

IQBAL'S
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

By
K G SAIYIDAIN, B A , M Ed , (Leeds)
MINISTER OF EDUCATION, RAMPUR STAFF

Revised and enlarged edition

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
KASHMIRI BAZAAR, LAHORE

First published .. 1938
Second edition, August 1942
Third edition 1945

COPYRIGHT

1945

Published by
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf
Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore

Printed by
M. Mohammad Din
at the Bengal Art Press
Changar Mohallah
Anarkali, Lahore

TO THE DEEPLY LOVED AND REVERED MEMORY
OF

IQBAL

GREAT POET, GREAT PHILOSOPHER, GREAT HUMANIST
GREAT EDUCATIONIST AND GREAT MUSLIM

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK—WITH THE HAUNTING
REGRET THAT I WAS ^{NOT} DESTINED TO
PRESENT IT TO HIM PERSONALLY
THOUGH HE HAD READ AND
APPROVED OF ITS SYNOPSIS

Preface to the Third Edition

It is yet another tribute to the powerful and ever-increasing appeal of Iqbal's thought that, within a year, the Second Edition of this book should have been exhausted. It would be unjustified optimism and complacency to suggest that his educational ideas, as presented in this book, have yet found their way into the school room, for there is always a time-lag between theory and practice even under the best of circumstances, and, so far as Indian education is concerned, this time-lag is much more deplorably marked. But creative and dynamic ideas have a way of insinuating themselves into the consciousness of an age, and an intellectual revolution almost always precedes a practical revolution. If these educational ideas bring about a ferment in the placid minds of our educationists—and some of them, at any rate, *are* beginning to question seriously the intellectual foundations of their work—they will, in due course, exercise their influence on educational theory and practice also.

I had intended to undertake a somewhat thorough revision of the book for this edition and to amplify it by the inclusion of fresh material relevant to the problems discussed. But the demand for a new edition came somewhat suddenly, so that I have had to content myself with minor changes and modifications which do not noticeably affect the trend of the argument. When the next edition is to be published, I hope to be able to carry out this plan of a more radical revision. However, in response to insistent requests from various sources, including my wide-awake publisher, I have undertaken the very-difficult and exacting task of giving an English rendering

IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

of all the Urdu and Persian quotations included in the book. This is a responsibility which I had shirked when the first two editions were published, because it is impossible to capture in an English translation the suggestiveness, the richness of associations, the depth of emotional and intellectual meaning—to say nothing of the music—of Iqbal's poetry. But the reason, which finally persuaded me to undertake the venture, was the plea that in reading the book, those, who do not know Urdu or Persian, find themselves held up at every quotation and for them the development of the argument is arrested at every step.

No one can be more conscious than I am of the inadequacy of these translations, but my apology is twofold—firstly, I have had to do it more or less under duress and, secondly, the other published translations of Iqbal—which means mainly Nicholson's—strike me as almost equally inadequate when set by the side of Iqbal's poetry. So far as quotations from *Asrâr-i-Khudî* are concerned, I have taken almost verbatim Nicholson's translations, but have given my own rendering of all the others. I would advise those who know Urdu and Persian to skip over these translations altogether so as not to dilute their enjoyment of the original; as for the others, they *must* perforce read these translations, but they will not fortunately—know what they have missed!

I wish to express my gratitude to my friend, Mirza Jafar Ali Khan Sahib Asar, the distinguished Urdu poet and Education Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State, for the very valuable help and suggestions given by him in connection with this work of English translation.

April, 1945

K.G. SAIYIDAIN

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
--------------	---

PART I

THE EDUCATION OF INDIVIDUALITY

I. The Concept of Individuality	13
II. The Growth of Individuality	27
III. The Dualism of the Real and the Ideal	68
IV. The Individual and the Community	83
V. Creative Evolution	105
VI. Revolt Against Intellectualism	123
VII. The Conception of Good Character	151

PART II

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORDER OF ISLAM

I. The Social Order of Islam	197
II. A Creative Vision of Education	230
INDEX	245

INTRODUCTION

IN this book I propose to examine the educational implications of the philosophical ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal whom I consider to be one of the greatest poets and thinkers of the present age. His remarkable genius as a poet has received an adequate measure of recognition and has won the enthusiastic admiration of the younger generation in this country, primarily amongst those who are conversant with Urdu and Persian, the two languages which he utilizes with equal grace and facility for the expression of his poetic ideas. Through Nicholson's translation of his well-known *masnaví* "Asrár-i-Khudí" (The Secrets of the Self) and some portions of *Payám-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East) as well as his *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, he has also become known to a wider circle, including the interested academic circles in the West. In his poetry he combines the elucidation of the eternal values with a discussion of the current problems and issues so happily that one can confidently prophesy an increasing popu-

larity and influence for his work.

But I do not think sufficient attention has so far been given to an elucidation of his philosophical thought and the working out of the practical implications of his standpoint. To many people this attempt may even savour of a utilitarianism in bad taste. They hold that poetry, like other fine arts, has no "message" to impart; it is a lyrical expression of the poet's emotional experiences and moods and does not lend itself to philosophical discussion or analysis. It is its own sufficient justification and does not need the surgeon's knife or the psychologist's ruthless examination. There may be something to be said for this delicate æsthetic point of view, but Iqbal himself has no patience with it. For him poetry, like all fine arts, is genuine and significant only when it impinges dynamically on life, deepening its appreciation, quickening its pulses, interpreting its fundamental purposes. Art not for the sake of Art, but for the sake of a fuller and more abundant Life :

اے اہل نظر ذوق نظر خوب ہے لیکن جوشے کی حقیقت کو نہ دیکھے وہ نظر کیا!

partial recognition of his great genius if we allow ourselves to be lost in merely contemplating the visible beauty of the garden which his poetry conjures up before our vision. In his case, an examination and understanding of the content is, at least, as important as the appreciation of the form—if such a division of thought into form and content is at all warranted.

But all this may, at best, be taken as a plea for the study of Iqbal's *philosophical* thought, and one may concede the point but still wonder : why should one undertake a study of Iqbal's *educational* philosophy, when Iqbal is not an educationist in the limited everyday meaning of the word and was never engaged—except for a comparatively brief period—in teaching? Nor, it may be contended, has he put forward anywhere, in a consistent and closely knit form, any comprehensive educational theory. The answer to this objection, which may provide adequate justification for undertaking such a study as this, is twofold. Firstly, we should learn to understand clearly the real meaning and scope of the term, Education. It is usually interpreted to mean the limited process of teaching and learn-

ing which goes on, somewhat tamely and mechanically, within the precincts of the schools and colleges. But that is obviously an incomplete and fragmentary view, since it does not take into account all those formative social and personal influences which shape and modify the ideas and conduct of groups and individuals. Education, in its correct significance, must be visualized as the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of a person or a community. If this is conceded, it follows that the emergence of an outstanding creative thinker, who has a distinctive message to impart and 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. Secondly, every philosophy of life, in so far as it throws any light on the problems of life and destiny, implies and postulates a philosophy of education, since both are concerned—from their own angles of vision, no doubt—with similar issues and problems, *e g.*, the meaning and purpose of human life, the relation of the indivi-

dual to the community and to his environment, the problems of values etc. Any coherent system of ideas, therefore, which provides guidance in facing these problems or offers a critique of existing institutions, culture, social practices and ways of thought must necessarily modify (in so far as we accept that school of thought) the basis of our educational theory and practice. For, education is, after all, engaged in the process of critically evaluating and effectively transmitting the cultural heritage, knowledge and ideals of a social group to its young members, thereby securing the continuity of collective life and culture and ensuring their intelligent, creative reconstruction. How can the educational worker be indifferent, then, to the philosophical ideas of a thinker like Iqbal, who is preoccupied with the critical examination of this very problem of human development and its proper orientation which engages his own attention?

It is with the strong conviction that Iqbal has a valuable contribution to make to the solution of these ever recurring but ever fresh problems—particularly as they impinge on the modern mind—that I have endeavoured to elucidate some of the

most important and significant trends of his thought and to work out their implications for education in India. As one ponders over the deeper implications of his philosophy, as one watches him unravelling the meaning of the great drama of human evolution and the creative rôle played by man in it, one is apt to catch one's breath in wonder and fascination at the prospect so revealed. And then one turns with impatience and dismay, equalling Iqbal's own, to the pitiful, groping and often misdirected efforts made by education to fit man for his great and glorious destiny! A radical, thorough-going reconstruction of educational aims and methods seems imperatively called for, and although Iqbal does not provide—as we cannot reasonably expect him to provide—a fool-proof educational technique or a text-book on educational methodology, he does what is far more valuable and significant: he directs our attention to those basic and fundamental principles of education which underlie all sound educational practices. And it is interesting to note that, if we work out the practical implications of these educational principles, they often turn out to be in harmony with the views which many great modern

educationists have expressed about the problems of schooling, although their line of approach is entirely different and remote from that of Iqbal. This is but another proof of the important fact that there are certain urgent forces and characteristics of modern civilization which, no matter how they are viewed, demand a certain type of educational orientation for all modern men and women

I may add that the task of interpreting his thought is rendered peculiarly difficult on account of the fact that it is mainly enshrined in his poetry. With the exception of his *Lectures* all his other works are collections of Urdu and Persian poems; and poetry is, by its nature, a much more flexible and sensitive medium of expression than prose. It has greater emotional fervour; it can convey subtler shades of emotions and ideas. But it does not possess the same objectivity or precision of thought as a piece of careful, systematic and lucid prose. It lends itself to a greater variety of interpretation, depending on individual reactions, which may yield keener æsthetic appreciation but is apt to obscure intellectual clarity. In interpreting his poetry, I do not claim to have rid myself of my subjective point of view

and my sympathies and, therefore, the meanings that I have been able to read into it may be unconsciously somewhat biassed. But I have always exercised one important caution : I have been careful to attach to his verses the meanings which the *general* trend of his ideas seem to justify. For, unlike many other poets, Iqbal's poetry possesses a coherence and unity of its own ; it does not register the wayward and fleeting whims and moods of the moment. In their case a certain verse may mean one of several possible things, and sometimes nothing at all ! With Iqbal every important verse has a definite meaning and it can, if properly understood, be fitted into the general system of his ideas. Thus his poetry is not like a mechanically put together crossword puzzle ; it has a unity of emotional and intellectual outlook and springs from deep, fundamental sources of conviction, faith and understanding. Its careful perusal will amply repay the students of philosophy as of education, to say nothing of the seeker after beauty of poetic expression, who will discover in it inexhaustible sources of delight and enjoyment.

PART I
THE EDUCATION OF INDIVIDUALITY

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUALITY

NO one can develop any intelligent theory of education without consciously postulating some conception of the nature of the individual to be educated and of his destiny. For, the essence of the educated process, reduced to its most elementary terms, is the fact of a living human organism in constant inter-action and contact with a vast and complex environment, which keeps on changing and growing as a result of this continuous intercourse. Like the philosopher, the educator must necessarily inquire into the characteristic nature of these two terms of his activity—the Individual and the Environment—which ultimately determine the solution of all his problems.

Let us first examine Iqbal's conception of the nature and the function of the Individual who is the object of the educator's attention. In order to grasp this, we must try to elucidate his concept of "Ego" or "Individuality" which is the central

idea of his philosophy and on which the rest of his thought-structure is based. This was first presented by him, in a popular but forceful form, in his Persian *masnaví* "*Asrár-i-Khudí*" (The Secrets of the Self) and it has been subsequently developed in all his poetical works and more systematically in his *Lectures*. In fact, it recurs like a constant refrain in all his poetical works, whether Urdu or Persian. It is necessary to examine his doctrine of Individuality at some length not only because of its intrinsic importance in his system of thought but also because modern psychology, biology and educational theory have laid special stress on it and recent mass movements and the rise of dictatorships have given this problem an increased political significance. Modern political, industrial and scientific movements have generally tended to suppress Individuality in various ways and, therefore, social thinkers who are concerned about the preservation of the values of the human personality are naturally preoccupied with the problem of reasserting the primacy of Individuality in life. Iqbal, as a humanist, sensitive to all the possibilities of growth and expansion open to the human spirit, must inevi-

tably devote a great deal of his attention to this problem.

To him *Khudí* (Self-hood, Individuality) is a real and pre-eminently significant entity which is the centre and the basis of the entire organization of life. Many other schools of thought, philosophical and religious, have strenuously sought to deny the reality of the Self, but Iqbal considers all these pseudo-mystic or pantheistic movements of thought to be dangerous in their political consequences and misleading as intellectual hypotheses. The Hindu and the Buddhist philosophy, in the main, regarded the Ego or the Self as a mere illusion of the mind possessing no abiding reality of its own.¹ Pantheism and pseudo-mysticism, as they developed both in the East and the West, looked upon it as a mere fragment of the Eternal Mind, striving for reabsorption into it. The English disciples of Hegel, as well as those who believed in the doctrine of Pantheism, were also of opinion that the highest objective and ideal of man is to lose his individual identity in the Absolute, like the drop which slips into the ocean

¹The philosophy of the Bhagwad Gita, however, takes a different view, exalting Action and stressing Individuality.

and ceases to exist as an individual entity. This view is definitely rejected by Iqbal, who affirms that the negation of the Self, or its absorption into some Eternal Self, should not be man's moral or religious ideal; he should, instead, strive to retain his infinitely precious Individuality and to strengthen it by developing greater originality and uniqueness. "The End of Fgo's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it."¹ Discussing the words of Halláj, ("I am the creative Truth") he points out that the true interpretation of human experience "is not the drop slipping into the sea but the realization and bold affirmation . . . of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality."²

This movement towards the achievement of a profounder individuality is not confined to the life of man. Iqbal finds it clearly expressed in the development of all living organisms. "Throughout the entire gamut of being," he says, "runs the gradually rising note of ego-hood till it reaches its

¹ *Lectures*, p 187.

² *Ibid*, p 91

perfection¹ in man.”² Like Bergson, Nunn and some of the leading biologists of the day he believes that all living organisms are struggling to achieve a more or less complex individuality; in man, the creative impulse has triumphed and he has developed powers which have opened up before him possibilities of unlimited growth and freedom

ہر ذرہ شہیدِ کبریائی! ہر چیز ہے مغمومِ فنائی
 تعمیرِ خودی میں ہے خدائی! بے ذوق نمودِ زندگی موت
 پر بت ضعیفِ خودی سے الٹی! رائی زورِ خودی سے پربت
 باقی ہے نمودِ سیمائی! اک تو ہے کہ حق ہے اس جہاں میں

Everything is preoccupied with self-expression,
 Every atom a candidate for greatness;
 Life without this impulse spells death;
 By the perfection of his individuality man becomes like
 God.

¹ “Perfection” should, in the context of Iqbal’s thought, be interpreted here as *relative* perfection.

² Lectures, p 68.

Thou alone art the Reality in this Universe,
'All the rest is a mirage!'¹

This is, in fact, his criterion of the degree of "reality" of any living organism: the extent to which it has achieved the feeling of a distinct ego-hood. "Only that truly exists which can say 'I am'". It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being."² Thus he agrees with Bergson that "individuality is a matter of degrees and is not fully realized even in the case of the apparently closed-off unity of the human being". In his *Asrār-i-Khudī*, he reverts to this theme again and again and discovers the meaning of the evolutionary process in this striving towards the achievement of a fuller and richer individuality. Thus he says:

پس بہت در استواری زندگی است	چوں حیاتِ عالم از زور خودی است
ہستی بے مایہ را گوہر کنند	قطرہ چوں حروفِ خودی از بر کنند
ہمت او سینہ گلشنِ شکافت	سبزہ چوں تابِ مید از خویش یافت

¹ *Bal-i-Jibril*, p 79

² *Lectures*, p 53.

چوں زمیں برہستی خود محکم است ماه پابند طوافِ پیہم است
 ہستی مہراز زمیں کم تر است پس زمیں مسحورِ چشمِ خاور است
 چوں خودی آرد ہم نیروئے زیست می کشاید قلزمے از جوئے زیست

Since the life of the Universe comes from the strength
 of the self

Life is in proportion to this strength ;
 When a drop of water gets the self's lesson by heart
 It makes its worthless existence a pearl
 As the grass discovered the power of growth in its self,
 Its aspiration clove the breast of the garden.
 Because the Earth is firmly based on self-existence,
 The captive moon goes round it perpetually.
 The being of the Sun is stronger than that of the Earth,
 Therefore is the Earth bewitched by the Sun's eye.
 When Life gathers strength from the self,
 The river of life expands into an ocean.¹

Of all the living creatures, man has achieved the highest measure of individuality and is most conscious of his own reality, for "the nature of the ego is such that, in spite of its capacity to respond to

¹ *Asrār-ı-Khudi*, pp. 14-15.

other egos, it is self-centred and possesses a private circuit of individuality excluding all egos other than itself"—a view which is directly in opposition to all pantheistic doctrines about the nature of the relationship between the self and the Universe. So strong and emphatic is his belief in the value and permanence of the human individuality that he rejects unhesitatingly the view that the highest ambition and bliss for the finite individuality of man is to be lost or immersed in the Infinite or the Absolute—the doctrine of Nirvana, the ideal consummation of the Sufi. "It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the Infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past actions."¹ Thus, according to him, neither education nor other social and cultural institutions can have any higher aim than that of strengthening the individuality of the educands for the realization of their limitless possibilities.

Before discussing how this development of individuality can be facilitated, we must inquire into the causes which have been responsible for directing

¹ *Lectures*, p. 111.

Iqbal's thought into this particular channel. He finds an emphatic sanction for it, in the first place, in the basic teachings of Islam. The Quranic view of the human ego, he points out, stresses in its simple and forceful manner "the individuality and uniqueness of man and has a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life".¹ In the *higher* Sufism of Islam, unitive experience is not the finite ego, effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite...² But Iqbal is aware, at the same time, of the fact that the doctrine of the negation of the Self has crept into and profoundly coloured Muslim thought, although it is essentially repugnant to the spirit of Islam which is "anti-classical". To arrest and rectify this tendency, he points out, the Quran is empirical in its attitude and holds that "in the domain of Knowledge, scientific or religious, complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible". Thus it endeavours to give a feeling of reverence for the actual and is responsible for making the Muslims of the earlier era the founders of modern

¹Lectures, p 90.

²Ibid., p 104

science. But the slow permeation of the classic spirit of the Greek culture tended to obscure their true vision of the Quran. Socrates and Plato despised sense perception which, according to them "yielded mere opinion and no real knowledge", but Iqbal holds that the development of an active individuality is impossible except in contact with a dynamic and concrete environment. He impeaches Plato as "that old philosopher of the sheep", because he deprecated a life of active striving in this world of varied forces and phenomena, which he refused to accept as a challenging and stimulating scene for human activity, and advocated instead a life of contemplation and pure thought, which was to be confined only to the free citizens who could afford it

فکرِ افلاطون زیاں را سووگفت	حکمتِ او بود رانا بُودگفت
بس کہ از ذوقِ عمل محروم بود	جانِ او اوفت سہ محروم بُود
من کہ تہنگامہ موجودگشت	خالقِ اعیانِ نامشہودگشت
زندہ جانِ را عالمِ امکانِ خوش است	مردہ دلِ را عالمِ اعیانِ خوش است

راهبِ ماچاره غیر از رَم نداشت طاقتِ غوغائے این عالم نداشت
 قومِ ما از سکرِ اوس مسموم گشت خفت و از ذوقِ عملِ محروم گشت

The thought of Plato regarded loss as a profit
 His philosophy declared that being is non-being
 Since he was without any taste for action
 His soul was enraptured by the non-existent.
 He disbelieved in the material universe
 And became the creator of invisible Ideas.
 Sweet is the world of living phenomena to the living
 spirit,

Dear is the world of ideas to the dead spirit.
 The peoples were poisoned by his intoxication,
 They slumbered and took no delight in action.¹

It was a profound study of the decadence which has characterised most of the Eastern nations, in general, and the Muslims in particular, during the last two centuries, which made him concentrate so strongly on the doctrine of Individuality. He was driven to the conclusion that this feeling of defeat and despair, this loosening of the fibres of national life was due to the conscious or unconscious adop-

¹ *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 35-36.

tion of the paralysing doctrine of self-negation. His object is to give a new orientation and a dynamic quality to their thought and conduct by preaching the fullest and freest affirmation of the Self in this real world of material forces and phenomena which can, and should, be utilized to serve the increasing purposes of the human spirit. Man, in the words of the Quran, is the "trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril", and which can be fully realized only if he throws himself wholeheartedly into the troubles and turmoils, the joys and sorrows of the world which surrounds him. The "unceasing reward" of man consists in his "gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego".¹ He, therefore, preaches the doctrine of the fullest development and affirmation of the Self in *this* world with all its material forces and phenomena and all its cultural and spiritual riches. This Self, which is always in the making, is a reservoir of yet untapped powers and unsuspected possibilities. Its development requires that the individual should throw himself open to all kinds of formative and challeng-

¹Lectures, p 111.

ing experiences If he withdraws from the world of strife his individuality will shrink and wither and his powers will remain unrealized Even for the poet—generally looked upon as an emotionalist and an æstheté, living in a world of his own artistic moods and sensibilities—his message is one of strenuous striving, and of protest against his normal attitude of relaxation and impotent whimperings against Fate :

بر عیسا زندگی اُورا بزن	اے میانِ کیسے ات نفتِ سخن
خوبہ کر پاسِ درشتے ہم بگیہ	مدتے غلطیدہ اندر حیر
غوطہ اندر چشمہ زمزم بزن	نخویش را بر یک سوزاں ہم بزن
در چمن زاراں نشیمن تاکجا	مثل بلبل زوقِ شیون تاکجا
اشیا نے ساز بر کوہ بلند	اے ہما از زمین دامت ارجمند
جسم و جانست سوز و آزار حیات	تا شوی در خورِ دیکار حیات

the individual and his environment should be preserved. Through this give-and-take between the individual and his manifold environment and through establishing as many intensive and fruitful contacts with the surrounding reality as possible, the individual evolves the inner richness of his being. A life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation, which cuts him off from the stimulus and energising currents of social life, is apt to make him egocentric and limited in his interests and sympathies. Iqbal takes a dynamic view of this process of adjustment that is constantly going on between the individual and the environment and points out that "it is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the Universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the Universe, now by adjusting himself to its forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own end and purpose. And in this process of progressive change, God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative :

‘Verily, God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves’ (Quran)

“ If he 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 turns into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter."¹

It will be observed from the above quotations that Iqbal's attitude towards the problem of relationship between the individual and the world differs radically from the traditional concept. For him, the development of individuality is a *creative* process in which man must play an active role, ever acting and reaching purposefully on his environment. It is *not* a case of the individual passively adapting himself to a static environment.

Iqbal also defines the nature of the environment which would be favourable to the growth of the Self. True self-expression, whether of the individual or the community, can be secured only when the self feeds on, and draws its inspiration from, one's own cultural heritage and achievements. He is keenly aware of the value of a community's culture for the education and right development of the individual. The continuity of the cultural life of the community, therefore, demands on the part of its

¹Lectures, p. 12.

members a critical appreciation of, and a steadfast adherence to, the highest of its cultural values and traditions. They must have the capacity for the active understanding, assimilation and reconstruction of the existing culture ; for, then alone can they forge for themselves an individuality which is both original and enduring. Any form of education which ignores this fundamental truth is foredoomed to superficiality—perhaps utter futility—because it cannot gain any foothold in the depths of the people's psychology. That is why Iqbal has repeatedly stressed the point that “*sudl*” (i.e., asking, dependence on others, the slavish imitation of their ideas and culture) always weakens the self and that unless the individuals as well as the community develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their own being, their potentialities will remain warped and repressed. Iqbal's poetry gives this message again and again in a variety of beautiful forms :

دلانا رابی پروانه تا کے نگیری شیوہ مردانہ تا کے
یکے خود را بسوزِ خویشتن سوز طوافِ آتشِ بیگانه تا کے

How long, O heart, this burning like the moth?
 How long this aversion to the ways of true manhood?
 Burn thyself once for all in thy own flame,
 How long this fluttering round the stranger's fire?¹

He sums up thus the repercussion of "su'âl" on
 Individuality :

از سوال آشفته اجزائے خودی بے تجلی نخل سینائے خودی

از سوال افلاس گردد خوارتر از گدائی گدیہ گر نادار تر

Asking disintegrates the self
 And deprives of illumination the Sinai-bush of the self.
 By asking poverty is made more abject.
 By begging the beggar is made poorer²

On the positive side his exhortation is :

سحر در شاخار بوستانے چہ خوش می گفت مرغ نغمہ خوانے
 بر آور هر چه اندر سينه داری سر دے، ناله، آہے، فغانے

How aptly remarked the singing fowl,
 Nestling in the tree of an early morn ;
 Bring forth whatever is hid in thy breast :
 A wailing, a sigh, a lament, or a song!³

¹ Payam-i-Mashriq, p 17 ² Asrar-i-Khudi, p. 24. ³ Payam-i-Mashriq, p 23.

Agam :

زخاکِ خویش طلب آتش کہ پیدائیت
تجلی دگرے درخورتقا ضائیت

Look into thy own clay for the fire that is lacking
The light of another is not worth striving for¹

Speaking in the first person singular, he describes the self-sufficient individual thus :

نکردم از کسے در یوزہ چشم
جہاں را جز بچشم خود ندیدم

Never was I a mendicant for another's Vision,
Nor looked at the world but with my own eyes²

Applying this general principle to the conditions prevailing in the East and in India in particular, he often complains how the slavish imitation of the West by the East has warped the true nature of the Eastern peoples and repressed their creativity. His advice to his own son Javid, as the representative of the rising generation, is :

اٹھانہ شیشہ گرانِ فرنگ کے احساں
سفالِ ہند سے مینا و جاما پیداکر!

Incur not an obligation to the glass makers of the west,
Fashion thy flagon and thy cup with the clay of Ind.³

¹Payam-i-Mashriq, p 188

²Ibid, p. 64

³Bâl-i-Jibril, p. 198.

In his *Jávid-Náma* Iqbal reviews, through the mouth of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the present relations of the East and the West, and shows how the East has been content with a cheap and indiscriminate imitation of Western culture and practices. Under the existing political circumstances—in which their relationship is corrupted by a sense of inferiority on one side and superiority on the other—imitation is naturally confined, in the main, to the superficial and non-significant aspects of Western culture and institutions. The East is thereby deprived both of its own individuality and the advantages which should have accrued from its contact with the West. Thus Ahmad Sháh Abdáli :

شرق را از خود برودت لیدِ غرب	باید ایس اقوام را تنقیہِ غرب
وقتِ مغرب نہ از چنگِ درباب	نے زرِ قص و دخترانِ بے حجاب !
محکمی اُورانہ از لادینی است	نے فروغش از خطِ لاطینی است !
وقتِ افزنگ از علم و فن است	از ہمیں آتشِ چراغش روشن است

The East imitating the West is deprived of its true self,
 It should attempt, instead, a critical appraisal .
 The power of the West springs not from her music
 Nor from the dance of her unveiled daughters ;
 Her strength comes not from irreligion
 Nor her progress from the adoption of the Latin script ;
 The Power of the West lies in her Arts and Sciences
 It has kindled its lamps at their fire ¹

He draws a vivid and hauntingly truthful picture of how our youth have become denationalized through an education which ignores their past history and culture and does nothing to strengthen their individuality or stimulate their originality :

علم غیر آموختی اندوختی	روئے خویش از غارہ اش افروختی
ارجمندی از شعارش مے بری	من ندانم تو توئی یا دیگر می
عقل تو زنجیری افکار غیر	در گلوئے تو نفس از تار غیر
بر زبانت گفتگو ہا مستعار	در دل تو آرزو ہا مستعار
تا کجا طوف چہ درغ محضے	ز آتش خود سوزاگر داری دلے

¹Javid-Nama, pp 208-209.

فرد فرد آمد که خود را شناخت قوم قوم آمد که جز با خود نساخت

You have learnt and stored up the knowledge of the
strangers

And polished your face with their rouge ;

You borrow luck from their ways

Till I know not whether you are yourself or some else else¹

Your mind is chained to their ideas ;

The very breath in your throat plays on the strings of
others,

Borrowed converse pours from your lips,

Borrowed desires nestle in your hearts¹

How long this circling round the assembly's fire ?

Have you a heart ? Then burn yourself in your own fire.

An individual becomes unique through self-realization,

A nation becomes truly itself when it does not com-
promise.¹

Then follows a scathing criticism of those who, without appreciating the true values of Western culture, seek to approximate to it by copying its externals :

علم و فن را ای جوان شوخ و شنگ مغز می باید نه ملبوس فرنگ !
اندیس ره جز ننگه مطلوب نیست این کلمه یا آل کلمه مطلوب نیست

¹Rumuz-i-Bekhudt, pp 186-188.

فکر چالا کے اگر داری بس است طبع و ذرا کے اگر داری بس است!

Arts and Sciences, O lively and eager youth,
Require a keen intellect not western clothes,
What is needed in this quest is Vision,
Not this or that particular head-dress!
If you have a subtle intellect and a discriminating mind,
They would suffice to guarantee success.

He reverts to the theme again in *Jávid-Náma*¹

گر کے شب ماخورد و دو چرخ
گیرد از علم و فن و حکمت سراغ
ملکِ معنی کس حد اور از نہ بست
بے جہادِ سپہی ناید بدست!
بندهٔ اسد رنگ از ذوق نمود
می برد از غربیاں رقص و سدا
نفتِ جانِ خویش در بازو بہ لہو
علم دشوار است می سازد بہ لہو!
از تن آسانی بگسیر و سہل را
فطرتِ او در پذیرد سہل را!
سہل را بستن دریں دیر کہن
ایں دلیل آنکہ جاں رفت از بدن

When one steadily burns the midnight oil,
One gains access to the domain of knowledge and wisdom;

¹*Jávid-Náma*, p. 209.

The world of meaning which has no frontiers
Cannot be conquered without a persistent crusade ;
The slave of the West, anxious for display,
Borrows from her only their dance and music ;
He barter's his precious soul for frivolous sport ,
Self-indulgent, he grasps what is easy,
And his weak nature accepts it with readiness ;
But the choice of what is easy in life
Proves that the spirit has fled from the body¹

Thus he does not, out of prejudice or narrow-mindedness, reject the valuable contributions of the West. He readily welcomes their spirit of research, their sciences, their strenuous striving to gain control of their environment. But he would certainly repudiate the merely superficial and sensational side of their leisure activities because they weaken our self-respect and give us a false sense of being modern and progressive. He desires to see the educated youth courageous and self-reliant and, therefore, condemns, in no uncertain terms, those who adopt the shameful attitude of a mendicant which is an insult to human dignity and irreparably weakens individuality :

¹*Javid-Nama*, pp. 209-10.

تا بکے در یوزہ منصب کنی صورتِ طفلان نے مرکب کنی
 فطرتے کو بر فلک بند و نظر پست می گرد و ز احسان دگر
 گر چہ باشی تنگ روز و تنگ بخت در رہ میل بلا انگندہ رخت
 رزق خویش از نعمت دیگر مجو موج آب از چشمہ خاور مجو

How long wilt thou sue for office
 And ride, like children, on reeds?
 A nature that fixes its gaze on the sky
 Becomes debased by receiving benefits,
 Albeit thou art poor and wretched
 And overwhelmed by affliction,
 Seek not thy daily bread from the bounty of another
 Seek not waves of water from the fountain of the Sun¹

The educational and political implications of this situation, which Iqbal has criticised and condemned, are only too obvious. Our educational system, with but few exceptions, is mainly based on borrowed ideas, on the intellectual resources of a foreign culture, on the slavish and cramping use of a foreign language—in a word, on “asking.” We have been made accustomed—though political forces are fast

¹ *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp 24-25

breaking down the spell—to look upon the world not only through borrowed glasses but through the eyes of others. Education has, in its turn, complacently worked towards this consummation, not realizing that it was undermining all national self-respect and blocking up the release of the people's creative impulses. When education is organized under the inspiration of a new and healthy ideology, it will aim at the strengthening of the people's individuality, at the re-vitalizing of the sources of their national culture and using its riches to quicken their creative activity.

The third condition which Iqbal regards as essential for the education of true individuality is Freedom. He believes that life cannot unfold all its possibilities, nor can the individual develop all his latent powers, except in an atmosphere of freedom which allows for unchecked experimentation with the environment, for the exercise of choice and discrimination in the use of methods and materials and for learning by direct, personal, first-hand experience. He would have the schools bring up free, daring and creative individuals, not emaciated hot-house plants, not youths who have been kept in

leading strings :

بندگی میں گھٹ کے رہ جاتی ہے اک جوتے کم آب

اور آزادی میں بحیرہ سبکراں ہے زندگی

Enslaved, life is reduced to a small rivulet

Free, it is like the boundless ocean¹

He exhorts us to cast off the chains and achieve freedom :

تا کجا در تہ بال دگر اں می باشی در ہوائے چمن آزادہ پریدن آموز

How long wilt thou abide under the wings of others?²

Learn to wing thy flight freely in the garden breeze¹

In fact, like Bergson, he sees, in the tremendous drama of human evolution, a clear trend towards the securing of an ever increasing freedom for man—freedom with all its attendant advantages and perils. He gives an original and interesting interpretation of the legend of the Fall of Man. “Its purpose,” he elucidates, “is to indicate man’s rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience.”² Adam’s “*Jannat*” or Paradise—

¹ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 188

² *Lectures*, p. 80

in the Quranic sense of the word and with reference to the legend of the Fall—is, according to him, “the conception of a primitive state in which man is practically unrelated to his environment and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants, the birth of which alone marks the beginning of human culture”¹ Driven from this *Jannat*, man takes his abode on Earth and, educationally as well as philosophically, the particular view that we may take of man’s life on Earth is of the greatest significance. Christianity, like certain other schools of religious and philosophical thought, has been inclined to look upon the Earth, where man is to work out his chequered destiny, as “a torture hall where an elementally wicked humanity is imprisoned for an original act of sin”² Iqbal’s view, based on the distinctive standpoint of Islamic teaching, is that the Earth is a stage where man, equipped with the power of intelligent thought and choice, carries on a continuous experiment in living. This freedom of choice is a distinctive gift vouchsafed to man alone; it is because of this freedom that, in the case of man alone, Individuality—which, in a more or less

¹Lectures, p 80.

²*Ibid.*

rudimentary form, is common to all living organisms—deepens into Personality. While on the one hand it opens up the possibility of wrong-doing to man, it also enables him, on the other, to “participate in the creative life of his Maker.” This freedom, however, is no easy matter, because it also implies a great risk. “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”¹ by a wise and constructive use of the gift of freedom which has been given to him.

This gift of a free Personality is described by the Quran as a “trust” which was offered to the Heavens and the Earth who refused the great burden but man was daring enough to undertake this stupendous responsibility. In doing so he also accepted inevitably all the grave and challenging risks and misadventures which are associated with it and which deepen the sense of the tragedy of life. “Perhaps,” adds Iqbal, “such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was “created of the goodliest

¹*Lectures*, p. 81.

‘fabric’ and then brought down to be the ‘lowest of the low’.”¹ It confers on him the highest status amongst all created beings and makes him the vice-regent of God on Earth. “Endowed with the power to imagine a better world and to mould what is into what might be, the ego in him aspires, in the interest of an increasingly unique and comprehensive individuality, to exploit all the various environments on which he may be called upon to operate”²

As we have seen, the contention of Iqbal—as of many other great thinkers of the age—is that this unfolding of an individual’s latent possibilities can best take place in an atmosphere of freedom. He further makes the significant point that *creativity*, which is the highest attribute of man and links him up with God, and *originality*, which is a condition precedent for all progressive change, also demand freedom for their cultivation. Deprived of freedom, man becomes a slave whom Iqbal characterizes, in a happy inspiration, as one incapable of original, creative activity

تاشناسی امتیازِ عبد و حُر

نکته می گویمت روشن چو دُر

¹Lectures, p 81.

²Ibid, p 69.

عبد را تحصیلِ حاصلِ فطرت است	وارداتِ جانِ اُو بے ندرت است
مدم بدم نو آف نیننی کا حُرد	نغمہِ سپہم تازہ ریز و تارِ حُرد
فطرتش ز حمتِ کشِ تکرار نیست	جادہٴ اُو حلقہٴ پرکار نیست
عبد را ایامِ ازنجبیر است و بس	بر لبِ اُو حرفِ تقدیر است و بس
ہمتِ حُرد با قضاگر دو مشیر	حادثات از دستِ اُو صورت پذیر

I will tell you a subtle point, bright as a pearl
 That you may distinguish between the slave and the free
 The slave is by nature repetitive,
 His experiences are bereft of originality.
 The free man is always busily creative,
 His bow-string is vibrant with new melodies ;
 His nature abhors repetition ,
 His path is not like the circle traced by a compass ;
 To the slave, Time is a chain,
 His lips speak only of Fate ,
 The courage of the free becomes a counsellor of Fate ;
 His is the hand that shapes the events ¹

¹ *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 82-83

Let us now examine some of the implications of Iqbal's views on freedom and creativity for problems of intellectual and moral education. Since the environment of man is growing and changing as a result of his own creative activity, it is necessary to awaken and cultivate his intelligence if he is to live his life fully and adequately in this complex and challenging environment. Iqbal is keenly alive to the role of experimentally acquired knowledge for modern life, as seen in his Poetry as well as his Lectures.

“The life of a finite ego in an obstructing environment depends on the perpetual expansion of knowledge based on actual experience. And the experience of a finite ego, to whom several possibilities are open, expands only by the method of trial and error. Therefore, error which may be described as a kind of intellectual evil is an indispensable factor in the building up of experience.” It is through a spirit of intellectual adventure, through trial and error, through fearless exploration into new realms of thought that we can make our original and valuable contribution to the enrichment of knowledge and, consequently, of life. Iqbal is constantly

exhorting his readers not to be intellectually timid but to go out boldly to conquer new domains of knowledge, unafraid of the pitfalls and dangers that beset the way and of the threat to established institutions and practices which freedom of thought may hold out :

تراش از تیشہ خود جادہ خویش براہ دیگر ال رستن عذاب است
گرازدست تو کار نادر آید گناہ ہے ہم اگر باشت ثواب است

Cut your path with an axe of your own,
It is a sin to tread the beaten paths of others;
If you achieve something unique and original,
Even a sin becomes a virtue ¹¹

This freedom of thought and originality of action, if quickened in individuals and groups, will bring great triumphs in its wake :

ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیا شے ہے؛ ذوق انقلاب
ندرتِ فکر و عمل کیا شے ہے؛ ہمت کاشاب!
ندرتِ فن و عمل سے محبذاتِ زندگی

¹¹ *Payām-i-Mashrūq*, p 62

ندرت منکر و عمل سے سنگِ خارہ بعل ناپ!

What is originality of thought and action ?

A call to revolution !

What is originality of thought and action ?

A renaissance of national life !

It is the source of life's miracles,

Transforming granite into the purest of pearls !¹

Such a view of intellectual education calls for the rejection of all those elaborate, fool-proof, strictly logical and graded methods of teaching which seek to eliminate, from the process of student's learning, all possibility of exercising intellectual initiative and ingenuity, of making mistakes, and learning from them. It favours, on the other hand, methods of self-activity and learning by doing: methods which confront the students with new situations and problems, compelling them to work purposefully with the resources of their environment, to fit means to ends, to rely on their own groping but intelligent efforts, to learn to overcome their difficulties in their own way. It would be a far cry indeed from Iqbal's philosophy to, say, the Project

¹Bâl-i-Jibril, p 202

Method—each being presumably unaware of the other—but it is no undue stretching of the point to say that they imply a somewhat similar interpretation of the psychology of learning and experience. The movement of life, according to Iqbal, “is determined by ends, and the presence of ends means that it is permeated by intelligence. Thus ends and purposes, whether they exist as conscious or unconscious tendencies, form the warp and woof of our conscious existence”¹ Compare this statement with the authoritative view of education as envisaged by an American advocate of experimentalism :

“The experimentalist sees man living in a world that is a mixture of the regular and the changing, of the fixed and the uncertain, of the stable and the precarious. In short, man lives in a world in which the character of experience is such that *intelligent, purposeful activity is demanded if he is to achieve a satisfying experience . . .* [and] the necessary condition for learning to behave intelligently is the freedom to engage in purposeful activity.”²

Thus intellectual education can become an effec-

¹Lectures, p 50

²Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*, p 81

tive influence in our life only when it takes into account the intelligent and purposeful character of life and experience. An educational technique like the Project Method, in so far as it is based on purposeful activity, is likely to provide the right kind of intellectual training. The object of this intellectual education, therefore, should be the awakening of the critical and questioning attitude which would refuse to take everything on trust. That is why intellectual curiosity and search for truth are more important, from this point of view, than Truth itself.

ہمائے علم تا افتد بدامت یقین کم کن، گرفتارشکے باش

Would you ensnare the phoenix of knowledge ?

Rely less on belief and learn to doubt ¹

And :

زیر کی بفروش و حیرانی بخش (مولانا) زیر کی ظن است و حیرانی نظر!

Give away knowledge and purchase wonder,

For while knowledge is often presumption, wonder gives insight ²

But, while keenly conscious of the significance of

¹ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 86.

² *Bal-i-Jibril*, p. 186

intelligence and knowledge, Iqbal is not betrayed into that blind worship of the intellect which has given a one-sided view of Reality to the Western thinkers and minimised the comparative value and importance of Action in the eyes of many of the thinkers of the East. With Bergson he believes that the Intellect has been evolved in, and for the service of, Action and its function is that of a hand-maiden for the achievement of Life's purposes. "We do not live in order to think; we think in order to live." Iqbal explains the point in his "Secrets of the Self":

علم از سامان حفظ زندگی است علم از اسباب تقویم خودی است
 علم و فن از پیش نیزان حیات علم و فن از خانه زادان حیات

Science is an instrument for the preservation of life,

Science is a means of establishing the Self.

Science and Art are servants of life,

Slaves born and bred in its house ¹

If knowledge is not allied to, and acquired through, action, it cannot be transformed into power, and man cannot use it for the reconstruction of his environment. Iqbal is, therefore, sceptical

¹ *Asrār-i-Khudi*, pp 17-18.

of the value of mere bookish, academic knowledge which often saps the student's vitality and fails to equip him properly for a life of *active* striving in the service of worthy causes. He is not, therefore, prepared to regard it as the end of the educative process :

من آل علم و فراست با پر کاسه نمی گیسوم

که از تیغ و سپر بگایه سازم در غازی را!

I hold that knowledge and intellect cheap
Which takes away the crusader's sword and shield ¹

It is the active quest, the yearning for achievement which gives vitality to knowledge and wings to life. Listen to the instructive conversation between the moth and the bookworm—the one burning for action, the other buried in the study of books :

شنیدم شبی در کتب خانه من به پروانه می گفت که هم کتابی

با ورق سینا نشینم گفتم بے دیدم از نسخه فارابی

نقهمیده ام حکمت زندگی را هماغس تیره روزم ز بے آفتابی

¹Zabur-i-Ajam, p 148

تھو گفت پروانہ نیم سوزے کہ این نکتہ را در کتابے نیابی
تپش می کند زنده تر زندگی را تپش می دهد بال و پر زندگی را

Last night I heard the book-worm lament
To the moth in my library :
I have lived inside the pages of the Sana's books,
And seen many volumes of Farabi's writing ;
But the secret of life I have failed to grasp,
For my days are still dark and sunless !
Aptly did the half-burnt moth rejoin :
Thou canst not find this secret in a book
It is yearning that quickens the tempo of life
And endows it with wings to soar.¹

His direct exhortation to the students is summed up in these terse and compelling lines :

خدا تجھ کسی طوفان سے آشنا کر دے کہ تیرے بحر کی موجوں میں خطر اب نہیں
تجھ کتاب سے ممکن نہیں فراغ کہ تو کتاب خواں ہے مگر صاحب کتاب نہیں

¹Payam-i-Mashriq, p 119.

May God fire you with the ferment of an Ideal,
 For the waters of your sea are calm and still;
 The Book cannot be your solution,
 For, you are only a reader; it has not been revealed to
 you!

That is why he is at one with those modern thinkers who sound a note of warning against an "over intellectualistic" conception of education and holds a balanced view which gives due weight to all the elements of experience—cognitive, conative and affective—which make up the variegated texture of life.

The implications of the doctrine of freedom are equally important for moral education also. The traditional conception and methods of moral training have demanded a passive conformity on the part of the individual to a rigid, superimposed moral code and they have tended to belittle the role of personal thought and active intellect in the process of achieving a moral personality. Iqbal, however, takes a different view: "Goodness is not a matter of compulsion; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal and arises out of a willing co-operation of free egos. A being whose move-

ments are wholly determined cannot produce goodness. Freedom is thus seen to be a condition of goodness.”

The quotation brings out two very important principles underlying moral education. Firstly, education cannot produce or stimulate genuine moral behaviour by teaching a set of ready-made moral maxims which the students are to act upon mechanically and without question. Morality involves choice and free will. It is only through personal experience, which is guaranteed a reasonable degree of freedom, that one can work out, thoughtfully and often with travail, a code of effective personal morality. Without such a background of experience, gained in the give-and-take of every-day social intercourse, theoretical moral maxims cannot be transformed into persistent motive forces of conduct. Secondly, the quotation brings out the significant relationship of moral to social behaviour. Morality cannot be taught or learnt in isolation; it arises out of the “willing *co-operation* of free egos” which would imply that the schools must provide opportunities for social life and social experience and must utilize in their

teaching the healthy motives which operate in community living. All the educational movements which introduce social motives and methods of work in schools and offer scope for work done on a co-operative basis tend to 'moralize' the process of education and should, therefore, be welcomed.

Another factor which Iqbal considers important in the development of individuality is the formation of new purposes and objectives to determine the direction of our activity and colour the evolution of the Self. It is the ceaseless quest for newer and greater creative purposes which adds zest and meaning to life and disciplines the growing powers and activities of the individuals :

زندگانی را بہت از مدعاست	کاروانش را در از مدعاست
زندگی در جستجو پوشیدہ است	اہل اُود را رز و پوشیدہ است
ارز و را در دلِ خود زندہ دار	تا نگردد و مشتِ خاکِ تو مزار
ارز و صیدِ مقاصد را کند	دفترِ افعال را شیرازہ بند
زندگی سدابہ دار از آرزوست	عقل از زائیدگانِ بطنِ اوست

طاقتِ پرواز بخشد خاک را خضر باشد موسی ادراک را

Life is preserved by purpose ;
 Because of the goal its caravan tinkles.
 Life is latent in seeking,
 Its origin is hidden in Desire.
 Keep desire alive in thy heart,
 Lest thy handful of dust become a tomb.
 Desire is a noose for hunting ideals,
 A binder for the book of deeds.
 It gives to earth the power of soaring,
 It is a *Khizr* to the Moses of perception.
 'Tis desire that enriches life,
 And the intellect is a child of its womb ¹

This theme recurs again and again :

گرم خول انسان ز داغ آرزو آتش این خاک از چید داغ آرزو
 زندگی مضمون تسخیر است و بس آرزو افسون تسخیر است و بس

'Tis the brand of Desire makes the blood of man run
 warm,

By the lamp of Desire this dust is enkindled
 Life is occupied with conquest alone
 And the one charm for conquest is Desire²

¹ *Asrar-i-Khudi*, pp. 16-17

² *Ibid*, p 37

Therefore, he exhorts us thus :

اگر زمرِ حیات آگہی مجھے و میگیر
دلے کہ از تلاشِ خا آرزو پاک است

Dost thou know the secret of life ?

Do not, then, seek or accept a heart

Unpricked by the thorn of desire ¹

In the poet's work, for example, he sees clearly a manifestation of this ceaseless quest after beauty and self realization, this ceaseless creativity inspired by new visions and purposes. This yearning for the unattainable and *striving for it* is the mark of the true artist. Listen the poet's characteristic lament :

چہ کنم کہ فطرت من بہ مقامِ دو نسا زد
دلِ ناصبورِ دلم چو صبا بہ لاله زارے

چو نظرت را گیرد بہ نگارِ خوب روئے
تیداں زماں دل من پے خوبتر نکارے

ز شہرِ ستارہ جویم ز ستارہ آفتابے
سرِ منزلے ندارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے

طلسمِ نہایتِ آن کہ نہایتے نداد
بہ نگاہِ ناشکیبہ بہ دلِ امیدوارے

¹ Payam-i-Mashriq, p 108

What can I do? My nature is averse to rest ;
 My heart is impatient like the breeze in the poppy field ;
 When the eye beholds an object of beauty
 The heart begins to yearn for a more beautiful form ,
 From the spark to the star, from the star to the sun
 Is my quest ;
 I have no desire for a goal
 For me, rest spells death !
 With an impatient eye and a hopeful heart
 I seek for the end of that which is endless !¹

He epitomizes Bergson's faith in the creative urge of desire (*soz*) in these lines :

شے از ازل آورد نہ بجائے آورد لاله از داغ جگر سوزد و امے آورد

What does the poppy bring ?
 Neither the wine nor the flagon !

Its natural endowment is an infinite yearning of the heart.²

meaning thereby that unceasing, creative Desire is the real capital with which the individual builds up his Self, his culture and his institutions.

It is obvious, therefore, that when the repressive forces of the environment or of a blind educational system discourage the formation of new desires, ideals and purposes or when the repressive discipline

¹Payam-i-Mashriq, pp. 148-149.

²Ibid, p. 251.

of an absolute all-powerful State imposes its own ready-made purposes on every citizen, the development of a free, creative and unique individuality becomes impossible and one of the most important objectives of education is defeated. It is, therefore, essential, in the interest of a right and effective education, that the teacher should awaken in his students a keen consciousness of their manifold relations with the environment and this should lead to the formation of new and creative purposes.

Purposes, however, are not formed in a vacuum; they grow out of dynamic, forward-moving activity which brings the individual into fruitful, manipulative relations with the environment. Mere physical contiguity does not constitute *educative* contact with the environment, which implies action and re-action, the essence of all genuine experience. Experience, as the experimentalists define it, is "primarily an active affair. It is a process of undergoing: a process of standing something, of suffering and passion, of affection in the literal sense of these words. The organism has to endure, to undergo the consequences of its own actions"¹

¹ Dewey, *Creative Intelligence*, p. 10.

Iqbal would, on the whole, agree with such a conception of experience, because it is in a line with his view of Action or Activity as the basis of all development. His entire philosophical thought is an eloquent plea for a life of strenuous activity and endeavour in which the Self interacts with its material and cultural environment and utilizes it, first to achieve its rudimentary, groping purposes and later, through the process of creative self-expression, to form greater purposes and attain to new reaches of power. He condemns, as we have already seen, a life of seclusion, withdrawal and passivity :

تا بر تو آشکار شود راز زندگی خود را جدا از شعله مثال شدر مکن
 به نظر آره جز نگه آشنا میا در مرز و بوم خود چو غریباں گذر مکن

If thou wouldst 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.¹

“Action,” is, indeed, in his philosophy the pivot of life. Man grows to his full stature and realizes

¹*Payam-i-Mashruq*, p 247.

his great destiny through a life of strenuous activity, not one of renunciation, or of 'soft', cultural and contemplative preoccupations :

میارا بزم بر ساحل کہ آں جا
 فوائے زندگانی نر خمیز است
 بدریا غلط و با محوش در آویز
 حیات جاوداں اندر ستیز است

Feast not on the shore, for there
 Softly breathes the tune of life.
 Grapple with the waves and dare!
 Immortality is strife ¹

His poetry is rich with this message, expressed in a hundred different ways, each possessing a beauty and aptness of its own :

سکندر با خضر خوش نکست نگفت
 شریک سوز و ساز بج و بر شو
 تو ایں جنگ از کنار عرصہ بینی
 بمیر اندر بس و ز ندی تر شو

How aptly did Sikandar remark to Khizr :
 Participate actively in the struggle of life !
 You watch the battle from the edge of the battle-field :
 Die in the thick of the fight and gain everlasting life.²

¹ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p 41.

² *Ibid* , p. 27

Again :

بہل افسانہ آں پاچہ راغے حدیثِ سوزِ آوازِ آزارِ گوش است
من آں پروانہ را پروانہ دانم کہ جانش سخت کوش و شعلہ نوش است

Leave out the story of the restless moth,
Whose tale of burning pains my ears :
That moth alone is a true moth

Who is active in striving and can swallow the flame !¹

He asks us to welcome all experience, not to shut ourselves in isolation, and condemns the school-master who wants to bring up children like hot-houses plants, deprived of an educative and stimulating contact with Nature.

شیخ مکتب ہے اک عمارت گر جس کی صنعت ہے روح انسانی
کھتہ دل پذیر تیرے لئے کہہ گیا ہے حکیم ت آئی
پیشِ نورِ شید بکش دیوار خواہی ار صحنِ حسانہ نورانی

What is the school-master ?

An architect of the souls of men !

How attractively has the philosopher, Qaani

Remarked for his guidance :

¹ *Poym-i-Mashriq*, p 24

“ If you will have your court-yard flooded with light,
Do not interpose a wall in the path of the Sun ”¹

The true joy of life is to be found, not in watching the performance from the spectators' gallery, as it were—as some artists and philosophers would have it—but in throwing oneself whole-heartedly into the affray and making every experience—painful or pleasant—contribute to the strength and enrichment of the Self. Listen to the advice of the courageous wood-pecker to the timid and tearful nightingale :

گفتش که سود خویش ز حیبِ بیاں برآر گل از شکافِ سینه ز زیناب آفرید
درماں ز درد ساز اگر خسته تن شوی نوگر به خار شو که سراپا چمن شوی

Get thee profit out of loss .

The rose has created pure gold by rending her breast

If thou art wounded, make the pain thy remedv.

Accustom thyself to thorns, that thou mayst become

Entirely one with the garden.²

In Iqbal's world they do not serve who merely stand and wait. Life demands strenuous and constant effort on every one's part. His emphasis on

¹*Bal-i-Jibril*, p 217

²*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p 235

action has sometimes led him to express his strong admiration for certain men of action, including great conquerors and rulers, with the result that his attitude towards them has been misunderstood. He does *not* really admire their objectives or their ethical standards but only that dynamic quality in them which enabled them to overcome great obstacles by their power of will and strength of action. This is also the reason why his favourite birds—employed as poetical symbols—are the eagle and the hawk which represent a life of ambition, of high endeavour and of perpetual struggle, leading to the development of a strong individuality. Thus the eagle advises the eagle to lead a courageous and self-assertive life and not cultivate the soft and effeminate personality of the partridge adding :

زرتے زمیں دانہ چیدن خطاست کہ پہنائے گردوں خدا داد ماست

'Tis a sin to pick our food from the ground ;

For, heaven's wide expanse is God's gift to our kind ¹

And this is how a deer, wise as to the secret of a joyous life, counsels another who wanted to seek refuge from the trials of life in seclusion :

¹*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p 117.

رفیقش گفت ای یارِ خردمند اگر خواهی حیات اندر خطِ رزی
 دادم خویشتن را بر فِماں زن ز تیغِ پاک گوهر تیز تر زی
 خطِ تاب و توان را امتحان است عیارِ ممکنات جسم و جان است

His companion remarked, "O wise friend,
 The secret of a joyous life is to live dangerously ;
 Strike thyself again and again on the whet-stone,
 Thus making thee sharper than the well-tempered sword.
 Danger alone tests strength and capacity ;
 It is the touch-stone of the powers of the mind and the
 body¹

Similarly, the diamond which is a self-contained and concentrated entity with a fully developed and perfected individuality, looks down upon the piece of charcoal which is still raw and soft and hence of little value

خوارگشتی از وجودِ خامِ خویش خستی از نرمی اندامِ خویش
 فارغ از خوفِ غم و وسواسِ باش پخته مثل سنگ شو الماس باش

¹Payam-i-Mashruq, pp 143-144

می شود از زوے دو عالم مستنیر هر که باشد سخت کوش و سخت گیر
در صلابت آبروئے زندگی است ناتوانی ناکسی ناخستگی است

Because thy being is immature,
Thou hast become abased ;
Because thy body is soft,
Thou art burnt
Be void of fear, grief and anxiety ;
Be hard as a stone, be a diamond !
Whoever strives hard and holds tight,
The two worlds are illumined by him.
In solidarity consists the glory of Life ;
Weakness is worthlessness and immaturity.¹

To men as well as groups, striving to realize their destiny and achieve a distinct individuality, he says :

شریکِ حلقهٔ زندانِ باوہ پیمای باش حذر ز جمعیتِ پیرے کہ مردِ غوغا نیست

Join the Circle of the unorthodox wine drinkers,
Follow not the Pir who is afraid of turmoil ²

He would scorn to follow any leader who shuns the adventurous path :

مردِ جمعیتِ آلِ رہروم کہ پانگذاشت بہ جانِ بخ کہ در و کوہ و دشت و دریا نیست

¹Asrar-i-Khudi, p 64.

²Payam-i-Mashriq, p 189

I admire the courage of the wayfarer,
Who disdains to set his feet
On the path that is not beset
With deserts and mountains and streams¹.

From this it follows that, if education is to be a preparation for life, it must be achieved through active participation in life—a principle which, as we shall see later, has brought about the most far-reaching changes not only in the theory but also in the practice and technique of education. The entire philosophy of experimentalism is inspired by this idea. The experimentalist considers the individual to be “a product of his own activity just as truly as he is a product of the social influences which nurture his mind,”² and not “a passive agent who merely absorbs sensations and ideas from his environment”. Thus the growth of individuality, according to Iqbal, as well as modern educational thought, demands intense and manifold activity on the part of the growing individual, in vital contact with the culture of his group.

¹*Payām-i-Mashriq*, p. 189

²Childs, *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*.

CHAPTER III

THE DUALISM OF THE REAL AND THE IDEAL

PHILOSOPHICALLY it has always been a very important issue whether the Ideal and the Real, the Material and the Spiritual, the Physical and the Mental are to be regarded as mutually inter-dependent or disparate terms which exclude each other. Educationally too, in order to define our objective and the correct process of its realization, it is necessary that we should understand their mutual relationship and significance. If, following in the footsteps of many traditional philosophers and moralists we regard the actual world of physical realities either as a mere illusion or as unimportant or as a hinderance to the development of the spirit, we must work out a corresponding theory of education. If, on the other hand, like some of the "materialists" we reduce the entire life and the creative activity of man into

the terms of chemistry and physics and deny the distinct entity of the human spirit, then education will have to be shaped accordingly. Against these two alternatives there is a third view which does not regard the Real and the Ideal as mutually exclusive or consider either of them to be unimportant, but takes the Real to be the starting point for the realization of the Ideal. It will be obvious, from what we have so far indicated Iqbal's philosophic position to be, that he subscribes to the last of these views. In analysing the process of the development of individuality, he has given considerable thought and attention to this dualism between the Real and the Ideal which has traditionally coloured all philosophic speculation. In view of the intrinsic importance of the issue, it is necessary to examine his position in some detail.

We have seen that the growth of the Self implies that the individual should evolve the inner richness of his being. This cannot, however, be brought about by withdrawing from the world of matter into the seclusion of one's own contemplative activity but by establishing numerous and fruitful contacts with the facts and forces of his environ-

ment. It is as a result of such contact that man has gradually won his ascendancy over the world of Nature—a great creative achievement. Through this stimulating contact, he has sharpened his intellect, built up a great civilization and opened up the possibilities of still greater triumphs. To this indomitable spirit of conquest and adventure in man, he pays a stirring tribute in a poem entitled “The spirit of Earth welcomes the advent of Adam” :

کھول آنکھ زمین دیکھ فلک دیکھ فضا دیکھ
مشرق سے ابھرتے ہوئے سورج کو ذرا دیکھ!

اس جلوۂ بے پردہ کو پردوں میں چھپا دیکھ!
ایامِ جدائی کے ستم دیکھ جفا دیکھ!

بے تاب نہ ہو معرکہٴ بیم ورجا دیکھ!

ہیں تیرے تصرف میں یہ بدل گھٹائیں
یہ گنبدِ افلاک یہ خاموش فضا تیں

یہ کوہِ صحرا یہ سمندر یہ بوئیں
تھیں پیشِ نظر کل تو فرشتوں کی ادائیں

آئیستہ ایام میں آج اپنی ادا دیکھ!

سمجھے گا زمانہ تری آنکھوں کے اشارے! دیکھیں گے تجھے دور سے گردوں کے ستارے!

نابید ترے بحر تحسین کے کنارے! پہنچیں گے فلک تک تری آہوں کے شرارے!

تعمیر خودی کر اثر آہ رسا دیکھ!

خورشید جہاں تاب کی ضو تیرے شر میں! آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیسے مہ میں!

چھپے نہیں بخشے ہوئے فردوس نظر میں! جنت تری پہاں سے تے خون جگر میں!

اے پیکر گل کو شش بہیم کی جسنا دیکھ!

ماندہ ترے عود کا ہزار ازل سے! تو جنس محبت کا خریدار ازل سے!

تو صبرِ غم خانہ اسرار ازل سے! محنت کش و خونریز و کم آزار ازل سے!

ہے راکب تقدیر جہاں تیری رضا دیکھ!

Open thy eyes, look at the earth and the sky,
Look at the sun rising gloriously in the East,
Look at this unveiled glory hidden behind veils;
Suffer the pain and torture of separation;

material conditions which set the stage for the greater part of his conscious activity. Islam, as he puts it, "is not afraid of its contact with matter" but, recognising clearly the intimate and fruitful relation of the Ideal with the Real, says "ves" to the world of matter and exhorts us to use its great resources for the service of the highest spiritual ends! He makes this clear in the language of poetic symbolism :

ولا امر حیات از غنچه در یاب حقیقت در مجازش بے حجاب است
 ز خاک تیره می روید و بسیکن نگاهش بر شعاع آفتاب است

O heart! look for the secret of life in the bud ;

Reality is revealed in its appearance.

It grows out of the dark earth

But keeps its gaze towards the rays of the sun ¹

Thus the Ideal and the Real are not two opposing forces, and the affirmation of the spiritual self demands a willing acceptance of the world of matter with a view to making it an ally in the process of our development. The rank materialist and the narrow-minded biologist may deny all reality

¹ *Payám-i-Mashrûq*, p 65.

mental to the physical and concentrating exclusively on the effort to gain the whole world even at the cost of losing his soul in the process

His position in this behalf is amply confirmed by certain recent developments of thought in Psychology, Education and Biology. Professor Hetherington contributed some years ago a very valuable article to the *Forum of Education*, entitled "The Incidence of Philosophy on Education". The central thought of this contribution has its relevance here. He argues that there is a certain meeting point of the recent work in education, philosophy and social reconstruction. This is the attempt to mitigate the sharpness of the distinctions which were held to prevail between "the world of true being and the temporal and changing world of ordinary experience, between the rational intellect and other powers of the soul." It is coming to be believed more and more that wherever reality is to be found, it is not by turning away from the world of appearances but by penetrating to the full meaning of what is latent there. The practical implication of this for education, according to the writer, is that the school should attempt to elicit the intel-

lectual, æsthetic and moral significance of the ordinary occupations and interests of life and to “find the growing point of the mind in its effort to handle the every-day, concrete problems” The modern reconstruction of curriculum and methods which aims at bringing the social activities and occupations of life into the work of the school and encouraging methods of self-activity, problem-solving and projects may be interpreted as a recognition of this principle with which Iqbal is certainly in agreement.

¹ Iqbal has, however, been criticised from another point of view. In his insistence on the value of the Ideal and the Spiritual, he is accused of soaring so high as to lose all contact with the every-day world of matter in which the ordinary people have their being. Some of his poetry has also been interpreted to imply a dualism between the ideal and the real world, implying a deprecation of the latter. A superficial study of some of his poems does, indeed, lend colour to this charge. Thus, in *Bál-i-Jibríl*, he makes a clear distinction between the “world of mind” (دنی کی دنیا) and the “world of body” (دنی کی دنیا) :

من کی دنیا؛ من کی دنیا سوز و مستی جذبِ شوق
 تن کی دنیا؛ تن کی دنیا سود و سودِ مکر و فریب
 من کی دولت ہاتھ آتی ہے تو پھر بستی نہیں
 تن کی دولت چھاپوں ہوا آتا ہے دھن جاتا ہے دھن !
 من کی دنیا میں نہ پایا میں نے افسرِ تنگی کا راج ؟
 پانی پانی کر گئی مجھ کو قلندر کی یہ بات
 تو مجھ کا جب غیر کے آگے نہ من تیرا نہ تن !

What is the world of the mind ?

It is yearning, intoxication, absorption and eagerness !

What is the world of the body ?

It is profit and loss, artifice and intrigue !

Once achieved, the riches of the mind abide ,

The riches of the body are like the shadows—

They come and they pass away !

There is no foreigner's sway in the world of the mind,

Nor any priests, Shaikhs or Brahmins.

Deeply was I humiliated by the Qalandar's remark ·

“ When you bow before others,

Neither the body nor the mind are yours ¹¹ .

But if we examine the whole trend of his thought—in his poetical works and his *Lectures*—we shall find that the allegation is not correct. He is emphatically opposed to those pseudo-mystics, other worldly idealists and self-centered æsthetes who would cheerfully ignore the evils, injustices and imperfections of this material world, abandon all active effort in behalf of its reconstruction and seek a cowardly compensation in cultivating their own selfish interests—intellectual, artistic or spiritual—in seclusion. He makes this clear in his *Lectures*, saying : “ Such a being as man who has to maintain his life in an obstructing environment cannot afford to ignore the visible. The Quran opens our eyes to the great fact of change, through the appreciation and control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization.” Thus his preoccupation is not with the Immutable and the Unchangeable alone but he is actively concerned with this world of changing phenomena also. It is only by flinging

¹*Bâl-i-Jibril*, p 49.

ourselves like good crusaders into the struggle that we can fulfil the purpose of our life—not by shunning the struggle on earth because our head is in the clouds! Listen to the lament of the “Indian disciple” to his saint, Rumi :

آسمانوں پر مرا شکریہ بنددا! میں زمیں پر خوار و زار و درود منددا!
 کار دنیا میں رہا جاتا ہوں میں! ٹھوکریں اس راہ میں کھاتا ہوں میں!
 کیوں مرے بس کا نہیں کار زمیں؟ ابلہ دنیا ہے کیوں دانائے دیں؟

My thought scans the Heavens,
 But I live on the earth in pain and degradation ;
 I am a failure in the affairs of the world,
 Always stumbling in its thorny path ;
 Why can I not manage this earthly business ?
 Why is the religious sage a fool on earth ?

To this Rumi cryptically replies :

اے کہہ برا منلاک رفتارش بود بر زمیں رفتن چہ دشوارش بود

He who can stalk across the skies
 Should not find it difficult to walk on earth ¹

¹ *Bil-i-Jibril*, pp 189-190

meaning thereby that any one who is really gifted with the intellectual and creative activity of the spirit *must* make a good job of his life here and now. It is a false and degrading "spirituality" which weakly puts up with worldly degeneration and injustice for oneself or one's fellows. The proper cultivation and strengthening of individuality is equally necessary for the conquest of the two worlds—this is the implication of the *Qalandar's* remark in the verses quoted above from *Bál-i-Jibril*: If one is lacking in self-reliance and self-confidence and cultivates a mendicant's mentality, one is likely to forfeit both the worlds at a single stroke.

But while duly cognisant of the claims of the material world, he is keenly devoted to, and appreciative of, the spiritual self in man, and his entire philosophical thought is imbued with a deeply religious spirit. He refuses to believe that the world of matter alone constitutes the whole of Reality and that man should concern himself exclusively with his interests and problems. The goods of the mind and the riches of the spirit, which is always aspiring upward in man, are far too valuable in his eyes to be sacrificed at the altar of a crass material-

ism. Man's creativity is not confined to the reshaping of matter alone ; he has also " the capacity to build a much vaster world in the depths of his own inner being, wherein he discovers sources of infinite joy and inspiration"—in art and poetry, literature and science, philosophy and religion. In the pursuit of these cultural and spiritual values, he should make use of the physical world as his raw material and exploit its possibilities for strengthening the *upward movement of the human spirit*. " The relation of man to Nature must be exploited," he warns us, " in the interest not of unrighteous desire but in the nobler interest of a free, upward movement of spiritual life."¹ Education must keep this ideal in view if it is to fulfil its great mission in modern life.

¹*Lectures*, p. 15.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

THE modern stress on Individuality, with which Iqbal has expressed his agreement, naturally raises several questions. What is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society? Does the cultivation of the individuality imply that the educated men and women will be unmindful of their social obligations and their dependence on the cultural achievements of their people? What is the respective importance of the individual and the group of which he is a member? Should the development of the individual be regarded as the supreme end of the life process and the State as merely an instrument of his development? Or should we subscribe to Hegel's view that the state is a super-personal entity whose strength and integrity are far more important than the rights of individuals? Iqbal, as we have seen, attaches the highest value to individuality but — and this is a significant characteristic of his philoso-

phic thought—he is not betrayed into an untenable and extreme position and takes a balanced view of their respective claims. He duly recognizes the importance of the culture-patterns of community life, which some of the “New Educationists” have tended to ignore in their eagerness to stress individuality as the end of the educative process and the goal of social endeavour. They have been inclined to overlook the fact that the growth of a full and free personality is impossible except as it draws its spiritual sustenance from the culture of the group to which it belongs. This extreme view has been naturally followed by a violent reaction which the various totalitarian theories represent, exalting the “type”, wholly subservient to the state, above the free, self-determined individual. Discussing this issue in the Year Book of Education (1936), with reference particularly to its bearings on education, Professor Clarke makes this significant remark: “For, whatever else education may mean, it must mean primarily the self-perpetuation of an accepted culture—a culture which is the life of a determined society. This is true whether the cultural process is regarded, with the individualists, as the maturing

of a free personality through the cultural sustenance which the life of a society can offer ; or, with the totalitarians, as the affirmation of the one spiritual whole, in its temporary and partial bearers and servants, the citizens.”¹ Education must, therefore, produce the “ type,” but, as he is careful to explain, it is equally necessary that, in the words of Professor Hocking, “ it must provide for growth beyond the type.” Modern educational theory, therefore, must concentrate particularly upon “ the critical issue of a double relation of the type to society—on the one hand, the claim of the society to perpetuate itself in the type and, on the other hand, the claim of the type to become more than a type—a person—and so to react fruitfully, if critically, upon the society which has produced him.”² In the tragic conflict of political doctrines it must seek for its anchor somewhere between the disruptive and disintegrating influences of the one and the wholly repressive and inhibitory forces of the other.

Iqbal has discussed this issue with keen insight in his second *Masnavi*, *Rumúz-i-Bekhudá* (The Mysteries of Selflessness), the whole of which is an eloquent

¹*Year Book of Education*, p 249

²*Ibid* , p 254

presentation of the intimacy of relationship between the individual and the cultural life of the community in which he lives, moves and has his being. Alone, he is weak and powerless, his energies are scattered and his aims narrow, diffuse and indefinite. It is the active and living membership of a vital community that confers on him a sense of power and makes him conscious of great collective purposes which deepen and widen the scope and significance of his individual Self.

فرد قائم ربطِ ملت سے ہے، تنہا کچھ نہیں
 موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرونِ دریا کچھ نہیں

The individual exists in relation to the community,
 Alone, he is nothing!
 The wave exists in the river,
 Outside the river it is nothing!¹

This is how Iqbal crystallizes his conception of their mutual relationship :

¹*Bāng-i-Darī*, p 210.

فردمی گیر و زملت احترام	ملت از افرادی یا بد نظام
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود	قطره و سحمت طلبت لازم شود
در روش ذوق نمود از ملت است	احتساب کار او از ملت است
در زبان قوم گویا نمی شود	بر ره اسلاف پویا می شود
هر که آب از زمزم ملت نخورد	شعله های نغمه در عودش فسرد
فرد تنها از مهت اصدا غافل است	قوتش آشفتنگی را مائل است
قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش	نرم رو مثل صبا گرداندش

The individual gains significance through the Community,

The Community achieves its organization through individuals ;

When the individual loses himself in the Community,

The drop, striving for expansion, becomes the ocean

The Community inspires him with the desire for self-expression

The Community makes its reckoning with his work.

He speaks the language of his people

And treads the path of his forefathers.
 Whoever does not drink at the *Zamzam* of the Community
 The flames of music turn to ashes in his lute ¹
 By himself, the individual grows indifferent to his purposes,
 His powers are inclined to become dormant ;
 The Community invests him with self-discipline,
 Making his movements rhythmic like the breeze ¹

Having explained how the individual's powers and purposes take their inspiration and their characteristic colour from the life of the community, he exhorts him thus :

پتول گہر در رشته آویخته شو ورنہ مانند غبار آشفته شو

Either string yourself like a jewel in its chain
 Or be wafted about aimlessly like the dust²

He explains how, through such relationship, the individual may even transcend mortality and gain an ever-abiding significance. "The individual who loses himself in the community"—*i e.*, in the service of its great and worthy ideals and purposes—"reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and ever-

¹*Rumuz-1-Bekhudī*, pp 98-99

²*Ibid* , p 145.

lasting.”¹

What, it may be asked, is the right basis for the unity of a community? What is the cementing bond which gives coherence to its life and links up its members into one indivisible whole? The modern age is obviously obsessed with the mania of territorial patriotism and racial fanaticism and regards race and country as the integrating forces in the life of a people. The nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries had accentuated the sentiment of a narrow patriotism and, before the comparatively recent movements of international socialism could make much headway to break down national antagonisms, the new doctrines of Fascism and Nazism, with their ideology of race-worship and hatred of other races, have ushered in a still more dangerous and reactionary tendency. Against this gloomy background, it is refreshing to study Iqbal's point of view which is really an expression of the political philosophy of Islam. He is strongly opposed to the ideas of race and colour and to narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism because they obstruct the development of a broad, humanitarian

¹*The Secrets of the Self*, p. xiv, (Preface).

outlook. According to him, it is not racial or geographical unity—mere accidents of time and space—which should form the stable basis of a people's coherence. It is the unity of emotions and outlook, of purposes and endeavour, the merging of individual selves in the service of great, co-operative ideals and objectives which cement a collection of individuals into a genuine *Millat* (community).

ملت از یک رنگی دلہا ستے	روشن از یک جلوہ این سینا ستے
قوم را اندیشہ با باید یکے	در ضمیرش مدعا با باید یکے
جذبہ باید در سرشت اویکے	ہم عیار خوب و زشت اویکے
اصل ملت در وطن دیدن کہ چہ	باد و آب و گل پرستیدن کہ چہ
برنسب نازاں شدن ناوانی است	حکم اواندر تن و تن منافی است
ملت ما را اساس دیگر است	این اساس اندر ول ما مضمر است

The unity of hearts brings the *Millat* into being;
 This *Sina* is aglow with that single flame;
 A nation should have a unity of ideas,

One single purpose running through its mind ,
 A unity of sentiments should inspire its being ;
 It should have a single criterion for good and evil ;
 What is this folly, identifying the *Millat* with the
 Country ?

What is this folly, worshipping water and air and clay ?
 It is folly to pride oneself on heredity,
 For it has sway over the body and the body is mortal.
 The Muslim's *Millat* has an entirely different basis
 A basis enshrined in the sanctuary of our hearts ¹

He defines *millat* in psychological terms thus :

پہمیت ملت اے کہ گوئی لا الہ؟	باہر اراں چشم بودن یک نگہ!
اہل حق را حجت و عوئے یکے است	”خیمہ ہائے ماجرا“ دلہا یکے است
زہہ با از یک نگاہی آفتاب	یک نگہ شو تا شود حق بے حجاب
یک نگاہی را چشم کم ہمیں	از تنہی ہائے توحید است ایں!
مردہ؛ از یک نگاہی زندہ شو	بگذر از بے مرکزی پابندہ شو
وحدتِ افکار و کردار آفریں	تاشوی اندر جہاں صلح نگیں

¹ Rumúz-i-Békhudí, pp 106-107

What is *Millat*, ye believers in the oneness of God ?
 It means having one sight in a thousand eyes¹
 For the men of truth have the same reasoning and
 assertion :
 " Our tents may be separate but our hearts are united ! "
 Unity of outlook transforms specks of dust into the
 Sun ;
 Have singleness of Vision and you will see Truth un-
 veiled,
 Do not look down upon this Unity of Outlook ;
 It is but a reflection of the Unity of God !
 Art thou dead ? This unity of outlook will revive thee ;
 Give up this life without a centre and attain firmness.
 Would'st thou attain domination and power ?
 Achieve the unity of thought and action¹

When such a creative unity of outlook has been achieved, it becomes, for good or evil, a source of unlimited power for individuals as well as the community. Without such unity the community becomes disorganized, feeble, dead :

زنده مند از ارتباط جان و تن زنده قوم از حفظ ناموس کهن
 مرگ مند از خشکی رود حیات مرگ قوم از ترک مقصود حیات

¹*Jávid Námah*, p 227.

The individual exists through the *relation of the body*
to the mind ;

The nation exists through conserving the honour of its
past

The individual dies if the river of life goes dry,
The nation dies if it lets go off the Purpose of life ¹

Of course, this unity of outlook and emotions is by itself just a source of power which may be used for any ends. The ethical value of this power depends upon the nature of the ideas and ideals to which it is wedded. These we shall, however, discuss in a later chapter.

Unlike some modern thinkers, who are impatient and contemptuous of the past and its cultural achievements and would gladly wipe the slate of history clean in order to write on it anew, Iqbal, as we have seen, realizes the power of the past and is keenly aware of the value of History in the education and the general evolution of a people. He realizes that a community cannot gain a true understanding of its inner self without an intelligent study of its own history and historical evolution. It is the gradual, cumulative appreciation of its manifold cultural associations 'which knits it into a

strong unity and brings it to intellectual maturity :

ملتی نوزادہ مثل طفلک است	طفلکے کو درکتِ اِمامک است
طفلکے از خویش تن نا آگہے	گوہرِ آلودہ خاکِ رہے ہے
بتہ با امروزِ او فردا اش نیست	حلقہٴ لائے روز و شبِ پاش نیست
چشمِ مستی را مثالِ مردم است	غیرِ اِبنیندہ و از خود گم است
صدگرہ از رشتہٴ خود و کند	تا سیرِ نارِ خودی پیدا کند
گرم چؤلِ افتد بکارِ روزگار	این شعورِ تازہ گردد پایدار
سرگزشت او گرازیادش رود	باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

A new-born *Millat* is like a young child,
 Nestling in the lap of his nurse ;
 A child who does not know himself yet,
 A jewel overlaid by the road-side dust ,
 Its today is not linked up with its tomorrow,
 Its feet untrammelled by the chain of day and night ;
 It is like the pupil of eye of existence,
 Which sees others but is invisible to itself,
 It unties a hundred knots from its chain

Till it unwinds the end of the thread of the Self,
 When it warms up to the struggle of existence,
 The new consciousness grows keener and stronger,
 If it becomes oblivious of its past history
 It lapses into non-existence ¹

But the history to which he would assign a place of honour in education is not just an amusing story or a legend, recounting interesting happenings of bygone ages. It is history which vividly recreates the past, mirrors, as in a looking glass, the sources and achievements of the peoples' culture and gives them a true understanding of their place and function in the general march of mankind. The living assimilation of past history gives them a fresh sense of power and self-confidence and strengthens their individuality.

چھیت تاریخ اے ز خود بیگانہ داستانے قصہٴ افسانہ
 این ترا از خویش تن آگ کند آشنائے کار و مرد در کند
 ہم چو خنجر بر فسانت می زند باز بر روی سہجہانت می زند

¹Rumîz-i-Békhudî, p 171

شعلہٴ افسردہ در سوزشِ نگر دوش در آغوشِ امروزشِ نگر
 شمعِ او بختِ اُمم را کوب است روشن ازوے مشبہم دیشب است
 چشمِ بچکائے کہ بند رفتہ را پیش تو باز آفریند رفتہ را
 ضبط کن تاریخ را پابندہ شو از نفس ہائے مہیدہ زندہ شو
 سرزند از ماضی تو حال تو خیز و از حال تو استقبال تو
 مشکن از خواہی حیاتِ لازوال رشتہٴ ماضی را استقبال و حال
 موج اورا کہ تسلسل زندگی است مے کشاں را اشورِ قفلِ زندگی است

What is history, O stranger to thyself?

A tale, a story or a fable?

No! It makes thee Conscious of Self,
Capable in action and efficient in quest;

Sharpens thee like a dagger on the whetstone
And then strikes thee on the face of thy world.

Behold the dormant flame in its fire,
Behold Tomorrow in the lap of its Today!

Its candle lights the luck of the nation
Making bright both tonight and yesternight.

The experienced eye that beholds the past

Recreates its image before thee ;
 Assimilate history and grow strong,
 Drawing life from the breaths that are gone ;
 Thy Present rears its head out of the Past
 And thy Future emerges out of the Present ;
 Would'st thou achieve the everlasting life ?
 Then break not the bonds of the past with the present
 and the future.

Life is the perception of the surge of continuity ;
 For the wine-drinkers, it is the gurgling of the wine in
 the flask.¹

Iqbal also holds that, in periods of decadence, a people can gain new vitality by turning to the healthy sources of their past culture. By striking their feet, as it were, firmly on the ground of this culture, they gain, like Antæus, fresh power and inspiration. In such critical periods, he deprecates excessive individualism and unchecked liberty of thought :

مضمحل گرد و چو تقویم حیات ملت از تفتلیدی گیر و ثبات
 راه آبار که این جمعیت است معنی تفتلید ضبط ملت است

¹Rumûz-ı-Békhudî, pp 172-73

بحر کم کردی زیاں اندیش باش حافظِ حجتے کم آبِ خویش باش
 اجتہاد اندر زمانِ انحطاط قوم را بر ہم ہی پیچید بساط
 ز اجتہادِ عالمانِ کم نظر اقتدا بر رفتگان محفوظ تر

When the texture of life has become weak and worn
 out,

The community gains stability through imitation ;
 Tread the path of thy fathers—it brings about unity ;
 Imitation then makes for the discipline of the com-
 munity ;

Thou hast lost the ocean ; learn to count thy loss ;
 Guard carefully the water in thy small stream .

Ijtihad in the age of decadence

Dislocates the texture of a nation's life ;

The following of those who have gone before

Is safer than the *Ijtihad* of narrow-minded scholars ¹

If these verses are taken by themselves, without reference to the general trend of Iqbal's thought, they would seem to favour a static or conservative conception of culture and an obvious discounting of the dynamic, forward-looking forces. But, as a

¹*Rumuz-i-Bekhudī*, pp 143-44

matter of fact, with the freedom of the poet, Iqbal has here drawn pointed attention to *one* important aspect of the situation only. To get his view-point into proper perspective, it is necessary to take his ideas as a whole and evaluate them with reference to the general trend of his thinking. Such a comprehensive view would show that his is a kindred spirit to Goethe and Carlyle, keenly appreciative of the rôle of original, creative individuals in the development and progressive reconstruction of the life of a community. The social order always tends to be stable and stationary; it is only such individuals, possessing independence of thought and originality of vision, who can give it new values and bring a dynamic urge into its routine ways. When a community becomes lazy, slothful, disinclined to effort and averse to change, some great individual is born to give it a new impetus :

سُست بے جان تار و پودِ کارِ او ناکشودہ غنچہ سپندِ اَرِ او
 جانِ او از سخت کوشی رَم زند چخبر دردِ امانِ فطرت کم زند

تا خدا صاحب دے پیدا کند کو زحر فے دفترے املا کند
 ساز پر دازے کہ از آوازه، خاک را بخش حیاتِ تازه
 نازہ اندازِ نظر پیدا کند گلستاں در دشتِ در پیدا کند
 عقلِ عسریاں را دہد پیرایہ بخشد ایں بے مایہ را سایہ
 بند لا از پانکشاں بندہ را از حسد او نداں رُبا بندہ را
 گویدش تو بندہ دگیر نہ زین بہستان بے زباں کمتر نہ

The web and woot of its activity is slow and lifeless ;
 The bud of its intellect is not opened ;
 He fights shy of effort and struggle,
 And does not exploit the treasures of Nature
 God then brings into being some inspired person,
 Who expands one word into a volume ;
 A player who, with his musical notes,
 Endows this clay with a new life ;
 He creates new lines of insight
 And brings the garden to blossom in the desert ;
 He gives new forms to the naked intellect,
 And invests its poverty with riches ;
 He strikes off the fetters from the feet of the slaves

And frees them from the tyranny of gods ;
He reassures them that they are not others' slaves,
Nor inferior to these muted idols.¹

This idea recurs very frequently in his poetry and is to be found as a central motif of thought in all his writings :

فرد بر منی خمیند از مُشتِ گلے قوم زاید از دلِ صاحبِ دِلے

The individual is born of a handful of dust,
The nation is born out of the heart of an inspired individual²

Of such great and unique individuals, he sings with lyrical fervour :

مردِ حق از آسماں اُفتد چو برق ہمیزم اوشهر و دشتِ غرب و شرق
ماہمہ با سوزِ اوصاحبِ لیم ورنہ نقشِ باطلسِ آب و گِلم

The man of God descends from Heaven like lightning,
Consuming in his fire cities and plains, the East and
West ;

We are all emotionally inspired by his fire,
Otherwise we are but evanescent forms of water and
clay.³

¹ *Rumîz-ı Bekhudi*, pp. 102-03

² *Ibid*, p. 136

³ *Jâvid Nâmah*, p. 244

It need hardly be pointed out that Iqbal is using here the language of metaphor. He does not obviously look forward to the coming of some great blood-thirsty conqueror, a scourge to the East and the West, the towns and the country side. As the second verse indicates, he should be a man with uniqueness of vision and intensity of feeling who would broaden our outlook and our sympathies. He does certainly clear away the cobwebs of old, effete and out-worn institutions and inspire mankind with a new message of hope and creative life, making them *sahib-dil*, i.e., people with sensitive hearts. But, for Iqbal, this doctrine of individuality is not a mere academic thesis. In his later thought, at least, it is charged with an urgent practical significance. The reason appears to be twofold. On the one hand, he has a poignant realization of the general decadence that has beset the Muslim world for the last two centuries, due largely to the lack of the right kind of intellectual and moral leadership. Secondly, the recrudescence of certain political movements in Europe which seek to repress the freedom of the individual through the over-organization of collective life have made him doubly cognisant of the

value of Individuality. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal has given unambiguous expression to his attitude on the question. In an interesting and thoughtful discussion of the destruction of Baghdad in the 13th century, which brought general disintegration of the Muslim world in its wake, he points out how the conservative thinkers of the period had focussed all their efforts and attention on "the one point of preserving a uniform social life for the people by a jealous exclusion of all innovations . . . Their leading idea was social order, and there is no doubt they were partly right, because organization does to a certain extent counteract the forces of decay. But they did not see, and our modern Ulama do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization *as on the worth and power of individual men*. In an over-organized society, an individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole world of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection—such as we see in many Eastern and Western countries to-day¹ — constitute no remedy for the peoples'

¹Including our own country.

decay . . . The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depths of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision."

This argument is particularly relevant to certain collectivist states in Europe to-day where over-organization and a "false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection" have killed freedom of thought and arrested the forward movement of the human spirit. Iqbal quotes, with approval, a modern historian in this connection: "The verdict of history is that worn-out ideas have never risen to power among a people who have worn them out." Thus, on a careful weighing of evidence, it would be wrong to accuse Iqbal of taking a static view of human culture. For him, the development of individuality inevitably implies what he has called "the principle of movement in thought" without which the wings of human spirit become clipped and it begins to subsist *only on fruitless*, "worn-out ideas."

CHAPTER V

CREATIVE EVOLUTION

EQUIPPED with a free personality and in active contact with his environment, man sets out on his career of unlimited development and conquest which, in its essence, is the process of his education. What is Iqbal's conception of the role of a man in the Universe and of the nature of this Universe which surrounds him? Philosophy has always been preoccupied with this problem, and it matters profoundly for education whether one takes a mechanistic or creative, pessimistic or optimistic, determinist or free view of man's life and activity on earth. Iqbal definitely rejects the idea of a closed, predetermined Universe in which nothing new can ever take place, which is subject to Nietzsche's gloomy law of "eternal recurrence". Discussing the character of the Universe in the light of Quranic teaching, he points out that it is not the result of mere creative sport but is a serious and meaningful reality which must be accepted with all

its opportunities and limitations. Nor is it a block-
Universe given ready-made, once for all—finished,
immobile, incapable of change “To my mind,”
he remarks. “there is nothing more alien to the
Quranic world than the idea that the Universe is a
temporal working-out of a preconceived plan . . .
an already completed product which left the hand
of its Maker ages ago and is now lying stretched in
space as a dead mass of matter to which time does
nothing and consequently is nothing.”¹ It is really
a growing Universe, capable of infinite increase
and extension; for “deep in its being lies perhaps
the dream of a new birth.”² To the pessimist,
who doubts the great possibilities of man's further
evolution, he says :

گمان مبرکہ بیایاں بسید کلامیاں ہزار بادۂ ناخیز روہ در رنگ تالک است

Imagine not that the tavern-keeper's work
Has come to its appointed end ;
For there are a thousand wines still,
Untasted, in the veins of the grape ³

He puts it more unambiguously still :

¹Lectures, p 48.

²Ibid, p. 16.

³Payam-i-Mashriq, p 108.

یہ کائنات ابھی نامتام ہے شاید کہ آ رہی ہے ماد صدائے کن فیکون!

This Universe is perhaps still unfinished,
That one can still hear the command
"Let there be and lo! it is born" ¹

This Universe, then, which is an open, unfinished entity, constantly undergoing increase and extension, provides a stimulating field for man's free and creative activity through which, on the one hand, he conquers the world of Nature and, on the other, brings to perfection the powers of his individuality. The Universe was chaotic, rough-hewn, dominated by wild beasts and untamed natural forces. It is man who has brought order, beauty and utility into it and, with pardonable impudence, he challenges God Himself and claims to have improved His handiwork beyond recognition :

توشب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم سفال آفریدی ایام آفریدم
بیابان و کہسار و راع آفریدی خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم
من آنم کہ از رنگ آئینہ سازم من آنم کہ از زہر نوشینہ سازم

¹Bâl-i-Jibril, p 44

Thou created the night, I the lamp ;
 Thou created the clay, I the vase
 Thou created the jungle, mountains and deserts,
 I created beautiful gardens, orchards and flower plots.
 It is I who make glass out of stone,
 It is I who extract elixir out of poison ¹

Dissatisfied with the imperfect world in which he finds himself and failing to perceive that it is just this imperfection which brings out his latent creativity, he feels irritated :

صدجہاں می روید از کشتن خیال ما چو گل یک جہان و آن ہم از خون تمنا ساختی
 طرح نوا فلکن کہ ماجدت پسندافا وہیم ایں چہ حیرت خانہ امرز و فردا ساختی

A hundred worlds beautiful as flowers,
 Spring out of my imagination ;
 But one world hast Thou created,
 Even that is steeped in the blood of desire ;
 Bring new patterns into being,
 For our nature yearns for originality.
 What is this wonderhouse of todays and tomorrows
 That Thou hast created around us ?²

What is Iqbal's vision of the destiny of man ? What

¹ *Payām-i-Mashrūq*, p 132

² *Ibid* , p 183

is the role which he is to play on this stage? In the earliest stages of his career, man is surrounded on all sides by forces of obstruction. But he is by nature restless, inquisitive, “engrossed in a ceaseless quest after fresh scopes for self-expression.” As the possessor of a free personality, he is superior to nature and all other created beings. In his innermost being, he is essentially “a creative activity”, shaping his own destiny and that of his Universe now by adjusting himself to it, now by pressing its forces into the service of his increasing purposes

In his *Payám-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East), he gives a fascinating picture of man’s spiritual evolution on earth in a poem entitled *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature). In the first section, *Milád-i-Adam* (The Birth of Adam), he points out how Adam—man born of passive clay but a centre of creative and dynamic energy, gifted with the powers of action, appreciation, intelligence and love—creates, in the quiet harmony and stability of the Universe, a disturbance fraught with far-reaching consequences, because he has the capacity to defeat the inertia of matter and to reconstruct the Universe nearer to his heart’s desire.

نعرہ زد عشق کہ خونیں جگر سے پیدائش حسن لرزید کہ صاحبِ نظر سے پیدائش
 فطرت آشفت کہ از خاکِ جہانِ مجبور خود گمے خود شکنے، خود نگمے پیدائش
 خبرے رفت لگروں بہشتانِ ازل حذر اے پردگیانِ پرودہ سے پیدائش
 آرزو پیچہ از خویش باغوشِ حیات چشم اکر دو جہانِ دگمے پیدائش

Love acclaimed the birth of the being with a bleeding
 heart ;
 Beauty trembled at the birth of the being gifted with
 vision ;

Nature was worried that, out of passive clay,
 Was born at last a being ;
 Self-creating, self-destroying, self-regarding.

Word went round from the heavens to the solitude of
 Eternity ;

Beware, ye who are veiled, the render of veils is born
 at last !

Desire, unconscious of self, wrapt in slumber,
 Opened its eyes in the lap of life,
 And lo ! a new world came into being ¹

Through his creativity he has been able to defeat
 his own limitations and, as Bergson has lucidly

¹ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 97.

argued, by developing motor mechanisms and the plastic instrument of language and by evolving a rich social life he has conquered both space and time and added immeasurably to his powers of activity. As Iqbal puts it :

زطیّارہ ما بال و پر ختیم سوئے آسمان رہگذر ختیم

We made the aeroplane into our wings,
And wended our way to the skies ¹

In this process of active reconstruction and change he becomes a co-worker with God and begins to assume the initiative in bringing about far-reaching changes in the natural as well as the social and moral world around him.

In his *Jávid Námah*, the voice of God (*Nidá-i-Jamál*) addresses man in the following unforgettable words, appealing to his innate freedom and creativity :

زندگی ہم فانی و ہم باقی است ایں ہمہ خلّاقی و مشتاقی است!
زندہ؟ مشتاق شو خلّاق شو ہم چو ماگیرندہ آفاق شو!

¹ *Payám-i-Mashriq*, p. 162

در شکن آنرا که ناید سازگار از ضمیر بخود دگر عالم بسیار
 بنده آزاد را آید گراں ز لیستن اندر سبهاں دیگران
 هر که او را قوتِ تخلیق نیست پیش ما جز کافرو ز ندیق نیست!
 از جمالِ ما نصیبِ خود نبرد، از نخمس ز ندگانی بر نخورد
 مرد حق! برنده چون شمشیر باش خود جهان خویش را اقتدیر باش!

Life is both mortal and immortal,
 It is all creativity and eagerness;
 Art thou alive? Be eager, be creative;
 Like Us conquer the whole Universe!
 Shatter into pieces what is uncongenial,
 Bring forth another world out of thy imagination!
 It is irksome to the man who is free
 To live in a world of others' making!
 He who lacks the power of creation
 Is naught to us but an atheist and an agnostic!
 He has not taken his share of Our Beauty,
 He has not eaten the fruit of the tree of life.
 Man of Truth! Be sharp and incisive like the sword,
 Be the destiny of thy own world.¹

¹Javid Námah, p. 225.

This is a ringing challenge to man to shatter this "sorry scheme of things entire" into bits and actively to build a new and better social order. Such a view of his destiny, recognizing its great possibilities and insisting on strenuous endeavour, avoids the temptation of a cheap, facile optimism as well as the paralysing effect of a gloomy pessimism. It is in consonance with the attitude of Islam on the relation between the individual and the Universe. Iqbal elucidates the position in these words: "To the optimist Browning all is well with the world; to the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind will expresses itself in a variety of living things which bemoan their existence for a moment and then disappear for ever . . . The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the Universe . . . We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran 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 recognizes a growing Universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual triumph over evil"¹

An analysis of Iqbal's philosophical position also shows that he is opposed both to the mechanistic determinism of the physical sciences which deny autonomy and freedom to man and believe in a rigid causality,² and to that false interpretation of teleology which holds that "all is given ready-made somewhere in eternity and the temporal order of events is nothing more than a mere imitation of the eternal mould." The latter view, he argues, is "hardly distinguishable from mechanism; in fact, it is a kind of veiled materialism in which fate or destiny takes the place of rigid determinism, leaving no scope for human or even divine intervention."³ The world, visualized as "a process realizing a preordained goal," is poles apart from Iqbal's *weltanschauung*, because it is not "a world of free, responsible moral agents... [but] only a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of a

¹Lectures, p 78.

²More recent developments in Physics and Biology, however, are tending to shake the scientists' belief in rigid determinism (see e.g., Joad's *Guide to Modern Thought*).

³Lectures, p 51.

pull from behind.”¹ The relevance of this discussion here is that such a view, consciously or unconsciously, inspires the popular interpretation of *Taqdir* (Destiny), a doctrine which has long maintained a firm hold on the minds of the people of the East and has tragically paralyzed their powers of action. It denies creativity to man and interprets the movement of history as “a gradually revealed photo of a predetermined order of events” If this were true, there would be “no room in it for novelty and initiation. Consequently, we can attach no meaning to the word creation, which has a meaning for us only in view of our capacity for original action” Iqbal’s own interpretation of Destiny, which takes its inspiration from the Quran, is significant. “The destiny of a thing is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master ; 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 compulsion.”² It follows, therefore, that for every individual “the future exists only as an open possibility and not as a reality or as a fixed

¹Lectures, p. 52.

²*Ibid* , p. 48.

order of events with definite outlines.”¹ It also implies that time is a creative factor and gives scope for free activity and development ; it is not a “mere repetition of homogeneous moments which make conscious experience a delusion” and the idea of freedom and creation a mockery. Such a view removes the oppressive weight of an inexorable Destiny from our shoulders, and we realize, with Iqbal, that “every act of a free Ego creates a new situation and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding . . . [that] every moment in the life of Reality is original, giving birth to what is absolutely novel and unforeseeable. That is why it is impossible to explain the creative activity of life in terms of mechanism . . . Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination and thus falls outside the domain of necessity”² The true interpretation of life, then, according to Iqbal (as well as Bergson), is that it is a constant process of Becoming, a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes and values to which we subject our growing activity. “We become.” says Iqbal tersely, “by ceasing to be what we are. Life

¹Lectures, p 58

²Ibid , p 48.

is a passage through a series of deaths"¹ but even death cannot quench its surging flame!

Iqbal does not believe that the process of creative Evolution has come to an end with the emergence of man in the existing spatio-temporal order or that man's present structure, physiological and mental, is the consummation of biological evolution. He has an earnest and contagious faith in the unlimited possibilities of man's development; he visualizes him as destined to win his way, through persistent efforts and struggles, to the position of God's vice-regency on Earth and to achieve immortality. He is acutely dissatisfied with men as they now are—inferior in calibre, limited in intellect, full of meanness and cruelty—and often raises his voice in challenging lament to God against their inferiority:

نقشِ دگر طرازِ آدمِ پخته‌تر بیاور
 لعبتِ خاکِ ساختنِ منی‌ش نزد خدایِ را

Fashion a new pattern,
 Bring a more perfect Adam into existence;
 This making of playthings of clay
 Is not worthy of God the Creator ²

¹Lectures, p 52

²Payam-i-Mashriq, p 192

And :

ہو نقش اگر باطل تکرار سے کیا حاصل
کیا تجھ کو خوش آتی ہے آم کی بیہ زبانی؟

If the pattern is poor what does repetition avail?

How can the cheapness of man meet Thy approval? ¹

His qualified admiration for Nietzsche—with whose ideas he has certain superficial similarities which have misled many students of his thought—is based on the German philosopher's search for a better *type of manhood, the Superman*. He sums up his position thus :

ازستی عنصرا انسان دلش تپید
فکر حکیم پیکر محکم تر آف سید

His heart fretted over the lethargy of man's capacities,

His profound mind produced a more durable pattern ²

But while Nietzsche despairs of men as they are, is contemptuous of all democratic movements and their possibilities and hopes for the miraculous appearance of his superman, Iqbal has faith in his fellow beings and in the power of the right ideology and right education to transform them by developing their inner richness :

¹ *Bâl-i-Jibrîl*, p 31

² *Payâm-i-Mashrûq*, p 238

عروج آدمِ خاکی سے انجم پہنچتے ہیں
کہ یہ ٹوٹا ہوا تارا مہِ کامل نہ بن جائے

The stars tremble in their courses over man's upward
march

Lest this fallen star should become the perfect moon!¹

Life, as he sees it, is a perpetual motion, a continuous journey of man to new goals and undreamt of triumphs ; rest spells death.

راہرو کو داند اسرارِ سفر ترسد از منزل ز حسنِ زبیر
عشق در ہجر و وصال آسودہ نیست بے جمال لایزال آسودہ نیست
ابتدا پیشِ بستاں افتادگی انتہا از دلبراں آزادگی
کیشِ ما مانند موجِ تیز گام اختیارِ جادہ و ترکِ مقام

The wayfarer who knows the secrets of travel
Is more afraid of the goal than of the highway dacoit
Love rests not in the stages of unity and separation
It is content with naught but immortal Beauty,

¹Bâl-i-Jibrîl, p 14.

It begins with prostration before idols
 And ends with liberation from the beloved
 Our creed, like that of the swift-footed wave,
 Is the adoption of the road and rejection of the goal ¹

Hence we find that a note of optimism about the future of mankind is at least as frequent in his poetry as that of disappointment with his actual achievements :

مشو نو امید زین مشتِ غبارے پریشاںِ جلوۂ ناپائیدارے
 چو فطرت می تراشد سبکیے را مٹا مش می کند در روزگارے

Despair not of this handful of dust,
 Unsteady of light and transitory ;
 Whenever Nature fashions a form,
 It perfects it in due course of time ^{1 2}

Man is the repository of unlimited powers waiting to be exploited, and what is important is man's *promise*, not his failures or actual achievements.

ز انجسم تا بخرم صد جہاں بود خرد ہر جا کہ پر زد آسماں بود
 و بس کن چوں بخود نگریت تم من کراں بیکراں در من نہاں بود

¹ *Payûm-i-Mashrûq*, p 48

² *Ibid*, p 88

There are a hundred worlds from Star to Star.
 Wherever Intellect flies, it finds new skies,
 But when I looked deep into myself,
 Lo! a boundless ocean was hidden within me ¹

To Iqbal this terrestrial world, with its priceless asset of human personality is far more significant and valuable than the great heavens with all their suns and stars. When the heavens taunt the Earth with its darkness and pettiness saying :

بچوں تو در پہناتے من کو رہے کجا جز بقیقتِ عالم ترا نور رہے کجا
 یا بزمی با ساز و برگِ دلبری یا بمیر از ننگِ وعارِ کمتری

There is no dark planet like thee in my domain,
 Lightless and blind but for my lamp ;
 Either live clothed in attraction
 Or die of the shame of inferiority ²

the Earth is saddened. But the Voice of Life cheers it up, reminding it that it is the throb of conscious and creative life in man, living in the bosom of the Earth, which gives meaning to the Universe :

¹ *Paydm-i-Mashriq*, p 48

² *Javid Námah*, p 8.

اے ایمینے از امانت بے خبر غم مخور، اندر ضمیرِ خودِ نگر
 روز ہا روشن ز غوغائے حیات نے ازاں نوے کے کہ بینی درجہات
 عقلِ آدم بر جہاں شبنوں زند عشقِ اوبر لامکاں شبنوں زند
 داغہا شوید ز داماں وجود بے نگاہِ اوجہاں کور و کبودا
 ہر کہ عاشق شد جمالِ ذاتِ را اوست سیدِ جملہ موجوداتِ را

Trustee, unaware of the sacred trust !
 Grieve not, look into thyself ;
 The days are brightened by the bustle of life
 Not by this physical light visible around ;
 The Intellect of man launches its attack on the Universe,
 His Love aims at the conquest of Infinity ;
 It washes away the stains from the garment of Existence ;
 Without it, the eyes of the Universe would be dark and blind,
 " Whoso loves truly the beauty of Being
 Becomes the master of all that exists " ¹

¹ *Javid Namah*, pp 9-10.

CHAPTER VI

REVOLT AGAINST INTELLECTUALISM

WE have discussed, in a preceding chapter, Iqbal's conception of the growth of Individuality and seen how he insists on the importance of creative activity in the life of man and holds that intellect has been evolved for the service of action. He has emphatically expressed the belief that knowledge, divorced from activity, is apt to become dead and superficial. This represents one phase of his revolt against the "over-intellectualism" of modern thought; we have now to consider another and more characteristic phase of his thought—namely, the relation between Intellect and Intuition or what, in the language of poetry, he calls "Love," using the word in a particular and significant sense.

Ethics and Philosophy have always been concerned with the problem of *how* man's growing activity is to be controlled and guided. This search for the ethical principle for the guidance of conduct

has led various schools of thought to different conclusions. Modern thought, deeply influenced by the development of the physical and biological sciences which represent a magnificent triumph of the human mind, has tended to regard the Intellect as providing a wholly adequate instrument for the guidance of life's activities. Discussing the implications of experimentalism, as a philosophical attitude, Childs, an American representative of this school of thought, remarks: "Experimentally controlled experience is an adequate means for guiding and regulating human affairs, provided men develop the attitudes and the dispositions which the critical, constructive use of this method demands."¹ Not only the pragmatists like Dewey and Kilpatrick but also Russell and other scientific thinkers hold that all the complicated problems of the modern world—social, political, ethical and psychological—can be solved by releasing human intelligence from its bondage to superstition and obscurantism and giving it supreme command over our lives.

Iqbal here parts company with these thinkers and

¹Child's *Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism*

makes common cause with Bergson in impeaching contemporary thought and civilization for over-stressing the Intellect at the expense of Intuition or Love. He reverts to this theme—the relationship of Intellect or *Khabar* to Intuition which, in his poetry as well as his *Lectures*, he variously calls *Ishq* or *Nazar*. He begins with pointing out that there are two different ways of apprehending Reality, and each has its special function and purpose in the direction and enrichment of our activity. Through reflective observation and the control of the symbols of Reality, as revealed to our sense perception—and *this* is the function of the analytic intellect—we grasp reality piecemeal, fixing our gaze on its temporal aspect. Through Intuition or Love or direct perception by the ‘heart’—as Eastern poets and mystics have called it—we apprehend and associate directly with Reality in its wholeness, as it reveals itself to us in an intuitive flash. We arrive at metaphysical truth, “not by exercising the intellect but by paying heed to the deliverances of a faculty called Intuition.” “The heart,” says Iqbal, “is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the

suns and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense perception . . . It is a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation does not play a part [but] the experience thus revealed to us is as real and concrete as any other experience. Thus it will be seen that the two are not essentially opposed to each other, for the one is the present enjoyment of the whole Reality ; the other aims at traversing the whole by slowly specifying and closing up the various regions of the whole for exclusive observation. In fact, Intuition, as Bergson rightly says, is only a higher kind of Intellect, through which we enter into and grasp the nature and meaning of reality as an indivisible whole, even as we appreciate the meaning of a picture or a symphony.”¹

How is it, then, that Iqbal often appears to deprecate the importance of the Intellect? Is he an obscurantist who, failing to understand the significant rôle played by the Intellect in individual and social evolution, seeks to put back the hands of the clock of time? Why is he constantly exhorting his readers to return from the cold regions of an arid

intellectualism to the warmth of Love and Intuition ?

نشانِ راہِ نرغزل ہزار جہلم پیرس بیا کہ عشق کما لے زیک فنی دارد
 ”بخسہ راہِ عشق می پونی؟ چہ سراغ آفتاب می جوئی؟“
 علم اگر کج فطرت و بدگوہر است پیش چشمِ ماحجابِ اکبر است
 دانش حاضر حجابِ اکبر است بت پست و بت فروش و بت گراست
 پایزندانِ مظاہر بستہ از حد و جس بروں ناجستہ
 گذر جاعتل سے آگے کہ یہ نور چراغِ راہ ہے منزل نہیں ہے!

Do not seek guidance from the Intellect

Which has a thousand wiles ;

Come to Love which excels

By the singleness of its purpose ;¹

“Wilt thou tread the path of Love

By the light of the Intellect ?

Wilt thou set out on the quest for the Sun

In the Light of a flickering candle ?²

If knowledge is crooked and malicious

It acts as the “ great blind ” before our eyes ;³

¹ *Payām-i-Mashīq*, p. 194. ² *Ibid.*, p. 243. ³ *Javid Nāmāh*, p. 221.

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 sensible¹
 Pass beyond the Intellect-post
 It merely lights the way;
 It is not the goal.²

He utilizes a beautiful and striking similitude to drive home its argument.

خرد سے راہرو روشن بصر ہے خرد کیا ہے؟ چراغ راہگزر ہے
 درون خانہ ہنگامے ہیں کیا کیا چراغ راہگزر کو کیسے خبر ہے!

Intellect lights up the wayfarer's eyes;
 What is Intellect? a lantern by the road-side!
 The storms and stresses that rage inside the house
 What does the road-side lamp know about them?³

Does all this imply that he wishes us to shun the guidance of scientific knowledge? A careful study of Iqbal's thought, however, conclusively proves that he is not an obscurantist. His apparent belittling of the intellect is really a protest against the over-exaggeration of its rôle in life. Viewed in its proper perspective, Intellect and the reverent pur-

¹ *Asrâr-i-Khudî*, p 77 ² *Bâl-i-Jibril*, p 119 ³ *Ibid*, p 120.

suit of knowledge gained experimentally, command his respect. In his *Lectures* he points out that "the intellectual effort to overcome the obstruction offered by it [the universe] besides enriching and amplifying our life, sharpens our insight and thus prepares us for a more masterful insertion into the subtler aspects of human experience." He even goes further and argues that the conquest of Nature through knowledge has a deeper significance still, for in reality all search for knowledge is essentially an *act of prayer*. The scientific observer of Nature is "a kind of mystic seeker, in the act of prayer." We revert, therefore, to the question raised above: Why then does Iqbal protest against the current exaltation of the Intellect?

The answer to this question must be sought partly in the current philosophic tendencies and partly in the present socio-political situation. Both have been so overwhelmed by the triumphant materialism of the age and by the achievements of modern science, as to ignore, if not totally to reject, the values which are associated with Intuition, with Love (in Iqbal's sense of the word) and with Religious Experience. It is to redress the balance between these two com-

plementary and significant aspects of human experience which has been upset by the civilization of modern Europe that Iqbal so strongly emphasizes the role of the "heart" in the understanding and direction of life.

عصر حاضر را خرد زنجیر بایست جان بے تلبے کہ من دارم کجاست؟
 بچشم عشق نگتا سراغ او گیری جهان بچشم خرد سمیہ و زینگاست

Intellect is but a chain round the feet of this age ;
 Where is the restlessness of spirit that is mine¹ ?
 Behold the Universe with the eyes of Love
 If you will discover its secrets ;
 Viewed with the eyes of the Intellect
 It is nothing but an illusion and a mirage.²

As a philosopher concerned with achieving a complete view of Reality, he cannot remain content with the partial, one-sided, intellectualistic approach which only gives static snapshots of Reality and misses its flow and continuity. He is anxious to supplement that view through his intuitive approach, through the "perception of the heart." As a thinker about the problems of the

¹*Javid Námah*, p 3

²*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p 178

contemporary world, he is alive to the dangers of accentuating a mental attitude which has been responsible, particularly in Europe, for unprecedented destruction and for the unashamed exploitation of man by man on an unparalleled scale. Intellect, uninspired by Love, and Science, uncontrolled by faith in ethical principles,—which intellect alone cannot provide—have given Europe a ruthless economic system, an unjust social order, a bitter conflict amongst groups and classes, a craze for armaments, a perpetual threat of impending wars. All these things have made modern life full of hurry, strain, frustration and an incapacity, or distaste, for the quiet enjoyment of the genuine fruits of culture. The tendency to over-activity and over-organization in the interest of purely material and competitive pursuits has become so strong that Bertrand Russell, one of the keenest thinkers of the age, has been tempted to name one of his recent collections of Essays, *In Praise of Idleness!*

Iqbal's objective is to bring about a rapprochement between Power born of Knowledge, and Vision which is the fruit of Love or Intuition. "Vision without Power," he observes, "brings moral

elevation but cannot give permanent culture. Power without Vision tends to become destructive and inhuman. Both must continue for the spiritual expansion of humanity” He wants to bring home to his generation, drunk with godless power, the urgent need of subordinating Intellect to Love in order to ensure that the tremendous power which science has released and placed at the disposal of man will be used for humane and constructive purposes. Like Goethe, he looks upon Satan as the embodiment of pure Intellect which, in itself, is of great value but, without the guiding hand of Love, may become an instrument of terrible destruction. For this Satan he has a soft corner in his heart, but he realizes that unless the powers of Satan are wedded to those of Adam, humanity cannot achieve its full development. His poems *Taskhîr-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature) in *Payâm-i-Mashriq* and *Mukâlimâ-i-Jibrîl-o-Iblîs* (Conversation between Gabriel and Satan) in *Bâl-i-Jibrîl*, bring out this idea very vividly and effectively.

In his *Lectures*, he elucidated the idea in the following words:—

“The modern man with his philosophies of criti-

cism and scientific specialism finds himself in a strange predicament. His naturalism has given him an unprecedented control over the forces of Nature but has robbed him of faith in his own future. . . Wholly over-shadowed by the result of his intellectual activity, [he] has ceased to live soulfully, i.e., from within. In the domain of thought, he is living in open conflict with himself, and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless energy and infinite gold hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life-weariness." He visualizes the modern man equipped with Power but lacking in Vision, in these striking and beautiful verses :

عقل کو تابع فرمان نظر کر نہ سکا	عشق ناپید و خرد سے گردشِ صورتِ بار
اپنے افکار کی دُنیا میں مفرکونہ سکا	ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گندگا بول کا
آج تک فیصلہ نفع و ضرر کر نہ سکا	اپنی حکمت کے خم و بیج میں الجھا لیا
زندگی کی شبِ تاریک سحر کر نہ سکا	جس نے سُوَیج کی شعاعوں کو گرفتار کیا

Love is non-existent and Intellect bites him like a snake,
He has failed to bring Intellect under the sway of Intui-
tion ;

He has succeeded in tracing the course of the Stars
But failed to pick his way in the domain of his own
thoughts ;

He has got so entangled in the mazes of his Knowledge
That he is unable to judge between Profit and Loss ,
He has ensnared the rays of the Sun,
But failed to light the dark night of his life !¹

This ironical position makes him deeply con-
cerned about the future of mankind and in the
preface to his last *masnavi* بس چه نابد کرد اے اقوام سرق (What Should the Nations of the East Do), he re-
marks :

سپاہِ تازہ برانگیزم از دلاییتِ عشق	کہ در صومِ خطرے از بغاوتِ خرد است
باں مقام رسیدم چو در برش کردم	طوافِ بام و درِ من سعادتِ خرد است
گماں مبر کہ خرد را حسابِ میزانست	نگاہِ بندۂ مومن قیامتِ خرد است

I am raising a new army from the domain of Love
For there is a danger of the mind's revolt in the sacred
Haram

¹Zarb-i-Kalim, p 67

I have climbed high and subdued the Intellect ;
 'Tis an honour for it now to move around me ;
 Do not imagine that there is no reckoning for the Intellect ;

For the eye of the believer ever sits in judgment on it ¹

In response to my request to elucidate his position with reference to the meaning and relationship of knowledge, gained through Intellect, and through Love or Intuition, Iqbal wrote to me as follows :

علم سے میری مراد وہ علم ہے جس کا دار و مدار حواس پر ہے، عام طور پر میں نے علم کا لفظ انہیں معنوں میں استعمال کیا ہے۔ اس علم سے ایک سچی قوت ماٹھاتی ہے۔ جس کو دین کے ماتحت رہنا چاہئے۔ اگر دین کے ماتحت نہ رہے۔ تو محض شیطنت ہے۔ یہ علم علم حق کی ابتدا ہے، جیسا کہ میں نے جاوید نامہ میں لکھا ہے :-

علم حق اول حواس آخر حضور
 احقر اونی گنج در شعور

وہ علم جو شعور میں نہیں سما سکتا اور جو علم حق کی آخری منزل ہے۔ اس کا دوسرا نام

¹Pas Cheh Bityad Kard, p 4.

عشق ہے۔ علم و عشق کے تعلق میں جاوید نامے میں کئی اشعار ہیں :-

علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں علم باعشق است از لاهوتیاں

مسلمان کے لئے لازم ہے۔ کہ علم کو (یعنی اس علم کو جس کا مدار جو اس پر ہے اور جس

سے بے پناہ قوت پیدا ہوتی ہے) مسلمان کہے۔ ”بولہب را حیدر کرار کن“۔ اگر یہ

بولہب حیدر کرار بن جائے۔ یا یوں کہتے کہ اگر اس کی قوت دین کے تابع ہو جائے

تو نوع انسان کے لئے سر اسر رحمت ہے ۔

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 subordinate to religion, it is a Satanic force. This knowledge is the introduction to true knowledge, as I have pointed out in “Jawid Namah” “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 true knowledge, 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 this Power is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind.

Thus it is Love, the intuitive perception by the heart, which gives meaning to life and makes the Intellect a source of blessing for mankind :

سوزِ سخن ز ناله مستانه دل است این شمع را فروغ ز پروانه دل است
 این تیره خاکدال کہ جہاں نام کردہ فرسودہ پکیے ز صنم خانہ دل است

The flame of poetry is kindled by the music of the
 heart,

The beauty of this candle is beholden to the heart,

This dark house of clay, which men call the world,

Is but a worn-out form, rejected by the temple of the
 heart !³

He reverts to this theme over and over again in his poetry :

³ *Ḥikm-i-Mashriq*, p. 25.

عقلے کہ جہاں سوز و یک جلوهٔ بیابکش از عشق بیاموزد آسین جہاں تابی
 بگذر از عقل و در آویز موجِ بیمِ عشق کہ در آں حجے تنک ماہِ گہر پیدائست
 علم تا از عشق بر خور دار نیست جز تماشاخانہٴ افکار نیست
 عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشدِ اولیں ہے عشق عشق نہ بہو شرع و دین بگدہٴ تصور است

The Intellect, whose impetuous flame burns up the
 Universe,

Learns from Love the art of lighting it up ¹

Pass beyond Intellect and grapple with the waves of
 Love's ocean,
 For, in the shallow rivulet of the Intellect, there are no
 pearls ²

Till Intellect is blest by Love,

It is naught but a kaleidoscope of ideas ¹

Love is the preceptor of the Intellect and the heart and
 the Vision ³

If there is no Love, religion and its precepts

Are nothing but an idol-house of vain imaginings ⁴

By failing to bring about a union of the essentially complementary values of *Ilm* and *Ishq*, the

¹ *Payām-i-Mashriq*, p 156

² *Ibid*, p 203

³ *Jāvid Nāmāh*, p 4.

⁴ *Bāl-i-Jibrīl* p 4

East and the West have both suffered in different ways. The West has bartered its soul in the process of conquering the world of matter; the East has developed a pseudo-mystical way of thinking which has taught its people a false kind of renunciation and made them content with their ignorance, their weakness and their intellectual and political slavery. The hidden sources of active, spiritual energy have thus become walled up in both and life has been impoverished :

شرق حق را دید و عالم را ندید غرب در عالم خرنید، از حق مرید
چشم بر حق باز کردن بندگی است خویش را بے پرده دیدن زندگی است

The East perceived God and failed to perceive the world
The West lost itself in the world and fled from God ;
To open the eyes on God is worship !
To see oneself unveiled is life !¹

Iqbal's contention is that whether we concentrate on " *Haq* " (God) and ignore " *alam* " (world) or concentrate on the conquest of " *alam* " and ignore " *Haq* " the result is equally disastrous. The two

¹ *Javid Namah*, p 35

cannot be separated without doing damage to the fullness of life and the only way to gain them both is to bring about a fusion of Love and Intellect. When the cold, analytic intellect is suffused by the warm, life-giving glow of Love, it becomes the greatest power for good, both in the life of individual and of the community.

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود قوتش نماند و عالم شود

When self is fortified by Love

It becomes the law giver to the world!¹

In *Bál-i-Jibril* the same idea is expressed thus :

خودی ہو علم سے محکم تو غیرت جبریل اگر ہو عشق سے محکم تو صویر اسرائیل!

When the self is fortified by Intellect,

It is the envy of *Gabriel* ;

If it is fortified by Love

It becomes the trumpet call of *Isráfil*.²

Again :

¹*Asrár-i-Khudí*, p 26

²*Bál-i-Jibril*, p 92,

علم را مقصود اگر باشد نظر	می شود ہم جاده و ہم راه، ہمسر
علم تفسیرِ جہان رنگ و بو	دیدہ و دل پرورش گیر و ازو
ہمت ام جذب و شوق آرد ترا	باز چون حبیریل بگذارد ترا !
عشق کس را کے بخلوت می برد	اؤز چشم خویش غیرت می برد!
اول اؤ ہم فریق و ہم طریق	آخرد اؤ راہ رفتن بے فریق!

If Vision is the goal of the Intellect,
 It becomes both the path and the guide ;
 Intellect elucidates this world of smell and colour,
 It nurtures the insight and emotions.
 It brings you to the stage of Absorption and Ecstasy
 And then, like Gabriel, leaves you alone ;
 Love never guides any one to solitude,
 Its very perception of self acts as a screen ;
 In the early stages it yearns for fellow travellers,
 Ultimately, it means travelling all alone.¹

¹Jávid Námah, p 222

In the strengthening of Individuality which is the goal of Life, as also of education, Love plays a powerful rôle :

فقطہ نوسے کہ نام اُو خودی است زیر خاکِ ما شدارِ زندگی است
 از محبت می شود پائنده تر زنده تر سوزنده تر تابنده تر
 یکمیآید اکن از مشتی گلے بوسه زن بر آستانِ کاسِ لے
 عاشقی بمحکم شو از لغت لیبیدار تا کمند تو شود بیزداں شکار

The luminous point whose name is the Self,
 Is the life-spark beneath our dust.
 By love it is made more lasting,
 More living, more burning, more glowing.
 Transmute thy handful of dust into gold,
 Kiss the threshold of the Perfect Man ;
 Be constant in devotion to thy beloved,
 That thou mayst cast thy noose and capture God.¹

Love brings about a concentration of powers and a heightening of their intensity and, in the case of certain great individuals, it results in a complete

¹ *Asrar-i-Khudī*, 18, 19, 23.

identification of the self with God's purpose. That is why great prophets and martyrs in the service of God transcend the limitations of ordinary mortals and achieve bewildering miracles :

دیروز دوز و نزدیک دور راہ را	می نماند عشق سال و ماہ را
یا بگرد او طوافی می کند	عقل در کوہی شگافی می کند
دل سیلح السیر چوین ماہی بود	کوہ پیش عشق چوین کاہی بود
گور را نا دیدہ رستن از جہاں!	عشق شخونے زدن بر الامکاں
عشق در اندام مہ چاکے نہا دا	عشق بانان جوین خیس بر کشاد
جملہ عالم مرکب او را کب شود	چوین خودی را از خدا طالب شود

Love knows not the months and the years,
Nor slow nor quick, nor the nearness or the distance of
the path,
Intellect bores a hole through the mountain
Or goes around it by circumlocution ,

Faced with Love the mountain becomes like a blade of
 grass,
 The heart becomes quick of motion like the moon,
 What is Love? An attack on the Infinite!
 Departing from the world without a glimpse of the grave!
 Love, fed on oats, throws open Khaibar's heavy gate;
 It splits open the heart of the moon;
 When it prays for selfhood from God,
 It becomes the rider and the world its steed.¹

In interpreting the inner significance of the martyrdom of Karbala, Iqbal points out how Husain, inspired by the highest Love—love for God—showed superhuman courage and endurance and was able to overcome the wellnigh insuperable forces of contemporary evil and untruth:

عشق را ناممکن ماسکن است	مومن از عشق است و عشق از مومن است
عشق را عزم و یقین لایفک است	عقل را سربازیم و شک است
این کند ویران که آبادان کند	آن کند تعمیر تا ویران کند
عشق گوید بنده شو آزاد شو	عقل گوید پادشاه شو آزاد شو

¹*Javid Námah*, pp 17-18

Momin and Love are mutually interdependent
 What is impossible to us is possible for Love ;
 The Capital of the Intellect is apprehension and doubt,
 For Love, faith and resolution are essential ;
 Intellect builds that it may destroy
 Love destroys that it may rehabilitate ;
 Intellect says " Live happy and content " "
 Love says " Learn submission and achieve freedom " ¹

In its highest manifestations, then, Love brings about an almost incredible concentration and intensification of human powers and enables mortals even to overcome death (disintegration of self) and achieve immortality. This conquest of death by love is, for Iqbal, no mere metaphor but a profoundly important fact which education dare not ignore. His view is refreshingly original, differing fundamentally from the sceptical materialist, who scoffs at the very idea of immortality, and the believer who passively takes it for granted. In a letter to me he expressed this view emphatically in these memorable words : " If immortality is a fact, no educational system need bother about it If it is an achievement open to the Ego, no educational system—if it does not aim at training pure intellect

¹*Rumúz-ı-Békhudı*, pp. 125-26

only—can afford to ignore it.” He points out in his *Lectures* that, according to the Quran, it is open to man “to belong to the meaning of the Universe and become immortal.” It is highly improbable, he argues, that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should, after a brief span of years, be thrown away as a thing of no use, but—and *this* is a thought-provoking remark—it is only as an *ever-growing Ego* that he can belong to the meaning of the Universe. Personal immortality, then, is not one’s by 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 it is the quality of our deeds which determines from day to day whether our Ego will become weaker and weaker and be ultimately dissolved and disintegrated or become more and more strengthened and disciplined for a greater career. “The unceasing reward of man,” to which Quran refers, consists in “his gradual growth in self-expression, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego.”¹ That is what gives to each action of ours an infinite

significance: it is *not* ephemeral but matters profoundly to ourselves and to others how we react to and perform our daily work. This is a view which stands for an essentially religious approach to life. In his *Jávid Námah* he paints a vivid and stirring picture of the man of God (بندۂ حق) who achieves immortality by his forceful, courageous and self-affirming ego-activity in behalf of some great purpose:

زندگی محکم ز تسلیم و رضا است	موت نیرنج و تسلیم و سیمیا است
بندۂ حق ضعیفم و آہوست مرگ	یک مقام از صد مقام اوست مرگ!
می فند بر مرگ آں مرد تمام	مثل شاہینے کہ اُفت در حمام!
ہر زمان میرد غلام از بیم مرگ	زندگی اور آسم از بیم مرگ!
بندۂ آزاد را شانے دگر	مرگ اور امی دہد جانے دگر!
اُو خود اندیش است گاندیش نیست!	مرگ آزاداں ز آنے بیش نیست!
بگذر از مرگے کہ سازد بالحد	زانکہ این مرگ است مرگ دم و دود!

Life is strengthened by submission and willing obedience,

Death is naught but an illusion and a mirage

The man of God is a tiger and death is its prey,

Death is only one of its many stages ;

That perfect man sweeps down on death

As the eagle sweeps down on the dove. '

The slave is ever dying of the fear of death,

Life becomes impossible to him for fear of death !

The free man has a different attitude,

Death only invests him with a new life ;

He is regardful of Self, not apprehensive of death.

The death of the free man is but for an instant.

Pass beyond the death that is content with the grave,

For such death is the death of animals and beasts.¹

It is this living nobly and dying nobly, in the cause of Truth and Humanity, that confers immortality on man, the immortality which the Son of Ali won on the battlefield of Karbala.

مردِ مومنِ نوراہلا زبیرِ دینِ پاک آں دگر مرگے کہ برگیرِ دزِ خاک !
 آں دگر مرگ ! انتہائے راہِ شوق آخرتیں تجسیرِ درجہنگاہِ شوق !

¹Javid Námah, p. 217.

جنگِ مومن سنتِ پیغمبری است	جنگِ شایانِ جہاں غارت گری است
توڑکِ عالم، اختیارِ کوسے دوست	جنگِ مومن چسپیتِ ہجرتِ سوتے دوست
مرگِ پورِ مرتضیٰ چیزے دگر!	گرچہ ہر مرگ است بر مومن شکر!
جنگِ رارِ مہابنی اسلامِ گفت	آنکہ حرفِ شوقِ با قومِ گفت
کو بخونِ خودِ شہیدانِ محنتِ را	کس نداند جسدِ شہیدانِ محنتِ را

The *Momin* prays to God for the death

That is followed by resurrection.

That other death the end of the eager quest,

The last affirmation of God's greatness on the battlefield.

The wars of the kings are but loot and destruction

The war of the *Momin* is the following of the Prophet,

What is the *Momin's* war? A migration towards the

Beloved !

A withdrawal from the world and a seeking refuge with

the Beloved.

Although all deaths are sweet for the *Momin*

The death of Ali's Son is unique, indeed !

He, who has spoken the word of love to the nations,

Described war as the "asceticism of Islam" !

None but the martyr knows the Truth,
Who buys this knowledge with his own blood ¹

Thus, in the vision of life which Iqbal's poetry opens out before us, Intellect, Action and Love are fused into an integral and dynamic unity which can even defeat the machinations of Death by making man's Individuality indestructible. What a miserable contrast does our ordinary education provide to the education which this great vision postulates!

¹*Jávid Námah*, p 218.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONCEPTION OF GOOD CHARACTER

IT is necessary for every system of educational philosophy to define clearly the type of human being which it aims at producing, as the ethical value of any particular educational theory will depend ultimately on the quality and character of the individuals produced under its inspiration. In this chapter I propose to sketch briefly the portrait of the "good man" as it emerges from a study of Iqbal's writing—"the good man" as fashioned by the type of education foreshadowed in his philosophy. To some of the qualities necessary for him reference has already been made in the preceding chapters; we have to build up now a composite picture. It should, however, be borne in mind that here also Iqbal draws all his inspiration from the teachings of Islam as he interprets them.

Firstly, the good life must be *a life of active effort and struggle*, not one of withdrawal or stagnation or slothful ease for "an hour of crowded glory" (in

Iqbal's particular sense of the word "glory") is "worth a life-time without a name."

در سرائے ہست و بود آئی؟ میا از عدم سوتے وجود آئی؟ میا
 در بیانی چوں شرار از خود مرو در تلاشِ حشر منے آوارہ شو!
 تابِ تب داری اگر مانسِ دہر پابندِ دروسعت آبادِ سپہرا
 سینہ داری اگر درخورِ تویہ در جہاں شاہین بزی شاہین میرا
 زندگی را چہیت رسم و دین و کیش؟ یک دم شیریں بہ از صد سالِ میش!

Would'st thou come into this transitory world? Refrain!

Would'st those come from non-existence into existence?

Refrain!

If thou dost, don't lose thyself in space like a spark,

But venture out in the quest of the granary,

If thou hast the lustre of the Sun,

Set thy foot in the expanse of the skies.

If thou hast a heart that can brave the arrow,

Live and die in the world like the eagle!¹

What do creeds, ceremonies and faiths avail in life?

An instant of a lion's life

Is worth a hundred years of a rat's!¹

¹Javid Námah, p 216-17.

This activity must not, however, run into routine patterns; it must be *creative* and *original*; for creativity is the most valuable and distinctive gift of man through which he has been able to transform his crude world and fill it with what order and beauty it can claim:

دبم مشکل گرو آسان گذارد دبم نو آفرین تازه کار
 خلقت از آب و گل پیدا کند دست پا و چشم و دل پیدا کند

It is ever welcoming the difficult, ever rejecting the easy,
 Ever creating, ever achieving new things;
 It weaves a garment out of water and clay
 And creates the hands and feet, the eyes and the heart.¹

He lives his daily life in active contact with his environment and dynamically reshapes it to suit his purposes. This active quality of the good character is brought out with great power in the "Secrets of the Self," when discussing "the inner meanings of the names of Ali."

هسته که در آفاق گردد بوتراب باز گرداند ز مغرب آفتاب

¹Javid Námah, pp. 216-17.

از خود آگاہی بید اللہی کند	از خود آگاہی بید اللہی کند
حکماں باید شدن بر خاکِ خویش	حکماں باید شدن بر خاکِ خویش
سنگِ شے لے ہچو گلِ نازکِ ببن	سنگِ شے لے ہچو گلِ نازکِ ببن
انگلِ خود آدمے تعمیر کن	انگلِ خود آدمے تعمیر کن
گر بنا سازی نہ دیوار و درے	گر بنا سازی نہ دیوار و درے
نیز و حنلاقِ جہانِ تازہ شو	نیز و حنلاقِ جہانِ تازہ شو
با جہانِ نامساعدِ سختن	با جہانِ نامساعدِ سختن
مردِ خود دے کہ باشد بختِ کار	مردِ خود دے کہ باشد بختِ کار
گر نہ سازد با مزاجِ اوجہاں	گر نہ سازد با مزاجِ اوجہاں
می کند از قوتِ خود آشکار	می کند از قوتِ خود آشکار
از دید اللہی شہنشاہی کند	
تائے روشن خوری از تاکِ خویش	
تا شوی بنیادِ دیوارِ چمن	
آدمے راعا لے تعمیر کن	
خشت از خاکِ تو بند و دیگرے	
شعلہ در بر کن حنلیل آوازہ شو	
ہست دمیراں سپر انداختن	
با مزاجِ اوجہاں روزگار	
می شود جنگِ آزما با آسمان	
روزگار نو کہ باشد سازگار	

درجہاں نتواں اگر مردانہ زلیبت بچھ مرداں جاں سپردن زندگیت
 زندگانی قوت پیدا ستے اصل او از ذوق استیلا ستے
 زندگی گشت است حاصل قوت است شرح رمز حق و باطل قوت است
 اے ز آداب امانت بے خبر! از دو عالم خویش را بہتر شمار!

Whosoever in the world becomes a Bu Turáb
 Turns back the sun from the west ;
 Through self-knowledge he acts as God's Hand,
 And in virtue of being God's Hand he reigns over all.
 If thou wouldst drink clear wine from thine own grapes,
 Thou must needs wield authority over thine own earth.
 Thou art soft as a rose. Become hard as a stone,
 That thou mayst be the foundation of the wall of the
 garden !

Build thy clay into a Man,
 Build thy Man into a World !
 Unless from thine own earth thou build thine own wall
 or door.

Someone else will make bricks of thine earth.
 Arise and create a new world !
 Wrap thyself in flames, be an Abraham !

To comply with this world which does not favour thy
 purposes
 Is to fling away thy buckler on the field of battle.
 The man of strong character who is master of himself
 Will find Fortune complaisant.
 If the world does not comply with his humour,
 He will try the hazard of war with Heaven ;
 By his own strength he will produce
 A new world which will do his pleasure.
 If one cannot live in the world as beseems a man,
 Then it is better to die like the brave.
 Life has only one law
 Life is power made manifest,
 And its mainspring is the desire for victory.
 Life is the seed, and power the crop .
 Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood.
 O thou that art heedless of the trust committed to thee,
 Esteem thyself superior to both worlds !¹

What an exalted and inspiring conception of the rôle of man ! How radically does it differ from the pusillanimity and the cramped vision that characterize our educational system, subordinating it to a narrow and lifeless vocational aim ! In the following words of Baba-i-Sahrai, he exhorts the Muslims of India to strengthen their Ego, abandon their de-

¹*Asrâr-i-Khudî*, pp 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

pendence on others and achieve a respected and self-respecting individuality :

تو که از نورِ خودی تابنده	گر خودی محکم کنی پاینده
چون بس درام ز سازِ زندگی	باتو گویم چیست رازِ زندگی
غوطه در خود صورت گوهرِ زدن	پس ز خلوت گاه خود سر بزدن
زندگی از طوف دیگر رستن است	خویش را بیت الحرم دانستن است

Glowing with the light of self as thou art
 Make self strong and thou wilt endure.
 Since I am acquainted with the harmony of Life
 I will tell thee what is the secret of Life—
 To sink into thyself like the pearl,
 Then to emerge from thine inward solitude ;
 What is life but to be freed from moving round others
 And to regard thyself as the Holy Temple ?¹

Secondly, the "good man" must learn to apply his intelligence increasingly to the exploitation of the forces of Nature, thereby adding to his knowledge and power. Without the fullest development

¹Asrar-i-Khudi, pp. 73-74

of his intellect, he will remain at the mercy of the forces which surround him and his activity will be limited and inconsequential :

ہر خاکی و نورنی یہ حکومت ہے، خرد کی باہر نہیں کچھ عقل خدا و اد کی زور سے
عالم ہے غلام اس کے جلال ازلی کا اک دل ہے کہ ہر لحظہ الجھتا ہے خرد سے

Intellect reigns over all beings of clay and light
Nothing is beyond the reach of the God-given mind ;
The entire world bows to its eternal glory,
The heart alone challenges its sway at every step ¹

The last line gives a clue to the spirit in which intellect is to be used as an instrument in the service of action. Intellect does confer power on us but, as we have seen, this power can be utilized constructively for the good of humanity only if it is guided and controlled by Love. This Love, however, is not a mere vague humanitarian sentiment ; it is an active force which gives an explosive quality to Individuality when it is pressed into the service of worthy ends. It links him up with his Maker in a co-operative pursuit. The real motive force in the conduct of the

true Believer is that, in religious phraseology, he lives his life in the name of the Lord, dedicating all his powers to the working out of His increasing purpose on earth, thus qualifying himself for the position of "God's Vicegerent." Iqbal gives a vivid description of this perfect individual, who has identified his will with Divine Purpose :

مآبِ حَقِّ دِيدَنِش نَادِيدَنِش خورْدَش نَشِيدَنِش خَوَابِيدَنِش
 قَرَبِ حَقِّ اَزْهَرِ عَمَلِ مَقْصُودِ اَر تَا زِ تُو گَرْدِ جِ بِلَا شِ اَشْكَا
 صِلْحِ مَشْرُكِرْدِ چُو مَقْصُودِ اَسْتِ غَيْرِ گَر خُدا بَا شُدِ غَرَضِ جِنْگِ اَسْتِ خَيْرِ
 هَر كِه خَنْجَرِ مِهْ غَيْرِ اللّهِ كَشِيدِ تِيغِ اُو دَر سِيْنِهْ اُو اَر مِيْدِ

He subordinates everything to God :

His seeing and not seeing, his eating and drinking and
 sleeping.

In all thy actions let thy aim be to draw nigh to God,
 That His Glory may be made manifest by thee ;
 Peace becomes an evil if its object is aught else ;
 War is good if its object is God.

Whoso draws the sword for anything except God,
 His sword is sheathed in his own breast.¹

¹ *Asrār-i-Khudī*, pp. 70-72.

But this "fighting" in the name of the Lord is not necessarily fighting in the physical sense; in fact, it is so only in extreme cases of defence against aggression and injustice. It is, more truly, a struggle in every possible way, to bring about a reign of peace, justice and humanity in individual and collective conduct and often it takes the form of striving against one's own lower nature. This, according to Islam, is *Jihād* in a very real sense :

مرد مومن زنده و با خود بجنگ بر خود اُفتد همچو بر آهو پلنگ

The *Momin* is alive and at war with himself

He sweeps down on himself as the wolf on the deer¹¹

With this high ideal before him, man sets out on the arduous course of self-affirmation, self-realization and self-development, lives a life of strenuous activity and thereby evolves his inner strength and richness. The development of the inner resources of his individuality enables him to rise to undreamt of heights, when he becomes the architect of his Fate and a co-worker with God in His plan.

¹ *Asrār-ı-Khudı*, p. 7.

خودمی کو کر بلند دانا کہ ہر تفتدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے!

Exalt thy ego so high that God Himself will consult
Thee before determining thy destiny ¹

To achieve this position, it is essential that man should rate himself high, contemptuously refusing to make compromises with evil and falsehood or to bow down before any unjust earthly power. This challenging call to man's self-respect rings throughout Iqbal's writings:

خودمی را مردم آمیزی دلیل نارسائی ہا
تو اے درد آشنا بیگانہ شو از آشنائی ہا
بدرگاہ سلاطین تا کجا این چہرہ سائی ہا
بیا موزا حسدائے خویش ناز کب یائی ہا
محبت از جو فردی بجائے می رسد روزے
کہ آفت دراز نگاہش کار و بار دل ربائی ہا

¹Bâl-i-7ibril, p. 81.

Subservience to others is a proof of the self's immaturity
 Rise superior to such leaning, O bearer of the cross!
 How long wilt thou bow at the court of kings?
 Learn from thy God self-respecting unconcern
 Love, inspired with courage, will one day attain its goal,
 When the business of coquetry will have lost its hold.¹

Thus, equipped with a concentrated and fully developed individuality, with his faith not in the idols of gold or machines of iron but in himself and his God, man becomes an irresistible power for good, sharing in the creative activity of his Maker :

زندگانی گردشِ دُولاب نیست	بنده حق بنده اسباب نیست
اہلِ عالم را سراپا خمیشتو	مسلم استی بے نیاز از غمیشتو
یوسف استی خویش را از زان مگیر	رزقِ خود را از زلفِ دُوناں مگیر
سردبہ از کفِ مدہ ناموس را	پیشتِ پازن تختِ کیکاؤس را
قوم قوم آمد کہ جز بان خود نساخت	فرد فرد آمد کہ خود را شناخت
فاسخ از اربابِ دون اللہ شو	از پیامِ مصطفیٰ آگاہ شو

¹Zubûr-i-Ajam, pp. 174-75

The man of God is not dependent on circumstances ;
 Life is not a swing of the pendulum !
 If you are a Muslim, learn independence of others,
 Be an unmixed blessing for all the peoples of the Earth ;
 Seek not your livelihood from the hands of the low-
 minded

You are like Joseph , do not hold yourself cheap.
 “ Spurn contemptuously the empire of Caus,
 Sacrifice your head but do not sacrifice honour.”
 That man alone is unique who learns to know himself,
 That nation is truly a nation which does not compro-
 mise with others.

Learn the meaning of Mohammad’s message,
 Rid yourself of all deities but God.¹

In order to develop such a character which has both sensitiveness and strength—sensitiveness to the good of humanity and to ideal values, strength in carrying out his purposes—there are three qualities which education, as envisaged by Iqbal, should sedulously cultivate : Courage, Tolerance, and *Faqr*. Let us examine their implications for, and impact on, character.

Iqbal believes that the cultivation of an attitude of courage is essential for the proper education of character. This education should be so planned as

¹*Rumúz-ı-Békhudı*, pp. 183-88.

to eradicate all those influences which tend to produce an attitude of Fear. He considers Fear to be one of the most degrading and inhibitory of emotions. Just as Love strengthens the Self, Fear, which is the negation of Love, weakens it and becomes the source of all kinds of corruption in the individual's character. The fear of the Lord, it has been rightly held, is the beginning of wisdom. But it is equally certain that every other kind of fear undermines the joy of life, weakens the forces of action, and, when greatly accentuated, inhibits them altogether. It is the parent of all the vices characteristic of the weak : deceit, hypocrisy, meanness, cowardice, and flattery. Listen to Iqbal's uncompromising denunciation of Fear as a motive force in the activities of life :

لابد و مکاری و کین و دروغ . این همه از خوف می گیرد فروغ
 هر شر پنهان که اندر قلب توست اهل او بیم است اگر بینی درست

Flattery, treachery, cunning and spite
 Are all nurtured in the bosom of fear ;
 Every hidden evil, nestling in your heart,
 Is the product of fear if you will rightly regard ¹

¹Rumúz-ı-Békhudı, p. 110

Modern psychology has also revealed the significant fact that even those manifestations which, on the surface, appear to be a parade of brute strength—e.g., bullying, tyranny, display of military force—are, in reality, veiled and distorted expressions of fear. The exploitation of the weak by the strong, the suppression of new ideas, unjust legislation to protect the ill-gotten gains and privileges of the rich and the powerful, the armament race amongst the nations of the world—these and many other kindred phenomena of contemporary life really show that our entire civilization is dominated by fear and jealousy, which is fear's inevitable companion. Thus it is that fear undermines the character of the weak as well as the strong.

Courage can be cultivated as an attribute of character by making *Tawhīd* (Monotheism) an active working principle of conduct which, according to Iqbal, implies a rejection of all fears except the fear of God, a surrender of our will and purposes to His increasing purpose, and an attitude of manly defiance towards all other powers which may threaten to arrest our free development and the exercise of our legitimate human rights. His

exhortation to our fear-dominated generation is :

عشق را آتش زین اندیشه کن رُو بَرِ حق باش و شیری پیشه کن
 خوفِ حق عنوانِ ایمان است و بس خوفِ غیر از شرکِ پنهان است و بس
 فارغ از اندیشهٔ اغیار شو قوتِ خوابیدهٔ بیدار شو

Let love burn away all fear,
 Fear only God and live like the lion ;
 The fear of God is the beginning of faith
 The fear of others is veiled idolatry ,
 Relieve yourself of the fears of others,
 You are a power asleep ; shake yourself awake ¹

In his *Rumúz-i-Békhudí* Iqbal has discussed at some length how fear, despair and cowardice are the source of most evils, including the slowing down of the tempo of life, and how the doctrine of *Tawhíd*, translated into practice, is an effective remedy against them.

¹*Rumúz-i-Békhudí*, p. 114

از نبی تسلیم لا اله الا الله بگیر	اے کہ در زندان غم باشی اسیر
از خیال بیش و کم آزاد شو	گر خدا داری ز غم آزاد شو
کاروان زندگی را رهن است	بیم غیر الله عمل را دشمن است
زندگی از خود نمائی باز ماند	تخم او چون در گلت خود را نشاند
شرک را در خوف مضمردیده است	هر که رمز مصطفیٰ فهمیده است

Locked in the prison-house of fear that you are
 Learn from the Prophet the precept "Fear not."
 If you believe in God, free yourself from all fear,
 And all apprehension of profit and loss ;
 All fear, except God's, inhibits action,
 It is a dacoit that waylays the caravan of Life ;
 When its seed is planted on your soil,
 Life becomes inhibited from self-expression ;
 Whosoever has understood the teaching of Mohammad
 Has seen idolatry lurking in the bosom of fear ¹

"The essence of *Tawhîd* as a working idea,"
 Iqbal explains, "is equality, solidarity and free-
 dom" ; and when it becomes the guiding principle

¹*Rumûz-i-Békhudî*, pp 109-11

of conduct, it transforms miraculously the character and life of individuals and gives them a new sense of power, courage and self-respect. Addressing the new generation of youth, he asks them to realize the practical implications of this doctrine for character :

طرح تعمیر تو از گلِ نختند	با محبتِ خوف را آمیختند
خوف دنیا خوفِ عقبی خوفِ جاں	خوفِ آلامِ زمین و آسمان
حُبِّ مال و دولت و حُبِّ وطن	حُبِّ خویش و اقربا و حُبِّ زن
ناعصائے لاله داری بدست	ہر سلسمِ خوف را خواہی شکست
ہر کہ حق باشد چو جاں اندر تنش	ختم نگر دد پیشِ باطل گردنش
خوف با در سینهٔ او راه نیست	خاطرش مرعوب غیر اللہ نیست

When they moulded thee of clay,
 Love and fear were mingled in thy making :
 Fear of this world and of the world to come, fear of death,
 Fear of all the pains of earth and heaven ;
 Love of riches and power, love of country,
 Love of self and kindred and wife.

So long as thou hold'st the staff of "There is no God
but He,"

Thou wilt break every spell of fear.

One to whom God is as the soul in his body,

His neck is not bowed before untruth.¹

It does not require any extraordinary imagination or insight to perceive that the whole of our social life and our education are dominated by fear and devotion to false ideals. The children, in their earliest infancy, are terrified at home by ignorant mothers and nurses and grow up timid and apprehensive, not only of authority but of imaginary ghosts and demons with whom they people every dark nook and corner of their home. At school the sensitive, growing child often passes through a veritable reign of terror, afraid of his teachers and of the irrational public opinion of his fellows who are generally impatient of newness and originality and often impose all kinds of silly, unnecessary taboos on all individuals out of the common run. In the College and the University, where these cruder forms of fear do not prevail, the youth is often under the tyranny of repressed emotional con-

¹*Asrār-i-Khudī*, p. 47.

flicts which embitter his sensitive nature and check the freedom of his self-expression—conflicts that the teachers have generally neither the sympathy nor the imagination to resolve. Add to this that, in the name of religion and politics and social conventions, the right of free criticism and of forming independent judgment on some of the most vital issues and problems is denied to them in the interest of an unjust *status quo*, and they are taught not only to respect, but to be afraid of, every kind of constituted authority. Is it any wonder, then, that generations of our youth have had their character and outlook warped? They have been growing up with cramped natures, lacking initiative, courage and self-reliance. They are limited in their sympathies, narrow in their loyalties, and timid in the formation of their objectives. They are often fanatical, for tolerance and generosity of nature can only develop when the Self is courageous and strong. It is Love, in the sense in which Iqbal has used the word, which “casteth out fear” and, releasing the potential capacity for great deeds, gives an explosive and dynamic quality to individuality.

کھلتے ہیں غلاموں پر اسرارِ شہنشاہی بے عشق سکھاتا ہے آدابِ سخا کا ہی
 ہوں جس کی فقیری میں بچتے اسد اللہی دارا و سکندر سے وہ مردِ فقیرِ اولی
 اللہ کے شیروں کو آتی نہیں روباہی ایسے جوان مردِ حق گوئی و بیباکی

When Love teaches the ways of self-respect,
 The secrets of domination are revealed to the slaves.
 The *Faqir* whose *Faqir* savours of the *Faqir* of Ali
 Is superior to Darius and Alexandar ;
 Courage and Truth are the attributes of the brave,
 For the lions of Allah are not subject to fear ¹

Contrast the timidity and repression of our educational ideology and practice with Iqbal's defiant attitude and his counsel of "living dangerously" :

سزا میں فرمانِ حق دانی کہ چہیت زیستن اندر خطرہ بازندگیت

Do you know the inner meaning of God's Command ?
 "The secret of a joyous life is to live dangerously." ²

This attitude is a standing impeachment of those who would prostitute education—or political policy for that matter—to the securing of soft jobs, who would be willing to sell their souls for a mess of

¹*Bâl-i-Jubril*, pp 82-83

²*Rumîz-i-Bêkhudî*, p 147.

pottage, whose highest ambition is to steal their way into a life of inglorious ease and servitude. He seems consciously to have such people, traitors to the spirit of Islam, in his mind when he points out :

مرد درویش کا سرمایہ ہے آزادی و مرگ
 ہے کسی اور کی خاطر یہ نصابِ زر و سیم

Freedom and Death are the riches of the *Faqir*

All these standards of silver and gold are meant for
 others¹

and he warns youth, with its courageous idealism, to shun their example :

اے طائرِ لاہوتی اس رزق سے موت اچھی
 جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی

O high soaring bird, death is preferable to the livelihood

Which clips thy wings and arrests flight.²

The second quality which Iqbal considers to be an essential constituent of the good character is Tolerance. Iqbal has often been maligned by ill-

¹*Bal-i-Jubril*, p. 89.

²*Ibid*, p. 83.

informed critics for his supposed intolerance, and therefore the emphatic advocacy of this quality by him may cause them considerable surprise. But really there is nothing surprising in it, for true Tolerance is an essential factor in any scheme of thought which lays stress on individuality. If individuality is to be developed to its fullest extent in all members of a community, intolerance will be suicidal as it will lead to perpetual conflict and clashes and thus arrest the desired development. "The principle of the ego sustaining deed," he remarks, "is respect for the Ego in myself *as well as in others*," which clearly implies that, unless education strengthens in us a sense of respect for *others'* individuality—their opinions and beliefs, their thought and behaviour, their differences with us—our own will remain warped, distorted, incomplete. In his *Bál-i-Jibríl*, he gives expression in beautiful lines to his attitude of respect for truth and love for mankind, instead of attachment to narrow sectarian loyalties and doctrines :

درویش خدا مست نه شرقی ہونہ غربی
گھر میرا نہ دلی نہ صفا مال نہ سمرقند

کہتا ہوں وہی بات سمجھتا ہوں جس کو حق نے ابلہ مسجد ہوں نہ تہذیب کا فرزند
 اپنے بھی خفا مجھ سے ہیں برنگانے بھی ناخوش میں نہ ہر بلا ہل کو کبھی کہہ نہ سکا قند
 مشکل ہو کہ اک بندۂ حق بین حق اندیش خاشاک کے تو دے کو کہے کوہِ ماوند

The God-intoxicated Faqir is neither of the East nor of
 the West,
 I belong neither to Delhi nor Isfahan nor Samarkand ;
 I speak out what I consider to be the truth
 I am neither befooled by the mosque nor this modern
 civilization ;
 Friends and strangers are both displeased with me,
 For I cannot describe deadly poison as sugar ¹
 How can a man who sees and understands truth
 Confuse a mound of earth with Mount Damavand ? ¹

But it must be clearly realized that this Tolerance, which Iqbal preaches, is very different from the pseudo-tolerance of the man without strong convictions, which is become quite common in this age and is the result of an attitude of general scepticism and indifference, of not caring sincerely and passionately enough about any values or beliefs or ideals. Iqbal's tolerance is born of strength, not of

¹*Bâl-i-Jubril*, pp. 34-35.

weakness ; it is the tolerance of a man of strong faith who, possessing fervently cherished convictions of his own, realizes that respect is due to those of others. Subject to this interpretation, Iqbal considers tolerance to be the basis of true humanity and the religious spirit :

دیں سراپا سوختن اندر طلب	انتہائیش عشق و آغازش ادب !
حرفِ بدرابر لب آوردن خطاست	کافر و مومن ہمہ خلق حسد است !
ادمیت احترام آدمی	باخبرشوازم تمام آدمی !
بنده عشق از خدا گیر طریق	می شود بر کافر و مومن شینق !
کفر و دین را گیر در پهنائے دل	دل اگر بگریزد از دل، وائے دل !
گر چه دل زندانی آب و گل است	ایں ہمہ آفاق آفاق دل است !

Religion is a constant yearning for perfection,
 It begins in reverence and ends in Love ;
 It is a sin to utter harsh words
 For the believer and the unbeliever are alike children
 of God.

What is humanity ? Respect for man !
 Learn to understand the dignity of man ;
 The man of Love learns the ways of God
 And is benevolent alike to the believer and the un-
 believer ;

Welcome faith and unfaith alike to the heart !
 If the heart flees from the heart, woe betide the heart !
 The heart, no doubt, is imprisoned in water and clay,
 But the whole of the Universe is the domain of the
 heart !¹

What an inspiring gospel of tolerance do these lines preach !

The third quality, that of *Faqr* or *Istighna*, has come in for great stress in the later writings of Iqbal. It is difficult to render it into English satisfactorily because there is no one word which could convey its full and precise significance. Its underlying idea has been familiar to the Eastern people, though in a somewhat perverted form, but it is somewhat alien to the modern thought in the West. What is this *Faqr*? We have seen that Iqbal rejects the attitude of renunciation which he attributes to the influence of Neo-Platonism and pseudo-mysticism and he advocates an active way of life which

¹*Jávid Námah*, pp 241-42.

would lead men to the conquest of the world of matter. But while advocating this, he is keenly conscious of the fact that the highest aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions, that riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit.

اب ترا دور بھی آنے کہے اے فقیر غیور
کھا گئی روح فرنگی کو ہوائے زر و سیم!

The self-respecting *Faqr* will soon have its day,
Long has the greed for gold and silver corrupted the soul
of the West ¹

He is, therefore, anxious that while man is engaged in the conquest of his world, he should retain an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to his material possessions, for only then can he guard himself against becoming a slave to them and use them for the expansion, instead of the impoverishment, of his spiritual life and for the service, instead of the exploitation, of his fellow men. It is a kind of intellectual and emotional asceticism which does not, indeed, turn away from the world as a source of evil and corruption but uses it for the pursuit of good and worthy ends. It makes the good man a

¹ *Zarb-t-Kalim*, p. 24

crusader of the spirit, as it were, who wields his *Faqr* as a shield to protect himself from becoming contaminated by the corruptions and temptations which beset him at every step :

خدا کے پاک بندوں کو حکومت میں عنسلامی میں
 زرہ کوئی اگر محفوظ رکھتی ہے تو استغنا!

In power, as in subjection, *Faqr* is the shield
 That protects the pure-hearted ¹

In power, it saves him from an attitude of arrogance and self-intoxication ; in political subjection, it enables him to spurn the temptations, bribes and snares with which a ruling power always tries cynically to corrupt the integrity and character of a subject people. Iqbal further defines this *Faqr* by contrasting it with the renunciation preached by certain religions which advocate an attitude of escape or withdrawal :

کمال ترک نہیں آج کل سے ہجوری کمال ترک ہے تسخیرِ خاکی و نوری

¹*Bâl-i-7ibril*, p 38

میں ایسے فقر سے اے اہل حلقہ باز آیا تمہارا فقر ہے بے دولتی و نجوری
 ذہن فقر کے لئے موزوں نہ سلطنت کیلئے وہ قوم جس نے گنوا یا متاعِ تموری

The withdrawal from the world of matter
 Is not the end of true renunciation ;
 It means conquest of all beings of clay and light ;
 I wash my hands of this *Faqr* of the ascetics,
 Which is nought but poverty and grieving ;
 The nation that loses the wealth of Taimur's Courage
 Is unworthy alike of *Faqr* and Empire.¹

This true *Faqr*—of which the history of Islam provides many remarkable examples—is very different from the false *Faqr*, born of weakness, resignation and lack of initiative :

اک فقر سکھاتا ہے صیاد کو پنجیری اک فقر سے کھلتے ہیں اسرارِ جہاگیری
 اک فقر سے قوموں میں مسکینی و دلگیری اک فقر سے مٹی میں خاصیتِ اکیری
 اک فقر ہے شہیری اس فقر میں ہے میری میراثِ مسلمانی سرا یہ شہیری

There is a *Faqr* which teaches cunning to the hunter,
 There is a *Faqr* which reveals the secrets of domination ;

¹*Bal-i-7ibril*, p 64

There is a *Faqr* which makes nations humble and de-
pressed,

There is a *Faqr* which endows the dust with the attri-
butes of gold ;

There is the *Faqr*, characteristic of Husain,
Which is the source of Spiritual wealth ;

This wealth of Husain's is the heritage of the Muslim ¹

Hence also Iqbal's contention :

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیر اولیٰ ہو جس کی فقیری میں بُوئے اسد اللہی !

This *Faqr*, then, instead of being in the nature of a renunciation by the weak, becomes a source of incorruptible idealism and effort in the strong, who have the character to spurn luxury and temptation and refuse to be caught up in their snare. It gives the right intellectual and emotional tone to individuality :

علم کا مقصود ہے پاکی و عفتل و خرد فقر کا مقصود ہے عفت قلب و نگاہ
چڑھتی ہے جب فقر کی سان پد تیغ خودی ایک سپاہی کی ضرب کرتی ہے کار سپاہ !

The objective of knowledge is the purity of the intellect,
The objective of *Faqr* is the purity of the heart and the
vision ;

¹*Bâl-i-Jibril*, p 213.

When the sword of the self is sharpened on the whet-
stone of *Faqr*,
The stroke of a single soldier acquires the might of an
army.¹

It should not be interpreted as a cowardly compensation for the poor, who are deprived of their rights and too weak to enforce their claims—for them Iqbal points to the injunction of the Quran: “And do not forget thy share in the world”—but as a saving grace in the rich and the powerful who must specially guard against the moral corruption which wealth and power bring in their train:

گرچه باشی از حرداوندانِ دِه فقر را از کفِ مده، از کفِ مده
ای بسا مرد حق اندیش و بصیر می شود از کثرتِ نعمتِ ضریر
کثرتِ نعمت گداز از دل برد نازمی آرد نی از از دل برد

Even if you belong to the lords of the Earth,
Do not forego the grace of *Faqr*,
Many a man who understands truth and possesses vision
Becomes corrupted by an excess of riches;
The excess of riches steals compassion from the heart
And substitutes pride for humility.²

¹*Dal-i-Jibril*, p. 110.

²*Javid Námah*, p. 242

The significance of this exhortation will be more keenly appreciated when we reflect that all great and worthy achievements in History have been due to individuals or groups inspired by this ideal of *Faqr* who sought their satisfaction, not in the accretion of material possessions for themselves but in the selfless service of some great purpose, and who imposed a life of voluntary poverty and self-denial on themselves. From the history of great religious leaders of ancient times to that of great political parties of today, we find this principle consistently operative. Our education, on the contrary, is designed, consciously as well as unconsciously, to instil in the minds of the youth an attitude of selfishness and to substitute for its characteristic idealism and selflessness a mean desire to fight for petty jobs and secure them at the cost of everything else, however precious. When in this mad struggle, a few manage to gain offices or a little of the riches of the world they lose their humanity in the process and the spirit in them turns into stone. Hence Iqbal's indictment of the "classes":

خیر و خوبی بر خواص آمد حرام دیدہ ام صدق و صفارا در عوام!

The classes are bereft of virtue and beneficence ;
 Amongst the masses I have often found truth and sincerity ¹

He exhorts the growing generation of Indian youth to build a fuller and worthier life for themselves in which high idealism, undaunted courage, a sense of justice and an attitude of *Faqr* find their proper expression :

پاک شوا از خوفِ سلطان و امیر	شیرۂ اخلاص را محکم بگیر
قصده در فقر و غنا از کف مده	عدل در قهر و رضا از کف مده
جز بحفظِ جان و تن ناید بدست	حاکمی در عالم بالا و پست
آشیاں با فطرتِ اوساز نیست	زندگی جز لذتِ پرواز نیست
دل سخن بر بندوبے و سواں زنی	در ره دین سخت چوں الماس زنی

Hold fast to the ways of Truth,
 Rid thyself of the fear of kings and nobles ;
 Do not forsake justice in anger or in joy
 In poverty or in affluence ;
 Sovereignty is not achieved in this world or the next,

Except through the perfect discipline of the body and
the mind.

Life is nought but the joy of soaring,
The nest is not congenial to its nature ;
Live, hard as the diamond, in the path of religion,
Concentrate the heart on God and live without fear ¹¹

We are now in a position to sum up, in educational terms, the character of the good man—the true Believer, the *Momin*—as visualized by Iqbal. He is a man who develops all his powers and strengthens his individuality through active contact with his material and cultural environment. This strong, concentrated individuality, sharpened and steeled through a life of active experience, is to be dedicated to the service of the Lord in Whose name he is out to conquer the world. But when the world lies conquered at his feet, he is strong enough to stand aloof from, and superior to, the well-nigh irresistible temptations which weaken the moral fibre. His self-respect gives him courage and adventurousness ; his tolerance and respect for the rights and personality of others make him sensitive to the claims which their common humanity makes on him. In the pursuit of his ideals he is strong enough

¹¹*Jávid Námah*, pp. 239-40.

to defy with contempt the vested interests and forces which stand in the way of their realization. This is how Iqbal himself sketches the portrait of the true *Momin* :

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا ہاتھ	غالب کار آفرین کارکشنا کارساز
شاکی و نورمی نہاد بندہ مولا صفات	ہر دو جہاں سے غنی اس کا دل سب دنیا
اس کی امیدیں قلیل اسکے مقاصد جلیل	اس کی ادا و لفریب اس کی نگہ دل نواز
نرم دم گفستگو گرم دم جستجو	نرم ہو یا نرم ہو پاک دل و پاک با

The hand of the *Momin* is the hand of Allah
 Dominant, resourceful, creative, ensuring success ;
 Born of clay, he has the nature of light
 A creature with the attributes of the Creator !
 His heart is indifferent to the riches of the two worlds ;
 His desires are few, but his purposes are great,
 His ways are graceful, his glance fascinating ;
 He is soft of speech but warm in his quest,
 In war as in peace his heart and mind are pure.¹

And in another poem he sums up his character more tersely :

¹*Bál-ı-Jibril*, p 132.

پیشِ باطل تیغ و پیشِ حقِ سپر امر و نہی اُو عیسارِ خیر و شر
 عفو و عدل و بدل و احسانشِ عظیم ہم لقبہ اندر مزاج اُو کریم

He is a flashing sword against untruth,
 And a protecting shield for Truth ;
 His affirmation, and negation
 Are the criteria for Good and Evil ;
 Great is his forgiveness, his justice, his generosity and
 his grace,
 Even in anger he knows how to be kind

So emphatic is his insistence on these qualities that, for him, the real difference between a *Momin* (the true believer, the good man) and a *káfir* (the unbeliever) is not a narrow theological difference but one of fundamental attitudes towards life—namely, whether he does, or does not, develop all his capacities and use them for the conquest and the remaking of the world in the name of the Lord :

کافر ہے مسلمان تو نہ شاہی نہ فقیری مومن ہے تو کتابہ فقیری میں بھی شاہی
 کافر ہے تو شمشیر پر کتابہ بھروسا مومن ہے تو بے تیغ بھی لڑتا ہے سپاہی

کافر ہے تو ہے تابع تقدیر مسلمان مومن ہے تو وہ آپسے تقدیر الہی ہا

If the Muslim is an unbeliever,
He can neither be a king nor a Faqir ;
If he is a true believer,
Even as a Faqir he acts like a king !
If the soldier is without faith,
He relies on the sword ;
If he is endowed with faith
He can fight without armour ;
If the Muslim is without faith,
He is a slave to destiny ;
Endowed with faith,
He becomes the destiny of Allah ¹

He expresses one aspect of this difference epigram-
matically in these words :

کافر کی یہ بھپان کہ آفاق میں گم ہے
مومن کی یہ بھپان کہ گم اس میں ہیں آفاق!

The unbeliever loses himself in the Universe
While the Universe itself is lost in the *Mومن* ²
In the *Jávid Námah*, towards the very end of the

¹Bál-i-Jubríl, p. 55.

²Zarb-i-Kalím, p. 39.

book, is heard the *Nidá-i-Jamál* (the call of God to man) inviting him to the Good Life which demands simultaneously the full realization and appreciation of the value of Self and its dedication to the service of mankind :

بگذرا ز خاور و افسونی افزنگ شو که نیز زد بجوسے ایں ہمہ دیرینہ و نو
 اس نگینے کہ تو با اہر مناں باختہ ہم تجبیریل امینے نتوال کرد گوا
 زندگی انجمن آراؤ نگہدار خود است اے کہ در قافلہ بے ہمہ شوبہا ہمہ روا
 تو سر و زندہ تراز مہر نی آیدہ اچنناں زنی کہ بہر ذرہ رسائی پرتو

Pass beyond the East and resist the spell of the West,
 All this old and new is not worth a barley-grain !
 The jewel, that thou hast bartered to the people of the
 dark,
 Is too precious to be entrusted even to Gabriel ;
 Life is self-regarding and creates its own assembly ;
 Traveller in the caravan, go with all, be independent of
 all !
 Thou art brighter than the bright moon :
 Live, so that every particle may receive thy illumina-
 tion.¹

¹*Javid Namah*, p 230, *Zabur-i-Ajam*, p. 184.

An important question may at this stage occur to all careful students of Iqbal's thought: Is his ideal of human character practicable? Can we expect frail humanity, whose spirit is often unwilling and flesh almost always weak, to rise to the heights of selfless achievement and the nobility of character which Iqbal prescribes and predicts for it?

Let us consider this pertinent issue briefly. Obviously it is not possible to give any logically convincing or scientifically demonstrable proof in support of any position one may take up in this respect. It would depend ultimately on one's faith about the possibilities of human nature and one's interpretation of the tendencies that have been at work in the course of human evolution. In dealing with this question, we must remember that an ideal is always a finger-post; it points the *direction* of our activity and measures the worth of our achievement. It is never wholly attained but provides the motive force for our progressive movement towards it. We have, therefore, not so much to decide whether all men and women can actually attain the ideal but to judge whether the ideal itself is worthy of our devotion and service—the ideal of a

strenuous life which rejects self-indulgence and utilizes the resources of a fully developed individuality for the attainment of great and noble purposes. It is only the incorrigible epicurean or the unbending determinist who would reject the ideal as undesirable or utterly impracticable. But there may be others whose doubts are based on psychological grounds—that is, whether human nature can at all bear the strain of living on such a high plane of thought and endeavour. Two considerations must, however, be borne in mind in deciding this issue. Firstly, great human ideals have a powerful dynamic and explosive quality which has, in the past, successfully transformed not only the character of individuals but the destinies of whole nations. The remarkable flowering and expansion of the Arab genius under the inspiration of the Prophet's teaching is one instance in point. The recent reconstruction of the entire structure of social, cultural, and economic life in Soviet Russia—whether one approves or disapproves of it—and the heroic efforts to produce a new type of co-operative, community-minded human being provide another instance. Both indicate how, under the

impulse of a new and dynamic idea, many of the obstacles which appear insuperable to the timid reformist fall away and life takes on a new meaning and a new direction. Secondly, we must not lose sight of the tremendous influence which a planned economic and cultural environment exerts on human nature, in comparison with which even the effects of heredity seem less important. Discussing the comparative significance of heredity and environment in the shaping of human nature, Schmalhausen in his radical book *New Roads to Progress* raises the issue: "What we want to know is whether social systems have been barbarous, predatory, fiendishly inhuman *because* 'human nature' is inherently and irremediably cruel and evil, *or* the other way around, namely, that men have proved themselves, thus far in human history, monsters of iniquity because the institutions that surrounded them in childhood, as in maturity, superimposed upon their plastic and credulous minds a set of values, a repertory of habits, a theory of reality that limited human response, thus cultivating a type of personality that was under a cultural *compulsion* to be narrow-hearted and narrow-mind-

ed.” After carefully weighing the evidence provided by the psychologists and the anthropologists, he comes to the conclusion that “man’s instincts and impulses, his drives and motivations, his mechanisms and goals are all profoundly affected, shaped, rearranged, given their orientation in *society*, by institutions and forces that are infinitely more potent for good and evil than can possibly be imagined to be the case if men’s private Ego is presumed to be the centre and originator of human psychology.” On the whole, even allowing for the impressive array of Galtonian evidence this view of the part played by society in moulding the character and conduct of the individual is quite reasonable, though Iqbal would no doubt assign to the Ego a more important place than is implied in the above quotation. He would, however, agree with Schmalhausen’s further remark that “only with the *conscious* inauguration of a civilization and a culture that deliberately selects certain tendencies and dispositions for general cultivation can we ever really know what the true relation is between the range of human potentiality and a favouring social environment.” He would also whole-heartedly endorse

the remark that "there is much more talent and genius in the human society than any society has (so far) provided conditions and incentives for evoking; there is immeasurably more humaneness in the human heart than any primitive or civilized environment has yet tapped." Thus the achievement of human excellence is a matter both of the ideology inspiring individual and collective conduct and the social environment provided for its development. Iqbal fervently believes that a progressive interpretation of the ideals of Islam in the light of modern conditions and problems can provide the motive force and inspiration for a radical reconstruction of individual and social life, and that, in the social order envisaged by Islam, it is possible to set into motion incentives and forces which will orient its development in the direction of the ideals in view. We shall now proceed to consider briefly the outstanding features of the Islamic social order and study their implications for Education.

PART II
EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL
ORDER OF ISLAM

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORDER OF ISLAM

WE have so far mainly concerned ourselves with the education of the individual character as envisaged by Iqbal. But the individual is only one pole of the process of education; the entire social order, including the world of Nature which environs it, is the other pole and the function of education is to bring about a progressive interaction and dynamic adjustment between them. The school—using the term to include all kinds of educational institutions—is only one of the numerous factors which determine the course and direction of the individual's development; it is far more powerfully and irresistibly influenced by the nature of the environing society and the ideology which inspires its group relationships and its social, political and economic life. We have, therefore, to raise another problem of fundamental importance: What is the conception of the social order implicit in Iqbal's thought? What kind of society does he

visualize in which his fully developed individual will be able to play his part effectively, without being frustrated at every step by adverse social conditions? Or, to put the question in a more correct psychological form: What is the social order which will favour and stimulate the growth of such an individual? For, we must remember that the development of the individual does not take place in a vacuum or only under the influence of the academic atmosphere in schools; it is the result of all the various forces—natural and cultural—that play on him. In these days of all kinds of radical experiments in the reconstruction of social and economic life—from Nazi Germany to Soviet Russia—this problem of the social order is a very difficult and controversial issue. But no account of Iqbal's educational philosophy will be complete without facing it courageously.

In the attempt to analyze this social order the sources of Iqbal's inspiration must be looked for in the teachings of Islam. "Holding that the full development of the individual presupposes a society," remarks Nicholson in his preface to the *Secrets of the Self*, "he finds the ideal society in what he con-

siders to be the Prophet's conception of Islam. Every Muslim, in striving to make himself a more perfect individual, is helping to establish the Islamic kingdom of God on Earth." Before analyzing the significant features of this society we might first dispose of a question which has often been raised : Is Iqbal's desire to resurrect the values of Islam a reactionary step, a counsel of obscurantism? The question demands an unbiassed and dispassionate examination of these social values and a mental readiness to take them on their merits—not rejecting them merely because they are old and derive their sanction from religion, nor accepting them unquestioningly on the same ground, but evaluating them with reference to actually existing social conditions and problems. As we have seen, Iqbal himself is always stressing the fact of change and the dynamic nature of human society :

سفر زندگی کے لئے برگ و ساز سفر ہے حقیقت سفر ہے مجاز

Movement is the equipment of life,
Movement is Reality, rest is an illusion ¹

¹*Bal-i-Jibril*, p 171

But he has, at the same time, a due sense of historic continuity and is neither impatient of the past merely because it is old, nor carried away by anything merely because it is new. "We should not forget," he remarks, "that life is not change pure and simple. It has within it elements of conservation also. The spirit of man in his forward movement is restrained by forces which seem to be working in the opposite direction. This is only another way of saying that life moves with the weight of its own past on its back and that, in any view of social change, the value and function of the forces of conservatism cannot be lost sight of... No people can afford to reject their past entirely; for it is their past that has made their personal identity." This, however, is only a philosophical argument for not rejecting summarily the experience and institutions of the past; for the acceptance and affirmation of Islamic institutions as valuable for the modern age he has more positive reason to offer. When criticized for narrowing down his vision from the world of mankind to the world of Islam, he replied: "The object of my Persian poems is not to 'plead' for Islam. Really

I am keenly interested in the search for a better social order; and, in this search, it is simply^o impossible to ignore an actually existing social system the main object of which is to abolish all distinction of race, caste and colour." Since he is anxious to build a social order on the broadest humanistic basis in which race, caste and colour will not be dividing factors, he welcomes and preaches the social values of Islam because, according to him, they constitute the strongest bulwark against the rising tide of racialism and nationalism and because, in their essence, they provide the greatest guarantee and hope of a society based on the principles of equality, social justice and human brotherhood.

Before an analysis of the social order which Iqbal desires to bring into being, it will be useful to get some idea of the social order which held sway over Arabia and other Eastern countries before the advent of the Prophet; for it is only against this gloomy background that we can properly appreciate the revolutionary nature of the social theory offered by him to a world without hope. Iqbal describes the wretched condition of man before the advent of Islam in these words :

بود انساں درجہاں انساں پرست ناکس فنا بود مندو زیر دست
 سطوت کسے وقیصر رہز نشس بند ہا در دست و پا و گروش
 کاہن و پا پا و سلطان و امیر بہر یک پنجیر صد پنجیہ گیر
 از غلامی فطرت اودوں شدہ نغمہ ہا اندر نئے اُدوں شدہ

"Man, weak, oppressed and powerless, worshipped man.
 The powerful rulers of the world waylaid him and put
 him into fetters.

The pope and the priest,
 The king and nobles all combined to exploit this poor
 victim.

Slavery had so degraded him that

"The music in his flute had turned into blood."¹

A modern European historian of civilization has also given a vivid description of the state of the civilized world about the time when Islam appeared on the stage of history. Iqbal quotes him with approval:

"It seemed then that the great civilization that it had taken four thousand years to construct was

¹Rumûz-ı-Békhudî, p 119

on the verge of destruction and that mankind was likely to return to that condition of barbarism where every tribe and sect was against the next, and law and order were unknown. The old tribal sanctions had lost their power . . . The new sanctions created by Christianity were working divisions and destruction instead of unity and order. It was a time fraught with tragedy . . . Was there any emotional culture that could be brought in to gather mankind once more into unity and to save civilization? This culture must be something of a new type, for the old sanctions and ceremonials were dead, and to build up others of the same kind would be the work of centuries ”

The writer then goes on to argue that the salvation of the world, at that juncture, depended on the emergence of a new culture that could replace the existing “ throne-cultures ” whose systems of unifications were based on the blood-relation and he notes with amazement that such a culture should have arisen in Arabia. But Iqbal makes the illuminating observation that “ there is nothing amazing in the phenomenon. The world-life intuitively sees its own needs and at critical moments defines its

own direction. It is only natural that Islam should have flashed across the consciousness of a simple people untouched by any of the existing cultures and occupying a geographical position where three continents meet together."

Let us now try to understand the outstanding features of this new social and cultural order which emerged triumphantly at this critical juncture in the history of the world. Iqbal points out that the social order of Islam "finds the foundation of world-unity in the principle of *Tawhîd* (faith in the Unity of God) and Islam as a religion is only a practical means of making the principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God and not to the thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." The ethical and psychological change involved in this new vision is tremendously significant because it implies the recognition of the infinite worth of every individual in the Kantian sense, and the rejection of blood-relationship as the basis of human unity—blood-relationship which in the words of Iqbal is essen-

tially "earth-rootedness." "The search for a purely psychological foundation of human unity becomes possible," he explains, "only with the perception that all human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a perception is creative of fresh loyalties without any ceremonial to keep them alive and makes it possible for man to emancipate himself from the earth." Thus the principle of *Tawhîd*, viewed psychologically, seeks to restore to a torn and divided world its integral unity and offers an intellectual impetus towards the resolution of those dualisms which have always tended to arrest the development of thought. It also brings in its wake, as it actually did in the early period of Islamic history, a new sense of freedom and courage and release from various kinds of irrational fears and superstitions. It provides a rallying point for the diverse interests and groups comprised within the Islamic Society. But Iqbal deplores the fact that "the pure brow of *Tawhîd* has received . . . an impress of heathenism and the universal and impersonal character of the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localization. The only alternative open to us then is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has

immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life and, to rediscover the original verities of freedom, equality and solidarity with a view to rebuild our moral, social and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality." In his *Rumúz-i-Békhudá*, he elucidates the implications of this principle :

اینگہ در صد سینہ پچید یک نفس	سے از اسرار توحید است و بس
یک شو و توحید را مشہود کن	غائبش را از عمل موجود کن
دین از حکمت ازو آتیں ازو	زور ازو قوت ازو تمکین ازو
قدرت اُو برگزیند بندہ را	نوع دیگر آفریند بندہ را
بیم و شک میرد عمل گیر و حیات	چشم می بیند ضمیر کائنات
لازالہ سرمایہ اسرار ما	رشتہ اش شیرازہ افکار ما

What is it that infuses one breath in a hundred hearts ?

This is one of the secrets of faith in *Tawhíd*.

Be united and thus make *Tawhíd* visible ;

Realize its latent meaning in action ;

Faith and Wisdom and Law all spring from it,

It is the source of strength and power and stability ;
 Its power exalts the nature of man
 And makes him an entirely new being ;
 Fear and doubt die out ; action becomes alive.
 The eye beholds the heart of the Universe ,
 “ There is no god but God ”—this is the capital of our
 life ;

Its bond unites our scattered thoughts.¹

The extraordinary and remarkable personality of Prophet Muhammad provides another important focus of loyalties for the growing polity of Islam and this emotional concentration is a powerful means for transforming the Muslims into a vital and unified community :

از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما	از رسالت دین ما آئین ما
از رسالت صد هزار مایک است	جزو ما از جزو مالاینفک است
ما از حکم نسبت او ملتسیم	اهل عالم را پیام حمتسیم
دانش از دست دادن مردن است	چون گل از باد خزاں افسردن است

¹Rumúz-i-Békhudí, pp. 105, 182-83

از رسالت جسم نوا گشتیم ما ہم نفس ہم مدعا گشتیم ما
 فرد از حق بملت از مے زنده است از شعاع مہر او تابندہ است

“Prophethood is the basis of our organization, our religion and our law. It creates unity in our diversity and makes us into a well knit community, which is meant to bring a message of peace for mankind. If we let go our hold of this unifying life-giving conception, it means our death as a nation, for, it is this centre which has given us a dynamic unity of outlook and purpose.”¹

But the real significance of Muhammad's prophethood lies in the nature of the message which he offered to mankind, enslaved in cruel bonds of its own making—a message of freedom, social equality and human brotherhood, an affirmation for the first time in history, in unequivocal terms, of complete equality of social status and legal rights. It restored to the full status of citizenship those who had been deprived of their human rights on grounds of race or colour or sex or social and economic circumstances. It was a living faith in social demo-

¹Rumîz-i-Bekhudî, pp. 116-17

cracy so far as it could be practicable at the time. To the priest-ridden, wealth-dominated world, divided into numerous warring cliques, it gave a new set of values and offered liberation to mankind, particularly to the poorer and the oppressed classes which had been kept under suppression by the exploiting rich and the usurpers of political power.

He points out how it rendered back to the people their natural rights, raised the status of the workers and weakened the power of the usurpers. The idols were broken and a new hope surged in the heart of man. Freedom again came into its own—freedom of the body and of the mind :

حریت زادا از خمیرِ پاکِ او این مے نوشیں چکید از تاکِ او
 ناشکیب امتیازاتِ آمدہ در نہادِ او مساواتِ آمدہ
 عصرِ نو کایں صدِ چراغِ آورده است چشمِ در آغوشِ او و اگر دہ است

“ Liberty took its birth from its exalted teaching,
 This sweet wine dripped from its grapes ;
 It was impatient of invidious distinctions,
 Democracy was implicit in its being ;

The modern age, which has kindled a hundred lamps,
Has opened its eyes in its lap"¹

This assertion of social equality and justice, this holding of the scales even between the rich and the poor, between the powerful and the weak, was largely realized in practice. It was embodied in religious observances and everyday social practices, and the history of Islam is full of incidents in which the rights of the ordinary man were triumphantly vindicated against the might of powerful adversaries. Iqbal narrates the story of Sultan Murád who had the arm of an architect amputated because his work had failed to please him. The architect filed a suit in the court of the Qázi against this cruelty, saying :

عبدِ مسلم کمتر از اسرار نیست خونِ شہر زنگین تر از معمار نیست

“The Muslim, though a bondsman, is not inferior to
the man who is free,
Nor is the King's blood redder than a mason's.”

Qazi sentenced the Emperor to the penalty prescribed in law. Thus :

¹Rumúz-i-Békhudí. p 120.

یا نسبتِ موسیٰ بر سلیمان نے ظفر
 سطوتِ آئینِ سعیدِ سبر نگہ
 پیشِ استدالِ بندہ و مولیٰ کیے است
 بوریا و سندِ دیبا کیے است

The ant triumphed over Sulaiman !
 Behold the power of the Prophet's law ;
 The master and the slave
 Are equal before the law of the Quran.
 Nor has the silk carpet superiority over the mat.

Thus the social order, contemplated by Islam, throws the weight of its legislation and its sanctions towards redressing injustices and inequalities and tends to side with the weak against the strong. By its essentially democratic spirit and by cutting across the social and economic divisions of society it has always made for the mobility of social intercourse and arrested the stratification of society into mutually exclusive groups. Any social order which rejects or ignores these conditions of social health would militate against the vision of society implicit in Iqbal's thought.

On the political side, this social order definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to dictate and circumscribe people's loyalties. The

exaggerated modern emphasis on territorial nationalism and aggressive patriotism is mischievous because it cuts across the international outlook of Islam and disrupts the essential solidarity of mankind. It strikes at the root of political sanity and it has been directly responsible for the bloodshed, destruction and unjust persecutions which embitter the present political situation. Iqbal looks upon geographical and racial groupings as, at best, a temporary and makeshift type of political organization and, at the worst, as responsible for all sorts of political evils, oppressions and conflicts. One of his *bêtes noires* is Macchiavelli who raised the State to the position of an absolute deity and openly preached the subordination of moral and ethical principles to political expediency :

آل فلان ساوی باطل پست سرمنه اودیده مردم شکست
نسخه بهر شهنشاهاں نوشت در گل مادانه پیکار کشت
بتگری مانند آذر پیشه اش بست نقش تازه اندیشه اش

مملکت را دین او معبود ساخت فنکر او مذموم را محمود ساخت
 بوستان برپایه این معبود زد نفت ریخ بر ابر عیسا رسوزد

That Florentine worshipper of Untruth,
 Blinded the eyes of man with his antimony.
 He wrote a new code for the guidance of rulers
 And sowed the seed of wars in our clav.
 Like *Azar* his occupations was idol-making,
 His wit conceived many new patterns
 His religion made the State into a deity
 And presented what was evil as good.
 He kissed the feet of this deity
 And tested truth on the criterion of profit! ¹

The pernicious practice of subjecting all values and loyalties to the interests of a particular race or nation has been vigorously revived by the reactionary political systems of Fascism and Nazism. Condemning all such tendencies, Iqbal says :

آں چنان قطع اخوت کرده اند بر وطن تعسیر ملت کرده اند
 ما وطن را شمع محفل ساختند نوح انساں را قبائل ساختند

¹Rumúz-i-Békhudí, p. 134.

مردمی اندر جہاں افسانہ شد آدمی از آدمی بیگانه شد
 روح از تن رفت مہفت اندام ماند آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند

They have undermined foundations of brotherhood
 And established nationality on the basis of the country ;
 When they made this idea the assembly's lamp,
 Mankind split up into warring tribes ;
 "Humanity " became but a legend,
 Man became a stranger to man :
 The soul fled from the body,
 Only the outer forms remained,
 Mankind disappeared from the earth,
 Only separate nations remained ¹

And the consequences of worshipping these idols of race, colour and nation are too obvious to need any detailed examination. We are living to-day in a veritable hell of their making.

فکر انساں بُت پرستے بُت گرے ہر زماں در جستجوئے سپیکرے
 باز طرح آذری انداخت است تازہ تر پروردگارے ساخت است

¹Rumiz-i-Bekhudt, p 133

کاید از خون رشتن اندر طرب نام اورنگ است هم ملک و نسب
 آدمیت کشته ش چون گو سفند پیش پاستے این بت نانا آجھند

The thought of man is ever making and worshipping
 idols,

Ever in the quest for new forms ;
 He has again revived the traditions of *Azar*,
 And fashioned yet another deity ;
 This deity is gratified by the shedding of blood,
 It is variously named as Colour and Race and Country
 Mankind has been slaughtered like sheep
 At the altar of this inauspicious Idol ¹

As against these forces which exploit hatred and provoke antagonisms, *Islam* seeks to base the community of mankind not on geographical accidents but on belief in one God and, consequently, in the brotherhood of man as a practical working idea. Such an idea alone, he urges, can act as a centrifugal force and break down the division of mankind into militant camps. From the political and secular point of view, Iqbal interprets the Islamic society as a social order open to all those who would

¹ *Rumt-z-i-Bekhudi*, p. 163.

renounce the worship of the race-and-nation idea and acknowledge one another's personality as sacred. Hence the categorical rejection by the internationalism of Islam of all territorial or racial patriotisms :

قلب ما از بند و روم و شام نیست مرز و بوم او بجز اسلام نیست
 مسلم استی دل با قلیجے بند گم مشواند جز یہاں چون و چند
 دل بدست آور کہ در پہنا تے دل می شود گم این سرے آب و گل

Our heart is attached neither to Syria nor Turkey nor
 Ind,
 Its birth-place is nought but Islam ;
 Thou art a Muslim, do not bind thy heart to any
 country,
 Do not lose thyself in this world of dissensions ;
 Win over the heart, for within its wide expanse,
 This entire caravanserai of water and clay can lose
 itself.¹

And, he further explains how the move of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina and making it his home suggests that mere geographical ties meant

¹ *Rumîz-i-Bekhudî*, pp 129-30

nothing to him and should mean nothing to the Muslims.

عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود . از وطن آفاتے ماہجرت نمود
 حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد . بر اساس کلمہ تعمیر کرد
 ناز بخشش پائے آل سلطان دین . مسجدی ما شد ہمہ روتے زمین
 صورت ماہی بحر آبادشو . یعنی از قید مصتام آزادشو
 ہر کہ از قید جہات آزاد شد . چوں فلک در ششہت آباد شد

The Prophet migrated from his birth-place,
 He thus revealed the secret of the Muslim's nationalism ;
 His foresight established a world-encircling community
 On the foundations of the " Kalima " ;
 By the grace of his overflowing bounty
 The whole earth was for us made a mosque ;
 Live in the ocean like the fish,
 Freed from the fetters of locality ;
 He, who frees himself from the prison house of directions,
 Becomes all-pervasive like the sky.¹

It is hardly necessary to point out that, in this

¹Rumîz-i-Bekhudî, p. 131

rejection of the idea of territorial nationalism. Iqbal is in accord with some of the greatest and most progressive thinkers of the modern age who believe that, unless there is a reorientation of political loyalties and the world is organized for peace, education and other social influences will fail to produce any far-reaching and fundamental change for the better.

This raises a question of considerable interest: What is Iqbal's attitude towards patriotism, which has always been held up as a virtue—which education should try to inculcate? Patriotism as an uncompromising political creed which believes in “My Country—right or wrong” and which fails to give due recognition to the wider claims of humanity is obviously repugnant to the spirit of internationalism for which Islam stands and which Iqbal advocates. But patriotism as love for the best that one's own country or group has achieved, as an appreciation for one's peculiar cultural values and contribution is a sentiment of great value. Iqbal has been wrongly accused by some critics of a lack of patriotism. As a matter of fact, he values genuine patriotism so highly that, in his *Javid*

Númah he reserves the severest tortures of hell for Mír Jáfar of Bengal and Nawab Sádiq of Deccan who were traitors to their country and, siding with foreigners, helped them to deprive it of its political liberty. He describes them with passionate feeling as a "disgrace to their country and their religion and to the whole of mankind" Hell itself is unwilling to receive them and the poet relegates them to the worst possible place—*Qulzum-i-Khunín* (Ocean of Blood) in *Falak-i-Zuhal*.

In the form of a conversation between *Zinda Rood* (The Living Stream) and Sultan Tipu he gives fervent expression to his burning love for the country :

آنکھ باکاش نیرزد بوستان	بازگوازمند و ازمندوستان
آنکھ اندر دیر آو آتش فسرد!	آنکھ اندر مسجدش ہنگامہ مرو
آنکھ یادش را بجای پروردہ ایم	آنکھ دل از بہر آدخول کرده ایم
آہ از اں معشوق عاشق تماشاس!	از غم ما کن غم اور اقیاس

Speak again of the country of Ind—
 Whose blade of grass is more precious than a garden,
 Whose mosques are silent like the grave,
 Whose temples are cold and without fire,
 For whose love our heart still bleeds,
 Whose memory is dear as life itself.
 Imagine its sorrow from the depth of our grief—
 Alas for the beloved who knows not the lover.¹

And in his *Zarb-i-Kalim*, in a poem of arresting beauty *Shu'â-i-Ummid* (The Ray of Hope) he speaks of India in these loving words :

خاور کی امیدوں کا یہی خاک ہے مرکز	اقبال کے اشکوں سے یہی خاک ہے سیراب!
پیشہمہ و پرویں ہے اسی خاک سے روشن	یہ خاک کھٹے جس کا خرف ریزہ درناب!
اس خاک سے اٹھے ہیں وہ نحو اص معانی	جن کے لئے ہر سحر پر آشوب ہے پایاب!
جس ساڑکے نغموں سے عمارت تھی دلوں میں	مخمل کا وہی ساز ہے بریگانہ مضراب!
بت خانے کے دروازہ پستونابے برہمن	تقدیر کو روتا ہے مسلمان تہ مضراب!
مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر	فطرت کا اشارہ ہے کہ ہر شے کو سحر کر!

away from the material world and is anxious for the "revelation of a new world in the soul of man." Islam, on the other hand, boldly says "Yes" to the world of matter and accepts it with all its limitations and risks. Islam does not, as we have seen, regard the ideal and the real as two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled. It is the "mysterious touch of the ideal that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we can discover and affirm the ideal. The life of the ideal consists not in a total breach with the real which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life, but in the endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it and to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being."¹ This difference in the outlook of the two social orders accounts for their respective attitude towards science. In the days of its unquestioned ascendancy, Christianity frowned upon science and tolerated a great deal of the persecution of the scientific spirit carried on in its name with the result that, in the early Middle Ages, Europe found itself plunged into intellectual darkness. The civili-

¹Lectures, p. 9

zation of Islam, on the other hand, stimulated and encouraged the pursuit of science to a remarkable degree, so much so that, according to Biiffault, the famous historian of civilization, "science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world. Nowhere is this [*i.e.* the decisive influence of Islamic culture] so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the distinctive force of the modern world and the supreme source of its victory—natural science and the scientific spirit."

It is, therefore, essential that the social order of Islam should actively exploit the forces of modern science and thereby gain effective control of its material environment—the *‘Ālam-ī-Āfaq*. Iqbal makes it quite clear in his *Rumúz-ī-Békhudí* that the strengthening and fulfilment of national life is impossible without the fullest development of science and its utilization for its growing and expanding purposes :

ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد . علم از ذرہ تسخیر کرد

تختِ تعلیمِ اربابِ نظر	کوہ و صحرا و دشت و دریا بحر و بر
عالمِ اسبابِ راڈوں گفتم	اے کہ از تاثیرِ فیوضِ خفتم
امتحانِ ممکناتِ مسلم است	غایتش تو وسیع ذاتِ مسلم است
ہجومے اندر سب جو گیر دتر	گیر اور تانہ او گیر دتر
ذو فنونِ نہایتے تو گرد و تمام	تا ز تسخیرِ قوائے ایں نظام
بر عناصرِ حکمِ او محکم شود	نائبِ حق در جہاں آدم شود
بجئے آپ گوہر از دریا بر آرز	دستِ رنگین کن ز خونِ کوہ سار
برقِ طاقِ افروز از سیلاب گیبے	تابش از خورشیدِ عالمات گیبے
انفس و آفاق را تسخیر کن	جستجو را محکم از تدبیر کن
مرکزِ برق و حرارتِ سیاحت است	آنکہ برایشا کند از انداخت است

Whoever conquers the world of matter
Can build a world out of a speck of dust ;

the Muslim peoples is their neglect of science which has arrested their intellectual growth and weakened their political and economic position which, in the present age, is mainly dependent on scientific power. Education must, therefore, endeavour to make good this deficiency.

Lastly, this social order must be a dynamic order, keenly alive and responsive to the fact of change and the formative forces that are playing on it constantly. Like some other great thinkers of the age, Iqbal realizes clearly that life is constantly in a state of flux; it is perpetual change or motion. He brings out this idea through the words of Tipu Sultan addressed to the river Káverí :

اے من تو موجے از روحیات ہر نفس دیکر شو و ایں کائنات
زندگانی الفتلاب ہر دمے است زانکہ او اندر سبغ عالمے است!

بار و پود ہر وجود از رفت و بود ایں ہمہ ذوق نمود از رفت و بود
جبادہ ماچوں ر ہرواں اندر سفر ہر کج اینہاں سفر سپید اسفر
کاروان و ناقتہ و دشت و نخیل ہر سپر بینی نالدا از در و حیل!

You and I are but waves in the stream of life ;
 Every instant this Universe is in flux ;
 Life is changing at every intake of breath,
 For it is ever on the quest for a new world !
 The web and woof of every being is from motion ;
 All this urge for growth is derived from motion ;
 Like the wayfarers, the courses, too are in motion,
 Everywhere there is motion, apparent, or revealed.
 The caravan and the camel, the desert and the oasis,
 Whatever you see is restless with the pain of motion !¹

Such a dynamic conception of society follows logically from the view of life and of the universe taken by Islam which we have already discussed. In his *Lectures*, Iqbal devotes a full chapter to the "Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam", discussing the doctrine of *Ijtihād* and trying to strike the correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam," he explains "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life ; for the eternal gives

¹*Javid Namah*, p 216

us a foothold in the world of perpetual change.” But, he points out, “eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change, which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature . . . The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems.”¹ This implies the right of exercising *Ijthād*—independent judgment and interpretation of religious Law in the light of changed and changing circumstances—which Iqbal holds to be essential for the healthy growth of the body politic. Iqbal disagrees with those legists who would deny this right to the present-day Muslims. “The closing of the door of *Ijthād*,” he contends, “is pure fiction suggested partly by the crystallization of legal thought in Islam and partly by that intellectual laziness which, specially in periods of spiritual decay, turns great thinkers into idols. If some of the later doctors have upheld this fiction, modern Islam is not bound by this voluntary

¹Lectures, p 140.

surrender of intellectual independence. It is, therefore, necessary that the social order of Islam should not be allowed to become static, sticking to the letter that killeth and ignoring the dynamic spirit that keepeth alive."¹ Social order becomes static and lifeless when intellectual initiative and independent thinking become atrophied and people cling to the old and outworn ideas and forms because they have not the courage to face and experiment with new ones. As visualized by Iqbal, the social order of Islam must ever remain responsive to the material and cultural forces that may play upon it from time to time. The concluding sentences of his letter, which forms the frontispiece of this book, may well be repeated here because they stress the essentially dynamic and meliorative nature of human society :

“Time is a great blessing (لا تسبوا الدهر ان الدهر هو الله) while it kills and destroys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in his present surroundings.”

¹Lectures, p 169

CHAPTER II

A CREATIVE VISION OF EDUCATION

IT is the duty of Muslims to translate the ideals of this progressive and humane social order into actual space-time forces and thus arrest, or at least avoid, the insane destruction, conflicts and injustices which characterize the modern civilization of the West. Iqbal appeals to the Muslims, primarily, to take the lead in this reconstruction because he believes that by virtue of their religious and philosophical tradition, they can appreciate and sympathize with these values. But he does not want them to hide their light under a bushel; he exhorts them to make it universal, for universality is a characteristic of all the creative ideas contributed by Islam for the betterment of the world :

اے کہ خوردستی زمینائے رخیل
گر می نونت ز صہبائے رخیل
برسرایں باطل حق پیسین
تیرغلام موجود الاھو بزین

جلوہ ورتاریکی ایام سکن آنچسہ بر تو کمال آمد عام سکن
 لزیم از شرم تو چون روزِ شما پر سدت آل آبروستے روزگار
 حرفِ حق از حضرت ما بردہ پس چہ را با دیگران سپردہ

You have drunk of the flagon of *Khateel*,
 Your blood is warmed up by his wine;
 Strike the sword of "There is not god but God"
 Over the head of this *Untruth*, masquerading as *Truth*
 Emerge, bright with glory, in the darkness of the age,
 Share with all what has been revealed to you in perfect
 measure;
 I tremble to think of your shame when, on the Judgment Day,
 God will put you the question:
 "You learnt the word of Truth from Us,
 Why did you fail to pass it on to others?"¹

How is this "word of truth" to be successfully communicated to the growing generation of Muslims and others? It is in this communication, this creation of better values that education must play a part, for it is the most powerful "telic" force at the disposal of a people for this purpose. But it must

¹Rumúz-ı-Békhudî, pp. 163-64.

be an education which is thoroughly permeated and vitalized by the spirit and the ideals of this cultural and social order. We have already discussed the main features and principles of this education. Let us try to crystallize this discussion by building up a composite and synthetic picture of education as foreshadowed in Iqbal's philosophy.

It will be, primarily, a dynamic and creative education directed to the nurture and the release of the creative spirit in man and equipping him with the desire and capacity to conquer ever new realms of art and science, knowledge and power—an education inspired by an optimistic faith in the destiny of man. Science will naturally occupy a prominent place in it, giving to man not only sovereignty over Nature but also control over the scientific method through which he can explore and consciously reconstruct his world. It will not, however, suffer a pseudo-scientific attitude of scepticism to reject the values of the past enshrined in History, which links it up with the present and gives a living, cultural continuity to the life of a community. For

سرگذشتِ او گر از یادش رود باز اندر نیستی گم می شود

If it forgets the story of its past,
It lapses into non-existence.¹

Nor will it set up a false and mischievous antithesis between the values represented by science and religion. On this point Iqbal is very definite and emphatic. While keenly aware of the practical and intellectual significance of science in modern life, and consequently in education, he also realizes that science takes sectional snapshots of Reality and represents but one method of apprehending it. By itself it cannot give man a full, complete and emotionally satisfying picture of Reality. Religion, on the other hand, "demands the whole of Reality and, for this reason, must occupy a central place in any synthesis of all the data of human experience." It is, therefore, a necessary *complement* to the view gained through science, not opposed to it. It must, on that account, be given a prominent place in education, for it is the most powerful source of that idealism and intuitive love of humanity which ensure that man will use his tremendous powers, not for evil but for good.

بے ہنرداں نژدے دیں ہم تم ہم تیغ را

پہ عمل نباشد دریں نباشد کلاک آہن راٹمن

For the man without Faith,
The Pen and the Sword are alike worthless;
When Faith has departed,
Wood and iron lose their value¹

“Experience shows,” Iqbal points out, “that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring. That is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men, while religion has always elevated individuals and transformed whole societies.”² And even today religion “which, in its higher manifestations, is neither dogma nor priesthood nor ritual, can alone prepare modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retain it hereafter. It is only by raising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither that man will even-

¹Rumûz-ı-Bekhudî, p. 171.

²Lectures, p. 170.

tually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by an inner conflict of religious and political values”¹ This is an inspiring vision of the place of Religion in life and it demands that our education should be thoroughly imbued with the religious spirit

But it is also obvious that this religious education will be radically different, in form and content, from what passes under the name of “the teaching of theology” to-day, which often has no vitalizing cultural background and shows little interest, understanding or appreciation of modern, social, political, scientific or philosophical problems. Iqbal draws a vivid and stirring contrast between religion which is a force of liberation and religion which confines itself to mechanical forms of worship and fetters intellectual and spiritual expansion.

یا وسعتِ افلاک میں بے مسلسل یا خاک کے آغوش میں تسبیح و مناجات
وہ مذہب مردان خود آگاہ و خدا مست یہ مذہب ملام و جمادات و نباتات!

Either a persistence exalting of the Lord's name

¹Lectures, p 178.

In the wide expanse of the heavens,
 O' prayers and counting the beads
 In the lap of the earth;
 That is the religion of God-intoxicated, self-conscious
 individuals,

This is the religion of the priests and plants and stones¹

It is this first conception of religion—living nobly and adventurously in the name of the Lord—and not the priest's traditional conception which Iqbal would integrate into a living system of education.

Then, as we have already seen, it will be an education to equip the child for a life of action, not one of contemplation, such as developed in most eastern countries under the influence of some form or other of mysticism and of political decadence. Knowledge which paralyses the power of action, instead of whetting it, which serves only as an "ivory tower" of escape from the realities of life is worse than useless because it fails to develop Individuality which is the objective of all human effort and which can realize itself only in the strenuous life of action. Such knowledge is wholly repugnant to the spirit of Islamic education. "The end of the Ego's quest," writes Iqbal, "is not emanci-

¹*Bâl-i-Jibrîl*, p. 196

pation from the limitations of individuality ; it is on the other hand a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the Ego and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely *seen* or *known* through concepts but something to be *made* and *remade* by continuous action.”¹ From the ethical and psychological point of view, the greater importance of the action or the deed lies in the fact that while “a wrong concept misleads the understanding, a wrong deed degrades the man and may eventually demolish the structure of the human Ego. The mere concept affects life only partially ; the deed is dynamically related to Reality ” And in this active inter-play of his powers with the forces of his complex environment, in this process of ceaseless reconstruction, he is constantly moulding and enriching his own individuality :

ذرة از کف مده تابه که هست پنجه گیر اندر گره تابه که هست
 تابه مرا بر سره دون خوشتر است پیش خورشید آرمودن خوشتر است

¹Lectures, p 187

پیکرِ سرسودہ را دیگر تراش امتحانِ خویش کن، موجود باش
 ایں جنینِ موجود محمود است و بس ورنہ نارِ زندگی دود است و بس

Art thou a mere particle of dust?
 Tighten the knot of thy ego
 And hold fast to thy tiny being!
 How glorious to burnish one's ego
 And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!¹
 Rechisel then thy ancient frame,
 And build up a new being.
 Such being is real being
 Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke!¹

Thus we return to the conception of man with which we started—the conception of man as an active agent, a doer, a shaper of purposes who is not only engaged in the reconstruction of his world but also in the far more significant experiment of creatively unfolding and perfecting his individuality. Hence the justification and reaffirmation of our faith in methods of education which stimulate self-activity and cultivate the will to courageous effort in behalf of great causes.

Iqbal does no doubt stress the significance of

¹*Javid Námah*, pp. 14-15

Action because "the technique of medieval mysticism" in the East had encouraged a wrong attitude of renunciation and made people contented with their political and intellectual slavery. But he carefully avoids the mistake of paying his homage to the modern gospel of ruthless efficiency and that preoccupation with trivial, pointless activity which entirely ignores the role of emotional poise and tranquillity and the value of quiet appreciation in life. In his *Lectures* he makes a thoughtful distinction between the "efficient" and the "affective" self, which is of great significance for education. The efficient self "enters into relation with what we call the world of space and time . . . and in its dealings with the external order of things . . . it lives as if it were outside itself"¹ The activities of this efficient self, i.e., our constant absorption in the external order of things often thrust the affective or appreciative self into the background. "In our constant pursuit after external things," Iqbal explains, "we weave a kind of veil round the appreciative self which thus becomes completely alien to us. It is only in moments of profound meditation

¹*Lectures*, p. 49

when the efficient self is an abeyance that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience." The recognition of this aspect of our nature provides the psychological justification for Prayer which, as interpreted by Iqbal, is the most effective method of establishing a fruitful communion with one's real self and with God. "As a means of spiritual illumination it is a normal, vital act by which the little island of our personality suddenly discovers its situation in the larger whole of life . . . and it must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature"¹ He further elucidates the position by remarking: "It is an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the Universe. It is a unique process of discovery whereby the searching ego affirms itself in the very moment of self-negation and thus discovers its own worth and justification as a dynamic factor in the life of the Universe."² Thus, in the education which Iqbal's philosophy of Action postulates there is room for that communion with Self and with Nature which prepares one for

¹Lectures, p. 85

²Lectures, p. 87

spiritual communion with the Absolute or with God. It is in these moments of quiet communion, when overt action has ceased and we allow the mysterious influence and impulses of the world of Art and Nature to play on us, that our intuition and our emotions find true self-expression and our personality gains that inner poise and repose which is a source of true happiness and joy. Iqbal is here in agreement both with Bergson and with Tagore who believe such communion to be essential for the enrichment of our intuitive capacity.

Finally, this education must be conducted in the most liberal and broad-minded spirit so as to give the generation of youth a definite bias in favour of an all-embracing humanity, and a truly international outlook and to arrest the growth of narrow, political, racial or geographical loyalties. While duly appreciative of the claims of group culture and group psychology, it must act as a bulwark against the modern forces of obscurantism which, under the names of nationalism or patriotism, or purity of blood and race or "carrying the white man's burden" are undermining international peace and setting at naught all principles of justice

and humanity. Iqbal has an “imperative vision of the Divine in man” and, unlike Nietzsche, he is anxious to use the instrument of education so as to “develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future.”¹

Can education have a higher, and dare it remain content with a lower, ideal than this of discovering God in man and building up a world worthy of his habitation? This is Iqbal's challenge to mankind :

یہ عالم کہ ہے زیرِ زمانِ موت	یہ عالم یہ ہنگامہ رنگ و صورت
جہاں زندگی ہے فتنہ خور و نوش	یہ عالم یہ بتِ خاں چشم و گوش
مسافر! یہ تیرا شین نہیں	خودی کی یہ ہے منزلِ اولیں
طسبم زمان و مکاں توڑ کر!	بڑھے جایہ کوہِ گراں توڑ کر
کہ حسانی نہیں ہے ضمیرِ وجود	جہاں اور بھی ہیں ابھی بے نمود
ترمی شوخیِ فکر و کردار کا	ہر اک منتظر تیرے یلغار کا

یہ ہے مقصدِ گردشِ روزگارا
 کہ تیری خودی تجھ پہ جو آشکارا
 تو ہے فاتحِ عالمِ خوب و زشت
 تجھے کیا بناؤں ترمی سر نوشتا
 سفرِ زماں ہے بینہ میں شمعِ نفس
 مگر تابِ گفتمار کہتی ہے بس
 ”اگر یک سرِ مومنے برتر پر م
 سفرِ تجلی بسوزد پر م“

This world which is a riot of colour and sound,
 This world which is under the sway of Death;
 This world which is an idol-house of sight and sound,
 Where life is nought but eating and drinking;
 It is only the first stage in the perfection of the Ego,
 Traveller! it is not thy goal:
 Forge ahead, shattering this great obstruction,
 Conquering this illusion of space and time:
 There are many worlds still unborn,
 For the mind of Existence is not a void;
 All are awaiting thy triumphant advance,
 And the subtlety of thy thought and action;
 What is the purpose of this whirling of Time?
 That thy Ego may be revealed to thee!
 Thou art the conqueror of the world of Good and Evil,
 I dare not reveal thy great destiny;

My heart is aflame with the light of inspiration
But the power of my speech confesses its defeat ;
“ If I step further even by a hair's breath
The glaring light will burn up my soaring wings ”¹

¹*Bal-i-Jibril*, p 173-74.

INDEX

- Absolute, the, 13, 20
 Action, Activity, 46, 47, 51, as pivot
 of life, 55, 56
 Adam, 40, 109, the advent of. 61, 62.
 63
 Ahmad Sháh Abdáhi, the message
 of, 33
 Aim of education, 26
 " 'Alam ", 139
 'Alam-i-Afáq (World of Matter), 74
 'Alam-i-Arífus (World of Mind), 74,
 223
 'Alí, the inner meanings of the names
 of, 152-154
 Arabia, 201, 203
 Arab genius, the expansion of, 183
 Art, 2
Asrár-i-Khudi, 1, 18

 Bábú-i-Sahrá, 156
Bál-i-Jibril, 77, 79, 172, 173
 Banda-i-Haq, 147-150
 Bergson 17, 18, 40, 50, 58, 110, 116,
 124, 125, 241
 Biology, 64
 Bookish knowledge, 51
 Briffault, 223

 Carlyle, 99
 Character, three essential qualities
 of, 164-165
 Childs, 124
 Christianity, 41, 203, 222
 Christian ideal of education, 221

 Clarke, 84
 Courage, 163
 Creativity, creative activity, 43, 44
 Creative Evolution, 105

 Decline, causes of the Muslim
 peoples', 225, 226
 Desire, 55, 56, 57
 Destiny, Iqbal's interpretation of,
 107-108, 115-117
 Dewey, 124
 Doctrine of the negation of the
 Self, 21
 Duahism, 68

 East, 15, 32
 Eastern nations, 23
 —countries, 200-201
 Education, the meaning and scope
 of the term, 4-5
 —, misdirected efforts made by, 7
 —, a creative vision of, 230
 —, the spirit of Islamic, 237
 Educational Principles, 7
 —Philosophy, 4
 —system, 38, 182
 Ego, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 27
 Eternal Mind, 15
 —Self, 13
 Ethics, 123
 Exhortation to the Students, 51-55

 Fascism, doctrine of, 89, 219
 Fall of Man, 40

- Faqr (Istighna), 163, 176, 183
 Fate, 25
 Fear, 164
 Finite, the, 165
 Freedom, 39
 —of thought, 46, 47

 God as a co-worker of man, 28
 Goethe, 99, 132
 Good Life, 187
 "Good Man", architect of his Fate
 and co-worker with God, 166-167
 —, the patriot of the, 151-167
 —, summary of the character of, 183
 185
 Goodness, 53
 Greek Culture, 22

 Humanity, basis of true, 174-175

 I-am-ness, 18
 Ideal, the, 68 : and the real not two
 opposing forces, 73-75
 Ijtihád, 227, 228
 'Ilm and 'Ishq, complementary
 values of, 137, 139
 India, 32, 219
 "Indian disciple" and the Saint
 Rúmí, 80
 Indian Youth, 182
 Individuality, 13, 17, 19, 25, 27, 41
 Individual and the community, 83
 Infinite, the, 20, 21
 Intuition or Love, 124

 Iqbal, 1
 —a thinker, a philosopher, 3
 Iqbal, his poetry, 8-9
 —his letter, 135-136
 —practicability of his ideal of
 human character, 188-193
 —as a patriot, 218-220
 —as an advocate of Science, 218-
 219
 —his philosophy of action, 240-241
 'Ishq, 124
 Islam, 21
 —"is not afraid of its contact with
 matter", 73
 —, the greatest service that modern
 thought has rendered to, 75
 —, the social order of, 197
 —, condition of man before the ad-
 vent of, 202
 —as a religion, 204-207
 —universality of the ideas of, 230
 —rejects territorial and racial pa-
 triotism, 216-218
 Islamic teaching, distinctive stand-
 point of, 40-41
 —kingdom of God, 198-199
 Society, 205
 —and Christian ideals, 221-222

 Jannat (Paradise), Adam's, 40
Jávid Námah, 33, 111, 147, 187, 218,
 219
 Káfir—difference between *momin*
 and Káfir, 186-187

- Karbala, battle, field of, 148
 —, the significance of the martyrdom of, 144
- Khabar (Intellect), 124
- Khudí, 14, 140, 141
- Kilpatrick, 124
- Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious thought*, 8, 16, 79, 103, 125, 129, 132, 227, 240
- Love, 138, 158, and Intuition, 126, 128
- Machiavelli, 212
- Man, love of and respect for, 172-174
 —, the advent of, 69, 70, 71
- Masnawi, 1, 14
- Material, the, 68
- “Materialists”, 68
- “Matter”, 74
- Meliorism, 114
- Mental, the, 68
- Message for the poet, 24, 25
- Middle Ages, 222
- Milád-i-Adam (The Birth of Adam), 109
- Millat (Community), 190; basis of its unity, 90-91
- Modern education theory, 85
- Muhammad, the real significance of his prophethood, 207-210
- Morality, 53-55
- Mosque, the whole earth as a, 75
- Moth and the book-worm, conversa-
 tion between, 51-52
- Mukálama-i-Jibril-o-Iblis, 132
- Murád, Sultán, 210
- Muslim, 21, 22, 23
 —, the duty of, 102, 230
- Nature, the world of, 70, 107, 197, 241
- Nazar, 125
- Nazism, doctrine of, 89, 213
- Neo-Platonism, 176
- New Educationists, 84
- Nicholson, 1, 198
- “Nidá-i-Jamál”, 111, 112, 188
- Nietzsche, 105, 118, 242
- Nirwáná, the doctrine of, 20
- Nunn, 17
- Pantheism, 15, 20
- Patriotism, 218
- Payám-i-Mashriq, 1, 109
- “Perception of the heart”, 130
- Persian poem, 200
- Personality, 42
- Philosophy, 123
- Physical, the, 68
- Plato, 22
- Prayer, the psychological justification for, 241-243
- Project Method, 47, 48
- Prophet, the, 75, 190
 —his conception of Islam, 198-199
- Pseudo-mysticism, 14, 15, 79, 176-177

- - scientific attitude, 231-232
 - - tolerance, 173
 Psychology, 75-77
 Quran, 21, 22, 24, 41, 74, 75, 79,
 146, 147, 181, 228
 —, the teaching of, 113, 228
 Quranic view of human ego, 21
 Real, the, 68
 Reality, one-sided view of, 50, 51
 —, different ways of apprehending,
 124-126
 Relation of man to Nature, 81-82
 Relationship between the Individual
 and the Community, 84-86
 Religion and Science, 235-237
 Religious Experience, 129
 Revolt against Intellectualism, 123
 Rûmî, 125
Rumûz-i-Bêkhudî, 85, 166, 206, 223
 Russell, Bertrand, 124, 130
 Satan, 132
 Schmalhausen, 191, 192
 Schopenhauer, the pessimist, 113
 Science, 53-54, 223
 Secluded life, condemnation of, 60-61
 "Secrets of the Self", 153, 198
 Self, "efficient" and the "affective"
 239
 Self expression, 29
 Social equality in Islam, 210
 Socrates, 22
 Soviet Russia, 190, 198
 Spirit of Earth, 69-70, 71
 "Suâl". 30
 —weakens the Self. 30-31
 Sufism, 21
 Superman, the, 117 118
 Tagore, 241
 Taqdîr (Destiny), 115
 Taskhîr-i-Fitrat (Conquest of Na-
 ture), 109, 132
 Tawhîd (Monotheism), 165, 166-
 167, 204, 205, 206
 Theology, the teaching of, 235
 "Trust" of free personality, 42
 'Ulama, modern, 103
 Universe, 19, 28, 106, 240
 Voice of Life, the, 121
 West, Western civilization, 1, 15,
 32, 33, 35
 Weltanschauung, 114, 221
 "World of body",
 "World of Mind", 77, 78
 Young generation, 171
 Youth, denationalized, 33-35
Zarb-i-Kalîm, 220
 Zinda Rood, (the Living Stream),
 219

