Caliph installed by the Egyptian Mamluks was not a mere imposter, 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 *ABBÁSIDS in the Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), although he too quotes R. Hartmann—one of her sources on the point. Her belief that *Sháh Walíy 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-Wujûd* or *Wahdat al-Shuhûd* (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 Hijāz* at p. 218). One cannot also help deploiring 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**


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-
tion in verse-form of Iqbal's *Payām-i Maṣḥīq*. And it is not for the first time that she has performed this commendable task. She has already translated another poetic work of Iqbal, *Jāвидnāme*, into German (*Buch der Ewigkeit*, 1957) as well as Turkish (*Cavidnāme*, 1958).

Professor Schimmel has added a lengthy introduction to the body of the translation, in which she has admirably sketched the prominent features of Iqbal's philosophy, and also traced some of the main sources of influence on his thinking. Here, as elsewhere, she gives ample proof of an exceptional understanding of the poet-philosopher's genius. And by her various writings on Iqbal she is substantially contributing to a trend which has newly emerged among Western Orientalists, namely, of devoting special attention to the history and culture of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. This new trend, of course, owes its genesis, in no small measure, to the resurgence of the Muslims of this region themselves.

Iqbal was without doubt one of the chief architects of the revival and reform movements that galvanized Indian Muslims. But his spirit soared higher than the diminutive horizons of communalism or nationalism. The truth is that he possessed profound insight into the trends of his age and was genuinely concerned about the present state of mankind at large. Hence he declared in his preface to *Payām-i Maṣḥīq*: "Every effort that has as its aim helping to lift the eyes of individuals and nations above geographical frontiers, and creating or renewing in them a healthy and strong sense of humanity, is worthy of respect." This is precisely what he himself was aiming at in *Payām-i Maṣḥīq*, i.e., "to illustrate those ethical, religious and social truths which have a bearing on the inner development of individuals and communities".

In fact, Iqbal was acutely aware of the spiritual and cultural revolutions that were soon to sweep the peoples of the world and bring in their wake grave crises of human relationships. This awareness led him to urge a re-examination of traditional attitudes both in the East and the West. A mutual readjustment between nations, he thought, was necessary to avert global disasters, but not without an adequate understanding of the forces that impel human beings from within. *Payām-i Maṣḥīq* is thus Iqbal's commentary in particular on the conscience of the West for the benefit of the peoples of the East.

But in still another, equally important, respect it represents Iqbal's poetic answer to almost a thousand years of Western reflection on the conduct of the Islamic East. Although a good deal of polemical literature was produced in the Muslim Middle Ages in response to the theological arguments of the Christian writers, yet, as Annemarie Schimmel points out, "no attempt was ever made in the Islamic countries to arrive at a genuine synthesis of the intellectual possessions of the East and West. It remained for Muhammad Iqbal to make this attempt, and the typical work in which he formulated the answer of the East to the West—an answer which was outstanding for a thousand years—is *Payām-i Maṣḥīq* or 'Botschaft des Ostens'" (Introduction, pp. xi-xii).

*Botschaft des Ostens* is the first complete translation of *Payām-i Maṣḥīq* to be published in the German language. This translation assumes special significance in view of the fact that *Payām-i Maṣḥīq* was inspired by Goethe's *West-Ostlicher Divan*, which is one of the latter's most famous works. It is quite clear
that the author of *Payām* and the author of *Divān* were both apostles of love. (Goethe’s concept of love seems more earthly at first glance, but its ultimate aim, much in the spirit of Iqbal’s thinking, is the elevation of the human soul towards phenomena of a super-earthly, divine realm: cf. F. J. von Rintelen, *Der Rang des Geistes. Goethes Weltverstehendnis*, 1955, chap. 6, passim.) They both saw well-being of humanity in universal goodwill and fraternity which transcend national boundaries. For both of them the value of life lay in the tensions and polarities of perpetual struggle. And if Goethe sought warmth of heart from the East, Iqbal paid tribute to the great men of Europe. But whereas Goethe was not willing to accept the sedative of Eastern asceticism, Iqbal refused to be beguiled by the proud ventures of Western scientism. In fact, neither of them had any use for morbid asceticism or heartless scientism.

Yet they did differ in one crucial respect in their metaphysics. Goethe’s thinking is undeniably inclined toward pantheism. It is true that his actual position with regard to the question of Ultimate Being seems to elude us, but there are strong suggestions in his writings that Nature, Divinity and *Geist* (Spirit) represented different aspects of the same reality for him (cf. Rintelen, op. cit., p. 149 ff). This view is further supported by his high admiration for such pantheistic thinkers as Spinoza and Giordano Bruno. Iqbal, on the other hand, even though he did nurse the notion of the identity of all being in the beginning of his career, came to be a staunch exponent of personalistic ontology, so that “the world, in all its details, from the mechanical movement of what we call the atom of matter to the free movement of thought in the human ego, is the self-revelation of the ‘Great I am’ . . . . Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man” (*Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 71-2). The most perfect and all-pervading ego in this hierarchy of “spiritual pluralism” is God.

Besides, Iqbal was more than a poet and a visionary. For he was inspired by a deep sense of mission to spur the dormant Muslim Community into action and make it aware of its destiny again:

“That I may lead home the wanderer
And imbue the idle looker-on with restless impatience;
And advance hotly on a new quest;
And become known as the champion of a new spirit.”

—(Secrets of the Self. verses 87-90.)

Perhaps all great men possess some sense of mission or other, but certainly not all of them associate themselves so actively with the affairs of their community as did Iqbal with his own.

Now we all know that subtleties of poetic expression are generally of such a nature that they do not easily lend themselves to translation from one language into another. But matters are still more complicated when one is dealing with a poet like Iqbal. Even though Persian was not his mother-tongue, the beauty and grace that he brought to his Persian verse have few parallels in the history of modern Persian literature. Add to that the profundity of his thought and the intricacy of the task of rendering him into another language becomes evident. Annemarie Schimmel faces this very problem in her translation of *Payām-i Mašhīrq* and admits that it “. . . . is by no means easy to read and understand; indeed, with its fusion of poesy and philosophy, its embedding of
the most modern knowledge in the classical symbols of the Persian poetic art. it is hard to translate” (Introduction, p. xv).

Nevertheless, Botschaft des Ostens is, on the whole, a remarkably good translation of Payám-i Maṭriq. Annemarie Schimmel has by and large remained true to the spirit of Iqbal’s thinking. But the verse-form of her translation did create certain inevitable difficulties for her. To maintain a particular rhyme, for example, she at times finds herself using German expressions which either do not convey Iqbal’s meaning with full force or introduce something that he did not really mean. Let us take a few random illustrations. In the poem entitled “Die Ueberwindung der Natur”, (Botschaft, pp. 36-8). Iqbal’s line

meaning “How nice it is to make life aglow with passion” has been translated as “Wie schoen ist’s, dem Leben stets Feur zu geben” (p. 38), i.e., “How nice it is continuously to give fire to life”;

meaning “My skilful intellect is (a source of) commotion for the world” has come out in translation as “Die Weltordnung huetet mein scharfer Geist, der sie ersonn”, i.e. “My acute intellect tends the world order which it conceived”. (In the same poem, there is a rather disturbing misprint on page 38: the phrase “mit Steinen zu plaumern” should actually read “mit Sternen zu plaumern”.)

On page 39 of the Botschaft, Iqbal’s line (the quality of being a Timür or a Chingiz), meant to convey the military might and terror of these great conquerors, has been rendered as “Du Timur und du Dschingiz”. “Thou Timur and thou Chingiz”. Then on page 53, the line

meaning “You created clay. I the cup” from Iqbal’s poem entitled معاویہ ساہین خدا و انسان (‘Dialogue between God and man’) reads in translation: “Du schufst den Ton, ich den Pokal zum Tanz”, i.e. “You created clay. I the cup for dance”. Here the word Tanz was quite unnecessary but it was inserted because it was to rhyme with glanz, ganz, etc. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the phrase zum Tanz has introduced an element in the translation which was neither present nor implied in the original. But, then, one may possibly attribute such things to the poet’s licence (It must also be noted, incidentally, that a number of mistakes have crept into Annemarie Schimmel’s translation of the original Urdu preface to Payám-i Maṭriq, particularly on page 7 of Botschaft des Ostens.)

Despite these shortcomings, Botschaft des Ostens is a notable contribution to the wider understanding of Iqbal. Moreover, those who have read and admired Goethe’s West-Oestlicher Divan will now be in a position to appreciate the message emanating from the East which so inspired that great German poet. In Iqbal they would find a thinker who, like Goethe, belongs to all men equally, who stands for the best in man qua man.

KARACHI

RAFIQ AHMED


This book by Prof. Bernard Lewis is the latest addition to his earlier works, The Arabs in History, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, and Istanbul and the