

Introduction

I. Muḥammad Iqbāl, National Poet and Philosopher of Pakistan and India

Muḥammad Iqbāl was born in Siālkoṭ in Northern Panjāb, just outside the borders of the then princely state of Kashmir, into a family that descended from Kashmiri Brahmins but had been Muslims for several generations. His mother tongue was Panjābī. The date of his birth is most probably November 9th, 1877; this is the date Iqbāl stated himself, but it is not certain.¹ His father was a tailor and a very pious man with strong interests for mysticism; his mother seems to have been of great piety as well. In 1895, he married Karim Bibi, the daughter of a civil surgeon and thus a good catch for a tailor's son². After that, he went to Lahore for higher education, where he read a lot of English literature, took part in poetry readings and wrote his first poems. His marriage did not turn out well, and he sought consolation in the love of Amīr, a dancing girl.³ In 1900, he became Mac Leod Reader in Arabic at Lahore Oriental College, despite that his Arabic was not excellent and his main interest was philosophy. Since 1901, his poems appeared in the literary journal "Makhzan"; additionally, he wrote a book on economy in Urdu. In 1905, he went to England and enrolled in philosophy courses at Trinity College, Cambridge, by John MacTaggart, whose neo-Hegelianism had a strong impact on him (as we will see). He also studied law there.⁴ Two years later, he went to Heidelberg in Germany in order to improve his German, which he needed for reading Hegel, and fell in love there with his German teacher, Emma Wegenast. She acquainted him with the German classics, above all Goethe's *Faust*. However, this probably very chaste affection could not have a future, as Iqbāl already had a wife and two children, but he kept writing letters to Emma, who never married, for almost twenty years.⁵ Less clear are his sympathies for Atiya Begum, whom he met both in London and in Germany. We can see from the letters from Iqbāl to her, which she later partially published, that his address was more than just polite,⁶ but we do not know more. In the same year, Iqbāl relocated to Munich and submitted his PhD thesis there, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. This study merited him with making Persian 'illuminationist' theosophy known to the West, above all its first systematic thinker Suhrawardī, and Mullā Sadrā, who later reconciled it with Islamic law and theology. In spring 1908, he returned to London and then to Lahore.⁷

¹ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muḥammad Iqbāl*, Leiden 1963, p. 35 f.

² SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 154.

³ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 168 ff.

⁴ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muḥammad Iqbāl*, Leiden 1963, p. 37.

⁵ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 156 ff.

⁶ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 149.

⁷ Ibid. p. 38 f.

Having arrived there, he resumed his post at the Government College in Lahore with a markedly raised salary and began to practice as a lawyer, although he felt himself to be much more of a poet than a barrister. Privately, he encountered a deep crisis, in which he married a second wife, Sardār Begum, rejected her, married a third wife, Muxtār Begum, and remarried his second wife in 1913. In the end, these marriages turned out to satisfy him after all. In these years, he began to change his views, move away from the Romanticism he had inherited from his English teachers and from the equation of Islam with mysticism he had inherited from his father, and adopt a more activist approach. The first result of this change of mind was the long poem called "Complaint" (*Šikva*), written in 1912 in Urdu, in which the poet haggles with God about the misfortunes of the Islamic people and the power of the imperialists. This struck the current feelings and made him famous all over India. Next came the small Persian didactic epic "Secrets of the Self" (*Asrār-i Xwādī*), written and published in 1915, in which he maintains that the goal of life is a strong personality, not the merging of the self with God.⁸ It has not yet been proved how much of this notion was Iqbāl's own idea and how much he derived from other discourses or from which. Having read German philosophy and the German classics thoroughly, and having conversed much with German intellectuals of the time, the then unquestioned German discourse of self-edification (*Bildung*) must have left a mark on him. On the other hand, there already had existed a discourse of self-development and nationalist struggle instead of self-annihilation and fatalism in India since 1905, especially in Bengal, among the Hindus, which was fostered by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and later by Sri Aurobindo, the guru with a terrorist past. We will revert to this later. In any case, the "Secrets of the Self" set off a scandal in Lahore, above all because many people misunderstood the title as 'The Secrets of Egoism'. But Iqbāl could oppose this misreading by publishing the "Mysteries of Selflessness" in 1918 and in effect became famous as a poet. His next publications were "The Message of the East" (*Peyām-i Mašriq*) in 1922, with which we deal in this study, and a collection of all his good Urdu verse up to this date, "The Sound of the Caravan Bell" (*Bāng-i Darā*), in the next year⁹. Meanwhile, he had been knighted in 1922, supported the Khilāfat Movement,¹⁰ which aimed at making the Ottoman sultan a caliph responsible for all Muslims, and joined Gandhi's non-cooperation movement with all its strikes and unrest in 1919-22¹¹. When Atatürk abolished the caliphate in 1924 and the Khilāfat movement split into supporters and opponents of the sultan's substitute, the new Saudi King, Iqbāl entered local politics and was elected to the Provincial Legislative Council of the Punjab in 1927 as a delegate of the Muslim League.¹² This again meant a change of mind towards the pragmatic, as Iqbāl had criticised democracy and admired heroic nobles in his earlier writings.¹³ In the same year, he published his second collection of Persian Poetry, "Persian

⁸ Ibid. p. 40 f.

⁹ Ibid. p. 44 f.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 47.

¹¹ BOSE, Sugata and JALAL, Ayesha: *Modern South Asia; History, Culture, Political Economy*, London and New York 1998, p. 139 ff.

¹² SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing. A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muḥammad Iqbāl*, Leiden 1963, p. 48.

¹³ SINGH, Iqbāl: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mubammed Iqbāl*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 76.

Psalms”, which also figure in this study. In 1928 and 1929, he delivered lectures on Islam and modern thought in Aligarh and Hyderabad, which appeared in 1930 as “Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam” and are the primary source for Iqbal’s philosophy.¹⁴ At the annual meeting of the Muslim League in the last days of 1930, he held a speech claiming that

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.¹⁵

This speech is held to be the birth of the idea of Pakistan, although it does not mention the Muslims of Bengal in any way. (The name of Pakistan was coined by Chaudhry Rahmat Ali in Cambridge in 1933.) Yet, in the last eight years of his life, Iqbal remained aloof from developing this idea any further and of taking political measures to support it.¹⁶ He probably would have welcomed the creation of Pakistan if he had lived to see it, but would have become disappointed soon by the many problems that emerged from it. We also must not forget that the Muslim League, Iqbal’s party, had lost much of its support in the early 1930s.¹⁷

In 1931 and 1932, Iqbal was part of the Muslim delegation at the Second and Third Round Table Conference in London, which was to determine the future of India. On this trip, he took the chance to meet in Paris the trend-setting philosopher Henri Bergson, who had influenced his thought, and Louis Massignon, the orientalist and author of a decisive work on the Arab mystic al-Hallāj. He also met Mussolini, whom he then admired, and went to southern Spain to see the remnants of Muslim culture there.¹⁸ However, he did not visit Emma Wegenast again, although he planned to do so.¹⁹ After his return to Lahore, he published another epic, titled “The Book of Eternity” (*Javēdnāma*), which can also be interpreted as “The Book for (my son) Javīd”. Inspirations for this epic have come from poetic descriptions of the Prophet’s ascension like that of Muḥammad Gauṣ Gwaliorī, but also from Dante’s *Divine Comedy*.²⁰ It is in Persian and describes the speaker’s imaginary journey from Earth through the spheres of the planets into Paradise, with Rūmī the great mystic poet as his guide. The speaker discusses his philosophy with the spirits of saints, poets, and politicians, meets a perfect society on Mars, Satan as the eternally separated lover on Jupiter, the damned traitors of India on Saturn, and mad Nietzsche erring through the stars. Then he proceeds to conversing with the Blessed, among which are the poet

¹⁴ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel’s Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muḥammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963, p. 49 f.

¹⁵ Cited from SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 89 f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91 f.

¹⁷ BOSE, Sugata and JALAL, Ayesha: *Modern South Asia; History, Culture, Political Economy*, London and New York 1998, p. 153.

¹⁸ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel’s Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muḥammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963, p. 51 f.

¹⁹ Cited from SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 157.

²⁰ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Muhammad Iqbal, prophetischer Poet und Philosoph*, Munich 1989, p. 39.

Ganī Kaśmīrī, Tīpū Sulṭān of Mysore, who resisted the British till his death in battle, and even the heretic Nāṣir-i Xusrau (perhaps being a reverence to the Agha Khan) and the 7th century Indian moralist poet Bhartṛhaṛī. The geocentric worldview of such an imaginary ascension of course clashed with the knowledge that the sun is the centre of the planetary system, so, other than in classical *mi'rājnāmas*, the sphere of the sun is missing. The book is indeed fascinating, but there is no space for it in this study, which concentrates on lyrical poetry. An analysis of the *Javēdnāma* has been undergone by Dr. Muḥammad Riyāz.²¹

At about the same time, Iqbāl's health began to worsen, and he gave up his vocation as a barrister in 1931. Else, he led a very simple life on moderate means.²² He nevertheless undertook a journey to Afghanistan in autumn 1933, where he had been invited by the king of Afghanistan, Nādir Shāh, together with others to found the University of Kabul. This journey resulted in the poetic travel diary "The Traveller" (*Musāfir*), together with the small epic "What to do now, o peoples of the East?" (*Pas āi bāyad kard, ai aqvām-i Šarq?*), both in Persian.²³ In 1935, his second and most beloved wife died when her children were only eleven and five. This was a very hard experience for him, and his health began to wane. Moreover, the throat illness he is supposed to have caught on 'Īd day 1934, resisted all cures.²⁴ Yet, he issued a collection of all his Urdu poems since Bāng-i Darā in the following year, named "Gabriel's Wing" (*Bāl-i Jibrīl*), which is the most eminent work of his old age. Already in 1937, the next collection of Urdu poems appeared, "The Blow of Moses" (*Zarb-i Kalīm*), but it failed to match the quality of "Gabriel's Wing". The bitterness Iqbāl had to fight in his last years and his fear for the future of the Muslims are apparent in it.²⁵ Iqbāl's last year passed in hardship due to his worsening health, and on April 20th, 1938, with the beginning of the summer heat, he passed away.²⁶ The poems not edited up to then, most in Urdu and some in Persian, were gathered in another collection, "The Souvenir from Ḥijāz" (*Armağān-i Ḥijāz*). The title refers to poetical inspiration from the very roots of Islam, metonymically the land of Mecca Iqbāl never had a chance to visit. However, like "The Blow of Moses", it does not contain Iqbāl's finest poetry.²⁷

Muḥammad Iqbāl was by far the most outstanding Urdu poet in the first half of the 20th century. He overshadowed all other Urdu poets of his time such as Axtar Šairānī (1905-48), who wrote love poetry, securing for him a position that Iqbāl had left. Ḥāfiz Jhālandrī, the later author of Pakistan's national anthem, and even Jōš, also had not more than a niche to occupy compared with Iqbāl. Jōš's joyful celebrations of youth, of nature, and of political freedom did play a minor part in the independence movement of the 1930s²⁸. But overall,

²¹ RIYĀZ, Muhammad: *Javēdnāma, taḥqīq-u tauzīh*, Lahore 1988.

²² SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 124 ff.

²³ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muhammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963, p. 54.

²⁴ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 131.

²⁵ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Gabriel's Wing, A Study into the Religious Ideas of Muhammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963, p. 57.

²⁶ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 132 f.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 122.

²⁸ SCHIMMEL, Annemarie: *Classical Urdu literature from the beginning to Iqbal*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 250.

Jōš could only write poems of those kinds that Iqbāl choose not to write, especially realistic love poems.

After partition, Pakistan regards him as its spiritual father, its national poet, even as its patron saint, and as the never-failing guide for developing Islamic countries in general. Each and every person in Pakistan, regardless of viewpoint, quotes him, and his philosophy of self-realisation is indeed still much in need in its highly traditional, rural society, less than half of which are literate.²⁹ As Iqbāl also has written the first poems for children in Urdu, a whole generation of both Pakistanis and Indian Muslims grew up with his poems and ideas. In India, he is held as a great poet, too, and often compared with his Hindu contemporary Rabindranath Tagore. As the future of the Muslims in British India was far from clear in Iqbāl's lifetime, Iqbāl's comments on the discourses that led to Pakistan 10 years after his death can be interpreted to fit Indian views as well as Pakistani ones. Thus, India tends to use Iqbāl as a paragon of its own Muslims, emphasizing his modernity rather than his often quite traditional views. Because of the decline of the use of the Persian language in the subcontinent, the Persian writings of Iqbāl sell badly there, compared to his Urdu poems. However, Iqbāl's sympathies for Afghanistan gave him a great following there, and he may achieve a major place in the school schedules again if the country manages to emerge from its current disaster. Tajikistan has drawn on Iqbāl's mixture of modernity and tradition in a similar way. For the encouragement of Iqbāl studies, an Iqbāl Society has been founded in Dushanbe.³⁰

Meanwhile, Iran developed in a different way. In Iqbāl's lifetime, it experienced the Constitutional Revolution of 1907, which marks the beginning of Iran's quest for democracy as well as the starting point of modern Iranian literature. At the same time that Iqbāl published his major works *Asrār-i Xwadī* and *Payām-i Mašriq*, the coup d'état of Reza Khan in 1921 and his coronation as Shah Reza Pahlavi in 1925 saved Iran from falling apart, but at the price of sacrificing democracy.³¹ In these years, Iran got its bearings from Turkey and did not resort to prominent Muslims elsewhere. The establishment of free verse ("*šer'e nou*", new poetry) as an organ of modernization in the late 1920s quickly overtook the achievements that Iqbāl made. Moreover, Islam and modernity were officially considered incompatible under the Pahlavis. When the Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979, it tried to promote Iqbāl as a both modern and genuinely Islamic thinker, but this promotion was much too late. Iranian literature had been experimenting with European models for fifty years by then. Novels and poems of various forms and contents from social criticism to realistic love poetry existed and were well approved by the Iranian audience. From this viewpoint, Iqbāl's poetry was a part of history long before Iran discovered it, so that his poems remained unknown in Iran save a few exceptions like "Life

²⁹ By 2002. See BARATTA, Mario et al. (eds.): *Fischer Weltalmanach 2003*, Frankfurt / Main 2002, p. 615.

³⁰ See <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/publications/journals/review/apr99/14.htm> at the website of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan.

³¹ CAHEN, Claude, and GRUENEBAUM, Gustave Edmund (ed.): *Fischer Weltgeschichte vol. 15: Der Islam II*, Frankfurt / Main 1991, p. 204 f.

and Activity” (*Zindagi-u ‘amal*, Afkār 35), the last line of which, “*I am if I move; if I don’t move, I’m not*”³² did have some impact.

To conclude, Iqbal’s poetry did not spread much in Iran due to the different development in this country, but it was appreciated as an outstanding piece of literature in India and adored as a guide into future in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Above all, Pakistan, the country that inherited his homeland will continue to esteem him as its foremost poet and thinker.

II. The Present Level Of Research

“Iqbaliyāt”, the interpretation and discussion of Iqbal’s life, works, and philosophy, began immediately after the poet’s death. Since then, almost every aspect of his philosophy has been examined, explained, defined and redefined in around 500 books.³³ These make up roughly three quarters of the total writings on Iqbal; the rest deals with his poetic aspects. As literary criticism in both Pakistan and India have strong ties with Great Britain, the major methods in examining Iqbal’s poetry are taken from New Criticism, which prevails in the United Kingdom. Post-colonial criticism, which is frequently used in Pakistan, is not easily applicable to Iqbal, who lived in British India. Other schools of thought are hardly drawn upon. There is altogether only one examination of an Urdu text using partially a structural approach, “Mir’s Poetical Language” (*Mir ke sh’ri lisāniyat*), by Qāzī Afzal Husain³⁴. And there is one theoretical book in Urdu on “Structuralism, Post-Structuralism, and Oriental Poetics”, by Prof. Gōpi Čand Nārang. His aim is to establish post-structuralism as an effective method of liberal Marxist criticism of society. He largely follows Terry Eagleton, but in an Indian context. For this purpose, he presents to the reader all the important structuralists’ thought, after which he discusses both Sanskrit and Urdu-Persian poetics in the third chapter of his book arguing that structuralism is not as far-fetched from these two as it seems:

“The discussion dealt with has been set up for the purpose that it will get help by recovering tradition and forming a new awareness for poetics, and because this is a confrontational effort, the new philosophy of language and structuralist thought the elements of which are foreign and the understanding of which not easy, it is possible in the light of tradition that it will get help in teaching it, too.”³⁵

In effect, Gōpi Čand Nārang’s book is an excellent presentation of structuralism and post-structuralism and indeed indispensable for interested Urdu speakers, but it is a work on philosophy. Although trying to provide an alternative for ubiquitous New Criticism in

³² “Hastam agar mēravam; gar naravam n eštami!”

³³ The number is my estimation. The American Library of Congress sorts 464 titles under the entry Iqb āl, almost all of which deal with the poet from Lahore.

³⁴ HUSAIN, Qāzī Afzal; *Mir ke sh’ri lisāniyat*, Lucknow (Nishatabad Press) 1983.

³⁵ زیر نظر مکالمہ اس لیے بھی قائم کیا گیا کہ اس سے روایت کی بازیافت اور شعریات کی نئی آگہی کی مدد ملے گی تشکیل میں اور چوں کہ یہ جدلیاتی عمل ہے، نئی فلسفہ لسان اور ساختیاتی فکر کے جو عناصر اجنبی ہیں اور جن کی تفہیم آسان نہیں، روایت کی روشنی میں ممکن ہے کہ ان کی افہام و تفہیم میں بھی مدد

India³⁶ and supplying the reader with an alternative way of thinking, the book does not teach practical methods of analysis. This means that when we set to work at examining poems, we are left again alone with the tools inherited from New Criticism. The disadvantages of both Anglo-Saxon New Criticism and German hermeneutics are rather similar. Hermeneutic critics tend to interpret texts as the intention of their author like E. D. Hirsch, or as representations of an evolving intellectual history like Hans-Georg Gadamer.³⁷ New Criticism tends to isolate texts from their contexts, their effects on readers and the circumstances of their formation,³⁸ in short, from the fact that texts are communicative and involve senders, receivers, and a message. Both lack the inclusion of the appeal of texts to its readers and methods to distinguish the words from their meanings, so that the result of an examination with the aid of New Criticism easily runs the risk of rendering the interpreter's view only without being able to be revised and falsified. A good interpretation like Asloob Ahmad Ansari's "Thirteen Epic Poems of Iqbal" (*Iqbal kā terā nazmen*)³⁹ may be able to avoid most of the menaces of interaction between text and reader, but as the interpreter does not distinguish between text, meaning, and interaction, the method here reaches limits it cannot transgress. Not to forget, Iqbal's poetry presents itself as a message to the Muslims and is not treated justly according to its own demands if it is reduced to its aesthetic aspects.

Structuralism with its keen distinction between the written words, the implied contexts, and estimations of meanings the text may create in readers, can find a remedy for these problems, if it is taken as a method and not as a belief in a "system of structures" as ultimate reality. Its limits have been well demonstrated by some of its own authors, like Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco, and we will address them below in chapter 4. Wolfgang Iser's aesthetics of reception could supply further help for examining the relations between text and reader. These methods have not yet been applied to Muhammad Iqbal, the greatest poet and thinker of Muslim India in the first half of the 20th century, the years of struggle for independence. A reason for this may be that the academic traditions of structuralism are not Anglophone, but their main writings are in French and Russian, also in Czech, Italian and German. This impedes its reception on the Subcontinent with its ties to Great Britain. In Pakistan, the question whether structuralism may undermine Islam also adds to the reluctance of trying this method.

As for this question, we can reply that structuralism is derived from the structures of language, which do not change when a Muslim or a Hindu, a Christian or a Marxist uses them, and which do not vary much from culture to culture except some people may generally be chattier than others. Language is a tool used or abused by everyone according to its own rules. Second, we may argue that in the case of Iqbal, it would not do him justice to treat his poems only as a beautiful thing. His very poetry opposes this view and tries to convey a message of emancipation instead. Thus taking into account the addressees, the speaker's self-presentation, the message as such and the mode of operation of the poems is

³⁶ Ibid. p.561 ff.

³⁷ EAGLETON, Terry: *Einführung in die Literaturtheorie*, 3rd ed. Stuttgart and Weimar 1994, p. 32 ff.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 61 f.

³⁹ ANSARI, Asloob Ahmad: *Iqbal kā terā nazmen*, New Delhi (Ghalib Academy) 1977.

a treatment very apt to Iqbāl's own approach to poetry. Third, Gōpī Ānd Nārāng in the third chapter of his book, as well as others have shown that similar ways of thought also prevail in both Sanskrit and Urdu poetics, so that post-structuralism may essentially mean nothing but discarding obstacles from Romanticism in favour of recovering traditional rhetoric:

“According to Saussurean philosophy, everything in language has been supposed. Language is not natural, but in language, anything is ‘as you like’ (arbitrary). Oriental tradition distinguishes between literal meaning, which is real meaning, and symbolic meaning, but poetic speech consists of symbols and in that case, quite a few views discussed fit into structuralist and post-structuralist thought...”⁴⁰

Thus, there is no need for becoming a Marxist in order to use structuralism as a method. It may aim at analysing rhetorical techniques rather than at reassuring the privileged of their privileges, but it also presents insights into literature of any kind that New Criticism or hermeneutics cannot offer.

III. The Aim of this Study

For that reason, this study aims at examining the poetry of Iqbāl with structuralist and post-structuralist methods in order to investigate the components of the written text and its effects on the readers and to supply a complementary viewpoint on his writings. In his biography on Iqbāl, Iqbāl Singh maintains that Muḥammad Iqbāl “broke no new ground as far as poetic media are concerned” and that his originality “succeeds in vastly expanding the scope and limits of existing forms, in making these forms infinitely more elastic and comprehensive than they had been in the hands of his predecessors.”⁴¹ This is the starting point of this enquiry, which examines in detail Iqbāl's use of poetic language and his relation to the style of Classical Persian Literature, above all its paragon Ḥāfiẓ. Additionally, it will provide a minute analysis of the appeal of his post-1907 poetry to so many readers, even to readers of today, and of the concepts active in it. It also will give a new view of the modernisation of Indian Islamic literature with the aid of post-structuralist theories of literature. It aims at demonstrating the modernisation of the discourses of the Muslim society in late British India as mirrored in the writings of its most prominent author. Its object is Iqbāl's lyrical Persian poetry in its formative phase, that is those Persian poems he wrote up to 1927. This comprises all the poems of “The Message of the East” (*Payām-i Mašriq*) of 1923 and the first two parts of the “Persian Psalter” (*Zabūr-i 'Ajām*) of 1927. Part three of *Zabūr-i 'Ajām*, “The New Rose Garden of Mysteries” (*Gulšān-i rāz-i jadīd*) is a short didactic epic, which refers to the classical mystical didactic epic, “The Rose Garden of Mysteries” (*Gulšān-i rāz*) of 1317, by Maḥmūd Šabistaī. In this epic, Iqbāl takes

⁴⁰ سوسائٹری فلسفے کی رو سے زبان میں ہر چیز فرض کر لی گئی ہے۔ زبان فطری نہیں بلکہ زبان میں سب کچھ من منا (arbitrary) ہے۔ اس لیے زبان کلیتاً مجاز ہے۔ مشرقی روایت میں معنی لغوی یعنی معنی حقیقی اور معنی مجازی میں فرق کرتی ہے لیکن شعری بیان مجز ہی سے عبارت ہے اور اس بارے میں بہت سی بصیرتیں جن سے بحث کی گئی ساختیاتی و پس ساختیاتی فکر سے ملتی جلتی ہیں۔
NĀRĀNG, Gōpī Ānd: *Sāxīyāt, pas-sāxīyāt aur mašriqī šī'riyāt*, Delhi (Educational Publishing House) 1993, p. 486 f.

⁴¹ SINGH, Iqbal: *The Ardent Pilgrim, An Introduction to the Life and Works of Mohammed Iqbal*, Delhi 2nd ed. 1997, p. 136.

questions from the classical mystical reference work and answers them in his own way, abrogating the original strict monism of the original by his philosophy of self-realisation.⁴² Part four of Zabūr-i 'Ajām is a even shorter essay in maṣnavī form called "The Book of Slavery" (*Bandagī-nāma*) treating the problems of servility, art and religion and encouraging the Indian Muslims to stand up for their rights. Both epics are treatises rather than lyrical poetry. As this study is dedicated to examining poetry in its strictest sense, they have no place in it.

The poems of Payām-i Mašriq and the lyrical poems of Zabūr-i 'Ajām have all been examined for this study, altogether 434. They consist of 163 quatrains (*dubaitī*) of the first part of Payām-i Mašriq, "Sinai Tulip" (*Lāla-yi Tūr*), 172 ḡazals from Zabūr-i 'Ajām and Mai-i Bāqī,⁴³ and 99 poems in various forms, like short maṣnavīs, qit'as, strophic poems, and experimental forms. These 99 poems appear in the other parts of Payām-i Mašriq, "Thoughts" (*Afkār*; 51 poems), "Picture of the Europeans" (*Naqš-i Farang*; 24 poems), and "Fragments" (*Xurda*; 16 poems); the remaining eight poems are inserted in Zabūr-i 'Ajām. The results of this examination thus are not based on a random choice of examples that its author thought to be representative, but on a valid analysis of all the material. Of these 434 poems, 163 have been cited.⁴⁴

The poems from Payām-i Mašriq represent the first outcome of Iqbāl's fully developed style. Most scholars agree that Iqbāl's poetry emerged in those three steps that Iqbāl himself suggested when he divided his first Urdu collection in poems before 1905, 1905 – 1908, and after 1908⁴⁵. The poems of the first period are romantic poems, nationalistic poems like "Himalaya" (*Himāla*, Bāng-i Darā I 1) or "Indian Anthem" (*Tarāna-yi Hindī*, Bāng-i Darā I 39), poetry for children, and thirteen ḡazals. The second period comprises 24 pensively Romantic poems and seven ḡazals. In the third period, to which the poems of this study belong, Iqbāl's definite turn from nationalism towards an international Islam is complete, and the philosophic views he developed during his stay in Europe are an eminent part of his poetry. We can thus claim that from Payām-i Mašriq onwards, Iqbāl's poetry has acquired its full maturity, and therefore it is interesting to see which innovations appear in it and how they are used. However, the ḡazals of Payām-i Mašriq still bear more resemblances to Ḥāfiẓ than the later ones of Zabūr-i 'Ajām. So, we can claim that between

⁴² Compare ŠABISTARĪ'S *Gulshan-i rāz*, verse 292 a: "'I' and 'you' are the accidents of Very Being" (*"Man-u tu 'ariz-i zāt-i vujūd im"*), with IQBĀL'S *Gulshan-i rāz-i jadīd*, verse 241 a: "Know the self as truth, don't conceive it as vain" (*"Xvādī rā haqq bidān, bātil maḡpindār."*).

⁴³ Zabūr-i 'Ajām part I: 54 ḡazals; Zabūr-i 'Ajām part II: 74 ḡazals; Mai-i Bāqī: 45 ḡazals.

⁴⁴ *Lāla-yi Tūr* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 21, 27, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 48, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 72, 74, 75, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 102, 104, 105, 107, 110, 116, 117, 118, 125, 129, 135, 138, 141, 142, 145, 146, 149, 162, 163; *Afkār* 4a, 4c, 4d, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 35: last verse, 39: 5-7, 40, 49: last verse, 50; *Mai-i Bāqī* 2: 3-5, 3: last verse, 5, 6, 9: 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34: 1, 35: last verse, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45; *Naqš-i Farang* 2, 6, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22: 2; *Xurda* 2, 5; Zabūr-i 'Ajām I 9, 10: 2, 19, 20: 1, 23, 24: 1-2, 25, 26, 27, 30, 34, 35, 37, 53; Zabūr-i 'Ajām II 3, 4, 5: 2-3, 8, 10: last verse, 14: 4, 15, 2, 16, 18, 20: chorus, 26, 30, 34, 35, 36, 39, 41: 5, 42, 49: 6, 53, 56, 57: 3, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65: 1, 66, 74, and 75. These consist 37.5 % of the total number. (I did not intend in any way that they should be just as much as the *dubaitīs* of *Lāla-yi Tūr*.)

⁴⁵ Cf. for example RASTOGI, Tara Charan: *Western Influence in Iqbal*, p. 204: "There are three well-marked periods of Iqbal's poetry: 1. 1899 - 1905, 2. 1905 - 1908, 3. from 1908 onwards."

the two collections a process of consolidation took place, in which classical features were eclipsed by Iqbāl's own style. The 96 Urdu poems from the third part of *Bāng-i Darā* represent the same development, but do not show other features. Thus, it is legitimate to concentrate on the 434 Persian poems, especially if we take into account that they forced the author to struggle with a thousand years of a cultural heritage, which classical Urdu literature also refers to. When writing in Persian, Iqbāl tried to address an educated international audience, to whom an immediate command of classical Persian poetry was a matter of course. Iqbāl's Persian poems give excellent examples of a poetry that tries to be modern and free itself from century-old traditional styles, and the difficulty to succeed in it. The later Urdu collections of *Bāl-i Jibrīl* and *Żarb-i Kalīm* do not add much in terms of style development; in the latter, his style even weakens. Thus *Payām-i Mašriq* and *Zabūr-i 'Ajam* are Iqbāl's most interesting works for analysing the philosophic poet's maturing, the references of the poems to the classics and their departure from it, and their way to propagate Iqbāl's ideas. We can rely on that the discovered facts can be applied to his other post-1908 lyrical works, too.

This study treats its subject in three steps, following three basic questions of "who", "what", and "how". After this introduction, we first must ask to whom the poems are being addressed, and ask who their speaker is. As they aim at conveying their message, they need a basic concept of what its readers need to be told, what they accept easily and what reluctantly, so that Iqbāl's poetry constructs an ideal addressee in order to bring forth its message. The addressee also encounters a speaker, a figure that tells the poem, who may or may not mention himself as 'P' and may or may not mirror the author. As the message of Iqbāl's poems is generally Iqbāl's philosophy, their speakers often do mirror their author, but do not necessarily render a genuine portrait. The second step applies to the message itself. This has been done much, of course, by hundreds of writers on the topic, so its main aim is to use minute semantic analysis to distinguish literal sense from meanings the readers are likely to read into it. This dissection will provide a skeleton of sense that every reader must use to construct the meaning of the poems as (s)he understands it. Having achieved this, the third step will ask how the poems generate this meaning in the readers' minds, and where the reader is free to add his own assumptions. A basic prerequisite of this study is that texts never have only one meaning, and that literary texts, other than mathematical definitions, do not even make the attempt, because most of their meaning is provided by the readers. The course of this study will make this view clear.

IV. The Post-Structuralist Method

All structuralist and post-structuralist methods of literature analysis recur to Ferdinand de Saussure's theory of language; they thus regard literature as consisting of language, and language as being a sign system.⁴⁶ Saussure defined a sign as consisting of a signifier, in the case of language a sequence of sounds like /tri:/, /daraxt/, or /baum/, and a signified, which is not a thing but a thought. The signified of all the three sound sequences is the imagination of a tree. The tree itself, however, is a tree and not part of the sign. To

⁴⁶ TRABANT, Jürgen: *Elemente der Semiotik*, Tübingen und Basel 1996, p. 37 ff.