of each human being "expressed clearly
in the Qur'an when it states that each individual 'shall
come to Him (the divine judge) on that Day (the day of
judgment) singly' (Sura 19:25). 'No soul shall labour
but for itself, and no one shall bear another's burden'
(Sura 6:164). 'For its own works lieth every soul in
pledge' (Sura 74:41)."⁴ Thus the burdens, joys and pains
of each man are exclusively his own. He is a centre of
moral autonomy and "his salvation is his own business.
There is no mediator between God and man."⁵

Freedom implies risk and responsibility. Like the existen-
tialists Iqbal realizes that freedom involves a great risk
and responsibility.⁶ Man is "the trustee of a free

² Ibid. p. 95.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Smith, H. B. "The Muslim Doctrine of Man" p. 207.
⁵ Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 38.
⁶ Erfan, N. "What is Common Between the Existentialists and
Iqbal" p. 56.
personality which he accepted at his peril." Freedom is a condition of goodness but "to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose... is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in man; it is for man now to justify this faith." Iqbal points out that according to the Qor'anic narration, Adam's first transgression was forgiven because his first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice.

It is the risk involved in freedom of choice which makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of man. As the Qor'ân says: "And we will prove you with evil, and with good, for a trial of you" (Sûra 21:33). "Good and evil," says Iqbal, "though opposites must fall within the same whole." The consequences of the freedom of will are tragic for "the mutual conflict of opposing individuality is the world-pain which both illuminates and darkens the temporal career of life. In the case of man in whom individuality deepens with personality, opening up possibilities of wrong-doing, the sense of the tragedy of life becomes much more acute. But the acceptance of

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islâm, p. 95.
2. Ibid p. 85.
3. Ibid.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islâm, p. 85.
selfhood as a form of life involves the acceptance of all the imperfections that flow from the finitude of selfhood."

According to Iqbal, God took the risk of creating a creature capable of both good and evil, because

If man had not the choice of rejecting evil, he could not prove himself to be good. As Iqbal points out, "goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal... A being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness." 3

Iqbal has referred a number of times in his writings to Sūra 33:72. "We proposed the faith unto the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains: and they refused to undertake the same, and were afraid thereof; but man undertook it: verily he was unjust to himself, and foolish." 4

Even though man has not kept his faith or managed the world worthily having become unjust and senseless, yet he alone had the daring to undertake such a responsibility. In man's freedom of will lies "both the measure of his greatness and of his sin. Had he not been free, he could not have sinned, yet at the

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2. Godhead lies in creating Selfhood.
same time the burden of responsibility could not have been placed upon him."

Whenever Iqbal speaks of the "trust" undertook it is in a tone reflecting both pride and humility:

Iqbal's rejection of the doctrine of 'Qismat'

Iqbal is vehemently opposed to the doctrine of 'Qismat' which embodies "a most degrading type of fatalism." He ascribes the fatalistic element in Islam to the influence of Greek thought. Reaching back through a chain of cause and

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2. What can I say, what can I say
   About the "I", its splendour and its might?
   It was the "I" that answered the Creator's call
   To take up His vicegerency,
   Which caused the heavens to quail
   And draw back in sheer fright.
   The heavens still tremble at its majesty.
   It holds in its embrace
   Both Time and Space.
   It has selected man's heart for its dwelling-place
   A hut of mud to house a King.
   (Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 12.)
effect to a first cause in the classical tradition the Muslim philosophers tended to regard the ultimate First Cause as the only cause and therefore denied the existence of intermediary secondary causes, thus making God the only author of whatever happened. Two other factors added to the growth of fatalism. One was political expediency seeking to justify political atrocities by attributing them to the decrees of God. The second was the diminishing force of the life-impulse of original Islām which produced apathy favourable to a fatalistic outlook, and made the Muslims forget that "Islām is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny." 

Leibniz had held that "the natural changes of the come from an internal principle. Whatever happens to a monad has its origin within it and is the unfolding or working out of that which has been present in it from the beginning so that the present is pregnant with the future which it holds potentially within itself." Iqbal conceives of consciousness as unfolding its "internal infinitude in time like the seed which from the very beginning, carries within it the organic unity of the tree as a present fact."

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, pp 110-111.
2. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 165.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 6.
But although in one sense the future pre-exists in the present, Iqbal does not believe that life is moving towards a fixed destiny. We have seen that Iqbal conceives of Creation as the continuous unfolding and fulfilment by God in time of the unlimited possibilities open for His realisation, rather than, as orthodoxy has it, the making of a finished product outstretched in space, confronting God as His "other." ¹ This being so, Iqbal sees Destiny not as "an unrelenting fate working from without like a taskmaster; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion." ² The Qor'anic verse "All things have We created bound by a fixed decree" (Sūra 54:50)³ would then mean that each creature is endowed with a fixed potential which it is free to realize or not.⁴ Professor Bausani observes, "If the centre of the spirituality of the Qor'ān is - and it is - the personality of God, then, however paradoxical it may seem, Iqbal's judgment is true that there is nothing further from the Qor'ān than the feeling of a pre-determined universe."⁵ Also, the very essence of

¹ Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p. 75.
² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 50.
⁴ Smith, H. B. "The Muslim Doctrine of Man" p. 207.
religious experience - prayer and repentance - does not postulate a closed universe in which God is fettered or man predetermined either by omnipotence or omniscience.  

Man as the maker of his own destiny.

Iqbal places great emphasis on human freedom. Like Berdyaev he too believes that "God has laid upon Man the duty of being free, of safeguarding freedom of spirit, no matter how difficult that may be, or how much sacrifice and suffering it may require." 2 Of all God's creations, Man alone is "capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his maker" and of moulding "what is into what ought to be." 3 In 1910, Iqbal wrote in his diary, "Given character and healthy imagination, it is possible to reconstruct this world of sin and misery into a veritable paradise." 4 Throughout his works, runs the note - forceful and clear - that "the powerful man creates environment, the feeble have to adjust themselves to it." 5

Iqbal is a passionate believer in the personal creation of destiny, for him "man... is maker of his own destiny." 6

"Both God and the Devil" he observed trenchantly in his diary,

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1. Dar, B.A. Qur'anic Ethics, p. 31.
5. Ibid, p. 91.
6. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 38.
"give man opportunities only, leaving him to make use of them in the way he thinks fit."¹ This thought finds utterance in memorable lines:

Like Browning, Iqbal does not seek omniscience because "complete knowledge will destroy the liberty of human choice."² He does not believe in "star-gazing," and says with profound contempt:

The key to one's destiny lies in one's character. "Character," says Iqbal, "is the ultimate equipment of man, since it is from character that all actions flow."³ In a poem written on a visit to Napoleon - whom Iqbal admired for

¹ Stray Reflections, p. 134.
² Through action life is made heaven or hell,
   This man of clay, by origin is neither heavenly (light) nor hellish (fire).
³ Stray Reflections
⁴ How will the star inform one of my fate?
   It is itself so wretched and helpless in the wideness of the skies.
⁵ Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 38.
being a man of action - he says:

Dard be dar se tujh par hain yeh dastar
Tu shi ne dar se kuch hai hein tujh par ka dar
Shi shi kr dar se bhi ne mer d par tak shi
Ushi shi kr dar se bhi ne mer d par A dawar 1

(Bāl-e-Jibrīl p. 201)

By doing nothing and just waiting expectantly for the manna to drop from heaven, one cannot hope to achieve the destiny which man could make for himself were he to strive, "for man is man and master of his fate." 2

1. Strange, strange the fates that govern
   This world of stress and strain,
   But in the fires of action
   Fate's mysteries are made plain.
   The prayers of God's folk treading
   The battlefield's red sod,
   Forged in the flame of action
   Become the voice of God.
   (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 55)

It is up to man to make himself a helpless prisoner of Fate or to rise up and carve his destiny. Should he make the effort, Iqbal believes that the way will open before his advancing steps.

1. Although the soul, I know,
   One day unveiled shall be,
   Think not it shall be so
   By writhing endlessly.
   It needs a blow, to stir
   The sleeping soul from earth;
   Unswept, the harp can ne'er
   Bring melody to birth.
   Transcend the dust, nor take
   Thyself but dust to be;
   If thou thy breast will break,
   The moon shall shine from thee.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Persian Psalms, p. 89)

2. Set not the chain of Fate upon thy foot;
   There is a Way beyond this rolling sphere;
   If thou believest not, rise up, and find
   Thy foot uplifted leapeth in the air.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 16)
If man does not find his environment congenial to himself, there is no reason why he should not - in the words of 'Omar Khayyām - "shatter it to bits, and remould it nearer to the heart's desire." In Jāvīd Nāma the Voice of Beauty says:

1. Are you alive? Be vehement, be creative;  
   Like Us, embrace all horizons;  
   Break whatsoever is uncongenial,  
   Out of your heart's heart produce a new world -  
   It is irksome to the free servitor  
   To live in a world belonging to others.  
   Whoever possesses not the power to create  
   In Our sight is naught but an infidel, a heathen;  
   Such a one has not taken his share of Our Beauty,  
   Has not tasted the fruit of the Tree of Life.  
   Man of God, be trenchant as a sword,  
   Be yourself your own world's destiny.  
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 138)
In Iqbal’s eyes, the creation of something new, even if it is sinful, is an accomplishment:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{گرام دستی که نادر آید} \\
&\text{خنده مم آر اختر نواب است}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) (Payam-e-Mashriq p. 62)

The sinner he depicts is proud of his deed and does not wish to be relieved of its responsibility:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{کسیهار غیور می گردید گر یت گیم؟} \\
&\text{ارادان داعی تم رفع ای دستند لقیمر}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^2\) (Zabur-e-‘Ajam p. 144)

If a man or a nation does not strive, then it is worthy of a glorious future. To such a man or such a nation Iqbal extends neither hope nor sympathy.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{و هیکم انس لای هماهنگ فردی} \\
&\text{حس فردی که لدیر می امرد زیبی ره!}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^3\) (Zarb-e-Kalim p. 143)

1. If by thy labour something rare is wrought, Though it be sin, it hath its own reward. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 21)

2. A sinner proud am I; no meed I take, except I work for it; I rage, because men say He writ Predestinate my wilful deed. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Persian Psalms, p. 92)

3. That nation does not deserve the renaissance of To-morrow Which has not in its destiny a Today.
Iqbal constantly refers to the Qur'anic verse, "Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves" (Sura 13:12). If Man "does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, then the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter." But if he does transform himself, God will ask him to choose his own destiny:

\[
\text{(Bal-e-Jibril p. 81)}
\]

Or man can petition God for a new destiny if he be not satisfied with his present one:

\[
\text{1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 12.}
\]

\[
\text{2. Ibid.}
\]

\[
\text{3. Elevate your Selfhood so, that before each Judgment God Himself should ask of Man "What is it you wish?"}
\]
In "Jawāb-e-Shikwa" God promises that if Man be indeed faithful, then his destiny is whatever he desires it to be-

1. If your heart bleeds on account of one destiny, Petition God to decree another destiny; If you pray for a new destiny, that is lawful, Seeing that God's destinies are infinite. Earthlings have gambled away the coin of selfhood, Not comprehending the subtle meaning of destiny; Its subtlety is contained in a single phrase— 'If you transform yourself, it too will be transformed.' Be dust, and fate will give you the winds; Be stone, and it will hurl you against glass. Are you a dew-drop? your destiny is to perish; Are you an ocean? your destiny is to endure. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 85).

2. This world is nothing, the Tablet and Pen are yours.
Submission to the Will of God.

One important question arises from Iqbal's view of freedom of the will and destiny: how is man's freedom of choice compatible with the idea of submission to God's will which plays such an important part in Islamic belief? For Iqbal, to submit to the will of God, to say "Thy Will be done," is not to contradict or curtail our own freedom, it is "to obey the prompting of my own personality, to give free scope and full expression to my true self, i.e. to be perfectly free." In a poem entitled "Taslīm-o-Rażā," he explains the meaning of submission:

\[\text{In a poem by Iqbal:} \]

Resignation to God’s will - ‘tawwakul’ - is not mere acceptance of that which is inevitable. ‘Tawwakul’ is born not out of an awareness of one’s helplessness, but is the result of ‘Imān’, the vital way of making the world our own.  

"Imān," says Iqbal, "is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind; it is a living assurance begotten of a rare experience." This experience became embodied in classic utterances such as "I am the creative Truth" (Ḥallāj), "I am destiny" (Mu‘āwiya), and "I am the speaking Qur’ān" (‘Alī). Only "strong personalities are capable of rising to this experience and the ‘higher fatalism’ implied in it." This ‘higher fatalism’ does not

1. In every branch this subtle truth is manifest  
   That even plants desire the wide space.  
   The seed is not content to remain in the dark soil,  
   It longs to shoot up and grow to full bloom.  
   Do not suppress the functions of your nature —  
   This is not what is meant by submission.  
   If you have the courage to advance, then space is unbounded,  
   O man of God, God’s earth is not so narrow.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 110.
look upon the affairs of the world as a fortuitous concomitance of atoms, but recognises the all-embracing activity of the wise and loving Creator. In a remarkable passage in Ġavīd Nāma, Ḥallāj explains the true meaning and significance of predestination:

| (Javīd Nāma pp 141-142) |

2. Whoever possesses the apparatus of destiny, Iblīs and death tremble before his might. Predestination is the religion of man of zeal, Predestination for heroes is the perfection of power. Ripe souls become yet riper through contraint Which for raw man is the embrace of the tomb. The business of true men is resignation and submission; This garment does not suit the weaklings. You who say, "This was to be, and so happened, All things were tethered to a divine decree, and so happened," You have little understood the meaning of destiny; You have seen neither selfhood nor God: The believer true thus petitions God: 'We accord with you, so accord with us.' His resolution is the creator of God's determination And on the day of battle his arrow is God's arrow. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javīd Nāma, pp 94-95)
The higher fatalism described thus by Tennyson:

"Our wills are ours, we know not how,
Our wills are ours to make them Thine."\(^1\)

"which the great religious heroes of all times and religions have described as the highest and most paradoxical experience"\(^2\) is, for Iqbal, generative of "life and boundless power which recognises no obstruction, and can make a man calmly offer his prayers when bullets are showering around him."\(^3\) The man of God whose will is perfectly attuned to the Will of God, becomes the maker of history and destiny:

\begin{quote}
غلام سین نے کام آئی میں شمشیرین نے تو تیر بین
سہ دوویں یہ سیدا گاڑت جالی میں زمین
کیا انہاں سے نگاه اس کے زور باند کا بی?
نتیاں درد موسم سے سبل جالی میں لطف کر پسیا!
\end{quote}

(Bāng-e-Darā p. 303)

4. In servitude, both swords and schemes are useless,
When faith is born, the chains are broken loose.
Who can imagine what the strength of his arm would be?
The gaze of a man of God can alter fate.
With his hand he can work miracles, for

\[ \text{Bal-e-Jibrīl p. 132} \]

Iqbāl believes that "man is really free only in God, the source of his freedom." Until such time as man finds his faith and can see the source of divine law within the depths of his being, he is troubled by doubt:

\[ \text{Pas Ād Bāyad Kard Aqwām-e-Sharq p. 40} \]

But having grasped the "vital way" of life, he acquires unlimited power:

\[ \text{Pas Ād Bāyad Kard Aqwām-e-Sharq p. 14} \]

1. The hand of a faithful is the Hand of God.
3. As long as man does not behold God, He does not emerge from predestination and free-choice.
4. When he loses himself in the satisfaction of God The faithful becomes God’s instrument of destiny.
Conflict between Necessity and Freedom

One writer has contended that Iqbal, despite his insistence on human freedom, is a believer in determinism, since he has admitted on several occasions that when there is a conflict between 'taqdir' (Divine decree) and 'tadbir' (human design), the latter is unable to do anything.¹ For instance, Iqbal says,

\[\text{For instance, Iqbal says,} \]

2. Every particle of the Universe is a captive of Destiny, Human effort is mere helplessness and futility.
3. Heaven has another well-tried affliction - See the humiliation of man's efforts before Destiny.
4. There are some signs to say that ultimately The chess-expert of Destiny defeated human endeavour.
These verses do not contradict or repudiate Iqbal's belief in human freedom. They merely indicate that Iqbal recognises an over-ruling Power which disposes while Man proposes. Iqbal has nowhere asserted that Man is completely free. Only God - the most Perfect Individual - possesses perfect freedom. But this does not mean that Man is completely determined. His will is limited only by the Will of God:

\[\text{None but God is the creator of destiny,}\]
\[\text{And against destiny human design is powerless.}\]

(Translation by Arberry, A. J. Javid Nama, p. 85)

and the more perfect his Selfhood becomes, the more willingly he surrenders his will to the Will of God.

In his letter to Professor Nicholson, Iqbal points out

2. Plants and animals are bound by the decree of Fate, But the Man of God is only subject to the Laws of God.
that the ego is "partly free, partly determined, and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Individual Who is most free - God. In one word, life is an endeavour for freedom." ¹

This view is based on the ḥadīṣ: "Faith lies between Necessity and Freedom." Man is subject to God's Will but since "God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to Man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." ²

In Zabūr-e-'Ajām, Iqbal says

رَبِّ يَا يَوْمَ نَابِعَةَ الْحَيَاةِ

ماَ لَكَ فِي دِينِكَ وَفِي دِينِيَّ

جَِّيِّنِي وَمَعَاهُ سُلَاطَنُ الْحَيَاةِ

كَأَيْانِ دِينِي وَرَفِيْنِيَّ

۱. Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R.A. in the Introduction to The Secrets of the Self pp XX-XXI.

For it (the Self) has been allotted the supreme control of the realm of existence so that it may manifest itself infinitely. Its destiny is immanent in its own nature and, though outwardly dependent on pure accident, it is completely free.

What more can I tell you about what it is like, what not?
The Holy Prophet said that Faith resides between Necessity and Freedom. You think all created things are subject to a foreordained Necessity. But O the Soul is God’s own breath, enshrined, for all its self-display, in its inviolable retreat, from Nature’s hurly-burly far away. There is no question of Necessity—ordaining it; for Soul cannot be Soul, unless completely free.

Created by Necessity, it hurled itself at this material world and, conquering it, gained a freedom unrestrained.

Like Rūmī, Iqbal does not consider the freedom of choice as an end in itself; the end of freedom is that man may decide freely to live according to his higher self. The end of freedom is self-determination at a higher plane. At the end freedom and determination (which is not the same as coercion or constraint) become one. "Life starts with determinism at the lower plane, develops to the capacity of Free Choice in man, in order to rise to a Higher Determinism again, where man makes a free offer of his freedom."¹ Kant had held that the source of the moral law is in the innermost self of man, and that man's autonomy consists in imposing this law upon himself. For Iqbal's viewpoint also "the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law, but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within the depths of his own consciousness."² Iqbal's rejection of the idea of 'fanā'

"It has been argued" says Professor Nicholson, "that Ṣūfism reaches its logical conclusion in the state of 'fanā'... when the self 'passes away' from itself."³ This idea is completely unacceptable to Iqbal. According to him, the ideal of perfect manhood in Islam is that full-grown ego

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1. Iqbal, A. "Rūmī as a Thinker" p. 17.
which can retain its self-possession even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing Ego. He refers to the Prophet’s vision of the Ultimate Ego, quoting the Qor'anic verse: "his eyesight turned not aside, neither did it wander" (Sūra 53:17) and the verse:

\[
\text{لا عينين زاهيتين ينظرى ودود تمسى}
\]

to show that the Perfect Man can stand before God without being annihilated.

Like Tillich, Iqbal believes that "the centre of a completely individualized being cannot be entered by any other individualized being, and it cannot be made into a mere part of higher unity." In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd," Iqbal says:

\[
\text{م كرُشْتُم نحنكم لام ما سِبت}
\]

Like Tillich, Iqbal believes that "the centre of a completely individualized being cannot be entered by any other individualized being, and it cannot be made into a mere part of higher unity." In "Gulshan-e-Rāz-e-Jadīd," Iqbal says:

\[
\text{آر أورا في در كيري ما سِبت}
\]

\[
\text{ودى اندور ودي كير خال است!}
\]

\[
\text{ودي ارعين وديدون كيل الاست}
\]

(Zabūr-e-'Ajam p. 222)

1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.118.
2. Ibid.
4. Moses fainted having seen only the Attributes, You see the Essence with a smile.
6. To be lost in His sea is not our destiny; And if you span it, you can never cease to be. That Self should be submerged in Self is an impossibility: To be the essence of Selfhood is the Self's apogee. (Translation by Husain, H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery, p. 10).
Rather than losing oneself in God as a drop loses itself in the ocean, "the true person ... absorbs God into his ego,"¹ i.e., "we do not enter God's unity, but rather make him enter the unity of our selves."² "The moral and religions ideal of man," says Iqbal, "is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique. The Prophet said, "create in yourselves the attributes of Allah, and thus man becomes unique by becoming more and more like the most unique Individual."³

Iqbal points out that Islam does not contemplate complete liberation from finitude as the highest state of human bliss. He sees no contradiction between realising the Infinite and retaining one's individuality.⁴ "True infinity," he says, "does not mean infinite extension which cannot be achieved without embracing all available finite extensions. Its nature consists in intensity, and not extensity. And the moment we fix our gaze upon intensity, we begin to see that the finite ego must be distinct though not isolated from the Infinite."⁵

"Iqbal's mysticism," says E. M. Forster, "does not seek union with God. We shall see God perhaps. We shall

⁵. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 118.
never be God." Iqbal's Ideal Man is not willing to part with his Selfhood either for immortality (Zabur-e-'Ajam p. 77) or for a vision of God (Zabur-e-'Ajam p. 60)

Iqbal points out that "the 'fanā' in the Islamic mysticism means not extinction but complete surrender of the human ego to the Divine Ego. The ideal of Islamic mysticism is a stage beyond the stage of 'fanā', i.e. 'baqā' which from my point of view is the highest stage of self-affirmation." ¹

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2. If but I give Of this fabric that I live, Too great a price were that, for me To purchase immortality. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Persian Psalms, p. 45)
3. If vision self-effacement bring, The veil is a far better thing; Thy trade hath little to entice That doth require so great a price. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Persian Psalms, p. 35)
4. Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal, p. 244.
Following the tradition "Heaven and earth do not contain Me, but the heart of my faithful servant contains Me," Iqbal describes unitive experience not as "the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego," but rather as "the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite." For Iqbal "the end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it." Man can discover God only by retaining his Selfhood not by resigning it, as the great lover of God, Hallaj says:

\[ \text{\textit{U. You who seek your goal in annihilation, Non-existence can never discover existence. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Jāvīd Nāma, p. 101.}} \]

IMMORTALITY OF THE SELF.

Metaphysical and ethical arguments for Immortality.

Iqbal points out that "purely metaphysical arguments cannot give us a positive belief in personal immortality." He refers to Ibn-e-Rushd who distinguished between sense and intelligence probably because of the expressions 'nafs'.

2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 110.
3. Ibid. p. 198.
5. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p. 111.
and 'rūḥ' used in the Qor'ān\(^1\) (although according to Iqbāl, "the word 'nafs' does not seem to have been used in the Qurān in any technical sense of the kind imagined by Muslim theologians\(^2\)). According to Ibn-e-Rushd intelligence is not a form of the body but belongs to a different order of being. It transcends individuality and is one, universal, and eternal. "This obviously means that, since unitary intellect transcends individuality, its appearance as so many unities in the multiplicity of human persons is a mere illusion. The eternal unity of intellect may mean, as Jasan thinks, the everlastingness of humanity and civilization; it does not surely mean personal immortality."\(^3\) Iqbāl, therefore, rejects Ibn-e-Rushd's metaphysical viewpoint.

Iqbāl next views ethical arguments, such as that of Kant and modern versions of the Kantian position. Such arguments, says Iqbāl, "depend on a kind of faith in the fulfilment of the claims of justice, or in the irreplaceable and unique work of man as an individual pursuer of infinite ideals."\(^4\) Kant considers immortality to be beyond the scope of speculative reason. For him it is a postulate of

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1. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.111.
2. Ibid. p. 112.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
practical reason which is derived from "the practically
necessary condition of a duration adequate to the perfect
fulfilment of the moral law." ¹ According to Kant "the
highest good is practically possible only on the suppo­
sition of the immortality of the soul,"² but Iqbal remarks,
"it is not clear... why the consummation of virtue and
happiness should take infinite time."³ Hence the soul
need not be immortal.

Materialism and immortality.

Iqbal refers to "modern materialism which rejects
immortality, holding that consciousness is merely a function
of the brain, and therefore ceases with the cessation of
the brain-process."⁴ William James thinks this argument
is valid only if the function in question is taken to be
productive. The mere fact that certain mental and bodily
changes coincide does not mean that mental changes are
cessated bodily changes. The function may not be necessarily
productive, but only permissive or transmissive like the
function of the trigger of a cross-bow or that of a reflecting
lens.⁵ Iqbal says, "This view which suggests that our inner
life is due to the operation in us of a kind of transcen­
dental mechanism of consciousness, somehow choosing a

². Ibid. p. 226.
⁴. Ibid.
⁵. Ibid.
physical medium for a short period of sport, does not give us any assurance of the continuance of the content of our actual experience." The proper way of meeting materialism, says Iqbal, is to confine science to certain specific aspects of reality for although "man has a spatial aspect... this is not the only aspect of man. There are other aspects... which science must necessarily exclude from its study, and the understanding of which requires categories other than those employed by science." To the materialist philosopher, all that Iqbal can say is:

\[
\text{تَرَى عَالِمَ عَمَّ مَرْكَبَ سَيْنَ نَخَّالٌ}
\]
\[
\text{كُلُّ دُوُذَّرُكَ سَمِيْحَا وَسَبْرَ قَالُ}
\]

3 (Zarb-e-Kalim p. 3)

Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence.

We have already referred to Iqbal's rejection of Nietzsche's doctrine of Eternal Recurrence which Iqbal considers the "one positive view of immortality." Nietzsche believes in a temporal infinity behind us and ahead of us. The number of possible forms in which our ever-changing reality appears is, however, not infinite. Therefore all

2. Ibid. pp 113-114.
3. You cannot be free from the fear of death.
   For you consider the Self merely to be a body of clay.
events must recur an infinite number of times.\footnote{Helingdale, R. J. Nietzsche, pp 200-201.} Nietzsche's mistake, according to Iqbal, is to consider time as an infinite series of events moving in a circle - in this case immortality does exist but becomes "absolutely intolerable."\footnote{The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 115.}

"It is energy and the process of its eternal recurrence in finite centres that is to be regarded as immortal, and not 'I' and 'you.'\footnote{Ibid, p. 116.} Iqbal points out that according to Nietzsche what makes this kind of immortality bearable is "the expectation that a recurrence of the combination of energy-centres which constitutes my personal existence is a necessary factor in the birth of that ideal combination which he calls 'superman.' But the superman has been an infinite number of times before. His birth is inevitable; how can the prospect give me any aspiration?"\footnote{Enver, I. H. Metaphysics of Iqbal, p. 53.} Iqbal considers Nietzsche's view as "a fatalism worse than the one summed up in the word 'qismat.' Such a doctrine, far from keeping up the human organism for the fight of life, tends to destroy its action-tendencies and relaxes the tension of the ego."\footnote{The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 115-116.}

The Qur'an and immortality.

Iqbal points out that the Qur'an upholds the belief in
resurrection and immortality (Sūra 22:5; 75:36 ff), the "Qurānic doctrine of personal immortality being based on three propositions:

1. That the ego has a beginning in time and did not pre-exist its emergence in the spatio-temporal order.

2. That there is no possibility of return to this earth (Sūra 23:101 f; 84:19; 56:59 ff).

3. That finitude is not a misfortune (Sūra 19:95 f).  

Iqbal's views on death and immortality. Iqbal believes in immortality, but it is not everybody's lot by right, as if the soul qua soul, were immortal. "Personal immortality," he says, "is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it... The ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up, and win his resurrection." Thus Iqbal does not regard immortality as man's inalienable right guaranteed by his faith. He is supported in his viewpoint by Professor Pringle-Pattison: "People talk as if the being of a soul were something which almost defied annihilation, which at any rate could be brought to an end only by special fiat of the Deity. But surely it is quite the other way. It is but a relaxing of..."  

2. Ibid. pp 119-120.  
3. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal's Panentheism" p.75.
control, and a process of dissociation at once begins. Nothing seems more fatally easy than the dissolution in this fashion of the coherent unity which we call a mind, if the process is allowed to continue and to spread. We can observe the phenomenon frequently in cases of disease, when it affects the practical activities of life; but the mere relaxation of moral effort may initiate the same process in the spiritual sphere. And without the unity implied in some continuous purpose, what prospect can there be of eternal life, or what meaning can it have?"\(^1\)

Iqbal regards personal immortality as an aspiration "you can have it if you make an effort to achieve it. It depends on our adopting in this life modes of thought and activity which tend to maintain the state of tension... if our activity is directed towards the maintenance of a state of tension, the shock of death is not likely to affect it."\(^2\) The "weak, created and dependent Ego ... can be made permanent by adopting a certain mode of life and thereby bringing it into contact with the ultimate source of life."\(^3\) Thus, for Iqbal it is "the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for a future career."\(^4\)

3. *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 239.
In his early poetry, Iqbal seems to think of all human life as being immortal. In "Kinar-e-Ravi," for instance, he says:

Again,

Sometimes he speaks in words reminiscent of Shelley’s "Adonais"

1. Swiftly across the river’s bosom glides
   A boat, the oarsman wrestling with the waves,
   A skiff light — motioned as a darting glance,
   Soon far beyond the eye’s curved boundary.
   So glides the bark of mortal life, in the ocean
   Of eternity so born, so vanishing,
   Yet never knowing what is death; for it
   May disappear from sight, but cannot perish.
   (Translation by Kiernan, V.G. Poems from Iqbal, p. 9)

2. Those who die, die but are not annihilated,
   In reality they do not part from us.
in which the dead Keats is ultimately shown as having become a star.

In his very moving elegy on his mother's death, Iqbal treats the question of death and immortality as if to suggest that human life cannot perish:

\[ \text{2. The forehead of our dead one shines in this darkness} \]
\[ \text{As stars gleam in a dark night.} \]
Life’s flame is not destined to end in ashes,
This pearl is not destined to be shattered,
Life is so precious in the eyes of Nature,
In everything there is the desire to preserve it.
If death could have erased the mark of life,
The universal order would not have made it so common.
If it is common and cheap, think that death is nothing,
Just as to the living sleep is nothing.
Unknowing One death’s secret is something else,
The impermanence of life shows something else.
The air above the waves is delightful to see
It breaks up the restless wave to make a bubble.
Then hides it in the bosom of the wave -
Now heartlessly it wipes out its own manifestation.
If the air could not again create its own bubble
Then it would not have destroyed it so carelessly.
The nature of Being is the prey of yearning,
It seeks to create a more flawless form.

(Bang-e-Dara pp 253-254)
The emphasis here is on the evolution of life towards greater perfection rather than on the effort involved on the part of the individual ego to win its resurrection. However, we know that already in 1910, Iqbal was beginning to think of immortality not as "a state" but as "a process." Life offers man "a scope for ego-activity, and death is the first test of the synthetic activity of the ego." This idea is repeated throughout Iqbal's mature writings:

3. If Selfhood is alive then death is but a stage in life, For love tests immutability by means of death.
4. Fear not; take thou a Selfhood more mature, Which grasping, after death thou shalt not die. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. The Tulip of Sinai, p. 10).
The problem of death and everlasting life is envisaged
in a poem entitled "Eternal Life"

Immortality is not "a static condition to be achieved
and enjoyed in an eternity of restful glory." Iqbal says:

1. Think ye not that the Magi have finished their work:
   A thousand wines yet undrunk are frothing in the vine's
   own heart.
   A meadow is beautiful, but thou canst not live as a bud
   forever:
   Divine breezes do tear the garment of life from thee.
   If thou hast well comprehended the secret mystery of life
   Trust not a heart that is free from the twinging thorn of
desire.
   Live drawn within thyself, mighty as a mountain
   Not like a fluttering straw: beware, quick is the
   wind and brave and burning the flame.
   (Translation by Bausani, A. "The Concept of Time in the
   Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal" p.177.

2. Whittemore, R. "Iqbal’s Panentheism" p.75.

3. Take not thy banquet on the shore, for there
   Too gently flows the melody of life:
   Plunge in the sea, do battle with the waves,
   For immortality is won in strife.
   (Translation by Arberry, A. J. The Tulip of Sinai, p.12)
As the parable of the thirsty bird¹ in Asrār-e-Khudī illustrates, if one is a dew-drop one is bound to be swallowed by the bird, but if one is a diamond then one can withstand all forces of disintegration and dissolution.

Iqbal's belief in conditional immortality is regarded by one writer as "a serious deviation from the orthodox teaching that is based on the Qur'anic vision of the life beyond. Islam and Christianity consider the ego immortal as such and make its state in the Hereafter depend on what it does here and now."² Another writer, however, points out the emphasis placed by the Qor'ān on the importance of man's efforts in the direction of immortality. "Those who do wish for the hereafter, and strive therefor with all due striving, and have faith - they are the ones whose striving is acceptable" (Sūra 17:19).³ It has been observed by Professor Schimmel that Iqbal's ideas on immortality find support also in the works of many Western philosophers.⁴ Pannwitz, for instance writes, "if immortality is equal to the preservation of what is eternal in man, then it is unthinkable that men should be immortal in the same manner. In many of them there may be nothing eternal which would be worthy of immortality."⁵

¹. Asrār-e-Khudi pp 60-62.
³. Var, B.A. Qur'anic Ethics, p.51.
Iqbal, then, regards death as the end of the weak but not of the self-fortified ego which realises that "we are timeless, and it is possible to realise our timelessness even in this life."¹ In Jāvid Nāma, Tīpū Sultān, the martyr-king, speaks of death as if it were a moment of triumph rather than of horror:

![Translation of Jāvid Nāma](image)

¹ Iqbal quoted by Nicholson R.A. in Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxv.

² If you have a breast worthy of an arrow,
   Live like a falcon, and like a falcon die,
   Immortality is in the breadth of life –
   I do not ask of God for length of days.
   The Man of God is a lion, and death a fawn;
   Death is but one station for him of a hundred.
   The perfect man swoops upon death
   Even as a falcon swooping upon a dove.
   The slave dies every moment in fear of death;
   The fear of death makes life for him a thing forbidden,
   The free servant has another dignity,
   Death bestows upon him a new life.
   He is anxious for the self, but not for death,
   Since to the free death is no more than an instant.

(Translation by Arberry, A.J. Jāvid Nāma, pp 133-134.)
Iqbal has a habit of seeing the familiar in an unfamiliar way, and so once again he makes a rather startling comparison of man with God:

1. Though we are birds without wings or feathers,
   We know more of the science of death than God.
   (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Javid Nama, p.42)

2. The Immortality of God
   Is not His deed’s reward;
   It is an elemental attribute,
   Not a sought-after fruit.
   Far better is that immortality
   Which is won by a borrowed soul
   As its love’s need, its frenzy’s goal.
   (Translation by Husain,H. The New Rose-Garden of Mystery,p.19)

3. What is the sign of the faithful man?
   When death comes, he has a smile on his lips.
The death to be feared is not the physical event of dying. In "Gulshan -e-Rāz-e-Jadīd," Iqbal speaks of the death of the body and of the soul:

1. Because you cannot see the light
   Revealed to the Self's eyes,
   You think it is mere mortal dust.
   But at its perfect best,
   It is immune from death,
   The stoppage of mere breath
   The body's death is not the death to dread,
   But death of that more subtle kind -
   Death of the soul, the heart, the mind;
   The death in which the Self lies dead;
   In which love's task is disavowed;
   In which you selfishly deny
   Your spark to someone else's clay;
   In which you tailor your own shroud
   And witness your own funeral.
   This is the death which all
   The time is stalking you;
   This is the death which you have to eschew.
   This death digs your grave inside you,
   With your Recording Angel astride you.
Following the tradition so dear to the mystics: 'مُتُعٌ قَبْلَ اِنْتَمَعْ (die before you die) Iqbal believes in the possibility of finding a purifying death even before the time of death. He says:

ای قَدْ مَا مَرْدَفُ حَمَايَانِ ۖ نَزَاً اِنَّ مَا وَلَدْتَ

١(یامید نامہ p. 18)

Barzakh. According to Iqbal, the struggle through which man wins immortality is not one which culminates with death. Death is the last serial event.  ۲ Resurrection and immortality are not external events, they are accomplished within the self and are "the consummation of a life process within the ego."  ۳ If present action has sufficiently fortified the ego against the shock that physical dissolution brings, then death "is only a kind of passage to what the Qurān describes as 'Barzakh'... a state of consciousness characterised by a change in the ego's attitude towards time and space."  ۴

1. You who are like a dead man in the grave's coffer, Resurrection is possible without the sound of the Trumpet. (Translation by Arberry, A.J. Jāvid Nāma, p.32)
3. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.120.
4. Ibid. pp 119-120.
The concept of 'Barzakh' (Sūra 25:55; 55:19) has been described by Muslim theologians and mystics "partly as a temporary, partly as a spatial, waiting period or room between death and resurrection, and which later on developed into a kind of purgatory."¹ This concept interested Iqbal throughout his life.² To Professor Nicholson he wrote, "After death there may be an interval of relaxation, as the Korān speaks of a 'barzakh,' or intermediate state, which lasts until the Day of Resurrection."³ According to Iqbal, "Barzakh" does not seem to be merely a passive state of expectation; it is a state in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of Reality, and prepares himself for adjustment to these aspects."⁴ The ego, therefore, does not relax even in 'Barzakh.'

Resurrection of the body. In passing Iqbal touches the question whether the resurrection of the ego is also accompanied by the resurrection of the body. He refers to Shāh Wali Ullāh "the last great theologian of Islām," who is inclined to think that ego's resurrection "does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment."⁵ Also, in his letter to Professor Nicholson he says, "although life abhors repetition in its evolution,

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¹ Schimmel, A.M. Gabriel's Wing, p.277.
² Ibid.
³ Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R.A. in Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxiv.
⁴ The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām, p.120.
⁵ Ibid. p.122.
yet on Bergson's principles the resurrection of the body too, as Wildon Carr says, is quite possible. Iqbaal himself is rather non-committal and vague on this point. He points out that, "the nature of the universe is such that it is open to it to maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action, even after the disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment. What that other way is we do not know. Nor do we gain any further insight into the nature of the 'second creation' by associating it with some kind of body, however subtle it may be. The analogies of the Qur'an only suggest it as a fact; they are not meant to reveal its nature and character. Philosophically speaking, therefore, we cannot go further than this - that in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body." 

Heaven and Hell. Iqbaal does not regard Heaven and Hell as localities, but states of the spirit. Hell is the painful realisation of one's failure as a man and Heaven the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration. Professor Schimmel points out that Iqbaal's conception of Heaven and Hell is similar to that of Ibn 'Arabi who considers Hell to

1. Iqbaal quoted by Nicholson, R.A. Introduction to The Secrets of the Self, p. xxiv.
2. The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp 122-123.
3. Ibid. p.123.
be the realisation of the individual self as slave, and Heaven as the realisation of the self in the state of ‘rubūbīye’, the Lordship.¹

Iqbal conceives of Hell not as "a pit of everlasting torture inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is Heaven a holiday... the recipient of Divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding."²

The journey of the ego does not end in Paradise. As ‘Atţār had stated "When the way towards God is finished, the way in God begins."³ The Man of God is not enticed by the so-called joys of Paradise:

کبیت علیاً فریح می‌کند، لازمی است موس

وردند که نتایجی نکرده کم‌آبیز نه موس

⁴(Ｚａrｂ-e-KａlĪm p.41)

In Payām-e-Māshriq he shows Goethe refusing to stay with the houris because

4. The angels say: "The faithful is gracious,"
The houris complain: "The faithful is aloof!"
For Iqbal the idea of a static paradise is quite unbearable.

Goethe's prayer could also be Iqbal's in spirit: "Let us continue working until we are called back by the Divine Spirit, return into the Ether. May then, the Eternally living God, not withhold from us new activities, analogous to those which we were used to in this world."