BOOK REVIEWS

scholars as G. E. von Grunebaum, F. Gabrieli, Sāmī Dahhān, Charles Pellât, B. Spuler, Ann K. S. Lambton, Umberto Rizzitano, J. W. Fück, G. E. Shayyal and W. Montgomery Watt. The book is neatly printed and well got-up. Both the editors and the publishers are to be congratulated on their having done an excellent job. We agree with the editors that "... to find a key to the outlook of modern Muslim peoples, we [Europeans] need to know far more about what they think of their history, its emotive power for them and their attitude to it as mirroring their present 'group-consciousness'" (p. 4). We hope that this volume will fully serve the purpose in view.

KARACHI

A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI

Amemarie Schimmel, GABRIEL'S WING—A STUDY INTO THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL. E. J. Brill, Leiden, pp. xx+ 428, price 50 glds. or Rs. 65.00.

Iqbal's fame had spread far and wide, even outside the land of his birth, in his life-time. No other Muslim thinker and poet of the modern age has attracted so much attention of the West. Following the trail blazed by Nicholson, several Orientalists have rendered some of his works into the leading European languages and produced scholarly studies of his thought and poetry. Prominent among them is Prof. A. Schimmel who has translated the Payām-i Maṣḥīq and the Jāvidnāmah into German verse, published a Turkish commentary on the latter, contributed a score of well-written articles and delivered dozens of lectures on him in Germany, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, and Sweden. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that a scholar of her calibre should have addressed herself to an analysis of Iqbal's religious ideas—a task not undertaken hitherto on the present scale. A specialist, no less than a lay reader, will find Gabriel's Wing a veritable store of information. The author displays a thorough acquaintance with the entire body of literature on the philosopher-poet, in various languages, enormously grown in recent years. It was no easy task to string together pearls of Iqbal's thought scattered all over his poetical and prose works, articles, letters and speeches. It is no small merit of the book that, wherever possible, the author stays in the background and lets Iqbal speak for himself.

In comparing and contrasting Iqbal with Muslim and Christian theologians, mystics, philosophers and poets, Dr. Schimmel has pointed to unexplored avenues of research no less than traced and located some obscure literary allusions. "What is the proof? The face of the Beloved!" (Jāvidnāmah, p. 37) is traced to a verse recited by Shibli of Baghdād on his death-bed (p. 125). It is delightful to learn that Francis Thompson's Hound of Heaven was anticipated by Niffari, a 10th century Iraqi mystic (p. 190), and that the metaphor of the frog-in-the-mud (Jāvidnāmah, p. 18) is an echo of the Upanishads (p. 334).

Discussing his Development of Metaphysics in Persia, Dr. Schimmel points out that the author was perhaps the first to draw attention to al-Suhrawardi al-Maqtul, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīli, Mullā Ṣadrā and Ḥādī Sabzawārī (p. 38) and adds "the study shows a remarkable knowledge of European theology from Thomas Aquinas to Adolf von Harnack". To quote her again, in Jāvidnāmah,

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"Iqbal not only displays an extraordinary knowledge of European philosophy and history of religions but also an amazing psychological insight" (p. 54).

Though the author modestly disclaims originality, one of the refreshing features of the book is her elaborate comparison and contrast between Iqbal and al-Hallîj (pp. 341-53), a subject never before attempted so fully. Her study of Rûmî's influence is equally thorough and illuminating (pp. 353-61 and elsewhere). She has, similarly, painstakingly and judiciously analysed the points of affinity and divergence between Nietzsche and Iqbal and ably disproved the charge of Nietzscheanism against him (pp. 119, 124, 234, 296 and specially pp. 323-7).

In a penetrating comparison of Iqbal with Goethe—whose influence was deeper and more lasting than that of Hegel or Bergson—she observes eloquently, "Iqbal was more of a prophetic spirit. Goethe more of a poet, but both went in the same direction, working in the hope of winning that immortality which is the privilege of fully developed personalities" (p. 333) and brings the book to a close on a rhetorical, but apt note, "Nobody will assert that he was a prophet ... but we may admit that he has been touched by Gabriel's Wing" (p. 387).

Judging by the title the reader would find in the book much more than he expects. Nearly one-fifth (pp. 1-72) is devoted to the historical, political and religious background of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, Iqbal's life-sketch and the aesthetic aspect of his poetry. The main study of his religious ideas is built around the Five Pillars of Faith (God, Muḥammad, Prayer, Fasting, Zakāt, Pilgrimage and Ḥajj, and the Essentials of Faith, Āmanu bi'llāhī ..., God, Angels, Holy Books, Prophets, Last Day and Predestination). One wonders if this novel pattern—alogous to that of the Kenneth Cragg's Call of the Minaret or Constance Padwick's Muslim Devotions—was a happy choice for an analysis of Iqbal's poetry and an unavoidable discussion of his philosophical as well as social and political ideas. On the one hand, the scheme has allowed insufficient room for an examination of his views on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, on the other, a good deal of overlapping was inevitable, though the author has skilfully avoided repeating herself.

Although Dr. Schimmel modestly claims to have eschewed judgments, she has, in actual fact, frequently exercised her title to a frank expression of opinion. One may disagree with her, but one should respect her honest criticism according to her own lights.

Discussing Iqbal's aesthetics, she rightly refers to his abhorrence of 'Art for Art's sake' and his attack on what he dubbed as "the arts of slavery", i.e., "purposeless" painting, music, sculpture, etc. (p. 62). But, she rather jumps to the conclusion that there was no aesthetics proper in Islam (p. 63) and unwarrentedly stretches the Qur'anic verse (Surah V: 26) about the perishability of all created things (kullu shay' in ḥālikun illā wajhuh) to imply a denial of aesthetics (p. 62). One could juxtapose the tradition oft-quoted in the Ṣūfī lore: "Allāhu jamīlun wa yuḥībū ʾi-jamāľ". She does not fail to express her astonishment at Iqbal's Foreword to the celebrated Pakistani painter 'Abd al-Rahmān Chughtā'i's illustrated edition of the Urdu-Persian poet Ghalīb's diwān, the Muraqqa'-i Chughta'i—embodying traditionally romantic and decadent art, rather than reflecting the freshness and vigour which Iqbal sought (p. 64). According
to her, Iqbal has never developed a theory of aesthetics proper—beauty is for him wherever action and desire reveal themselves (p. 138). That Muslim genius excelled in architecture, calligraphy and arabesque lends support to Iqbal's theory of the purposefulness or art (cf. p. 145).

Nevertheless, she acknowledges that "Iqbal's poetry, notwithstanding his negative opinion of artistic values as such, is generally of a very high standard, and sometimes he reaches a height of beauty and intensity, which is rarely found in classical lyrics" (p. 70).

To come to the main theme of the book, her observation, "He has never denied the irrational background of religious phenomena in general and Islam in particular" (p. 73), is far from happy. The quotation: "Truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring" (Iqbal's Lectures, p. 179), does not substantiate her argument. As she herself admits, Iqbal neither believed in hair-splitting, nor in the mystic's ecstasy. His philosophy was that of action. He was as much against pietistic and ascetic mysticism (p. 80) as against the Mulla's literalism and orthodoxy. Further on, she pays a tribute to Iqbal: "The emphasis Iqbal laid on the personality of God... is one of his greatest contributions to the reconstruction of Islamic thought" (p. 97).

"The concept of the inexhaustible possibilities hidden in the Holy Book is expressed very plainly and in extenso in the Javidnama" (p. 226); but she seems to have misunderstood (p. 224) a Muslim Sufi's dictum about the Holy Book (p. 181 of Iqbal's Lectures). Be it as it may, Iqbal's interpretations of the Qur'an (p. 232) should not surprise a scholar conversant with equally strained interpretations of the Christian, Jewish and Hindu scriptures.

In her discussion of Jesus (pp. 264-5), she seems to have missed the point that in Persian and Urdu poetry the Biblical prophets frequently appear as mere symbols of their respective miraculous powers. (The poetic licence may strike the uninitiated even blasphemous.) By the same token, Plato is a prototype of the Philosopher; Iqbal's attacks on him are not always personal (p. 319).

One could concede to Dr. Schimmel that Iqbal's equating of the East with Love and the West with Science is, like all generalizations, wrong (p. 136) and that his subscription to the anti-classical spirit of the Qur'an explains why large areas of European culture remained alien to him (p. 318); but one could not too strongly repudiate her charge—whatever she means—that "the classical, humanistic and democratic educational systems, too, have never been transplanted into Islamic countries, being scarcely compatible with the theocratic tenets of Islam" (p. 319). Whereas, at one point, she has found fault with Iqbal for indulging in medieval polemics in criticizing the West (p. 385); she has tried elsewhere (p. 382) to explain that what Iqbal inveighed against was the "alleged implicit dualism of body and soul, church and state", resulting in either ascetic spiritualism or materialism.

In her 'Summing Up', she concludes that Iqbal's Man is not the Humanism's measure of all things—but "is realizing the wonderful paradox of freedom in servanthip" (p. 382). She observes acutely that Iqbal was not a 'scholarly' or mystical type of philosopher but a 'prophetic' type of philosopher and poet (p. 382). His mission was restitution of pristine Islam, purged of
While stating the case of his detractors (p. 377-8), she defends him against real or unreal charges of self-contradiction (p. 379). Iqbal's thought developed over a period of about forty years and was reflected mostly in his poetry. As such, divergencies were bound to arise. Evolutionary changes in the philosophy of Bertrand Russell are an instance in point. Timid consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds. Iqbal did not propound a rounded system of philosophy. Yet, there is an inner logic underlying the movements of his sensitive spirit where it listeth.

To come to minor points, Dr. Schimmel has omitted to indicate the source of her statement that Iqbal had advocated continuance of British rule over the Indians until such time as they were mature enough for independence (p. 80). Similarly, her disclosure that Iqbal has at places made changes in his quotations from Ziya Gökalp can be misleading (p. 242), because she has not elaborated whether they were deliberate and significant, tampering with Gökalp's intended meaning, or whether they arose inadvertently from summarization. She appears to have misunderstood (p. 248) the quotation from Iqbal's criticism of the proposed composition of the Indian Legislature (Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, 191). It is perhaps a plea for separate seats for Muslim women, and not against their representation. She approvingly quotes Prof. Bausani's dig at Iqbal (p. 335); but in the light of Prof. M. M. Sharif's recent researches, al-Ghazālī's anticipation of Descartes is no longer as far-fetched as Prof. Bausani implies. Incidentally, the poem Sham'-o Şât'ir is neither in the form nor the metre of Rūmî's Maṭnawi (p. 69).

Iqbal might not have been a very deep scholar of Arabic language and literature but his poetical and prose works, letters and articles, as well as his biographies leave us in little doubt as to his proficiency in Arabic for a first-hand knowledge of the Qur'ān, Ḥadith, Fiqh, Islamic Philosophy, scholastics and mysticism and even some Arabic poetry. It is, therefore, rather strange that she insinuates about his thorough acquaintance with Arabic (p. 37). Equally questionable is her doubt whether Iqbal possessed a working knowledge of German, since she herself adduces proofs of his first-hand acquaintance with German literature (pp. 330-31). Again, his Lectures, his preface to the Payām-i Māshriq and his letters as well as his biographers lend support to this belief.

It would not, perhaps, be out of place to tackle a few other controversial points, not necessarily concerned with Iqbal. The statement, "the Shia Community of the Bohoras—who had segregated from the Isma'iliya after 1094, Nizar's death . . ." (p. 4) is rather misleading. The Bohoras are Ismā'īlis, but the followers of Musta'li, brother and rival of Nizār (cf. the article 'BOHORAS' by A. A. A. Fyzee in the Encyclopædia of Islam, new edition). At another place (pp. 19-20) it is hinted that probably Sultan 'Abdel Ḥamid hastened Jamāl al-Dīn Afgānī's death. This was most probably a malicious rumour spread around by the Sultan's detractors, since Afgānī died of cancer, an incurable disease. Whereas Dr. Schimmel is more than doubtful whether the 'Abbāsid
Caliph installed by the Egyptian Mamliks was not a mere impostor, she speaks of the last Caliph of the line having transferred the Caliphate to Sultan Selim II (pp. 29-30). Barthold has shown the latter story to be completely without foundation; the former finds no mention in Bernard Lewis's article on the 'ABBĀSIDS in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition), although he too quotes R. Hartmann—one of her sources on the point. Her belief that Shāh Waliy Allah came under the Wahhabi influence while in Arabia (pp. 12-13) or that Sayyid Aḥmad Barelwi "maintained a kind of pantheism" (p. 15) seems to be highly improbable. The assertion of a leading Turkish mystic as to the existence of a third type of mysticism, the soi-disant "Turkish mysticism"—as distinct from and even superior to Wahdat al-Wujūd or Wahdat al-Shuhūd—(pp. 365-6) is more confused and confounded than profound and original. All mystics have described God as Ineffable. This is just one of the stages in the mystic experience and not the basis of a whole system of mysticism.

Harsh though it may sound, one wishes that the learned author had avoided unfamiliar German and Latin terms (e.g., Weltgefühl, Umdeutung, Ganz Andere, Oratio infusa) and given English versions of French and German quotations (e.g., the comment of Rudolf Pannwitz, a leading German philosopher, on Iqbal's Lectures—pp. 380-81) to her Pakistani readers, for whose benefit mainly she has taken the trouble of writing the book in a language not her own. With disarming humility, Dr. Schimmel has apologised for her English style—pardonable all the more in the case of a polyglot like herself. On the whole, she has acquitted herself of the task rather well. It is a pity that she has not always chosen to do so. She has at places indulged in solecisms and used expressions, which at times are unintelligible (e.g., her translation from the Armaghān-i Ḥijāz at p. 218). One cannot also help deploring the abundance of typographical errors, which mar an otherwise well-printed book. The book betrays some other marks of haste too. Some abbreviations have not been explained (e.g., IBLA at p. 402); and references to serial numbers of the verses in the JāVIDNĀMAH, rather than to the pages, make the tracing out of the verses extremely tedious. Her misspelling of certain names and place-names arising out of her imperfect knowledge of Urdu, may be overlooked but slips like "Ghazzali in his refutation of Averroes..." (p. 94) instead of Avicenna, call for comment.

These small defects, however, do not detract from the overall merit of the book. As an excellent piece of painstaking research it will remain an indispensable work of reference for a long time to come. The extensive bibliography bears eloquent testimony to her labour of love. Though not claimed to be exhaustive, it is by far the most complete so far published. Three very helpful indices of persons, places and technical terms add to the usefulness of the book.

ISTANBUL

SHARIF AL-HASAN

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, BOTSCHAFT DES OSTENS (PAYĀM-I MASHRIQ), translated from Persian into German by Annemarie Schimmel; Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 108.

Only recently did Annemarie Schimmel earn the gratitude of the students of Iqbal by publishing a comprehensive work on the poet-philosopher's thought entitled Gabriel's Wing. Now she offers Botschaft des Ostens, a German transla-