IQBAL AND GOETHE

Compiled & Edited by

M. Ikram Chaghatai

Foreword by

Prof. Annemarie Schimmel

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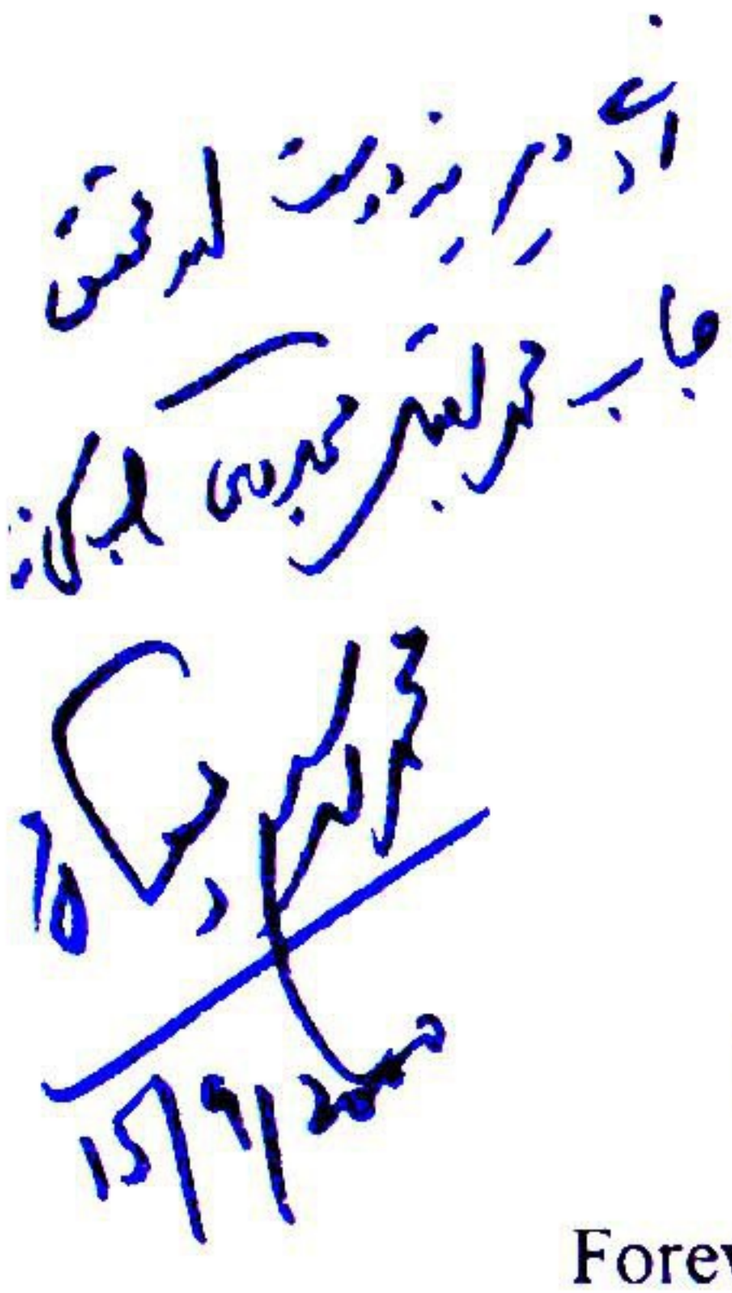

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PAKISTAN ACADEMY OF LETTERS

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Dedication

To the (Late) Dr. Richard Bütler (Switzerland), Dr. Christian Wilhelm Troll (Germany) and Dr. Ebba Koch (Austria) who facilitated my studies in German-speaking countries.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In this book I have attempted to explore Goethe's 'presence' in the South Asian Subcontinent by showing the contribution made by its scholars and literati to the life and some of the major works of Goethe. Generally, this Goethean tradition in this part of the world had been comparatively weak and remained almost in oblivion. Finally, however, it climaxed in the poetical and prosaic writings of Iqbal.

In this process of exploration, many people and organisations of the country and abroad, have assisted me and I have to acknowledge that without their incessant and generous support it would have been rather difficult to have an access to the relevant material, lying in the different libraries and institutions of the German speaking countries.

First of all I have to thank Prof. Annemarie Schimmel (Bonn) who always provided an impetus for my studies. She has been very kind to write an introduction in which she, as a reputed expert of this subject, has indicated new aspects of intellectual relationship between Iqbal and Goethe whom she calls *Zwillinge im Paradies* (Twins in Paradise).

It is with pleasure that I thank those scholars that I encountered in the course of my research, like Dr. Erich Prokosch (Natschbach, Austria) who not only provided fresh information about Goethe but linked me also to a number of scholars working in this field, such as Dr. Wynfrid Kriegleder of Vienna University (Institut für Germanistik) who sent me the relevant articles, published in *Jahrbuch der Wiener Goethe - Vereins* (Edited by his colleague, Dr. Herbert Zeman). The stimulating feedback of Dr. Christian Wilhelm Troll (Berlin) has been extremely supportive in this endeavour. Assistance from

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Dr. Ebba Koch (Vienna University) was particularly valuable at an early stage of the study. Special thanks for help go to J. Ch. Bürgel (Bern), Sven Anderßen (Frankfurt/M.), Stephan Popp (Bamberg), Arif Sultan (Rome) and Dr. Gopi Chand Narang (New Delhi).

The staff at numerous libraries and museums that cooperated in providing the material used for this study have been a constant source of support, namely Iqbal Museum, Panjab University Library, Panjab Public Library (Riff'at Collection), Islamia College Library (Iqbal Collection), Quaid i Azam Library and National Archives of Pakistan (Islamabad).

Thanks are due to the library staff of the Iqbal Academy Pakistan at which I worked most of my time. I owe a special thanks to the Director of Iqbal Academy, M. Suheyl Umar, for his warm hospitality and keen interest in my work from the very beginning. It was through his academic and administrative support as well his untiring efforts coupled with the rare insights into the subject that the project saw the light of day. I am also indebted to the skilled persons of the Academy who typed the script with unfailing care and accuracy and saved me from innumerable mistakes and inconsistencies.

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FOREWORD

The topic "Iqbal and Goethe" has fascinated many scholars and art lovers during the last decades. for Iqbal is indeed the first and foremost interpreter of Goethe's thought in the Islamic world. It is. therefore. natural that a collection of articles dealing with this topic should appear in the year 1999 when the world celebrates the 250th birthday of the great German poet and thinker.

The number of articles written in Urdu. English. and German is amazingly great. and it needs patience and devotion to collect them and present them in a form worthy of the contents to the Pakistani and European readers. Ikram Chaghatai. famed for his erudition and his talent for finding even barely known books and manuscripts. has taken upon himself the great task of compiling the Jubilee Volume. and we warmly congratulate him in the hope that many readers in East and West will realize the deep spiritual similarities between Iqbal and Goethe —Iqbal's *mard-i momin* is certainly much more an embodiment of the Faustian ideal as evoked by Goethe than of Nietzsche's Superman. and the topic of unceasing striving. of conquering ever new heights in one's life and even after the corporeal death are without doubt influenced as much by Goethe as they are by classical Sufi ideals. Not to forget the fascinating figure of *Iblis* who. in some aspects. is clearly a "brother" of Goethe's Mephistopheles "who always wants bad things yet always leads to good results", for without the struggle against the satanic powers a human being could

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not develop, would remain in the sweet slumber of a colourless paradisiacal world.

We sincerely hope that Ikram Chagatai's book will be appreciated by both Pakistani and European readers and will lead to a better understanding of the deep, spiritual connection between our cultural heritages, Eastern be it or Western.

Annemarie Schimmel

Bonn, March 1999

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The Lure of the Orient

The subject matter of this collection of articles is the study of an important chapter of western thought that relates to the East and, more particularly, to the responses of the East to an outstanding representative of this movement that was termed a "second Renaissance" by Schopenhauer. In order to form an idea of the significance and profound consequences of this phenomenon of the intellectual history of the West one has to take into consideration the fact that, "paradoxically enough, the nineteenth century, which from the metaphysical point of view marks the peak of the eclipse of tradition in the West, was also witness to the widespread interest in the study of the Orient and the translation of the sacred scriptures and works of a sapiential nature into various European languages by such master linguists as A. H. Anquetil-Duperron, J. von Hammer-Purgstall, and Sir William Jones. This was the period of intense activity in Orientalism which, despite its horrendous misdeeds, misinterpretations—both intentional and otherwise condescending attitude toward natives, and servility to various political causes of European colonial powers, made available those hymns of gnosis and theophanies of pure metaphysics as the Upanishads, the Tao-Te-Ching, and much of Sufi poetry. The history of Orientalism during this period is not our concern here. What concerns us here is the case of the few philosophers and poets in the West who, being in quest of the sacred, sought to rediscover tradition in Oriental sources in an age which stood totally opposed to the traditional ideal.

The overall harmony and equilibrium of the cosmos required a movement within the heart and soul of at least a number of contemporary men to rediscover the sacred at the very moment when the process of secularisation seemed to be reaching its

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logical conclusion in removing the presence of the sacred altogether from all aspects of human life and thought. The principle of cosmic compensation has brought to the fore the quest for the rediscovery of the sacred during the very period which the heralds of modernism had predicted to be final phase of the depletion of human culture of its sacred content, the period whose dawn Nietzsche had declared a century ago when he spoke of the "death of God."[2] But many a contemporary man, having faced the terror of nihilism and the death of that which is human as a result of the effacing of the imprint of the Divinity upon the human face, has been confronted with the impelling attraction of the sacred which is both beyond and other than the secularised world that he calls "normal life." Such a person has felt the inner pull of the sacred at the centre of his own being, the centre that he carries with him wherever he may be. The quest for the rediscovery of the sacred, whether carried out consciously or in the form of groping in the dark, has become an element of the life of that humanity which has already experienced the loneliness of a world from which the Spirit has been banished. Needless to say, this quest has not always been successful but it has not always failed either, having reached its goal in a full and complete sense in those circles that have carried out the revival of tradition. The rediscovery of the sacred is ultimately and inextricably related to the revival of tradition, and the resuscitation of tradition and the possibility of living according to its tenets in the West during this century is the complete and final fulfilment of the quest of contemporary man for the rediscovery of the sacred.

The sapiential dimension which lies at the heart of tradition had become too weakened in the West to enable tradition to become revived during this century without authentic contact with the Oriental traditions which had preserved their inner teachings intact in both their doctrinal and operative aspects. Truncated and fragmented teachings of an originally esoteric nature issuing from the salons of Paris and other European cities where themselves too depleted of the presence of the sacred to enable modern Western man to rekindle the fire of the metaphysically penetrating intelligence and to enable the

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phoenix of sapience to arise from the ashes of a debilitating rationalism through recourse to what these circles offered. Already in the nineteenth century, what remained of knowledge of an originally sacred character had become more or less reduced to either occultism or a purely theoretical philosophy divorced from the possibility of realisation, while even as theory it remained incomplete. That is why those who sought to rediscover sacred knowledge were attracted to the Orient despite the impossibility in most cases of gaining authentic knowledge of the Oriental traditions, especially as far as their inner dimensions were concerned.

The "lure" of the Orient is to be seen already in the eighteenth century fascination in many European circles with China and also Egypt which, as far as the sources of traditional teachings are concerned, must be considered as an integral part of the Orient and the home of one of the most remarkable of traditional civilisations. Supposedly esoteric knowledge derived from Egypt, China, and other Eastern sources become a subject of discussion of occultist circles especially in France and such "restitution" as the Egyptian rite of Cagliostro were carried out within Freemasonry.[3] Egyptology, as well as Orientalism in general, were closely associated at this time with the quest for a kind of knowledge which seemed to have been already lost in the mainstream of European thought. These disciplines, which in the nineteenth century became nearly completely "scientific" and rationalistic, were more in search of tradition and esoteric knowledge in the eighteenth century than is usually believed, although this search was rarely satisfied in a complete manner and certainly did not succeed in resuscitation the traditional point of view in such a way as to affect in any perceptible way the process of the desacralization of knowledge which was taking place at that time. Nor was this extensive transformation which was expected to happen in the West as a result of the dissemination of Oriental teachings and which was called a "second Renaissance" by Schopenhauer ever to take place during the nineteenth century when so many important works of Oriental wisdom were translated into European languages.[4]

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Of all European countries, it was, perhaps, Germany where the influence of Oriental teachings was greatest partly because the Romantic movement possessed a greater intellectual content there than elsewhere and also because something of the Boehmian heritage still survived in his native land. To take one example, the translation into German of such masterpieces of Sufi poetry as the *Rose-Garden of Divine Mysteries* (*Gulshan-i-rāz*) by Hammer-Purgstall had a profound effect upon notable German poets and created an avid interest in Oriental poetry and wisdom in a wide circle. Rückert was himself a translator of Persian and Arabic poetry as well as a poet of great quality who was influenced in his own works by Persian poetic symbols and images.[5]

The most notable figure of this period in Germany who was touched seriously on both the artistic and the intellectual planes by Oriental traditions, particularly Islam, was Goethe. He was intimately familiar with both the Qur'ān and Islamic poetry, especially the works of Ḥāfiẓ, and even wrote a tragedy whose hero was the Prophet of Islam.[6] Goethe's grand response to that perfect wedding between metaphysical truth and poetic beauty that is the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ is the *West-Östlicher Divan* which is unique in the annals of nineteenth century European literature.[7] The opening verses,

North and South and West are crumbling,
Thrones are falling, kingdoms trembling:
Come, flee away to purer East,
There on patriarch's air to feast,
There with love and drink and song
Khiser's spring shall make thee young.

There, pure and right where still they find,
Will I drive all mortal kind
To the great depths whence all things rise,
There still to gain, in godly wise,
Heaven's lore in earthly speech,
Heads might break ere they could reach.[8]

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have been often interpreted as Goethe's reaction to Napoleon's conquest of Europe. But his call is more fundamental than the response to a passing phenomenon of European history. It is a nostalgia for that immemorial tranquility of an Orient which is also the Origin and from which flows the fountain of eternal life guarded by Khidr,[9] an Orient still embedded in the peace and harmony of the traditional universe, before the shocking earthquakes of a world rebellious against Heaven and its imprint upon the human plane also reached the mountains and valleys of the East.[10]

****

Existing body of writings on Iqbal and Goethe spans hundreds, if not thousands, of pages in Urdu, English, Persian and German languages. Minor contributions in other languages also exist. This whole corpus of scholarship is lacking in certain respects. The gaps in Iqbal scholarship on the subject are even wider and more numerous. During the project planning for our contribution to the Goethe Year (1999) in the Academy the idea came up that we may prepare an anthology that could collect and present all the available material on the subject and break fresh ground in the field of Goethe-Iqbal studies. It was, perhaps, providential that we had Muhammad Ikram Chaghata't the man who originated the idea— as our associated scholar at that time in the Academy helping us with our cherished project of establishing an "Iqbal Archives". Partly on my insistence and, largely, on account of his own keen interest in the history of German Oriental scholarship, he accepted my offer to collaborate with us. We could not have found a person better qualified for the task. It took us almost a year to achieve our goal. Our input in and vigorous support to the project was present at every level but the greatest credit goes to Ikrām who brought his long years of linguistic training, serious and painstaking research in the libraries of Pakistan and the West, particularly in German speaking countries, and his dedicated labour to bear on the subject and thus gave us this fine specimen of scholarship and managed to collect the wealth of information

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that we present in the present volume and its companion volume in Urdu.[11]

It is my proud privilege to say that Ikram has done an excellent and admirable service by filling the gaps in the existing materials and fulfilling the need for the required information and explanations.

The method that he adopted for his research and inquiry is more akin to the advice of Goethe rather than the usual methodology of his discipline. Goethe had advised: " He who wants to understand the poet must go the land of the poet". And by "land" we do not mean the geographical land only; it is above all the mental landscape, the psycho-sophia and the spiritual earth of ones being.

Ikram takes us, in turn, to the summits of the "lands" of these two great men and, more importantly, to those areas of that land that could be said to have intersected.

He starts with providing us glimpses of the vast corpus of Goethe's writings in its startling diversity to bring out his importance as an eminent novelist and dramatist, a notable philosopher, an excellent professional scientist, a successful political administrator, a famous architect and a brilliant statesman and above all his remarkably expressive lyrical poetry that made him truly immortal. Goethe's relationship with the East is then elucidated as it provided essential insights into Goethe's mind-set and helped us to understand his cherished concept of *Weltliteratur* (World Literature) as well as his limitations with regard to an in-depth understanding of the metaphysical dimension of the Islamic worldview and its vision of Reality.[12] Ikrām has skilfully pointed out the channels through which the influence of the East reached Goethe. Along with his strong attraction and intellectual leanings towards the Orient, Goethe was also fully conversant with the rich tradition of Western Orientalism. In this regard Ikram gives us hitherto unknown details of the works and scholars that were instrumental in the formative process of Goethe's mind. Most significant of these events occurred, perhaps, when "in the

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summer of 1814, the German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* came into Goethe's hands and it opened a new world for him -- a world which was like a mirror reflecting to Goethe the image of his own situation and in which both poets shared common spiritual and moral attitudes". This was the beginning of a life long relationship that had far-reaching consequences to which Ikram has devoted a whole segment of his study.

Part of his study made in long overview "Bridging of East and West Iqbal and Goethe" and the material selected deal with the reception of Goethe in the East that started during the lifetime of Goethe with the publication of the English translation of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*) in 1792 and reached its culmination in Iqbal's response.

By far the most important section of his study is that which makes a detailed study of Iqbal's works, letters and biographical materials with regard to his influence-response relationship with Goethe that spanned four decades of his life. This part is tantalising. It questions certain views that have become standard in Iqbal studies and provides fresh insights about many aspects of the issue such as the relation of Goethe's *Diwan* to Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*, status of *Diwan* in Goethe's works, absence of Goethe from *Javid Namah* etc. It is not only the richest in information but also most compelling in evidence.

Apart from his own contribution in the form of the aforementioned detailed overview he has collected, corrected and edited almost the entire corpus of Goethe-Iqbal studies that we have brought together in the various sections of the present volume. Together with its companion volume in Urdu, Ikram's work is a valuable addition to the growing body of comparative studies that contribute to a better understanding of world literature as well as mutual understanding between different civilisations.

Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Director
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Notes & References

[1] The history of Orientalism and Western views toward various Oriental traditions has been dealt with in many works. See, as far as the Islamic world is concerned, for example, N. Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire*, London, 1968; Y. Moubarac, *Recherches sur la pensée chrétienne et l'Islam dans les temps modernes et à l'époque contemporaine*, Beirut, 1977, and J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhumderts*, Leipzig, 1955.

[2] It is remarkable how so many so-called radical theologians have sided with Nietzsche in talking about the "death of God" in order not to remain behind current nihilism is the reassertion of the saying of Meister Eckhart, "the more you blaspheme the more you praise God", and the Gospel saying, "Slander must needs come but woe unto him who bringeth it about." As could be expected, many sociologists have predicted the continuation of the secularising movement in the modern world as a natural confirmation of their own secular point of view. This tendency is to be expected more in sociology than in theology seeing the nature of the origins of the discipline called sociology. But even among sociologists there are those, like P. Berger, who assert that from a sociological point of view there is reason to believe that faith in the supernatural and quest for the sacred will continue to survive even in modern society. Berger adds, however, that "those to whom the supernatural is still, or again, a meaningful reality find themselves in the status of a minority, more precisely, a cognitive minority—a very important consequence with far-reaching implications." P. Berger, *A Rumor of Angels*, p. 7.

[3] See Faivre, *L'Ésotérisme au XVIII siècle*, p. 171.

[4] Eliade explains the reason why this so-called "second Renaissance" did not take place: "But the Renaissance did not come about for the simple reason that the study of Sanskrit and other oriental languages did not succeed in passing beyond the circle of philologians and historians, while, during the Italian Renaissance, Greek and classical Latin were studied not only by the grammarians and humanists but also by the poets, artists, philosophers, theologians, and men of science.

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"Crisis and Renewal in History of Religion." *History of Religions* 5 1 (Summer 1965): 3.

We would add that, first of all, Oriental traditions could not possibly have brought about a renaissance if by renaissance is meant that anti-traditional revolt against the Christian tradition which is the origin of most of what characterises the modern world and which marks the point of departure of Western civilisation from the rest of the world and second, the European Renaissance was a fall, a discovery of a new earth at the expense of the loss of a heaven and therefore in conformity with the downward flow of the cosmic cycle, while a traditional "renaissance" would imply a restoration from on high against the downward pull of the stream of historic time. In any case, a traditional restoration, which would in fact have been veritable renaissance, could not possibly take place through the translation of texts alone and in the absence of that authentic knowledge which would make the appropriate understanding the these texts possible.

[5] See A. Schimmel (ed.), *Orientalische Dichtung in den Übersetzungen Friedrich Rückerts*, Bremen, 1963. In her introduction the editor discusses the influence of the Orient on Western and esp German literature.

[6] On Goethe and the East see Taha Hussein Bey, "Goethe and the East", in *Goethe: UNESCO's Hommage on the Occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*, Paris, 1949, pp. 167-79; F. Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, Bern, 1957, esp. "Die Öffnende Macht des Orients," pp. 154-70; H. H. Schaeder, "Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens," in *Vierteljahrschrift des Goethegs.* 2 (1937): 125-39; and H Krüger, *Weltend, Goethe und der Orient*, Weimar 1903.

[7] On the significance of this work see K. Viëtor, *Goethe the Poet*, "West-Eastern Divan," pp. 219-30.

[8] *Goethe's Reineke Fox, West-Eastern Divan, and Achilleid*, trans. In the original meters by A. Rogers, London, 1890, pp. 199-200.

[9] Khidr or the "Green prophet" represents an ever present initiatic function in the Islamic tradition similar to that of Elias in Judaism. Khidr (or Khadir) is considered as the guardian of the fountain of life that from the sapiential point of view symbolises the water of sacred knowledge. On Khidr and his iconography in Islamic art see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Khwaja Khadir and the Fountain of Life, in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art," *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934): 173-82.

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[10] For a detailed survey of the question of the rediscovery of the Sacred in the West see S. H. Nasr, *Knowledge and the Sacred*, Suhail Academy, Lahore, 1999, pp. 93-129.

[11] The project consists of two volumes. Volume I comprises the English and German materials while the Vol. II presents Urdu writings as well as a sample of Persian.

[12] A remark from him can be cited as a representative example of this lack of understanding or accepting the metaphysical nature of the Islamic Revelation; "*I had to paint in this poem all the effects produced upon mankind by the efforts of genius, aided by the resources of character and ability--their successes and disappointments*".

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Abbreviations

art.		article
Asrar		*Asrar-i-Khudi* (Iqbal)
Aufl.		Auflage (edition)
Bang		*Bang-i-Dara* (Iqbal)
Bd.		Band (vol.)
Bde.		Bände (vols.)
cf.	=	confer (compare)
ch.	=	chapter
d.	=	died
ed.	=	edited. edition
e.g.	=	exempli gratia (for example)
erl.	=	erläutet (explain)
esp.	=	especially
f.n.	=	footnote
Gr.	=	German
Hrsg.	=	Herausgegeben (edited)
Ht.	=	Heft (part)
ibid.	=	ididem (in the same place)
i.e.	=	id est (that is)
Jg.	=	Jahrgang (year of publication)
Kap.	=	Kapitel (section)
Kulliyat	=	*Kulliyat-i-Iqbal* (Urdu) 1972.
N.F.	=	Neue Folge (new serie)
no.	=	number
Notes	=	*Noten und Abhandlungen* (Goethe)
n.d.	=	not dated
n.s.	=	new series
op. cit.	=	opere citate (in the work cited)
p.	=	page
pp.	=	pages

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pt.	=	part
Rep.	=	Reprinted
rev.	=	revised
Rumuz	=	*Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Iqbal)
ser.	=	serie, series
s. v.	=	sub voce (under the word or title)
T.	=	Teil (part)
tr.	=	translated, translator
u.	=	und (and)
Univ.	=	University
usw.	=	und so weiter (and so on)
vol.	=	volume
vols.	=	volumes
ZDMG	=	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)

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BRIDGING OF EAST AND WEST (IQBAL AND GOETHE)

The most important link between East and West is the course of sun that, as a symbol of light and wisdom, comes from the Orient to enlighten the Occident. Like the entire East-West relationship, the sun is used in various symbolic structures and also indicates the cyclic quality of whole life.

It is evident from the intellectual history of the world that the East has always exercised a strong fascination over Western minds, and has entered into Western cultural and scholarly life in ways which are of considerably more than passing significance within the history of Western ideas.

There have been many admirable studies of the relationship between East and West in specific periods and from different perspectives. Despite Rudyard Kipling's opening lines of "Ballad of East and West" that epitomize his unflinching commitment to Western imperialism, a strong wave of bridging the understanding between East and West remained flowing, particularly in the Oriental scholarship of those European countries which were least interested in taking part in the race of colonialism.

Anyone tracing the origins of the melange of East and West can find some early clues in the history of Oriental studies of the German-speaking regions. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, some renowned Orientalists, like Hammer-Purgstall, made pioneering efforts in disseminating the concept of mutual understanding between East and West, supported by the Quranic verse that both East and West belong to God. In this intellectual

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milieu Goethe (1749-1832), a greatest poet and a versatile genius of Germany, was inspired and sought refuge, mostly through translations, in the East in which the literary and gnomic Arab-Persian element played a vital role.

Deeply impressed by Goethe's creative approach to the cultural traditions of the Islamic East, Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1838), a reputed poet and philosopher, is the first literary figure of the East, who responded Goethe with his gifted poetic attainments and, thus, accelerated the process of understanding between East and West. No doubt, these "Twins in the Paradise" ("Zwillinge im Paradies")* will lead us to achieve the goal of the present world: "One World for All", which will ultimately lay the foundations of a socio-political and cultural pluralism, irrespective of the hotly–disputed concepts of greater homogeneity or heterogeneity of culture and other apparent hindrances in the way of East-West colloquy.

I

Thomas Mann (1875-1953), a German nobel-laureate of literature (1929), presenting a paper "Goethe and Democracy" at the Library of Congress on 2nd May 1949, remarked that "Two hundred years after Goethe's birth, one hundred and seventeen after his death, it seems appropriate to begin a lecture about him with the sentence: I have nothing new to tell you."[1] Fifty more years have gone by and it is time now to celebrate Goethe's 250th birth anniversary the world over and we cannot but agree with what Thomas Mann said in 1949. The remark is deterring enough but, nevertheless, it has to be admitted that many Germanists and literary scholars have made significant contributions to bring more aspects of Goethe's life and works to light. Personalities like Goethe resemble a vast ocean that tempts not only individuals but also entire generations also to explore its limitless distances and wonders. Goethe's achievements continue to attract people like a gigantic challenge and this, in itself, is perhaps an ample proof of his undying greatness.

Goethe never stopped writing, from his childhood to the eve of his death when, after the failure of his speech and failing of

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his senses, he began to write with his forefinger on the quilt that covered his knees. The vast and diverse corpus of Goethe is a unique phenomenon. The great Weimar edition of his complete works consists of one hundred and forty-three octavo volumes, sixty-three of what may properly be called his works, sixteen of his private diaries, fourteen of scientific writings and fifty of letters. Besides these, trails behind him a vast literature of biography, criticism and commentary, more than any other man in the history of letters. The great *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, founded by Karl Goedeke, devotes in its third edition--of which the volumes dealing with Goethe were published between 1910 and 1913--more than fifteen hundred pages to the bibliography of Goethe and his works alone. Furthermore, the centennial and bicentennial celebrations, in Germany and abroad, with reference to Goethe's birth and death produced abundant literature on him, a tribute which he richly deserved.[3] Now the task of compressing the bulk and varied output of Goethe within a brief survey presents insurmountable difficulties, forcing us to be content to appraise his genius, work and character in more general and comprehensive terms.

II

Goethe was an eminent novelist and dramatist, a notable philosopher, an excellent professional scientist, a successful political administrator, a famous architect and a brilliant statesman. But what has made him truly immortal is his richly expressive lyrical poetry. From the bulk and diversity of Goethe's literary works, his *West-östlicher Divan* ("West-Eastern Divan" hereafter *Divan*) stands out as a radiant summation of his lyric poetry and is ranked by many Germanists to be next in importance to *Faust*.[4]

Goethe is worshipped in Germany as a demigod and has exerted an equally powerful influence on the cultivated classes of the whole world. One aspect of his global influence deals with the Orient, particularly the Islamic Orient that is explicitly

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discernable in all the poems of the *Divan*. In this way, Goethe's dream-bridge to Orient is an escapeway from the age-burdened complexity, the grievous intellectualism of the European world, overloaded with spiritual and historical tradition and finally threatened by nihilism to a world of no preconceptions, of naturalness, of simplicity and untroubled youthful vigour. After the publication of the *Divan*, in Germany dawned a new illumination that eagerly availed itself of every ray of light from the Orient, and began to follow the pathway of intuition as a means to attain truth. Several valuable researches have been made for tracing the intellectual contacts of Goethe with the Orient and his impact in the progress of the 'Oriental Movement' in German literature. In this study, an attempt has been made to bring into focus the deep imprints of Goethe's works, especially his *Divan*, on the literary traditions of the Indian Subcontinent. Irrespective of all possible efforts, I have still the serious handicap that I could not consult most of the studies stored away in the libraries; institutions and the academies solely meant for the Germanistic and Goethean studies of Germany. In spite of the non-availability of the relevant material, I have tried to have an access to the diligent researches carrried out by distinguished scholars such as Konrad Burdach,[5] Hans Heinrich Schaeder,[6] Wolfgang Lentz,[7] Ernst Beutler[8] and Katharina Mommsen[9] who have devoted their whole lives for tracing out the literary contacts of Goethe with the East.

The tradition of the Orient, including the Islamic Orient, had always been an effective element in Goethe's literary and spiritual world. From the time of his boyhood, he seemed to have been attracted by the imagery and descriptions of the Eastern life and customs of the Old Testament, to which, as he tells us, he owed "almost all his moral education."[10] In his early youth, some other influences expanded Goethe's horizons which drew his gaze away from Europe to distant regions, and as a result he and his poetry acquired an international significance. Deeply impressed by the current literary scholarship, Goethe's advocacy of *Weltliteratur* (World Literature) became one of his most treasured concepts, aiming at advancing civilisation by

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encouraging mutual understanding and respect--whether through translation or criticism or through the blending of different literary traditions.[11] Although not wholly sympathetic to the prevalent Romantic Movement, Goethe approved the Romantics' receptivity to foreign literatures and sought a rapprochement with Eastern culture.[12] Some of the German romanticists turned to the realm of Indian civilisation. In 1808 Friedrich von Schlegel's treatise, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder* appeared which for the first time revealed the new science of Oriental antiquity to Germany[13] and led to an interest in exotic literatures (when there had been a great burst of enthusiasm for a brightening and broadening of the image of the German poet's palette). Goethe read this book with enjoyment, but in general disliked the Indian gods and called the Indian religion "insane and monstrous." All the same, an Indian literary work, the *Sakuntala* of Kalidas entranced him and we find its traces in *Faust* in the "Prologue on the Stage."[14] In his early youth, Goethe's acquaintance with Johann Gottfried Herder (1774-1803) deepened his interest in other literatures, particularly in the domain of poetry.[15]

Goethe's age and its brutal realities also forced him to escape into the world of imagination. Napoleon was setting Europe ablaze and Goethe's own country too was subjugated. He was deeply distressed by the political convulsions and felt that it was no longer possible to breathe freely in so oppressive a condition. The paralyzing stress drove Goethe beyond Europe to the East and made him turn for consolation to a wide range of escapist reading, travelogues of the Eastern regions[16] and books dealing with new experiences.

All these above-mentioned factors have profoundly contributed in widening Goethe's landscape of creative mind and led him to take flight from the Occident to the Orient--in his eyes an abode of tranquillity and solace. Goethe's inborn Oriental proclivities ultimately resulted in his deep interest in the Middle Eastern culture and, thus, he came in contact with the Muslim world.

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Goethe got acquainted with the Islamic Orient through Qur'an, the Holy Scripture of Islam, while he was in the prime of his youth. The fascination, emanating from the power of the Quranic language and the poetic power of the text, enthralled Goethe. In one of his letters written to Herder from Wetzlar (10th July 1772), he referred to Qur'an briefly,[17] but afterwards he read extensively its Latin, German and English translations made by Ludovico Marraccio[18], David Friedrich Megerlin[19] and George Sale[20] and annotated certain verses[21].

At the same time (between autumn 1772 and early 1773), Goethe made a plan to write a drama, based on the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam (Muhammad) but it remained incomplete and now its fragments exist, comprising only the early five acts. In his autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (III, 14), Goethe has detailed the contents of this drama and here its summarized version is given :

". . . . I have conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of the bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime. I never could look upon the Eastern Prophet as an impostor. I had just read with the deepest interest and carefully studied his history; and I therefore felt myself quite prepared for the execution of my plan. I chose a form approximating to that of the regular drama, to which my inclination already led me; though I adopted, with a certain reserve the license recently assumed in Germany, of freely disposing of time and place. . . . . The piece opens with a hymn by Mahomet alone.

. . . . In the second act he labours to propagate his faith among his tribe . . . . In the third act he triumphs over his adversaries. . . . In the fourth act Mahomet pursues his course of conquest. . . In the fifth act he experiences its effects. . . He purifies his doctrine, consolidates his power, and dies.

Such was the reign of a work that was long the subject of my meditations; for I generally liked to settle a plan in my mind

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previously to entering upon a work. I had to paint in this poem all the effects produced upon mankind by the efforts of genius, aided by the resources of character and ability, their successes and disappointments."[27]

Out of the several songs which he intended to introduce in this drama, only one has remained and that is his marvellous poem entitled *Mahomets Gesang* ("Muhammad's Song", 1773). It is very rightly considered as one of the great tributes ever paid to the Holy Prophet and which inspired a poet like Iqbal to grasp the spirit of veneration which permeates its every line and transform it into his own diction.[28]

As desired by Karl August, Goethe translated Voltaire's book on the Holy Prophet in blank verse.[29] The French author was extremely critical of the basic tenets of Islam and made very insolent remarks relating to the personality and prophetic mission of the Holy Prophet. On the contrary, Goethe's general approach to Muhammad is balanced and sympathetic. He describes the innate power of the new and iconoclastic faith (e.g. Islam) and the sincerity of its followers.[30]

Goethe never completed his drama about Muhammad but his admiration for him never ceased. In his advanced age when he was writing his own commentary on the *Divan*, he devoted a chapter under the title *Mahomet* in which he tries to differentiate between a poet and a prophet. Finally, he makes a remarkable observation on the relation of Muhammad to Persian literature.[31]

A renowned female German scholar Katharina Mommsen, who has devoted her whole life in tracing the profound influences of the Islamic East on Goethe's life and literary pursuits, writes about the interest of Goethe in the historic personality of Muhammad whom he ranks as the spiritual leader of the whole mankind. The concerned passage is as follows:

"Dann aber erwachte sehr früh auch in Goethe ein spezielles Interesse am Islam und an dem Prophet Muhammad. Seit der Dichter mit 23 Jahren eine Tragödie entwarf und teilweise ausführte, welche die Gestalt und das Wirken Muhammads zum Gegenstand hatte, darf im allgemeinen von ihm gelten; was das

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Verständnis und die Wertschätzung der muslimischen Religion angeht, so übertraf er bei weitem seine Zeitgenossen. Hierin liegt eine der wichtigsten Voraussetzungen für seine spätere Entdeckung des Orients. Goethe sah in Muhammad einen der grossen geistigen Führer der Menschheit, ähnlich Sokrates und Christus. Diese Goethesche Sicht war--gemessen an Zeit und Umsänden--von erstaunlicher Freizügigkeit."[28]

Apart from all these intellectual leanings towards the Orient, Goethe was also fully conversant with the rich tradition of Western Orientalism, mostly concerned with the Islamic East. His creative escapism forced him to turn his face to the land of the morning and inhale the fresh air of that clime. At first, he practised the written characters of the major Islamic languages (e.g. Arabic and Persian) with all their idiosyncracies and ornaments but soon he started translating or adapting the literary treasures of the Arabic literature like the *Arabian Nights*[29] and the *Mu'allakat*,[30] a collection of the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Goethe tried to imbibe the spirit of these masterpieces and then transfer it in the Western garb, as a mere imitation could not satisfy him; rather, by yoking the art and ideals of the Arabic and Persian poetry with those medieval and 'romantic' elements in the European tradition with which they were in close harmony, he created a new idiom to express his own thought, and at the same time emphasized the cosmopolitanism which it was his aim to impress on German literature.

Among Goethe's contemporary scholars of Oriental studies, the most important was Joseph von Hammer--Purgstall (1774-1856), an eminent Austrian Orientalist who gained wide fame for his monumental contribution to Turkish, Arabic and Persian studies. He was noted for his scholarly acumen, versatility and encyclopaedic knowledge of the languages of the Muslims. The European historians of the Oriental studies have paid a rich tribute to him for his remarkable services.[31]

Goethe received a strong impulse from Hammer's exhaustive studies, particularly the journal entitled *Fundgruben des Orients*[32] started in 1809 with the financial support of the

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later's intimate friend Wenzeslaus von Rzewusky (1765-1832), a Polish orientalist.[33] It was almost certainly the first Oriental journal Europe has known,[34] in which the Western and the Eastern scholars collaborated and its main objective was to bring the East and the West closer and that is explicitly reflected in the Arabic sub-title, taken from a Quranic verse as its motto:

"Say, To Allah belongs both East and West He guides whom He will to a straight path."[35] (2:142)

that is reminiscent of these lines of Goethe:

God's is the East!

God's is the West!

North and South and ev'ry land

Lie in the calm peace of his hand![36]

In the first volume of this journal, Hammer introduces it in these words:

"This journal will comprise everything which always comes from or with reference to the East. . . . Our journal will be a point of unity for the lovers of oriental literature, not only in Europe but also in Asia."[37]

In Goethe's personal diary (under the year 1816), he mentions the dispute of von Diez with Hammer and informs that "the latter's "Oriental Mines" [*Fundgruben des Orients*] I studied attentively, everywhere inhaling fresh Eastern air. . . ."[38]

It is evident that Goethe was a serious reader of this journal from its inception and after having a cursory look at its contents, in all six volumes, the varied forms of their influences on the poetic styles of Goethe can easily be traced and, thus, fulfilled the wish expressed by Hammer in the introduction of the first volume of his journal.[39]

From a long list of the contributors of this journal, one can find some with whom Goethe had personal contacts and they used to provide the relevant material to their most favourite poet. The scholars with whom Goethe was personally acquainted were

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Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827),[40] Georg Wilhelm Lorsbach (1715-1860),[41] Johann Gottfried Ludwig Kosegarten (1792-1860)[42] and Heinrich Friedrich Freiherr von Diez (1751-1817)[43]. An evaluation of these scholars' input shows that none of them was really a genius in their respective domains, but they were important informants of Goethe and their personal contact with the poet helped him tremendously in enriching his knowledge about the intellectual life of the Islamic Orient. It was Hammer alone who, having no direct acquaintance or correspondence, furnished not only the valuable information to him through his publications but also inspired his creative genius, and the *Divan* is the leading example of such inspiration.

Hammer's exhaustive and diligent studies consummated in the German translation of *Divan -i-Hafiz*[44] which appeared in two volumes in 1814. The translation was begun in 1799 when he was staying in Constantinople and ended in 1806.[45] As stated in his autobiography, he spent fourteen years in translating Hafiz and then bringing it to the public.[46]

In the summer of 1814, the translation came into Goethe's hands and it opened a new world for him--a world which was like a mirror reflecting to Goethe the image of his own situation and in which both poets shared common spiritual and moral attitudes.[47] Dissatisfied and, to some extent, disgusted by the disturbing political circumstances, Goethe needed distance, space, a new scene, and ultimately he found in Hafiz (1320-1390) a model who could retain his peace of mind and freedom of spirit, irrespective of the pressure of the age he lived in.[48] Another motive was also operative and that was his longing for change, for transformation, in order to avoid rigidity, but the most significant factor was Goethe's desire to extend the spiritual relationship between nations, and to link up the continents of Europe and Asia.

Goethe's *Divan*, containing nearly three hundred verses, divided into twelve books, each with a title generally indicating its theme. Its title "West-Eastern" seems to have several meanings. He wanted to combine and reconcile East and West,

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to strike a harmony. Secondly, the single, indivisible, universally human "Urphänomen" was to be revealed in the West as in the East. The third motive was the actual historical connection which the "rolling stream of time" was in process of establishing between East and West.

The first eleven books of the *Divan* were written during the period of 1814 and 1816 and published in 1819. They were followed by the culmination and summing up in the twelfth and last "Book of Paradise" (*Khuld Nameh*), written in 1820 when Goethe was preparing his own edition of his complete works which was eventually published in 1827. After his death, Eckermann and Riemer published further *Divan* poems under the title *Aus dem Nachlass*. These are pieces which were written later, and also some which the poet had not wished to publish. To *Divan* Goethe added a separate prose part entitled *Noten und Abhandlungen*[49] ("Notes and Disquisitions") and the intention of its writing is to explain, to interpret, and also to cite his sources for those readers "who have only slight acquaintance with the East, or none at all." Moreover, Goethe gives an account of his lifelong interest in Near-Eastern civilization, Jewish as well as Muslim. All together, these parts are an introduction to the history, religion, and literature of Oriental peoples in the light of contemporary knowledge. No doubt, these voluminous notes are of high value both for the light which they throw upon the East and for the self-revelations they contain. As literature, the *Noten* has a high place among Goethe's prose works.[50]

The spirit permeated in the whole *Divan* is to combine in easy style the manner of the Orient as revealed in the Persian poetry of Hafiz with that of modern Western civilization. The cross-cultural literary synthesis of Near-Eastern and Western rhetoric and imagination is discernible in this book which caused a resurgence of Goethe's lyrical vein. Goethe appropriates the spirit of the foreign material in a productive manner. The style of Eastern poetry is not imitated either, but is freely and masterfully transposed to Goethe's own manner. The poet has abundantly used the literary, historical and religious personages, events, symbols and phraseology from the Islamic Orient. The creative

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genius of Goethe has made all these quotations and references the integral part of the European literary tradition and in this respect the *Divan* is the first and unique example in the whole Western literature. It must suffice to say that the work set the seal to Goethe's Orientalism and is rich in its own varied meters, and wise, beautiful poems. It proved a well of inspiration to the leading German poets of the next generation such as Rückert[51], Platen[52] and Bodenstedt.[53]

The *Divan* is a varied work, not only in themes and forms but also in quality. It contains metaphysical poems and drinking songs, lover's dialogues and moral apophthegms, epigrams, a legend, versified translations from the Qur'an, and a large number of the daily trivia, which Goethe often wrote in autograph albums and the like.[54]

In the middle of 1814, with the end of the War of Liberation, the disturbing political situation became rather calm and this restoration of peace caused Goethe's temporary rejuvenescence of spirit and productive activity, mingled with the renewed zest in life and quickened inspiration. Induced by some other factors too, he ultimately went to spend some time in the Rhine and Main country; the Rhine he had not seen for twenty-two years, and it was seventeen years since he had been in Frankfurt, his birthplace. During this journey, a delightful climate and beautiful landscapes, treasures of art and interesting antquities, pleasant and profitable social intercourse, and deferential respect from the various distinguished persons he met, gave him a succession of exhilarating experiences.[55] This expedition brought to life the pleasant memories of his youth, when he first visited these places, and took him emotionally to those memorable youthful days which were conducive for his new experiences of creative productivity.

On 18th June 1814, the day of Waterloo, Goethe on a Rhine visit found a copy of Hammer's German translation of Hafiz and it had been uppermost in Goethe's mind throughout his journey. Simultaneously, another Austrian personality stepped into his life and harped on the strings of his heart which was at that time

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overflowing with youthful sentiments. One can say that if Hammer's translation provided the outward form and expression to Goethe's *Divan*, the emotional substance and inspiration came from the other source and that was Marianne von Willemer, who touched anew the springs of his emotional nature.

G. H. Lewes, in his still fascinating biography of Goethe recognises that his work was mainly autobiographical in inspiration[56] but Albert Bielschowsky shows that Goethe's writings were autobiographical throughout, and that when not so they were either of poor quality or remained mere fragments. This most reliable biographer named many female characters from his known works who, partly or completely, corresponded to him or to his female friends. For example, in the *Divan*, 'Suleika' is known with certainty to be the young actress and dancer, Marianne, who at that time stirred Goethe's still youthful emotions.[57]

During his frequent visits of the Rhineland, Goethe met Johann Jacob Willemer (1760-1838), a respected banker in Frankfurt, who had been a friend of his mother and had long been a friend of his own. As an intelligent and cultured person, he was fully aware of Goethe's intellectual capabilities.[58] He was now a widower of fifty-four and his household consisted of his two daughters (one a widow) and a third inmate who had had a history. She was Marianne Jung,[59] originally an opera-dancer whom, fourteen years before, Willemer had taken into his family and brought up with his children. Then she became his beloved and when Goethe visited him in 1814, he had just married her.

Of all the women with whom Goethe came into close contact Marianne von Willemer[60] seems to have been the most remarkable. Towards the end of his 65th year in 1814, his meeting with this young woman (thirty years of age), rekindled the lyric poet and he felt that the youthful ardour was reawakened in him, though temporarily.[61] Gay, capricious, fanciful, with a graceful wilfulness, this young woman brought all who knew her under her seductive sway. To these gifts and qualities she added a charm of manner and a grace of speech and

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motion, which captivated all who met her. Such was the woman who undoubtedly awoke a genuine passion in Goethe, and is one of the most interesting personalities who figure in his biography. Of the two types of women between which Goethe's taste vacillated, the restful and stately, and the mercurial, she belonged to the latter. She was a woman of infinitely lively spirit, intellect and genius and she proved to be the real companion of her beloved poet. Their deep emotional and spiritual communion stirred their poetic instincts and they exchanged their inner feelings in the garb of poerty. The eighth part of the *Divan*, "Book of Suleika", is rightly called the duet of the loving pair, because four or five of the poems superscribed "Suleika" are by Marianne. Youthful "Zuleika", a living muse, who was intellectually congenial to aging man, invoked more poetry than all Goethe's previous loves. Reciprocally, an unsuspected and rich vein of lyric expression was also kindled in Marianne herself and she started writing poems, similar to the creative imagery and tone of Goethe's poetry of the *Divan*. If cordial temperament and poetic gifts of a higher order--for "Suleika's" contributions to the *Divan* are not inferior in inspiration and beauty to the old master's own--could have made any woman a worthy life-partner to the great poet, that woman was Marianne.

Goethe's biography explicitly reveals that throughout his life he was passionately involved in several women who set his heart on fire and held a permanent place as the inspiring source of his literary works. It is a very strange phenomenon that in all of Goethe's known love-affairs one can easily find a few commonalities such as the age difference between Goethe and his beloved, who was usually much younger than the lover, most of them were married, having a nice social and marital status and, above all, after the lapse of a few months or years, when he felt the bond between the beloved and himself growing too strong, he escaped from the snares of the flesh and fled from her and never saw her again. It happened with Marianne also but he did not break all threads of old affectional relationship with her

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and kept up a friendly correspondence with her up to the last days of his life.

The youth-in-age and age-in-youth stays with Goethe almost to the end of his life, but it reached its apex when his relation with Marianne was becoming perilously intimate and [illegible] an unique example in responding to him in such a marvellous poetic style that he had to include her poems in his *Divan* without making any slight alteration, either in the form or in the content. During Goethe's Rhine-Main journeys, he spent most of his memorable time with Marianne in Heidelberg—a city where most of the love-seeking persons get their hearts lost. This city created a romantic milieu for Goethe's lyrical poetry, coupled with the poetic form and diction of the Muslim East. The beautiful landscapes and grandeur of this city, the calm flowing of Neckar and the strolling on its banks with Marianne, in whose love his heart was soaked, all made him rejuvenated.[63] Though a point of digression, but it must be heeded: the time Goethe spent in Heidelberg is reminiscent of Iqbal's sojourn there (in 1907) for brushing up his German language under the tutorship of Fraulein Emma Wegenast.[64] Regardless of some different aspects, one can trace out a few analogous facts relating to Goethe and Iqbal's stay in Heidelberg.

Emma (1879-1964) was nearly of the same age as of Marianne when she met Iqbal for the first time. Unlike Goethe (65, when he became acquainted with his beloved) Iqbal (1877-1938) was in the prime of his youth. Emma did not marry throughout her life but, on the contrary, Iqbal was married in his teenage and due to certain reasons he was not fully satisfied with this early marriage experience. Information about Iqbal's brief stay in Heidelberg (approximately two and a half months) is meagre, scanty and lacks authenticity. Therefore their (Emma and Iqbal's) relationship remained in oblivion till the discovery of the twenty-seven letters, written by Iqbal to Emma both in German and English. These letters clearly show their emotional and intellectual contact with each other.[65] This newly-found epistolary material reminds us of the correspondence between Goethe and Marianne.

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Marianne, brought up in an artistic environment, had a graceful though slight poetic talent but under the impact of Goethe's personality her natural instinct was sharpened and ultimately she was drawn up into the stream of his poetic work. Emma was not gifted with poetic creativity but she was competent to appreciate and evaluate the intrinsic beauties of poetry. Her extensive study of German literature including Goethe's major literary masterpieces made it easy for her to converse in detail about the different aspects of German poetry with a high-ranking poet like Iqbal, while rambling leisurely on the banks of Neckar.

Like Goethe, Iqbal met Emma in Heidelberg and then after a few months they had to part, and never met again, nor did Iqbal ever return to this city, in spite of his extreme longing for it. In Goethe's "Liebesleben", it seems very strange that when his relation with women was becoming perilously intimate, he tore himself hurriedly away, with the deepest grief, and hastened back to a distant place.[65] The character of Goethe in flight from the one he loves has the quality of an open secret. Iqbal's permanent withdrawal was not intentional but his separation from Emma, had some severe repercussions on both sides, as expressed in their intimate correspondence.

III

The advent of colonialism and imperialism of some of the European powers brought many Eastern regions under their sway and their presence, not only in the Levant and North Africa but also in the Indian Subcontinent, resulted in deep-rooted changes in their social, economic and cultural milieu. In the midst of the expansionistic designs of these warring nations, Germany kept herself aloof and did not participate in this race of colonialism. Instead, its interest in the East was exclusively scholarly rather than political and it paid more attention to the cultural wealth in the form of literature, languages and thought. Such German scholarship discovered a lot of material and adopted the various

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techniques for the elaboration of these newly found sources, relating to the intellectual life of the Orient. Out of this valuable German contribution, the most renowned work is, no doubt, Goethe's *Divan* in which the poet took the flight on the powerful wings of his poetic creativity to the far-flung Eastern areas and came back, loaded with the wealth of most precious imaginative ideas and poetic lyricism.

It took the British centuries to establish their hegemony in the Indian Subcontinent and after getting a firm grip on the administrative reins they started another onslaught and that was on the intellectual boundaries of this region. In this domain, all their efforts were directed to acquaint the indigenous people with the rich treasures of literature. Obviously, Goethe did not come in this array of prominent British writers, proposed vehemently by the authoritative academicians of the period. In spite of this intellectual embargo, as a worldly-known literary figure properly ranked with Shakespeare and Dante in the pantheon of poetry, Goethe, though unwanted, entered in the intellectual realm of this Subcontinent.

Goethe appeared first on the horizon of Indian literature through translation and it seems very astonishing that it happened during the middle of his life. The first book that brought him to public attention here was *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (orig. *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, 1774)--a novel which took the world by storm as the unrest and longing discontent of the period were depicted in it with artistic skill. Exactly after eighteen years of its publication in 1792, the English translation entitled *The Sorrows of Werther, a German Story* came out from the Clarendon Press, Calcutta (two vols., price six rupees, octavo). Unfortunately, very scanty information is available about this undertaking, even its translator is not named and not a single copy now exists.[66] Apparently, an important question arises that how this translation was so quickly rendered within a short time after the publication of its original and in a country that was situated so far away, both culturally and geographically. In Goethe's diary (*Tages- und Jahresbücher*) there are many references in the reading lists of

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English scholars and it can be presumed that this translation had something to do with the personal interest and on the suggestion of Sir William Jones (1746-1794, in Calcutta), an outstanding British orientalist and the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose pervasive influence is easily discernable in the studies of many famous writers.[67] Goethe was also one of them whose prologue to *Faust* is reminiscent of the renowned Sanskrit drama of Kalidasa,[68] translated by Jones in 1788. Furthermore, Jones' translation of *Mu'allakat*, a valuable Arabic collection of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, forced Goethe to translate some of its parts[69] and, above all, Jones' *Poeseos Asiaticae*, an anthology of Asian poetry comprising six books in Latin[70] and a main source of Herder's *Blumen*[71], inspired Goethe tremendously and he openly confessed it in his *Noten*[72]. Voluminous biographical and epistolary material about Goethe provides no evidence to show the direct contact of Jones with him but it can be supposed that this missing link between them might be Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827), an orientalist of Göttingen University and a professor of Oriental studies in Jena (1775-1788). He was one of Goethe's early contacts with the Orient and for this reason he held him in great esteem.[73] He frequently corresponded with Jones and only three years after the publication of his *Poesios Asiaticae*,[74] he made it available in Germany (1777) and dedicated it to Goethe.[75] Probably, Eichhorn was a scholar who would have suggested to Jones to publish the translation of *Werther* during his stay in Calcutta.

After the appearance of this first translation of any work of Goethe, a complete century lapsed and no substantial contribution was made about him. Meanwhile, Goethe passed away, his hundreth birthday was lukewarmly celebrated in 1849, because his fame was at its lowest ebb and the celebration of the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1899, undoubtedly, brought his reputation in Germany to a kind of culmination. India did not respond to all these European learned assemblages about Goethe, as certain political developments and catastrophic incidents, like Mutiny in 1857, kept the new British rulers busy in yoking the local people.

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Just after the normalisation of the political situation in India, interest in Goethe in the local intelligentsia was slightly revived but this time it took a long stride from Calcutta to the western coastal regions of Bombay and Gujrat. Belonging to the metropolis of Maharashtra (i.e., Bombay), Dr. Ervad Jamaspji Modi, an erudite Parsi scholar holding distinctive titles of "Shams-ul-Ulama" (sun of the learned men) and "Sir" conferred on him both by his countrymen and the British government. He took life-long interest in the biography and literary works of Goethe, spanning from his early youth to the last days. Probably, he was the first Indian savant who had an opportunity to visit Goethe's birthplace in Frankfurt am Main (on 21 September 1889) and enumerated in detail all the four sides of his statue, erected in the same city[7]. He learnt German--something very rare in Indian scholarship--but his knowledge of this language became rusty and he found it difficult to utilise the original sources and translate the relevant passages relating to his studies.

The scholarly interest of Dr. Modi in Goethe was awakened when he read an article on *Divan* by E. Dowden, published in a reputed journal "Contemporary Review" (London) of July 1908. Influenced by his religious persuasion, he concentrated more on the eleventh book of the *Divan*, "Buch des Parsen" (Book of the Parsis) and the explanations made by Goethe in his *Noten* under the heading "Aeltere Perser" (Old Persians). The outcome of his research was his valuable article on Goethe's "Buch des Parsen" in which he outlines Goethe's life (mostly based on English sources) and character; gives a short account of the *Divan*; comments on the main features of the "Book of Parsis" and at the end a translation (by Noti and Hömel, two Jesuit Fathers of Bombay) of the "Book of Parsis" and the relevant passage from the *Noten* has been given.[8] From a cursory look at the vast range of Modi's scholarship, it is evident that his main area of study was closely linked with ancient Persia and in this perspective his detailed study of one aspect of Goethe's *Divan* still holds its uniqueness and no other Goethean expert has so far written anything on this subject.

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Dr. Modi continued to write on Goethe, but now from another angle, and that was of Hafiz whose poetry he admired greatly. He delved into the poetic subtleties of Hafiz and Goethe and traced out the similarities between their form and content.[80] Here, it deserves to be mentioned that one of his co-religionists, Rustam Pestonji Bhajiwalla, sent an autographed copy of his new book entitled *Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayam* to Iqbal. In the foreword, Dr. Modi commented, though briefly, on Goethe's poetic homage to Hafiz and stressed more on the mystic element in Goethe's poetry.[81]

Parallel to the mainstream of studies about Goethe in big cultural centres of India, a slow-moving wave of interest in Goethe's works flowed and comparatively in small places and in the languages, spoken there, one can trace some vestiges of this rather weak tradition of Goethean studies. For example, Narsinhrao (1859-1937), an outstanding Gujrati poet, translated into his own language, an episode from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* that was published at the end of the nineteenth century.[82]

It is a strange phenomenon that a galaxy of intellectual luminaries appeared on Indian horizon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Being Indian Muslims and highly educated, mostly from the European universities, they tried to uplift their community, both politically and educationally, and created a consciousness for their bright future.[83] To this group of dignitaries, who gained prominence in their respective fields of interest, belonged Abdullah Yusuf Ali (1872-1953)[84]. Awarded with a scholarship from the Bombay Government, he proceeded to England for higher education and on his return was appointed as an officer in the Indian Civil Service. He went back to England in 1905 and married an English lady. He eagerly participated in the assemblages of the Muslim personalities including Iqbal. Afterwards, Iqbal sought Yusuf Ali out as principal of Islamia College (Lahore) in 1925, although there was a vast political gulf between them but they maintained cordiality with each other.[85]

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From the early period of A. Yusuf Ali, the quest to reconcile East and West remained a focal point for him. For bridging these two continents, he was captivated by Goethe's creative links with the Orient, who was also striving for the confluence of these two oceans. The outcome of this approach of young Yusuf Ali (thirty-three) was his first paper entitled "Goethe's Orientalism" which he read before the English Goethe Society (London) in 1906 and published in the same year in a leading British journal.[5] The contents and treatment of the subject confirmed the writer as a young man of great promise. It also shows the idealistic thinking of young Yusuf Ali, and in particular his knowledge of esoteric orders.

A. Yusuf Ali, addressing the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928) concludes:

> I believe that the East cannot understand itself until it sits humbly at the feet of the West, just as I believe that the West will find its own interpretation of life incomplete until it also sits at the feet of the wise men of the East. (*Proceedings*..., London, 1929, p.99)

In this array of reputed scholars and writers, another widely-known literary personality of this Subcontinent holds a distinctive place in the annals of Indian as well as world literature. This was Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), a Nobel-Laureate in Literature (1913), whose humanist attitude, reflected in his literary pursuits, concentrates on diminishing the basic conflict between East and West. Throughout his life, Tagore endeavoured for a progressive reconciliation of these two political concepts in a spirit of mutual understanding and enlightenment. Therefore, he is commonly called the 'Reconciler of East and West.'

Tagore was closely linked with Germany, a country he visited three times (1921, 1926 and 1930). During his first visit, he was received with immense admiration. His 61st birthday was jubilantly celebrated throughout the country and he lectured in almost all the universities and learned societies of the main cities (like Berlin, Munich, Hamburg etc.). Journals and newspapers

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devoted much space to Tagore's life and literary achievements. Soon, a voluminous uncritical biography of Tagore (by Engelhardt) and his *Collected Works* (published by Wolff Verlag) came out and millions of their copies were sold out within a short time. The German Führer-worship of Tagore deeply influenced the intellectual minds and the literary scenario of Germany.

Tagore's interest in Goethe commenced when he was merely a teenager. His earliest literary essays included one on Anglo-Saxon Literature, another on Anglo-Norman Literature, a third on Dante, a fourth on Petrarch and a fifth on Goethe, appended with a few translations in each case. All these articles were published in a Bengali magazine, *Bharati* (1878), edited by his elder brother, Dwijendranath Tagore. Afterwards, he made serious efforts to learn German under the tutorship of a missionary lady of that country and she was astonished to find how quickly her pupil was attaining the mastery of this language. However, he picked up enough German to work his way through Heinrich Heine (with 'immense pleasure') and through *Faust*. In a letter to Pramath Chaudhari (3rd June, 1890), he mentions reading Goethe's *Faust* in the original.

Tagore frequently referred to Goethe in his prose-writings but the purview of the present study does not allow reproducing all of them here. Nevertheless, a few of his comments about Goethe will be sufficient, before the nineteenth century ended. The first one is from *Chinnapatra 149* (5th October, 1895) in which he says that in order to avoid the over-abundance in enjoyments of the mind or in material comforts, he was treasured in his memory a saying of Goethe:

Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren.

(Thou must do without, must do without)

The other reference is in connection with Tagore's *Urvasi*. Writing about this poem in 1896 to a Bengali novelist, he clarifies that his *Urvasi* symbolizes what Goethe calls 'The Eternal Woman: Ewige Weibliche.'

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Amidst the numerous pre occupations of Iqbal's eventful life, he could not write in detail about Goethe, but interest in the creative writings of this German poet remained alive up to the end of his life. On 11th October 1931, he sent a message to "Welt Goethe Hrung" (an organisation set up for observing [illegible] of Goethe's death centenary on 22nd March 1932) in which he sent his homage to the unceasing memory of Goethe.

Some prominent literary personalities of the Subcontinent have frequently referred the last two words ("more light") Goethe uttered before his death. Like other contemporaries, Iqbal has also used these words while expressing his grief on the death of the father of Fraulein Emma Wegenast on 1913, a female friend during his sojourn in Heidelberg and again in his condolence letter written to Nancy Arnold on 1930, the wife of an outstanding orientalist, Thomas Walter Arnold, whom Iqbal calls his *guru*.

Tagore has also referred these last words of Goethe but adding something more:

"Goethe on his death-bed wanted "more light." If I have any desire left at all as such a time, it will be for "more space" as well; for I dearly love both light and space."

Some Tagorean critics have made penetrating comparative studies between Goethe and Tagore and pointed out certain biographical and poetical similarities. They are of the opinion that Tagore's poetry can be compared to the ever-changing art of Goethe with its universal creative range. Tagore and Goethe are two points intimately attached to each other and their poetical creations possess the same richness and infinite variety.

Belonging to Tagore's region, another distinguished scholar and a great intellectual force amongst the Indian Muslims appeared and he was Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh of Calcutta University (1875-1931), the eldest son of Khuda Bakhsh of Patna, the Indian Bodley. He did a great deal to introduce the scholarship of German Orientalism into Indian Islam. Of the principal works standing to the credit of Salahuddin, by far the larger number of, are English translations of significant German

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histories of Islamic civilization and culture, written by some eminent German Orientalists, mostly of the nineteenth century like Alfred von Kremer, Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Carl Heinrich Becker, Gustav Weil, Rudolf Brünnow, Julius Wellhausen, Adam Mez and Josf Hell. In spite of his pioneering efforts for promoting German scholarship in this Subcontinent, he was, probably, the first Indian Muslim whose research papers in German were published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (a journal of the German Oriental Society from Leipzig). As a man peculiarly well qualified to interpret East to West and vice-versa, he was enamoured by Goethe's proclivities to the Islamic Orient which reached the culmination in his *Divan*. Salahuddin's *Maxims and Reflections* (1916), that reminds us of Goethe's *Maximen und Reflexionen*, and *Love Offerings* (1923) were primarily inspired by Goethe, coupled with an intention of blending the East with the West.

IV

Existing biographical material furnishes very scanty information about the early part of Iqbal's life and it seems rather difficult to determine when he exactly came into contact with Goethe. As a born-poet, gifted immensely by God, he would have been familiar mostly with those English poets who were included in the English textbooks, prescribed by the educational experts of the British Government. After coming to Lahore for higher education (1895) Iqbal's poetic talent was stimulated by the new intellectual milieu of the cultural centre of Punjab and gradually the boundaries of his literary attainments started expanding. Poets other than English also attracted him and as his first available letter (28th February 1899) shows that he was eager to collect the photographs not only of notable English poets but also poets of German and French extraction.[88] From such a list, Goethe could not be excluded.

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Obviously, Iqbal's first acquaintance with Goethe was indirect and that was through English literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Goethe drew the attention of some English poets and critics and they evaluated his personality and poetic genius, interspersed with selective translations from his literary masterpieces. Iqbal was fully aware of these writings not only as a brilliant student but also as a teacher of English literature for more than three years.[30]

In these early days, both as a student and teacher, Iqbal was deeply impressed by Sir Thomas Arnold (1864-1930), a reputed British orientalist[31], who came from Aligarh to Lahore in 1898 and was appointed as the Professor of Philosophy in the Government College. He contributed tremendously in reshaping Iqbal's literary pursuits and philosophical thought. Their close relationship remained unimpaired, even after Arnold's permanent departure from India in 1904. Iqbal considered him as his 'guru' (spiritual mentor) in a letter to Nancy Arnold, 11 January, 1911) and his sentiments of veneration are impressively portrayed in one of his poems[32]. Arnold was well aware of Oriental influences on the German literature and his views, expressed in one of the articles of the *Legacy of Islam*,[33] are reminiscent of Iqbal's introduction to his *Payam-i-Mashriq* (*Payam*). It can be inferred that Arnold might have introduced Iqbal to Goethe and his poetic interest in the East.[34]

In this period, the interest in English literature grew apace and our intelligentsia, though very meagre in number, was learning about new concepts of world literature and its comparative study. Among such poets other than English, Goethe was the only European poet who held a fascination for Western-educated Indians of the period, perhaps because of his sympathetic and, to some extent, unbiased approach to Islamic Orient, and the cultural heritage of the Muslims especially in his *Divan*. Belonging to this new class of Indian intellectuals, Iqbal was fascinated by Goethe's creative genius.

From all these factual evidences, it seems that Iqbal first read Goethe at the end of the nineteenth century and the first

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reference to Goethe, without mentioning his name, occurs in his Urdu poem "Ghalib" that was published in a local literary journal, commenced with the new century.[74] The couplet is as follows:

Ah! you are resting in the midst of Delhi's ruins
Your counterpart is resting in the Weimar's garden[75].

In order to trace out the creative source of this poem, it could be suggested with some certainty that its second line might have taken from Matthew Arnold's (1822-1888) well-known poem, "Memorial Verses" (April 1850), that is:

Goethe in Weimar sleeps, and Greece[76]

Iqbal's ranking of Ghalib as 'compeer' of Goethe have invoked many Iqbalian critics to search for the parallels in their life patterns and thought. Disturbing political circumstances, zest for Persian literature (including Hafiz), dislike of national and religious narrow-minded prejudices, concepts of life after death, attainment of earthly happiness, poetic fervour, aspiring freedom from the shackles of social customs, the philosophical content and the positive outlook in life -- these were the common factors of Goethe and Ghalib foremost in Iqbal's mind at the time of composing the above line.[77] Despite all these hair-splitting quest for having an access to the creative source of Iqbal, it would suffice to say that Iqbal had already read Goethe's poetry, not in the original but through English translations which were extant and easily available in the second half of the nineteenth century.

On the suggestion of Prof. T. W. Arnold, Iqbal proceeded to England in 1905 and, thus, fulfilled his desire to reach there after breaking the chains of the Punjab.[78] Hermann Hesse (1877-1968), a distinguished German writer, enumerates three spiritual realms as the sources of Iqbal's works: Indian world, Islamic world and the world of Western thoughts[79] and it was the last one in which Iqbal now stepped in physically. Iqbal's stay in Europe, first in England and then in Germany, is really a turning point of his life and it played a vital role in reshaping his personality and thoughts. In England, he paid serious attention to

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study the German vitalist philosophy in the original, as he had learnt German language within a very short time an intellectual freak that enabled him to read also Goethe. In Cambridge, he developed friendly relations with Germans of his age, both male and female, and scholars with whom he discussed poetry and higher philosophy with great interest. Later he counselled his friends that "If you wish to increase your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal."[101] Here, he was deeply involved in the poetic excellence of Hafiz and sometimes he felt himself incarnated with the spirit of this Persian poet. He referred frequently to the poetic beauties and philosophical-mystical concepts of Hafiz and compared them with European poets and philosophers, naturally with Goethe also who was inspired by Hafiz.

Iqbal embarked for Germany in 1907, once again persuaded by his learned teacher, Prof. T. W. Arnold, to undertake this journey.[104] For Iqbal, Germany was a goal for everybody who intended to increase his understanding in any branch of learning[105], but his main objective was to finalise the script of his doctoral dissertation and then submit it to Munich University (Iqbal's stay in Germany is from 20 July to 5 November 1907). As stated by Atiya Begum, who accompanied Iqbal in Heidelberg, "Germany seemed to pervade his being, and he was picking knowledge from the trees that he passed by and the grass he trod on."[106] Breathing in the country of his favourite poet, Goethe, his poetic talent peaked and when he reached Heidelberg for improving his German language, he found that its brisk romantic air really rejuvenated him. Like Goethe, in the captivating atmosphere of the city, he was fortunate enough to have the company of such females who, as an embodiment of beauty and intellect, inspired him both emotionally and intellectually. Among these young women, who provided for him a lyrical scenario, Fraulein Emma Wegenast was the only German lady with whom he had a special attachment.[107] She also reciprocated and their mutual love lasted at least as long as Iqbal was in Germany[108] between 1907 and some time early in 1908. Though they parted but they remained spiritually linked with

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each other and this relationship remained fresh as they kept up desultory correspondence, spanning from 1907 to 1932 with occasional interruptions due to political calamities. These letters (both German and English) give a new dimension to Iqbal's life that was hitherto hidden from us and also fill in many of the inexplicable voids in his early romantic poetry.[109]

This newly discovered epistolary material informs us that Emma Wegenast (Heilbronn 26-8-1879--Heidelberg 16-10-1964) was teaching in the Pension Scherer, a private tuition-centre for foreign students of the Heidelberg University who wanted to improve their German language. Iqbal also stayed here for this purpose, but was soon entranced with her charming beauty and deeply impressed by her vast study of German literature including Goethe. Strolling on the banks of Neckar, they used to converse about Goethe, particularly his *Faust*, and she helped him to understand the difficult passages of this drama. A few relevant parts of these letters are as follows:

"You remember that Goethe [Iqbal always writes 'Geothe'] said in the moment of his death----"More Light". Death opens up the way to more light, and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth. I remember the time when I read Goethe's poems with you, and I hope you also remember those happy days when we were so near to each other--so much so that I spiritually share in your sorrow."[110]

(Lahore 30 July 1913)

"I may come to Europe next year....If I come at all I shall certainly visit old Germany and see you once more at Heidelberg or Heilbronn whence we shall together make a pilgrimage to the sacred grave of the great master Goethe."[111]

(Lahore 7 June 1914)

"I shall never forget the days at Heidelberg when you taught me Goethe's *Faust* and helped me in many ways. Those were happy days indeed!"[112]

(London, 20 October 1931)

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"The memory of the days when we read together Goethe's *Faust* always comes back to me with painful happiness...Germany was a kind of second home to my spirit I learned much and thought much in that country The home of Goethe has found a permanent place in my soul."

(Lahore, 17 January 19[illegible]

Two years after Emma's death, her elder sister, Sofie Wegenast (3.4.1876--30.5.1978), recalled those memorable old days in an interview, articulating the ingenuous conversations between Iqbal and her sister, in these words.

"Mit Herrn Professor Dr. Iqbal, der sich ganz seinem Studium widmete,war (Emma) täglich zusammen und freute sich immer auf die geistreichen Gespräche, die stets geführt wurden, auf das Lesen von Goethe, seinem Lieblingsdichter, das dann immer besprochen wurde...Dass meine Schwester auf seine Entwicklung einen gewissen Einfluss gehabt haben soll, wurde ihr von Cambridge aus von einem langjährigen indischen Freund bestätigt. Er shrieb nämlich, dass sich Herr Prof. Dr. Iqbal, der nach Cambridge **ü**bersiedelte, so sehr verändert habe, dass man ihn kaum wiederkenne--und das sei einzig und allein ihrem graten Einfluss zu verdanken."[114]

Iqbal never met Emma again, although after a quarter of a century he came to London for participating in the Second and Third Round Table Conferences between the autumn of 1931 and the end of 1932. He intended to revisit Heidelberg just to see Emma but he could not come because of his other preoccupations. Nevertheless, the thread of their relationship remained intact and they kept their flame of platonic love burning through correspondence. Emma, armed with all her weaponry of beauty, enamoured Iqbal.[115] Besides, he was deeply impressed by her intellectual attainments, especially her extensive study of German literature and as some contemporary evidences indicate that they mostly conversed and discussed about Goethe and his *Faust*. So, Emma played an important role in changing Iqbal's attitude, enriching his lyric poetry and intensifying his interest in Goethe.

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Iqbal's stay in Europe (1905-1908) was a turning-point in his life and it left lasting imprints on his general behaviour, world-view and poetry.[116] He returned to India, equipped with high academic qualities, that were very rare among Muslims of that period, and was warmly welcomed by his compatriots. Soon, some annoying incidents, coupled with domestic problems, disillusioned him and he decided to leave India and take refuge in some comfortable place[117]--a painful desire similar to Goethe's that was forcefully expressed in the opening poem of *Divan*. In these disgusting circumstances, he took mental flight and quickened the pace of correspondence with Emma, tinged with nostalgic thinking.

At the same time, he started jotting down his thoughts in the form of a note-book entitled "Stray Reflections"[118] (dated 27 April 1910). Precisely, it contains his views about the books he read, his thoughts about the environment he lived in and reminiscences of his memorable time which he spent in Europe. Its aphoristic style and general textual framework have been modelled on Goethe's *Maximen und Reflexionen*[119] that was published one year after his death (1833). English translation of this diary was in Iqbal's personal collection and he used to read it regularly.[120]

In this notebook, Iqbal frequently recorded his views about Germans and the outstanding representatives of their intellectual heritage. He considers Germans a most fortunate nation to have poets like Heinrich Heine and Goethe. All his concepts are in condensed form, but they show his penetrating study and deep insight of German literature and philosophy. In this context, he very often comments about Goethe and realizes his limitless creative imagination in comparison to his own[121] and openly confesses that Goethe led him into the "inside" of things.[122] Above all, he has paid rich tribute to *Faust* (pt. I, 1808), a *chef-d'oeuvre* of Goethe, which as a representative of 'Faustian Culture' (termed by O. Spengler), treats modern man's sense of alienation and his need to come to terms with the world in which he lives. It seems that Iqbal has grasped the spirit of Goethe's crowning work and in his deep understanding of this great

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dramatic poem Emma Wegenast immensely contributed as his teacher and all these penetrating and thought provoking discussions were still fresh in Iqbal's mind. In this diary Iqbal writes about *Faust* in these words

"It is Goethe's *Faust* ... which reveals the spiritual ... of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it.

(Stray *Reflections*, op. cit., p. 10)

"Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century nay the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe of the chaos of formless matter.

(Ibid., p. 11)

"His *Faust* is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised."

(Ibid., p. 122)

During his sojourn in Germany, Iqbal was preoccupied with improving his German language or making emendations in his doctoral thesis, and hardly devoted much time to his poetry, in spite of the presence of much poetical motivations. However, it is evident from his hand-written poetic collection that he produced a few poems while he was staying in Heidelberg and Munich.[123] Inspired by the natural beauty he was living in and the company he had around him, he expressed his feelings with poetic skills, but, strangely enough, no tangible effect of Goethe's form and content can be traced, except one poem "An Evening"[124] which reflects the poet's feelings created by the silent serene scene on the banks of Neckar in Heidelberg and as claimed by some German Iqbalists is an unmistakable echo of Goethe's "Wandrers' Nachtlied."[125]

On Iqbal's arrival in India, huge embarrassing problems, both financial and domestic, were waiting for, and once he seriously thought of giving up poetry. His newly-adopted

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profession of law and his teaching responsibilities did not allow him to spare any time for his creative thinking.[126] Gradually, this unpropitious situation became less intense, and he came back whole-heartedly to his real domain of poetry, but with drastic changes in his philosophical concepts and poetic sensibilities. In this new ideological and poetical resurgence, no trace of German literature or Goethe is visible, except for a passing reference to *Faust* in the introduction of his *The Secrets of Self*[127], even the correspondence of this period (1908-1920) is completely silent about Goethe. The relevant passage is the following:

"When Faust, the hero of the famous German poet, Goethe, of the nineteenth century, reads 'action' instead of 'word' in the first verse of Psalm John ("In the beginning there was word. The word was with God and was also God"), then in reality his penetrating eye sees that point which the Hindu philosophers have observed centuries before."

(Translation)

One year after *Stray Reflections*, in 1911, in an annual session of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Mawlawi Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, in his lecture on "Islam and Modern Sciences", addressed to Iqbal that "Munich University of Germany owes you and only you are able to pay this debt with interest."[128] Iqbal complied with this sincere suggestion but this compliance took some years and ultimately it assumed the form of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Persian but with a preface in Urdu) that appeared in 1923 and according to its sub-title, it is a response to Goethe--the first and only answer of a Muslim poet to a German poet whom he had emulated in this book.

During 1910 and 1923, many changes took place, caused by contemporary political vicissitudes and the influences mostly disguised in mystical apparel. This intellectual transformation led him to a new world of ideas which were entirely alien to the native public, particular in his *Asrar* and in its sequel *Rumuz*, and they showed his new world-view and approach to life. His areas of philosophical, ideological and poetical interests also shifted. Formerly, a staunch follower of McTaggart, a neo-Hegelian of

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Cambridge, he turned to the powerful philosophy (elan vital) of the French philosopher, Henry Bergson (1859-1941) and French orientalist, Louis Massignon (1882-1962) whose pioneering works on martyr-mystic Hallaj (d. 922) deeply influenced his mystical concepts. Once he had regarded himself as the incarnation of the spirit of Hafiz,[29] now he severely criticised him, a very shocking phenomenon for his readers whom he warned "not to graze any longer in the beautiful gardens of Iran, but rather return to the sands of Arabia, and to drink the wholesome water of *Zamzam* instead of imbibing intoxicating Persian wine which might be useless to enable them to face the difficulties of life."[30]

After a decade or so, Iqbal returned to Goethe, but this time in an entirely new perspective of intellectual and political outlook. He was fully conscious of the "painful happenings" of the First World War (1914-1918) and its aftermath led him to deep ponderings of this historic catastrophe that ruined everything, but he visualised a new world emerging from the ashes of pre-war civilisation and culture. Iqbal found many similarities between this transitional phase and the political chaos, caused by the Napoleonic Wars, which forced Goethe to plunge deeper into the Orient. Probably, this comparative study of world history reminded him of Goethe who sought to fly away from the tumultuous situation of Europe to the East and the outcome of his spiritual flight was the *West-Eastern Divan* whose poetic response was conceived by Iqbal immediately after the end of War.

The dreadful consequences of this War turned the mind of some distinguished Indian personalities in the direction of racial, cultural and religious unity as a need of humanity. Among such intellectual celebrities, one was a reputed poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who sought patiently and diligently to found a house of Goodwill and Friendship, where East and West may meet in mutual regard, and the adherent of different persuasions may learn to understand and appreciate one another's points of view in an atmosphere of sincere friendship. Immediately after the end of War, Iqbal started writing the *Payam* and it can be presumed

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that he would have thought in this respect to achieve a goal of bringing the East and the West closer to each other.[131]

It is evident from some of Iqbal's Urdu letters that he first disclosed about his book-in-preparation (i.e. *Payam*) to Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, a distinguished scholar and his esteemed friend, in 1919:

"At present, I am writing a reply to the *Divan* of a Western poet (i.e. Goethe) and about half of it has been completed. Some poems will be in Persian and some in Urdu..... Two great German poets, Goethe and Uhland[132], were barristers. After practicing for a short time Goethe was appointed as an educational advisor to the state of Weimar and, thus, found much time to pay attention to his artistic intricacies. Uhland devoted his whole life to the law suits, and, therefore, he could write a few poems."[133]

The relevant excerpts from other letters are the following:

"Now I am writing a collection of Persian poetry in response to Goethe's *Divan* and its one third part has been written.... I believe that this collection will be translated, because in it every aspect of Europe's intellectual life has been regarded, and it will be tried to warm a bit the cold thoughts and ideas of the West."[134]

"In response to Goethe, I have written *Payam-i-Mashriq* that is near completion. I hope that it will be published before the end of this year."[135]

"In response to the *Eastern Divan* of Goethe (a German poet) I have written a collection of Persian verses. It will soon be printed. In the preface, I shall try to show how Persian literature has influenced German literature."[136]

"I have written *Payam-i-Mashriq* in reply to Western *Divan* of Goethe, a famous German poet. It is in print. I believe, you will like it."[137]

On 1st January 1923, the title of Knighthood from the British government was conferred on Iqbal. On this occasion a

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grand fête was held in his honour at the Jahangir's tomb in the suburb of Lahore and many official and unofficial dignitaries, including the Punjab Governor, attended the ceremony. In this gathering, Iqbal for the first time declared publicly that he was responding to Goethe in the form of his *Payam* and at the end of his speech he recited some of the poems of this work.

Because of these personal remarks and its pre-publication coverage in the literary journals, *Payam* gained much popularity and the intellectuals as well as the common readers waited impatiently to see it in printed form. Finally, in May 1923, its first edition came out and was warmly received by the masses. *Payam* was presented to the public with the intention of "warming the cold thoughts and ideas of the West."[4] In the preface, Iqbal himself has outlined the objective of this most important collection of Persian poetry in these words:

"I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the Western *Divan*. The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities. There is a certain amount of similarity between the East of today and the Germany of a hundred years ago. The fact, however, is that the inner turmoil which the nations of the world are going through today, and which we are unable to regard objectively inasmuch as we ourselves are affected by it, is the forerunner of a social and spiritual revolution of very great magnitude. The Great War of Europe was a catastrophe that has almost wholly destroyed the old world order. Out of the ashes of civilisation and culture nature is now building up a new humanity and a new world for that humanity to live in. We can catch a glimpse of the new world order in the works of Professor Einstein and Bergson. Europe has seen with its own eyes the dreadful consequences of its scientific, moral and economic pursuits and has also heard from Signor Nitti (a former Prime Minister of Italy) the heartrending story of the decadence of the West. It is a matter for regret, however, that the intelligent but conservative statesmen of Europe have not been able to comprehend the real significance

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of the revolution that has taken place in the human spirit. From the purely literary point of view, the weakening of the life potentialities of Europe after the painful happenings of the World War is detrimental to the development of a sound and mature literary ideal. There is, indeed, a danger that the minds of nations may not be subjugated by that time-worn and devitalizing escapist mentality which cannot differentiate between the thoughts of the head and the feelings of the heart.....

The East, and particularly the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after having slumbered for centuries. The Eastern people have, however, realised that life cannot effect a revolution in its environment before it has had, in the first instance, a revolution in the inner depths of its own being, nor can a new world assume external form until its existence takes shape in the hearts of men. That immutable law of the Universe which the Quran has enunciated in the simple but comprehensive verse:

"God does not change the destiny of people unless they change themselves." [xiii. 11]

holds good for the individual as well as the collective aspects of life. In my Persian works I have tried to keep this truth in mind."[141]

The *Payam* has been very rightly acclaimed as "a genuine attempt by an eminent Eastern poet, endowed with knowledge of Western literature and thought....to enter into a dialogue with Europe."[142] The work includes a collection of quatrains,[143] followed by a group of poems setting forth Iqbal's philosophy of life in lyrical form and some poetical sketches that picture European poets, philosophers and politicians.[144]

The repetitive statements of Iqbal and the sub-title of the *Payam* indicate that it was written as a response to Goethe and here it means not his personality as a whole but only his *Divan* that was the real source of his poetic inspiration.[145] Being an enthusiastic admirer of Goethe from his early age, this is for the first time that Iqbal mentioned *Divan* and it seems very strange that afterwards he never referred to Goethe's *Divan*, neither in his writings nor in conversations. Although there are a few

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similarities in the poetic form of *Payam* and *Divan*, especially their short poems, arranged in sections under separate titles but "there is no correspondence as regards the subject-matter of these two books. In the first edition of *Payam* (May 1923), nothing is traceable that has been directly taken from the *Divan*", but after some months when its second edition appeared (1924), Iqbal added two poems namely *Ju-e-Aab* (Rivulet) and *Hur-o-Shai'r* (Houri and the Poet),[145] an entirely free translation of Goethe's *Mahomets' Gesang*[146] and a reply to *Huri und Dichter*[150], respectively, only the last one is from the *Divan*. These clear borrowings are only confined to the beautiful imagery and excellent style of Goethe and Iqbal's brief explanatory notes with these two poems show his poetic honesty. Above all, the most important aspect of the *Divan* is that its motivations are absolutely incompatible with the *Payam*. As stated earlier, Goethe's interest, mostly uncritical and literary, in the Orient was intensified by Hafiz, coupled with his heart-burning emotional attachment with Marianne von Willemer, whereas Iqbal's remarks about the West are very critical and no personal incentive was operative in the preparation of the *Payam*. Contemporary political situation is, to some extent, a common factor between these two books but their approach to these tumultuous incidents is entirely different. Goethe took the flight to the "reinen Orient"[151] and enriched his lyrical poetry but Iqbal expressed "subtle emotions and abstruse philosophical ideas, often couched in the conventional imagery of Persian poetry, yet expressed originally",[152] also intended to send a message to the West that was still licking its wounds after the First World War. Irrespective of their varied interests in the East and the West, Goethe by nature remained European and Iqbal never lost his Oriental spirit.

The introduction to the *Payam* is, no doubt, the first of its kind in the history of Urdu literature in which Iqbal has precisely outlined the multifarious influences of the Oriental Movement on German literature that reached its apex in Goethe's time and afterwards continued by the high-ranking poets like Rückert, Platen and Bodenstedt by their translations and original poetic

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collections. It is said that "his command over language wins our admiration, while his precision, brevity and scholarly simplicity, combined with a consummate mastery of his subject, impart a special charm to the introduction."[153]

While writing this introduction, Iqbal was fully aware of the non-availability of the relevant sources and he had to rely on his memory of previous studies or information probably gathered during his sojourn in Germany. Nevertheless, he was conscious about the sketchy treatment of the subject, as he himself writes in this introduction:

"In order, however, to be able to write the complete history of the "Oriental Movement" and to assess the true magnitude of Persian poets, it is necessary to undertake a prolonged and detailed study of the subject, for which I have neither time nor material. It is possible that this brief sketch might evoke some enthusiasm in a younger man for further research."[154]

Plenty of material on Iqbal's life and works has been published so far but, unfortunately, we are still waiting for such a young devoted researcher, as aspired by Iqbal, who can narrate in detail the different periods of the history of the Oriental Movement in German literature. On the contrary, some eminent Orientalists of the German-speaking countries have presented valuable studies of this Movement and its prominent representatives like Goethe and Rückert, particularly during the last fifty years or so.[155]

This introduction also reveals that Iqbal knew some of the German sources relating to the Persian influences on *Divan* as well as on the German literature of the nineteenth century. In this context, he has referred to Paul Horn's[156] book on Persian literature[157] and an article in which he discussed the question of how much the Germans are indebted to Persia,[158] but both these studies were inaccessible to him. He has also given a passage concerning the *Divan* from A. Bielschowsky, an erudite and most authentic German biographer of Goethe.[159] Apart from these two references, all other information about Goethe and the Oriental Movement in German literature has been taken from

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Arthur Remy's book.[1] It is evident from their comparative study that Iqbal's introduction is entirely based on Remy, even the similes and metaphors, commonly used in the Persian poetry, are the same as quoted in this treatise. All these extensive borrowings negate the highly appreciative remarks about the originality of the contents of this introduction.

In the dedicatory epistle of the *Payam*, Iqbal bracketed Goethe with the King of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan, and thus brought them together as his political and poetical ideals. Undoubtedly, Iqbal is the first poet of the Oriental world who has paid such a tribute to the German poet and it shows not only his true and deep understanding of the poetry and thought of Goethe but also Iqbal's encompassing knowledge of his biographical details helped to compare himself with Goethe. It is noticeable that usually in such comparative remarks, Iqbal extolled Goethe in highest panegyrics and considered him superior in the vastness and the infinitude of Goethe's poetic imagination. Keeping in view Iqbal's characteristic humility, such comparisons are all in Goethe's favour, but this attitude provides an ample proof of his greatness as a poet. The relevant verses of this introductory part of the *Payam* are as follows:

That Western sage, that bard of Germany,
That ardent lover of things Pahlavi,
Saluted the East with his great *Divan*,
That tribute to the poets of Iran
And veritable picture gallery
Of vignettes, all in Persian imagery.
To that salute this book is a reply,
This gleam of moonlight in the Eastern sky.
Without deluding my self, I will dare
To tell you how the two of us compare.
His was the vital sport of the young West;
Mine has been wrung from the East's aged breast.
A flourishing spring garden gave him birth:
I am a product of a long dead earth.
He was a nightingale that filled with song
An orchard; I am but a desert gong.

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A signal for the caravan to start.
We both have delved into the inmost heart
Of being; both of us are messages
Of life in the midst of death's ravages;
Two daggers, morning lustered, mirror bright;
He naked; I still sheathed, concealed from sight.
Two pearls, both precious, both unmatched, are we,
Both from the depths of an unfathomed sea.
He burst out of the mother of pearl's womb,
For he could rest no longer in that tomb.
But I, who still am lying shell-enshrined,
Have yet to be astir in the sea's mind.[161]

The *Divan* provided to Iqbal its outward form and expression and this vessel was filled with some of the contents that have been taken from Goethe. In one of his revealing poems entitled *Jalal and Goethe* he imagines Goethe meeting Jalaluddin Rumi, for whom Iqbal has the greatest admiration, and reciting *Faust* to him. Through this celestial meeting, Iqbal brought together not only two of the greatest spirits of the East and the West, but also the two men who had influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and an artist."[162] In a footnote to the poem Iqbal writes:

"In Faust, the poet speaks of the progressive potentialities of human development and, for this purpose, has used the old legend of the Philosopher's covenant with the Devil with such consummate art that it is impossible to imagine anything more perfect."[163]

The poem is as follows:

In Paradise the German seer
Met his Iranian compeer,
Who, though without prophetic fame,
Has an inspired book to his name.[164]
To that connoisseur of the real
He read out his tale of the deal
The doctor and the Devil made.
When he had heard it, Rumi said:

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"Portrayer of the inmost soul
Of poetry, whose effort's goal
Is capturing the seraphim
And God himself, yes even Him.
Your thought, consorting with your heart,
Remade the world by means of art.
O you have seen the spirit's flame
Ablaze in its corporeal frame.
And you from observation know
How in their shells pearls form and grow.
All this you know, but there is more
Not all can learn Love's secret lore.
Not all can enter its high shrine.
One only knows by grace divine
That wisdom is the Devil's own,
While Love belongs to man alone."[165]

Another poem of the *Payam* is "The Huri and the Poet" and as elucidated by Iqbal himself, it is written in reply to Goethe's long poem of the *Diwan* namely "Huri und Dichter." Iqbal has used the form of dialogue between the human being and the heavenly body and expressed his constant longing for endless love and the static place like paradise that is not suitable for his burning flame. It is argued that "Iqbal's poem expresses his whole attitude towards life and has not been merely inspired by the occasion, as seems to be the case with Goethe."[166]

In this series of poetic imitations of Goethe, the most important is a free rendering of his *Mahomets Gesang* (Muhammad's Song). In a footnote Iqbal clarifies that "The 'Rivulet' is a free translation of Goethe's famous poem entitled *Mahomets Gesang*. In this poem, which was written long before the *West-ostlicher Divan*, the German poet gives a beautiful exposition of the Islamic concept of life. It was, in fact, part of a projected Islamic play which he was unable to complete. The object of the present translation is merely to bring out Goethe's point of view".

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As mentioned earlier, Goethe composed this 'Song' as a part of his dramatic presentation *Mahomet* that remained incomplete.[167] It was separately published in 1774 as an antiphony between Ali and Fatima. Later on, with some retouching by the poet this song came out with the present title *Mahomets Gesang*[168] in which the Holy Prophet "is symbolized as a stream which, emerging from a small fountain, grows into a brook, and eventually into a mighty river, carrying with him all the smaller rivers, which he brings back to the Father, the fathomless ocean. Goethe has very well interpreted the mystical feeling, expressed by Maulana Rumi and others, that prophetic activity indeed resembles a river nourished by rain of grace, river-like, and the Holy Prophet will bring home all those who search for the same goal and cannot find the way by themselves...The truly Islamic character of Goethe's poem is evident; that is why Iqbal has given a very free Persian version of it in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*; and we may assume that the *nom de plume* which he is given by Rumi in the 'Javidnameh', i.e., *Zindarud*, 'Living Stream', is an elegant allusion to his prophetic power."[169]

Leaving these two quick editions of the *Payam* aside, if we have a glance at its original hand-written script (still available in the Iqbal Museum), we will find a few brief poems and verses which were afterwards excluded in the printed text of the book by the poet himself. For example, a doubled-versed poem "Ghalib and Goethe" was left out and used only Ghalib's verse in a different poetic set-up. It is worth-mentioning here that on the same page another poem "Taqseem-i-Azal" (Division of Eternity) with an explanatory note by Iqbal's pen "suggested by Schiller's 'Die Teilung des Erde (?)', was also excluded. Likewise, another poem in an array of reputed poets of the Orient and the Occident (Browning, Byron, Ghalib and Rumi) Goethe was also standing but excluded him while he was preparing the final script of this book.

Apart from these appreciative remarks, poetic adaptations and free translations, we can hardly find any conceptual and textual similarity between *Payam* and *Divan*. As their titles

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indicate that Goethe primarily intended for a melange between the East and the West, while Iqbal's intention was to convey a message for the West, highly loaded with his peculiar philosophical and political thoughts. From a cursory look at these two works, it seems that Goethe invites the Eastern reader with a smiling face and, on the contrary, Iqbal addresses the West with a frown. One can presume that Iqbal has used the name of Goethe in the sub-title of *Payam* as a vehicle of his specific thoughts about the West, with the interpolations of some poetic adaptations, largely based on the previous studies of his European stay. Notwithstanding, Iqbal is the first Oriental poet who has introduced Goethe's thoughts to the readers and from the entire corpus of his writings Iqbal picked up such things which were in harmony with his own religious concepts and cultural milieu.

Payam was warmly welcomed, not only by the literati but by the common readers, and within a few months its two editions, both original and revised, appeared. Widely reviewed in the literary journals and newspapers of India,[170] Iqbal was keen to get it published in Germany or translated in her language.[171] He corresponded with some European orientalists[172] and asked for their comments. As a response to Goethe he was naturally more interested in introducing it to the German scholars of oriental studies.[173] Among these eminent European savants, R. A. Nicholson (1868-1945) was the first in the West who recognised the real greatness of Iqbal[174] with whom he met in Cambridge and was deeply impressed by his dynamic personality and philological concepts. Afterwards they kept in touch through correspondence and on receiving *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), the first Persian book of Iqbal, he was eager to translate it with a view to elucidating the theories adumbrated in this poem, which he did in 1920 under the title *The Secrets of the Self*.[175] Having discordant views about Iqbal's critical approach to the Western civilisation,[176] he was profoundly influenced by Iqbal's religious and political philosophy.

Nicholson received both editions of *Payam*, first the original and then the revised edition. He responded at once and

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considered it a commendable response to Goethe's *Divan*.[177] As informed by Iqbal, he intended to translate it into English but could not do it and remained content only to contribute a comprehensive review, based on the second edition that was published in the first volume of a journal *Islamica* (Leipzig 1925) under the editorship of renowned German orientalist, August Fischer (1865-1949), who also came in contact with Iqbal later on.[178] In fact, this review pioneered in introducing Iqbal to the learned community of Germany, particularly those who were more interested in the influences exerted by the rich literary traditions of the Islamic Orient on the German literature with special reference to Goethe. Their appreciation was natural, as Iqbal is the first poet belonging to the Orient, who was conscious of the heights of Goethe's imaginative powers and tried to follow him on the track of his creative powers. For such German poets and scholars, Nicholson's review proved to be a fresh breeze from the Oriental window and they got a new impetus for their poetry and relevant subjects.[179] Even some Orientalists, whose domain of interest was Middle Eastern history and culture, turned to Iqbal's work and translated the whole text in German.[180]

This appreciation in the countries abroad, especially in Germany, was also echoed in the local literary journals and widely-circulated newspapers and the learned reviewers had to write something about Goethe and his works.[181] Though their brief comments lacked the profundity of the authentic information and are based largely on the secondary English sources, but it happened for the first time in the intellectual history of this Subcontinent that Goethe appeared, rather brightly, on the literary horizon of this region and for it whole credit goes to Iqbal only,[182] as he is the first poet in the Oriental world who had a true and deep understanding of the poetry and thought of Goethe.[183]

Iqbal's contact with Goethe, commenced in the prime of his youth and intensified immensely during his sojourn in Germany, was consummated in the *Payam* that was primarily conceived on the pattern of Goethe's *Divan*. Afterwards, Iqbal never

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mentioned it in any of his writings and composed not a single line, inspired by this collection of poetry. Though diminished, but his interest in Goethe lasted even up to the end of his creative life. One can easily infer from these occasional instances that Iqbal had deeply studied Goethe's life and some of the circumstantial aspects remained hovering over his mind. Beside his biographical knowledge, Iqbal was conscious about Goethe's endless imaginative powers and he always ranked him higher than himself.

Among Goethe's works, *Faust* is the only book that remained very close to Iqbal's mind and heart throughout his whole life, almost from the beginning up to the end of his poetical career. In the post-*Payam* period, Iqbal never responded to Goethe so openly and the latter almost disappeared from the horizon of his imagination. In *Reconstruction*, Goethe was not fortunate to find more space, once with reference to the legend of Fall of Man,[184] but it is vehemently argued that opening part of *Javidnameh* is reminiscent of "Prologue in Heaven" of *Faust*[185] whose setting implies that the life and fate of Faust are matters of universal significance, which will clarify the relationship of God and man, good and evil, existence and non-existence. Likewise, Iqbal's fascinating concept of Satan is considered to be a direct impact of Goethe's Mephistopheles, an outstanding character of *Faust*, having a distinctive trait of scepticism. As a representative of evil he can also be an unconscious force for good and, above all, in spite of making inadequate plans for the seduction of Faust, he was finally defeated by Love, a force which he never recognized or comprehended.[186] Iqbal's satanology is a confluence of various Islamic and Christian concepts of Satan and one of the rivulets, coming from the different directions, is *Faust*, one of whose characters, Mephistopheles, as the necessary element of activation in life, is to be met with in Iqbal's colourful picture of Iblis.[187] It seems very strange that in his celestial journey of the planets under the guidance of Rumi, Iqbal meets personalities of world fame, belonging to the East and the West but in this galaxy of dignitaries we don't find Goethe who had been his source of

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inspiration for the last three decades. In the original plan of *Javidnameh*, Goethe was present among these celebrities but afterwards Iqbal dropped his name from the list and the reason of this exclusion is still unknown.[188]

Despite the major works of Goethe, some of his minor books, inspired Iqbal, directly or indirectly, and he followed their form as well as the content; for example the *Maximen* (as stated above) which contains the sum of his wisdom. Another little-known book is *Zahme Xenien* (1820-21, 1827), a collection of approximately four hundred distiches in which the pietists and sentimentalists were ridiculed and the pedants and pedagogues were lashed. The piercing wit and sarcasm of the epigrams made the bad contemporary writers personally aggrieved. Along with the aggressive satirical remarks, there are also admirable expressions of critical canons and philosophic ideas. Some Western critics are of the opinion that Iqbal imitated this pattern, especially at the end of *Bang-i-Dara* (1924).[189]

In the opening part of the *Payam*, Iqbal eulogised Goethe and signalised some distinctive attainments in comparison to his own. At the same time, when he was finalising the script of the *Payam*, he pointed out another very significant difference relating to their *Weltanschauung*. In one of his letters (dated 15 June, 1922), written to Ijaz Ahmad, son of his elder brother, he mentions that "The eminent prophetic German poet, Goethe, after observing the spiritual unrest of the contemporary young men, delivered them this message:

> Art still has truth
> Take refuge there.

Now, the situation of the Islamic world is the same as that of Germany's during the period of Napoleon and my message for the young Muslims is the same as that of Goethe's. The only difference is that I have replaced 'Art' with 'Religion' and its reason is obvious. Art does give the satisfaction but not power. In religion, you will find both, satisfaction and power."[190]

Iqbal was captivated by Faust, as a leading character of Goethe's dramatic representation. As recorded by one of Iqbal's

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close friends who was travelling with him that during his sojourn in Bombay (5 January, 1929) he was invited to a lunch by Seth Hashim Ismail. His wife was an educated woman and had studied medicine in Germany for two years. After lunch she sent a copy of Goethe's *Faust* to Iqbal, so that he could write some verse on it in his own handwriting. Iqbal wrote this Persian verse:

Kalam o Falsafa az Loh-i-Dil Farooshtam
Zameer-i-khuish kushadam ba-Nishtar-i Tahqeeq

(I wiped the stains of scholasticism and philosophy away from the slate of the heart: And wrapped mine real self off through the blade of search after truth.)

and commented "This is the conclusion on which Faust should have reached but could not."[9] This brief remark reveals Iqbal's deep insight and penetrating study of Goethe's masterpiece, *Faust*.

Another brief remark, also made by one of his associates, informs us that about his Persian book *Zabur-i-Ajam*, Iqbal aspired that "I wish Goethe had read this book."[10] Naturally, this was wishful thinking but it invites us to look for those motivations that forced Iqbal to have such a desire.

Following Ghalib, Iqbal composed the verses about some renowned English and Persian poets like Browning, Byron, Rumi and Ghalib. All these single verses were published in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Eng. tr., pp. 173-174), but the verse relating to Goethe was excluded and that is:

Ta Aab-o-Taab-i-Badah shwad Dil firoztar
Aab az Gohar bageeram wa dar Saghar afganam

Translation:

(Let the splendour of wine illuminate the heart
more and more
I melt the pearl and pour it into the goblet).
(cf. *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*, II, p. 237)

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On March 22, 1832, weakened by a painful inflammation of the lungs, Goethe, the old man of 82, sat in an easy chair and stared into the darkening world. "More light!" he murmured. But the light could no longer reach him. As speech failed and his senses faded, he began to write with his forefinger on the quilt that covered his knees. Writing, he died.

These words of Goethe just before his demise were engrossed in Iqbal's mind and he used them in expressing or sharing the grief caused by the death of his dear ones. Emma Wegenast, the German lady with whom Iqbal often discussed Goethe, informed him about her father's death. He immediately replied (30 July 1913):

"You remember what Goethe said in the moment of his death---"More Light". Death opens up the way to more light, and carries us to those regions where we stand face to face with eternal Beauty and Truth."[193]

After many years, on hearing the news of the death of Sir Thomas Arnold, his teacher and 'guru', Iqbal wrote to his wife (16 July, 1930):

"No doubt from our point of view his luminous flame of life is now extinguished, but it is my firm conviction that those who, like him, devote their life to love and service, death means 'more light.'"[194]

Iqbal was, no doubt, a born poet and his poetry was enriched by his extensive study of Islamic and Western philosophy, history and literature. Rarely it happens, particularly in the Islamic world, that a poet endowed with high literary attainments like Iqbal, has such a vast knowledge of East and West. From his youth, Iqbal was a serious reader of the books relating to the domain of his interests.

Iqbal was not a bibliophile but he constantly remained in touch with the new books, published either from India or abroad, and tried to get them, directly or indirectly. Gradually, his personal collection, though small but qualitatively very precious, was established.

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Before his departure to Europe in 1905, Iqbal left behind his meagre collection of books (total number 231 in the ancestral residence of Sialkot [16] and most of them are related with the English poets of the nineteenth century. Marginal notes on some of them, mostly prescribed for the courses, display his careful study of the poetic subtleties of the English poets. Afterwards, the major part of his library was formed, comprising the books that he bought during his European travelogues or from other sources. Three years before his death in 1938, Iqbal fell ill and was not able to look after the books properly because of his rapidly deteriorating health. So, he bequeathed his personal collection to be donated to the Islamia College Library, Lahore (according to his will of 13th October 1935). After his death (1938), this collection was handed over to the College according to his bequest (total number of books 433) and it was placed there in a separate section, named "Iqbal Collection", which was later on (in 1954) shifted to the new premises of the College (Civil Lines). A small number of books were not transferred to the College and these are still available in the Iqbal Museum, Lahore.[17]

Iqbal Collection consists of books on varied subjects, mostly, in which Iqbal was keenly interested, like philosophy and literature. Some books (about 45) contain very informative marginal notes that provide the original material for the evaluation of his diverse thoughts. In this Collection, a few titles relating to Goethe or Goethean studies are extant. Like some other titles, Iqbal has written no marginal note on these books. A list of such publications is given below:

a) *Goethes Faust*. Edited by Calvin Thomas. Part II. London: D. C. Heath & Co., undated (Preface, August 1897), pp. 457.

Introduction (v-lxxvi), Der Tragödie. Zweiter Theil in fünf Acten (pp. 1-337 in Gothic script). Notes (pp. 339-457).

b) *Faust*. Eine Tragoedie von Goethe. (Both parts), pp. 498. On the last page: Der Verlag Th. Knaur Nachf. in Berlin hat dieses Werk in der spamerschen Offizin in Leipzig herstellen

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lassen. Den Einband fertigte die Buchbinderei L. Sieke & Co. in Leipzig. 1929. (According to a note on fly-leaf (dated 21 June 1935), perhaps it was gifted to Iqbal by its owner. Maqbul Ahmad).

c) *Criticisms, Reflections and Maxims of Goethe*. Translated, with an Introduction by W. B. Rönnfeldt. London/New York: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., undated.

Introduction (ix-xxxiv), Goethe on Shakespeare (pp. 1-59), Goethe on Byron (pp. 63-78), Poetry and the Fine Arts (pp. 79-134), Reflections and Maxims on Life, Character, Art and Literature (Sprüche in Prosa) (pp. 135-261).198

d) *A History of German Literature*. As determined by social forces. By Kuno Francke. 7th ed., New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1907 (1896), pp. 595. Goethe and Schiller (pp. 335-398)

e) German for the English. No. 1: *First Reading Book*. Easy Poems with interlinear translations, and illustrated by Notes and Tables chiefly etymological. By A. Sonnenschein and J. S. Stallybrass. 3rd ed., London/Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1875. pp. 228.

Part III: Interlineal Translation and Notes (pp. 105-183): Der Erlkönig (Goethe), pp. 105-108: Der Pilgrim (Schiller), pp. 109-112: Das Schloss am Meere (Uhland), pp. 113-116: Mignon (Goethe), pp. 116-118: Rittter Toggenburg (Schiller), pp. 119-126: Sprüche (Goethe), pp. 127-130: Das Veilchen (Goethe, pp. 136-138: Der Sänger (Goethe), pp. 138-142: Aus Wilhelm Meister (Goethe), pp. 142-143: Die Bürgerschaft (Schiller), pp. 143-159: Der Handschuh (Schiller), pp. 143-159: Die Frösche (Goethe), pp. 166-167: Das Glück von Edenball (Uhland), pp. 167-172: Der Ring des Polykrates (Schiller), pp. 174-182.

f) Rudolf Steiner: *Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Schiller*. Zugleich eine Zugabe zu Goethes 'Naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften' in Kürschners Deutscher National-Literatur. Neue, um eine Vorrede und Schlussbemerkungen erweiterte Auflage. Stuttgart: Der

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Kommende Tag A.-G. Verlag, 1924 (1886), pp. 112 (Philosophisch-anthroposophische Bibliothek).[200]

g) *The Prose Writings of Heinrich Heine*. Edited with an Introduction, by Havelock Ellis. London, The Walter Scott, no date, pp. 327. (For the introduction of the *Divan*, Iqbal has used some of the remarks of H. Heine about Goethe's *Divan*, see pp. 118-119 of this edition).[201]

Strangely enough, in the whole Iqbal Collection, presently housed both in Islamia College and Iqbal Museum, Goethe's *Divan* is not extant. It can be conjectured that he would have read it, in original or in English translation, while he was staying in Europe. During the composition of his response to *Divan* (e.g. *Payam*), he knew about the availability of its English translation, preserved in a local library.[202]

VI

It is said that the comparisons are odious. In various perspectives it is undeniable, but in some cases, particularly in the field of literature, the comparison is exceedingly instructive and cannot be regarded as odious. Such comparative study had been a most favourite subject for the Iqbalian scholars and they delved to unearth the poetical and philosophical coincidences, accidental or intentional, between Iqbal and Goethe. In addition to afore-mentioned poetical and conceptual similarities between them, some new fields of such comparative studies have been explored, indicating some other common aspects of their views, such as concepts of man and universe, preference of Love over Intellect, praise of divine force of Love,[203] satanology,[204] conception of immortality,[205] concept of Mard-i-Momin[206] or Superman.[207] In view of all these ideological analogies, most of the undiscerning admirers of Iqbal anchored their discussion that, if minutely studied, more new avenues can be opened that would help them to write a comprehensive book on this topic which is yet to be written.[208]

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Iqbal's profound admiration for Goethe lasted about four decades and this persistent intellectual relationship had to go through different phases, resulted by his gradual developing poetic outlook and philosophical thought. Firstly, Goethe as a lyric poet attracted Iqbal before he embarked for his European journey in his youth (1905). Afterwards, having learnt German, Goethe's leading works, particularly his *Faust*, became extant to Iqbal. Various environmental factors of the cities like Heidelberg and Munich and the new acquaintances of both sexes created a romantic aura around him that intensified his interest in Goethe's lyrical poetry. The third and most significant period of Iqbal's reverence for Goethe commenced a few years after his return from Europe. Meanwhile, his mind and soul had to go through some deep experiences that changed his poetic vision, philosophical approaches and the general world-view. He severely criticised the political, social and cultural values of the West but his attitude towards the Western literary traditions remained unchanged. For this reason, Iqbal's appreciation of Goethe's poetic genius continued and ultimately it manifested in his *Payam-i-Mashriq* in which he attempted to follow the poetic style of Goethe's *Divan*. Furthermore, Goethe was inspired by Hafiz when he read German renderings of his Persian poetry (by Hammer-Purgstall). Iqbal, too, was a great admirer of Hafiz as a poet and in spite of his critical remarks about the soothing effects of his poetry, he never escaped himself from the poetic diction of this great Persian poet. For both Iqbal and Goethe, Hafiz was a source of their romantic imaginative abilities and creative diction; Goethe considered him as his twin-brother, whereas Iqbal thought of indwelling of Hafiz' soul in his body.

Apart from Iqbal's critical appreciation of Hafiz, he was conversant with Goethe's interest in the literary treasures of the Islamic Orient and their varied influences on his creative mind. But what brought Iqbal closer to Goethe was his most sympathetic and intellectually balanced attitude towards Qur'an,[208] the Holy Prophet[209] and Islam in general.[210] Goethe was aware of the positive role played by Islam in the history of mankind. Islam and the personality of the Holy Prophet, as

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portrayed in the European writings of the nineteenth century were largely biased and antagonistic a Western attitude inherited from the medieval concept of Islam. Contrary to such prevalent hostile and partial approaches to Muslim's faith, Goethe, as a great creative genius and an exponent of World Literature studied Qur'an and the life of the Holy Prophet, through German translations, and expressed the views that were not repugnant to the basic concepts of Islam. Unmindful of the contemporary conflicting writings about Islam, Goethe's projected drama about Muhammad was "a counterweight to Voltaire's rather satirical picture of the Prophet of Islam."[211] For this reason, Iqbal warmly welcomed Goethe, poetically and intellectually, and paid homage to him by adapting his Ode to the Holy Prophet ("Mahomets Gesang") in the Persian book, *Payam-i-Mashriq*

Iqbal's admiration for Goethe never ceased and it continued up to the end of his life. He frequently conversed about Goethe with his close associates and loved to narrate the biographical incidents of this great German poet to his correspondents. *Faust* remained dear to him throughout his life and he knew about all its poetical allusions and stylistic intricacies which could be easily solved by any Eastern reader, as expressed by him in one of his letters to an intimate friend.[213] Iqbal was keen to assist the persons who intended to study Goethe in detail[213] or to translate *Faust* in Urdu.[214] The first Urdu translations of *Faust*[215] and *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*[216] ("Sorrows of the Young Werther") came out with his consent and helped the translators in providing the relevant information about their undertakings. In this way, Iqbal tried to foster literary and scholarly interest in Goethe to the next generation. Inspired by Iqbal's reverence for Goethe, as a gifted poet and a lover of Orientalism, some amateurs of his time devoted themselves to follow his footsteps and they have tremendously contributed in enriching the tradition of Goethean studies in Urdu literature.

VII

Without Goethe, from the West, and Rumi, from the East, Iqbal's picture remains incomplete, as he succeeds them,

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both spiritually and ideologically, and in whom these two streams of thought met. This intermingling is made into a metaphor of stream or 'living stream', a name adopted by Iqbal for himself in his celestial journey, starting from the smallest beginning and growing to be an immense spiritual power, expanding, unfolding, and gloriously ending in the ocean, the symbol of limitless entities.[217] In this respect, Iqbal carries the other writers and thinkers with him like the stream does with small brooks and rivers. Under the influence of Iqbal's interest in Goethe's infinite imaginative powers, as depicted in his lyrical poetry, new fountains sprouted but their spontaneous overflow scarcely crossed Iqbal's creative limits.

According to Hennig, Goethe, as "the last man endowed with a universal knowledge, a genius with unlimited 'Lebensbreite'"[218], was in close contact with the countries where English was widely spoken, not only during his life but also after his demise, through the exhaustive critical and biographical studies and translations. Though the South - Asian Subcontinent also belongs to the English-speaking world, but here Goethe received a very weak response, except some brief and cursory remarks in the writings of some littérateurs, mostly educated from the Western universities, of the early nineteenth century. Iqbal is, no doubt, the first prominent literary figure of the Subcontinent who brought Goethe here and highly ranked him in the pantheon of the literary annals of this part of the world.

Modern period of Urdu literature commenced when it came directly under the sway of some British scholars/educationists in the second half of the nineteenth century. With their practical support and encouragement, new Western literary trends and stylistic techniques gradually crept in and the centuries-old traditional forms and subjects began to de-popularize. From the rich literary treasures of the West, only English literature solely contributed in reshaping the whole Urdu literature, but after some time the other European literatures, including the German literature, exerted their influence on Urdu but in contrast to English literature their impact was not deep-rooted and only confined to the personal literary pursuits of some writers and scholars. Furthermore, the Romantic Movement of

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Urdu literature might have played a vital role in fostering the interest of the literary personnel to other European literatures, as it is a historical fact that romanticists remained very receptive to other literatures and cultures. Early followers of this Movement in Urdu turned their faces to literatures other than English literature and the literary journals, started to propagate this Movement, devoted much space to their writings.

From the corpus of Goethe's prose works, his superb short novel *Sufferings (or Sorrows) of young Werther* (*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, 1774) was the first one that vehemently attracted Urdu writers who had a strong background of Western literature and translated it, obviously from English, about one year before Iqbal completed his *Payam*.

Werther, a sentimental and psychological novel in letter form, established Goethe's fame internationally. It comprises two parts: first contains somewhat biographical account of its author's unhappy infatuation for Charlotte ("Lotte") Buff (1753-1828), fiancée of his friend Johann Christian Kestner (1741-1800) in Wetzlar and second is based on the unfortunate experiences of Carl Wilhelm Jerusalem (1747-1772), secretary of the Brunswick ambassador, who reprimanded by his surprises, and in love with the wife of a colleague, committed suicide. All these incidents and characters coincided with an incident that Goethe experienced in February 1774 at the house of the jealous husband of Maximiliane Brentano (1756-1793).

All these factors were precipitated in the plot of this novel. Apart from the fact that Goethe wrote *Werther* to purge himself of the despair engendered by his love for Charlotte Buff (who married another man), this novel gave utterance to the reaction against the facile and optimistic rationalism of the elders that marked Goethe's time. The work has little healthiness of tone, and is infected with the malady of the age - the excessive sentimentalism of the closing eighteenth century.[219]

Werther took the world by storm, because, in Thomas Carlyle's words, it gave expression to "the nameless unrest and longing discontent which was then agitating every bosom".[220]

The enthusiastic response of *Werther's* readers, its reprints, translations, sequels, imitations and dramatizations

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caused a *Werther Fieber* (Werther fever) the world over and some of our Urdu writers were also deeply affected by it.

The first Urdu translation of this epistolary novel was rendered by Muhammad Hadi Husain (d.5th January 1982), published in instalments in a monthly literary journal,[221] which commenced in the beginning of 1922. As an introduction to the first part, the translator has given some biographical details of Goethe and the salient characteristics of his novel (*Werther*). After a gap of almost two years, when the translation reappeared, Hadi Husain again wrote an explanatory remark in which he clearly indicated that as a monumental work of Goethe's youth, *Werther* proved an incentive for his undertaking. He has also summarized the contents of its previous parts. It would be interesting to note here that the translator has referred Iqbal's *Payam*, an "immortal book" written in response to Goethe's *Divan* and with it the name of Goethe became known in India.[222]

Death anniversary of Goethe (1932) took place all over the world but on this international scholarly event India kept quiet[223] and very few writers shared in it individually. One of such literary figures was Dr. Riyaz-ul-Hasan (d. 17th August 1982) who presented his Urdu translation of *Werther* on this occasion. It was published in 1933 with an exhaustive preface (pp.58) in which Goethe's life, philosophical thought, prosaic style and the varied aspects of the novel were discussed in detail.[224] It is, no doubt, the first instance to translate in Urdu any prose work of Goethe in such a comprehensive and scholarly way.[225]

Fully conversant with literary masterpieces of Europe and having scholarly grasp of major languages spoken there, including English, Dr. Riyaz-ul-Hasan still owes much to Allama Iqbal whom he met twice (1930 in Alahabad and 1935 in Lahore). Obviously, he, like one of his other contemporaries, was also influenced by the new literary inclinations towards German literature, particularly Goethe, which were intensified after the publication of *Payam*. He sent a copy of his translation of *Werther* to Iqbal (1933) and during his second meeting with him, they conversed about Goethe, in which Iqbal commented that "You did well for having translated this novel in Urdu, but it

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must be read after the age of forty, for youth is unable to bear its sentimental severity and style." The translator responded that at the time of writing, Goethe was in the prime of his youth. Iqbal replied in affirmation and explained that "Goethe was an extraordinary man. In spite of having involved in his love affairs he had a complete control over him. My friends used to send their books to me. My son, Javed [1924--] often read them, but I have concealed your translation behind the books, so that he could not see it. I don't like that he would read it in this age [of eleven years]".[27]

From all principal works of Goethe, including *Divan*, Iqbal's mind and thought were dominated by Goethe's *Faust*, his crowning dramatic poem, which wrought a great change in Iqbal's poetic diction and philosophical concepts. Undoubtedly, Iqbal is the first literary figure of this Subcontinent who was enamoured by the infinitude of Goethe's creative imagination and made pioneering efforts to introduce it among the local intellectuals. Under the enormous influence of Iqbal's long-standing attachment with *Faust*, some of Urdu writers paid their attention to translate it in their language.[28] Dr. Sayyid Abid Husain (1896-1978) was the first Indian scholar who translated *Faust* with a detailed introduction (pp.123), containing Goethe's biography, analytical study of the major characters and its leading conceptual aspects. It is not indicated whether the translator has used the original text or he rendered it from any English translation. Dr. Abid Husain did his doctorate from Berlin in 1925 and during his stay in German capital he was very active in literary pursuits. Thus, it is assumed that he might have used the original text of *Faust* for his translation. Unfortunately, this translation is confined only to the first part of *Faust* and he could not translate its second part. Iqbal also extended his hand of cooperation for its translation, as he was fully aware of its varied difficulties of having translated it on account of the astronomical and other scientific allusions, with which a learned Eastern person, like Iqbal, is familiar. Nazir Niazi, a close associate of both Iqbal and Dr. Abid Husain (in Jamia Millya, Delhi), states:

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"When I met Iqbal some days later [in August 1931] and *Faust* was mentioned in the course of conversation, he again enquired why Dr. Abid Husain had not translated the second part. He also offered to help Dr. Abid Husain in this task. We observed that the second part was a little difficult as it contained numerous terms connected with Astronomy and Chemistry and also some references and allusions with which the people of the West were not familiar and which were properly understood only by Orientals. He said: 'During my stay in Germany, I had many an occasion to offer clarifications and explanations of these terms and usages and this used to leave a deep impression on my German audience. It was his belief, that, if one had not studied and examined the history of the past one thousand years he could not claim to be cultured and refined. How was it possible, therefore, for every German to be familiar with all the usages and allusions that Goethe had culled from Oriental literature? To us these terms are words of daily use. I had no difficulty whatsoever in digesting these sections of *Faust*. The Germans really marvelled at the ease with which I explained these terms".[229]

At the same time, Iqbal was also eager to know whether Abid Husain had translated the 'Prologue in Heaven'[230] (in the beginning of the first part of *Faust*) or not, because he required this information for his fourth Persian book, *Javidnameh*, the *opus magnum* of Iqbal (1932), that was in completion in those days. It is said that a section of this new Persian book under the title "Heavenly Introduction", is a mere translation or imitation of Goethe's 'Prologue in Heaven',[231] but Iqbal's source is still unknown. Perhaps he has used the original text, its English translation (both were available in his personal collection)[232] or Urdu rendering of Abid Husain.[233]

This translation of *Faust* in fluent and elegant style of Urdu prose gave an impetus to some other writers for this literary classic masterpiece of German literature and they translated it, but only its first part, like Abid Husain's translation. They did not know German language, therefore, they had to follow the English translations of *Faust* (mostly Bayard Taylor's translation, 1870), which were also incomplete and defective in

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certain aspects. Interspersed with frequent modifications, alterations and additions in their poetic renderings of *Faust*, all these Urdu translations contain literary merits and played a vital role in fostering the general interest in Goethe.

It is evident that Iqbal was extremely fascinated by the two main characters of Goethe's poetic drama-Faust and Mephistopheles (=Mephisto)-the former is intended by the poet to represent all mankind and as a mirror of human existence which all men may learn from, while the later possesses a most outstanding characteristic of scepticism and having a demonic power represents the negative elements of human personality. The Goethean Mephisto as the necessary element of activation in life is also met with Iqbal's figure of colourful and multi-faceted picture of Iblis, for wherever the demonic power turns up it sharpens the contrast of good and evil and makes man real man by initiating him into the strife of good and evil. Well-acquainted with the traditional portrayals of Satan and the positive and negative reactions of theologians and mystics towards the Iblisian figure, Iqbal, following Goethe, held that colourful Iblis will certainly continue to tempt or at least confuse people and, thus, will constitute the principle of fruitful restlessness in human life without which true spiritual development is impossible. Both Iqbal and Goethe think that the role played by Satan in man's life, made the human pulse beat and turned the inert and dead matter with pulsating life.[236]

Iqbal's unique concept of Satan attracted several writers of his age and in Urdu literature we come across different ideas about Satan by reading "Ma'allim-ul-Malakut" by Abdur Rahman Bijnori, "Yazdan Shikar" by Josh Malihabadi, "Falak Payma" by Sajjad Ansari and "Muwahid-i-Azam" by Simab Akbarabadi.[237] Besides, Goethean figure of Satan, directly or indirectly, had a lasting impact on Urdu theatre and many plays were written and acted on the anecdote of Satan which symbolises the acuteness of the recurrent problem of good and evil that man has to face throughout the centuries.[238]

Apart from these incomplete translations and dramatic imitations of *Faust*, another important work of Goethe was translated in Urdu by Sayyid Abid Husain[239] and that was his

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two-part novel *Wilhelm Meister Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, 1796) and *Wilhelm Meister Wanderjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Travels, 1829). The main character, Wilhelm Meister, son of a rich merchant, was to become a master actor, theatrical producer, and eventually the founder of a national theatre for the purification of public taste. The work excels in realistic descriptions of the lives of actors, burghers and aristocrats.

This novel is technically termed a *Bildungsroman*, a novel of development that shows the inner growth of the hero as a result of his ever-widening experience with the surrounding world. This kind of novel was characterized by introspection typical of the German seeking spirit. *Wilhelm Meister* is partly autobiographical, but Goethe's personality cannot be identified.

This voluminous translation of *Wilhelm Meister* is a valuable contribution to enrich the tradition, though not very rich, of translating German classics in Urdu. It also evinces the masterly skill and erudition of translator that enabled him to attract the readers by this facile prose style. He had already written in detail about Goethe's life and thought in a comprehensive introduction to his translation of *Faust*, therefore, he did not like to repeat the same information. However, he remarked that both *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* are inevitable to understand the basic concepts of Goethe. He also included a brief preface (in Urdu) written by Prof. Eduard Spranger (Tübingen), who was his teacher. He was a reputed educationist and also ranked among the great Goethean experts. He commented on some of the basic concepts of Goethe, expressed in this novel and he considers its first part as an historical document of the mental development of the educated middle class of that period of Germany.[240]

It the preface of *Payam*, Iqbal expressed his inability to write a complete history of Oriental Movement in German literature on account of the shortage of time and the scarcity of the relevant material, but he was hopeful that the next generation would keep this tradition alive, firmly established by him. All the afore-mentioned translators of Goethe's works in Urdu and some other scholars (like Mumtaz Hasan) remained in contact with

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Iqbal who inculcated in them a peculiar scholarly taste for Goethe and his intellectual relationship with the Islamic Orient In the post-Iqbalian period they endeavoured to follow their mentor and, thus, opened new avenues for the development of Urdu literature. However, much is yet to be done in this field We are still lacking an Urdu translation of Part Two of *Faust* and the *Divan* to which Iqbal responded in the form of *Payam* Any young and enthusiastic learned person can undertake the subject regarding the Oriental influences on German literature for further research, including Goethe, as aspired by Iqbal in the introduction of *Payam*.

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* Prof. Annemarie Schimmel's article under the title "Zwillinge im Paradies. „Größer Vollendung ist nicht vorstellbar: "Die Goethe-Begeisterung des muslimischen Dichters Muhammad Iqbal," in: *Berliner Morgenpost*, 3rd March 1999. See also her book *West-östliche Annahrungen: Europa in der Begegnung mit der islamischen Welt*. Stuttgart: Kahlhammer, 1995.

R. Kipling:

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's greatest judgment seat

(cf. B. J. More-Gilbert: *Kipling and Orientalism*, London: Croom Helm, 1986)

But Goethe says:

Wer sich selbst und andre kennt,
wird auch dies erkennen:
Orient und Okzident
sind nicht mehr zu trennen.

(*Divan*)

1. *Literary Lectures*. Presented at the Library of Congress, Washington: Library of Congress 1973, p. 87. "Goethe and Democracy" by Thomas Mann, pp. 87-108. *Essays of Thomas Mann*. Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Vitage Books, 1957 (including the articles on Goethe).

2. Karl Goedeke : *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung aus den Quellen*. 3rd ed., continued by Edmund Goetze, vol. 4, pts. 2-4. *Goethe Literatur*, compiled by Karl Kipka. Dresden 1910-1913, pp. 748; xvi, 826; iv, 321. Supplement to the 3rd ed., vol. 4, pt. 5. Carl Diesch and Paul Schlager: *Goethe-Bibliographie* 1912-1950. Ed. by Herbert Jacob. Berlin 1960, pp. iv, 997.

3. Heinrich Düntzer: *Zur Goethe's Jubelfeier Studien, zu Goethe's Werken*. Elberfeld, 1849; Goethe. *Études publiées pour le*

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centenaire de sa mort Paris 1932; *Goethe centenary papers* Edited by Martin Schutze Chicago 1933; *Festschrift zum 100 Geburtstag Goethes* Hrsg. vom Eduard Castle. Wien 1949 (*Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins*. S. 53 pp. 71-80). 1949; 1949. *Das Goethe-Jahr. The Goethe Year* Part I II London 1949; J. R. Becher. *Der Befreier. Rede zur [illegible] Wiederkehr des Geburtstages von Goethe* Berlin (O) 1950; *Goethe bicentennial studies* Edited by Hubert Joseph Mc[illegible] Bloomington (Indiana) 1950. *Kolloquium über Probleme der Goetheforschung 31 Oktober bis 4 November 1960 in Weimar* Vorträge und Diskussionen Weimar 1960 (Weimarer Beiträge Sonderheft 1960, pp. 917-1292).

4. "Er ist nächst dem 'Faust' das bedeutendste und zugleich persönlichkeit Werk des Dichters, aber der Nation ist er kein vertrauter Besitz." (Goethe: *West-östlicher Divan* Hrsg. und erl von Ernst Beutler. Bremen 1956. Vorwort, p. IX)

5. See *Vorspiel*, Bd. II. Halle 1926, pp. 282-324, 375-401; *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des West-östlichen Divan*. Berlin (East) Akademie Verlag, 1955.

6. *Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1938. "Der Osten im West-östlichen Divan" (In *Goethe West-östlichen Divan*. Hrsg. von E. Beutler, unter Mitwirkung von H.H. Schaeder. Leipzig: Dietrich 1948 (1943), pp. 787-835).

7. *Goethes Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-östlichen Divan* Hamburg, New York: Augustin, 1958; "Oriental Types of Literary Composition as described by Goethe". (in: *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*. 10 (1961), pp. 59-61 (see also *Bio-Bibliographies des 134 Savants*. Leiden: Brill 1979, pp. 336-337).

8. *West-östlicher Divan*. Hrsg. u. erl., Bremen 1956.

9. *Goethe und der Islam*. Stuttgart 1964; *Goethe und die arabische Welt*. Frankfurt/M.: Insel, 1988.

10. See, Leo Deutschlander: *Goethe und der Alte Testament*. Frankfurt/M. 1923; Hans von Schubert: *Goethes religiose Jugenentwicklung*. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1925; Gertrud Janzer: *Goethe und die Bibel*. Leipzig 1929; Erich Franz: *Goethe als religioser Denker*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1932; Arnold Bergstrasser: "Goethe's view of Christ" (*Modern Philology*,

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XLVI (Feb. 1949), pp. 172-202); Peter Meinhold: "Die Konfessionen im Urteil Goethes" (*Saeculum*, Bd. 7, Jg. 1956, pp. 79-106). (Discusses Goethe's attitude towards Christian confessions and sects. Deals also with his interest in the Hypsistarians, a syncretistic sect of Asia Minor in the 4th century A.D.); *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Ed. by James Hastings, vol. VI, Edinburgh 1937, pp. 306-310, article by James Lindsay; *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, Bd. II, Tübingen: Mohr, 1958, cols. 1668-1675, art. by F. Götting; Luz-Maria Linder: *Goethes Bibelrezeption*, Bern: Peter Lang, 1998.

11 Goethe remained strict to this concept of world literature almost upto the end of his creative life. At the age of seventy-eight, he said to Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854), his secretary after 1823:

"If we Germans do not look outside of the narrow circle of our own environment, we fall an easy prey to pedantic conceit. For that reason I like to look around in foreign nations, and I advise everyone else to do the same. National literature is of little consequence now, the epoch of world literature is at hand and everyone must do his share to hasten the arrival of this epoch."

(*Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, Translated by John Oxenford, London: Bell, 1879).

12. Fritz Strich: *Goethe und der Weltliteratur*, Bern: Francke, 1946 (Eng. tr. by C.A.M. Sym: *Goethe and World Literature*, London: Routledge 1949); W.E. Mühlmann: *Pfade in die Weltliteratur*, Königstein: Athenäum, 1984, esp. "Aufbruch nach Osten: Goethe...Künftiger *Divan*.--Rückert usw.," pp. 103-138; Hans Joachim Schrimpf: *Goethes Begriff der Weltliteratur*; Essay, Stuttgart 1968.

Literature seemed to Goethe a world tapestry, woven from threads of different origin and spread over all nations as a joint creation of the humanist spirit.

The Romantic Movement in Europe began in the later years of the eighteenth century and its objective was to dominate literature and thought during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Movement was characterized by the intense assertion of freedom and imagination, by the glorification of individualism, and by a melancholy and sentimental oversensitivity.

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An extreme form of this Movement known as *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) existed in Germany for several decades and found expression in a great outburst of literary activity. It was marked by a general mood of rebellion against convention and constraint of all kinds, by impetuosity and a strong belief in the validity of natural emotions and feelings. In his youth Goethe was hailed as the leader of this movement

13. Cf. *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Frederick Von Schlegel (1772-1829)*. Translated from the German by E J Millington London 1849. "On the Indian Language, Literature and Philosophy" (pp. 425-526) The original German was published from Heidelberg and is considered to be the first attempt at Indo-Germanic linguistics and the study of Indian languages and comparative philology

14. In another book, Goethe remarked: "In *Sakoontala* the poet appears in his highest functions. As the representative of the most natural condition of things, the finest mood of life, the purest moral endeavour, the worthiest majesty, and the most solemn worship, he ventures on common and ridiculous contrasts." (*The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*. Translated by Bailey Saunders Bell London: Rodwell 1893, p. 169)

Goethe read the English translation of *Sakuntala* by Sir William Jones (Calcutta 1789). See *Noten und Abhandlungen*, in: *Goethe's samtliche Werke*, Bd. IV, Stuttgart 1857, pp. 326-327. For further details see, Garland Cannon and Kerin R. Brine (eds.): *Objects of Enquiry*. The life, contributions, and influence of Sir William Jones (1746-1794). New York, London: New York Press, 1995 (Winfred P. Lehmann: "The impact of Jones in German-speaking areas", pp. 131-140, esp. p. 134); Michael F. Franklin: *Sir William Jones*. (Writers of Wales). Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995; Ibid. (ed.): *Sir William Jones*: selected poetical and prose works. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vols. 54-55 (1994-1995). Sir William Jones volume commemorating the bicentenary of his death. Pune: Deccan College, 1996. See also No. 67-72.

15. A. Gillies: "Herder and the preparation of Goethe's idea of Weltliteratur" (in: *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, N.S., vol. ix, 1933); *Herders Samtliche Werke*. Hrsg. von Bernhard Suphan. Berlin 1877 ff., Bd. 14: "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit": 19 Buch, Kap. 4: "Reiche der

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Araber". pp. 425-428. Bd. 24. 356: *Adrastea* VII. 8. Aufsatz: "Morgenländische Literatur". *Herders Werke*. Hrsg. von Heinrich Kurz. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Bd. I. Leipzig-Wien: Bibliographisches Institut. "Nach morgenländischen Dichtern" (pp. 259-261).

Herder, as a scholar, was one of the most advanced minds of the period and may be regarded as a real theoretician of the spirial reorientation that laid the basis for German classical literature.

He stayed in Strasburg from September 1770 to April 1771, and during this time, he made Goethe really appreciate Homer, Shakespeare, the Old Testament and folk songs, for the first time. He interpreted poetry as the mother tongue of the human race, and in this way helped to liberate the poetic feelings of Goethe who wrote in "Poetry and Truth" (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*):

"The most significant event, which was to have the weightiest consequences for me, was my acquaintance and later my close association with Herder."

Herbert Lindtner: *Das Problem des Spinozismus im Schaffen Goethes und Herders*, Weimar 1960.

16. For example Jean Chardin, Pietro della Vida, Anquetil du Perron, Robert Knox, John de Ma(u)ndeville, Marco Polo, Tavernier and E.S. Waring.

17. "Ich möchte beten, wie Moses im Koran: Herr, mache mir Raum in der engen Brust."

18. *Alcoran*.... 1698, 1721; see A. Nallino: "Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludvico Marracci sul Corano" (in: *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, VI and VII (1931), pp. 303-349).

19. *Die türkische Bibel, oder des Korans allererste teutsche Übersetzung aus der arabischen Urschrift*...Frankfurt am Mayn, 1772.

About this translation Goethe remarks:

"Diese elende Produktion wird kürzer abgefertigt. Wir wünschten, dass einmal eine andere unter morgenländischem von einem Deutschen verfertigt würde, der mit allem Dichter-und Prophetengefühle in seinem Zelte den Koran läse, und Ahndungsgeist genug hätte, das Ganze zu umfassen." (in:

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Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen, 22 December 1772, pp. 146-147).

20. *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammad*, 1734.

Goethe writes: "Denn was ist jetzo Sale fur uns" (on Ilad ... see also Goethe: *Jugendwerke*. Bd. 3, hrsg. von der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin 1960).

21. See for details, Katharina Mommsen: "Die Bedeutung des Korans für Goethe (von Götz bis zum Buch des Paradieses)" (In ... *und die Tradition*. Hrsg. von Hans Reiss. Frankfurt a.M. 1973, pp. 138-162); *Goethe Lexikon*. Hrsg. von Gero von Wilpert. Stuttgart 1998, s.v. Koran.

According to Iqbal, "The main purpose of the Qur'an is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. It is in view of this essential aspect of the Quranic teaching that Goethe, while making a general review of Islam as an educational force, said to Eckermann: "You see this teaching never fails: with all our systems, we cannot go, and generally speaking no man can go, farther than that."

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture 1989, p.7)

Once Iqbal conversed: "In a book it is written about Goethe, the famous German poet, that after reading the Qur'an in German translation he said to some of his friends that when I read this Book, my soul starts trembling in my body."

(cf. *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*. By Faqir Waheed-ud-Din. Rep. Lahore 1987, vol. I, p. 22)

22. *Memoirs of Goethe, written by himself*. London: Henry Colburn, vol. II, 1824, pp. 112-116.

23. First published in *Musenalmanach* (Göttingen) of the year 1774 (pp. 15-24); see for details Max Morris : *Der junge Goethe*. Bd. 3. Leipzig 1910; Gottfried Fittbogen: *Die sprachliche und metrische Form der Hymnen Goethes*. Halle : Niemeyer 1909; Oscar Fambach: *Goethe und seine Kritiker*. Düsseldorf: Ehlermann, 1953, pp. 134-147; Gero von Wilpert, op. cit., p. 662. For the German text of the poem, see *Goethe. Selected Poems*. Edited by Barker Fairley. London: Heinemann 1981 (1954), pp. 9-11.

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According to Goethe: "I had composed several songs which I intended to introduce into my piece. Only one of these remains in the collection of my poems, under the title of *The Song of Mahomet*. My intention was that Ali should recite this song in honour of his master at the height of his prosperity, and shortly before the catastrophe produced by the poison. I recollect this intention of introducing some other fragments; but longer details would carry me too far." (*Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 115-116)

24. Ingeborg. H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahomets' Gesang" bei Goethes Zeitgenossen und in der modernen persischen Adaption Muhammad Iqbal (1923)."

(*Goethe Jahrbuch*, Bd. 100 (Weimar 1983), pp. 111-126, esp. p. 113, f. n. 5, 6).

25. Voltaire: *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* (1741), Paris 1742. Goethe has mentioned it in a letter (dated 23 November 1765) to his sister, Cornelia. Goethe translated it during 29th September to 17th November 1799 under the heading "Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Voltaire." (Tübingen 1802). E. Fluegel: *Mahomets Gesang*, 1882. See for details, T. Graul: *Goethes Mahomet und Tankred*. Diss. Berlin 1914; R. Kilchenmann: "Goethes Übersetzung der Voltairedramen Mahomet und Tancred" (*Comparative Literature*, vol. 14, 1962); Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und die arabische Welt*, 1988 (Übersetzung von Voltaires "Mahomet"); I. H. Solbrig: "The theatre, theory and politics" (*Michigan Germanic Studies*, vol. 16, 1990); J.v. Stackelberg: "Ein Mahomet aus Fleisch und Blut." (*Colloquium Helveticum*, vol. 18, 1993).

26. On Goethe's studies about Muhammad, see Jakob Minor: *Goethes Mahomet. Ein Vortrag*. Jena: Diederich, 1907).

(In five chapters of this book, the author deals with the early studies, mostly offensive, on the life and teachings of the Holy Prophet, Goethe's "Frankfurther Fragmente" (*Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen*), Voltaire's drama, the details of Goethe's plan of 'Mahomet' taken from his *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and finally the period in which the *Divan* was written).

For further information on the subject see, Franz Saran: *Goethes Mahomet und Prometheus*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1914; R. Petsch: "Zu Goethes Mahomet" (*Zeitschrift fur deutschen Unterricht*, Bd. 29, 1915); E. Staiger: "Goethes Mahomet" (*Trivium*, 7, 1949);

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Katharina Mommsen *Im Islam leben und sterben wie all. Goethes Verhaltnis zum muslimischen Religion und ihrem Stifter* Berlin 1982

Goethe, in his autobiography (under 1815) refers a book 'Mohamed' by Oelsener "with whom I had long stood on terms of friendship, again to my assistance" (cf. Goethe *Autobiography of Goethe* Truth and Poetry From my own Books XIV-XXX. Together with his *Annals*, or, Day and Year Papers, translated from the German London George Bell, 1883 p 417).

27. *Notes* (*Goethes sammtliche Werke*. Stuttgart 1857. Bd. IX pp 218-221.

28. K. Mommsen: "Goethes Bild vom Orient" (in: *Der Orient in der Forschung Festschrift fur Otto Spies*. Hrsg. von W. Hoenerbach Wiesbaden 1967, p. 455)

29. K. Mommsen: *Goethe und 1001 Nacht* Berlin (Ost) Akademie Verlag, 1960. In 1802 Goethe informs Schiller that he has read the *Arabian Nights*.

30. Ibid.: *Goethe und die Mo'allakat* 2 Aufl. Berlin (Ost): Akademie Verlag, 1961.

    Mu'allaqat (suspended poems), the masterpieces of the pre-Islamic poet Ta'abbata Sharran, had been done into German by Goethe, who used an earlier Latin version.

31. Johann Fück: *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1955, pp. 158-166 For his life and works, see my *Hammer-Purgstall and the Muslim India*, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1998, pp. 10-11, 25-26 (Note 8).

32. Vienna. 6 vols. (1809-1818), pp. 22 - 2255

    Goethe obtained the early volumes of *Fundgruben* from Clemens Wenzel von Metternich-Winneburg (1773-1859), an Austrian diplomat and statesman. (cf. Ingeborg H. Solbrig: *Hammer-Purgstall und Goethe. "Dem Zaubermeister das Werkzeug."* Berlin, Frankfurt a.M.: Lang 1973, p. 251).

33. He met Goethe in Karlsbad. (See *Tagebuch*, III, 136f.)

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34. M. Rodinson: *La fascination de l'Islam*, Paris 1980, p. 80 (paperback)

35. *Explanatory English Translation of the Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*. By Dr. Muhammad Taqui-ud-Din al-Hilali and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Ankara, 1978, p. 21.

36. *West-Eastern Divan* (with two other books). Translated by Alexander Rogers. London: Georg Bell, 1890, p. 203. *Talismans*. "Book of the Singer".

37. "Diese Zeitschrift soll Alles umfassen, was nur immer aus dem Morgenlande kömmt oder auf dasselbe Bezug hat...: in dem die Bekanntschaft mit den gangbarsten Sprachen Europa's bey dem Liebhaber der orientalischen vorausgesetzt werden muss." (vol. 1, 1809, pp. I-II).

38. *Annals*, op. cit., p. 427

39. See Ingeborg H. Solbrig: *Hammer Purgstall*, op. cit., "Die Fundgruben des Orients als Quellen zum West-östlicher Divan." pp. 192-220.

40. *Fundgruben*, vols. II, pp. 359-374; III, pp. 21-40; VI, pp. 221-239.

He was the Professor of the Oriental languages in the University of Jena and founded the historical and critical study of the Old Testament and the New Testament. He is the editor of a voluminous book *Repertorium der biblischen und morgenlandischen Literatur*, 18 vols. (1777-1786) and the author of *Allgemeine Geschichte der Kultur und Literatur...*, 1799-1814. It is clear from *Noten* (op. cit., 1857, pp. 203, 297, 316-317) that Goethe held him in great esteem. See also Hermann Hüffner: "Goethe und Johann Gottfried Eichhorn". (*Goethe Jahrbuch* 3 (1883), pp. 343-345). See also Note 73-74.

41. He served as a Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Jena. He provided some information to Goethe. (See *Noten*, op. cit., 1857, p. 217)

42. He was the son of the poet Ludwig Gotthard Kosegarten (1758-1818), a pupil of Silvestre de Sacy in Paris (1812-1814) and succeeded Lorsbach at Jena in 1817-1824. After 1824 he was a professor in Greifswald. Goethe recommended his appointment to the chair in Oriental languages at Jena, and he sought his advice very often when writing *Noten* (op. cit., 1857, pp. 327, 334). The

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lines of Arabic in the dedication of the *Divan* to Silvestre de Sacy were by Kosegarten, who gave de Sacy the copy with the Arabic lines and Goethe's complimentary letter. Goethe was of great help to Kosegarten, frequently supplying him with Oriental texts that were difficult to get. He also had other links with Kosegarten, standing godfather to one of his children and writing an epitaph for the tomb of the elder Kosegarten.

See, Otto Jahn: "Goethe und Kosegarten", in *Die Grenzboten* (1868); Erich Gülzow, "Goethe und die beiden Kosegarten", in *Unser Pommerland* 17 (1932), pp. 11-13.

43. *Fundgruben*, vol. 1, pp. 397-399. He was *chargé d'affaires* in Constantinople and in 1786 was ennobled and appointed ambassador to this city. After 1807 he lived the life of a landed proprietor in Berlin, dedicated to his Oriental studies. His collection of rare manuscripts and books is now housed in the Oriental section of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Diez was an early contributor to the *Fundgruben*. With his satirical book *Unfug und Betrug in der morgenländischen Literatur* (1815), there came a rift between Diez and Hammer. Afterwards, the situation became worst and Hammer lost his seat in the Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, but during this dispute Goethe remained neutral.

See *Noten* (op. cit., 1857, pp. 317-322); *Annals*, op. cit., p. 417 (under 1815); Carl Siegfried: "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Diez" (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, II (1890), pp. 24-41); Franz Babinger: "Ein orientalischer Berater Goethes: Heinrich Friedrich von Diez" (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, 34 (1913), pp. 83-100); Ibid.: "Der Einfluss von Hch. Frd. von Diezens "Buch des Kabus" und "Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien "auf Goethes "West-östlicher Divan" (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 5 (1913), pp. 577-592); Curt Balcke: "Neues über "Goethes orientalischen Berater". (*ZDMG*, Bd. 84, Leipzig 1930, 74-77, with a photograph of Diez's grave in Berlin (Domfriedhof)); Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und Diez. Quellenuntersuchungen zu Gedichten der Divan-Epoche*, Berlin (Ost): Akademie Verlag, 1961, 2nd rev. ed. Bern-Wien: Lang, 1995.

44. *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-Din Hafis*. Aus dem Persischen zum erstenmal ganz übersetzt. 2 Teile. Tübingen:

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Cotta, 1812 and 1813 (actually published in 1814). Reprinted: Hildesheim, New York: Olms Verlag, 1973.

45. Ibid., Vorwort, p. III.

46. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben 1774-1852*. Bearbeitet von R. Bachofen von Echt. Wien 1940.

In the Foreword of this autobiography (p. III), Hammer-Purgstall tells us that the German translation of Hafiz was begun in 1799 during his stay in Constantinople and ended in 1806. (cf. Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Entstehung und Drucklegung der Hafiz-Übersetzung Joseph von Hammers," in: *Studi germanici*, n. s. 10, no. 2 (1972), pp. 393-403).

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Hafiz attracted some European scholars and they translated his lyrical poetry in their languages. In this respect, Sir William Jones took the initiative and appended to his French translation of the *History of Nadir Shah* (Persian) an essay on Oriental poetry and thirteen versions of Hafiz in accomplished French verse were given (1773; for one specimen see, A. J. Arberry: *Classical Persian Literature*, London 1958). His *Poeseos Asiaticae* and *Persian Song* (1772, the famous paraphrase of Hafiz, see *Persian Poems*, By A. J. Arberry, London 1954) devoted considerable space to Hafiz. In 1768, Jones became acquainted with Count Karl Emerich Rewitzky, an Austrian diplomat in London, who was at that time preparing an edition and Latin translation of selected lyrics from Hafiz. He was pleased to be able to consult the advice of his erudite young colleague. He left England toward the end of 1768, but they remained in correspondence until 1789. (See Rewitzky's *Specimen Poeseos Persicae*, Wien 1771, contains 16 ghazals of Hafiz in Persian and Latin translation with added commentaries to these poems by Sudi, cf. Fück, op. cit., p. 131). Soon J. Richardson translated and paraphrased these 16 ghazals from Rewitzky's Specimen (see his *Specimen of Persian Poetry*, London 1774). For a few other translations of Hafiz upto 1800 see, John Nott: *Kitab-e-lalezar az Divan -e-Hafiz*, London 1787 (17 odes from Hafiz, rendered into English verse); John Haddon Hindley: *Persian lyrics, or scattered poems from the Divan-i-Hafiz with paraphrases*, (Persian and English, 11 odes), London 1800.

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All these early vestiges of Hafiz in European countries might have encouraged Hammer to undertake the translation of the whole *Divan* in German. Presumably, Goethe also would have taken interest in Hafiz, as in those years his creative leanings to the Orient started.

Another significant point deserves more attention and [illegible] Hammer's meeting with Abu Talib Khan (d. 1806) one of the earliest Indian travellers of Europe, who met Hammer-Purgstall in Constantinople, probably in 1802. Before embarking on his journey, he published the Persian text of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* from Calcutta in 1791, obviously initiated by Jones, and it can be conjectured that he might have mentioned this edition to Hammer-Purgstall who was at that time preparing its German translation. (see, my *Hammer-Purgstall and the Muslim India* Lahore 1998, p. 13)

47. Goethe writes in his personal diary:

> "...the whole [Gr. tr. of Hafiz] now produced all the greater impression on me, and I found myself urgently impelled to productive efforts in order to assert my own genius in conflict with this new mighty force. The German translation unsluiced the full tide of its influence on me, and everything of kindred sense latent in me started up in emphatic response, and with all the greater impetuosity that it had now become a poignant necessity for me to fly the actual world escape into an ideal world more comfortable with my taste, capacity and will." (*Annals*, 1884, op cit., p. 417; Goethe: *Annalen oder Tag-und Jahreshaften als Erganzungen meiner sonstigen Bekenntnisse*, completed 1824, published 1830). He continues: "Von Hammer's translation being daily in my hands, and becoming indeed, for me the book of books, I did not fail to pick many a jewel out of its treasures." (*Annals*, op. cit., pp. 417-418).

And in *Noten* he writes:

> "Endlich aber, als mir, im Frühling 1813, die vollständige Uebersetzung aller seiner Werke zukam, ergriff ich mit besonderer Vorliebe sein inneres Wesen, und suchte mich durch eigene Production mit ihm in Verhältniss zu setzen." ("Von Hammer", op. cit., 1857, p. 323.)

48. The opening poem of the *Divan* "Hegire" (Flight) clearly indicates his intention of taking a spiritual and mental journey

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from the political chaos of Europe to the tranquil rest of the East. The poem starts:

> North and South and West are crumbling,
> Thrones are falling, kingdoms trembling:
> Come, flee away to purer East,
> There on patriarch's air to feast;
> There with love and drink and song
> Khiser's spring shall make thee young.
> (Rogers' tr., op. cit., p. 199)

49. *Noten* is called the *chef-d'oeuvre* of early European Oriental work. The major part of it deals exclusively with Persian literature, while the rest of the book is also closely linked with the problems of Persian literature. Goethe shows in it an understanding of the concept of Oriental literature that is close in many ways to the modern outlook.

For the other details about *Divan* and *Noten*, see *Goethe-Lexikon*, op. cit., pp. 773-774.

50. Some of the biographers of Goethe like G.H. Lewes differs and expressed their opinion that the *Noten* "show indeed a conscientious study of the East, but which also show how immeasurably inferior he was in prose to poetry. Age is visible in every page." (Lewes: *The Life and Works of Goethe*. London/New York 1949 (1853). Everyman's Library No. 269, p. 540)

For *Noten*, Goethe has used some of other Hammer's works as his basic sources, such as *Geschichte des schönen Redekunste Persiens* (Wien, 1818; largely based on Daulatshah's *Tazkirat ush-Shu'ara*) which he frequently referred in his *Tagebuch* (from 27 July to 17 September 1818, under the different titles). Most of the biographical information about some Persian poets (especially Hafiz and Rumi) has been taken from it. (Cf. H. H. Schaeder: "The islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung", *ZDMG*, Neue Folge 4 (Bd. 79) Leipzig 1925, p. 260); Solbrig: *Hammer-Purgstall*, op. cit., pp. 165-191; Karl Putz: "Joseph von Hammers Geschichte der persischen Redekünste" (in: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, 14 (1901), pp. 430-471). Hammer's *Morgenländische Kleeblatt* (Wien 1819) is another book that has provided the relevant information to Goethe. (see Solbrig, op. cit., pp. 221-252).

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Except Hammer, some other prominent Austrian scholars litterateurs and personalities from the different walks of life have deeply influenced Goethe's life and works Josef Nadler, an authority on German and Austrian literature has indicated all such influences in detail in his excellent book entitled *Goethe und Österreich.* Königsberg-Weimar-Wien Ein Fragment Wien 1966 (Österreich Reihe 298 300)

51. Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866). *Östliche Rosen. Drei Lieder* Leipzig 1822.

52. Count Platen (1796-1835) *Spiegel das Hafis* 1821

53. Friedrich von Bodenstedt (1819-1892) *Der Sänger von Schiras Hafisische Lieder.* Berlin 1877.

54. In his diary, Goethe has mentioned the *Divan.* The concerned passages are as follows:

"If I am to call to mind my own works, I have first of all to mention the *Divan.* It was always attaining more fullness and definiteness of form, some of it being intended for the *Ladies Calendar.*" (*Annals*, op. cit., p. 427, under the year 1816)

Afterwards he referred some of the studies of Hammer, Von Diez etc. which "appeared to me, however, particularly valuable, and, in accordance with my nature, which involuntarily demanded a reconstruction of any important subject which engaged my mind, I designed an Eastern opera, and began to work at it. It would, too, have attained completion, the conception being really vital in me for a length of time, had there been a musician at my side and a large public before me, so that I should have been spurred to meet the capacities and accomplishments of the former and the taste and demands of the latter." (Ibid.)

Under the year 1818, he states:

"Throughout the winter the *Divan* had continued to be cherished and nursed with so much affection, love and passion, that by the month of March I no longer hesitated about sending it to press. Not that I then broke off my studies on this subject, for I continued writing notes and detached papers in the hope that they would contribute to a better understanding of the matter. I was, of course, quite prepared to see the German stop short in perplexity when a phenomenon out of an entirely different world was precipitated on his notice. The trial, too, in the *Ladies' Calendar,*

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had embarrassed rather than assisted the public. The uncertainty as to whether the foreign arrival was a translation, an imitation, or a representation, did the enterprise no good. I did not, however, think it proper to enlighten them on this point. I was accustomed to seeing the German public eyeing a strange dish auspiciously before they would fall to and partake."

(Ibid., p. 445.)

In 1827, when Goethe had heard some of his *Divan* lyrics sung, he declared to Eckermann that he had noticed that evening that the lyrics of the *Divan* had ceased to bear any relation to him. What was oriental in them no longer lived on in him. It lay like a sloughed snakeskin beside his pathway.

Some contemporary sources provide useful information about *Divan* :

"Recollections of Arthur Schopenhauer "(under 1814)

[After referring the German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz*]. "By way of these versions, "Goethe wrote, "I seemed with a special predilection to lay hold upon that poet's innermost character and sought to establish a relationship with him by inner productivity of my own." (cf. Goethe, *The Story of a Man*, Being the life of Johann Wolfgang Goethe as told in his own words and the words of his contemporaries, By Ludwig Lewisohn, New York 1949, vol. II, p. 223.)

Goethe's letter to Christiane (Wiesbaden, May 31, 1815):

"....Perfect roses bloom, nightingales sing and so it's easy enough to imagine oneself in Shiraz. And so I have indeed fitted my recent poems into the larger form of *The West-Eastern Divan* and written a new table of contents."

(Ibid., II, p. 235)

Sulpiz Boisserée's (1783-1854) Diary (August 3, 1815):

"He's working at the *Divan*. Has absorbed much of the Oriental spirit. Napoleon and our period are rich in analogies to Timur, to Djengis-Khan, men like natural forces...

He read me his significant introduction, an exposition of the Oriental spirit and his own relationship to that spirit.... He assumes the name of Hafiz as his own in these poems..."

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(Ibid., II, p. 237)

Ibid., (August 4, 1815)

"...After dinner he discussed the continuation of the *Divan*. All the splendour of the Orient has, in the end, nothing higher than the description of loving hearts. He spoke of the pride in their possession taken by true lovers and read us many splendid and characteristic things. I told him that the *Divan* reminded me of *Faust* by reason of its grandeur and boldness combined with naturalness and simplicity in the subject matter, as well as in form and diction. He accepted that appreciatively."

(Ibid., II, p. 238)

Ibid., (August 7, 1815)

"In the evening he read us from the *Divan* again. One of the loveliest of the poems was on Adam and Eve, how the Creator made them and took joy in them."

(Ibid., II, p. 239)

Letter to Carl Friedrich Zelter, 1758-1832 (October 25, 1815)

"Thus I am able to announce to you that many items have been added to the *Divan*, of which a number are quite recent and with the dew on them....Much that is singable is among these pieces, yet reflection is, upon the whole, predominant, as befits both their Oriental character and the age of the poet."

(Ibid., II, p. 252)

From the 'Supplementary Confessions':

"All winter the *West-Eastern Divan* had had my devoted and loving and passionate interest, so that by March there was no further need to delay the printing."

(Ibid., II, p. 275)

Letter to Zelter (Karlsbad, May 11, 1820):

"Let me commend the *Divan* to you again. I know what I put into it. Some of that can be distangled and put to your use....Meanwhile, new verses arise. Oriental religion and myth and custom are the right sources for such poetry as befits my years. Unconditional resignation to God's unfathomable will, a

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serene vision of this stirring earthly life with its way of circular and spiral recurrence, love, benevolence, the alternation between two universes, the purification of the real until it resolves itself into the symbol. What more can Grandpapa want?"

(Ibid., II, p. 294)

Letter to Zelter (End of May, 1815):

"I have been looking over my *Orientalischer Divan*, in order to send you a new poem, but I now see clearly for the first time, how this kind of poetry drives one to recollection; for I did not find anything vocal in it, especially for the *Liedertafel*, for which, after all, it is our main business to provide. For what cannot be sung in company, is in reality no song, just as a monologue is no drama..."

(*Goethe's Letters to Zelter*, with extracts from those of Zelter to Goethe. Selected and annotated by A. D. Coleridge. London: George Bell, 1887, p. 119)

"Before I closed it, I again looked through my *Divan*, and find a second reason, why I cannot send you any poem out of it; this, however, speaks in favour of the collection. For every individual member is so imbued with the spirit of the whole, is so thoroughly Oriental, referring to Eastern customs, usages, and religion, that it requires to be explained by one of the preceding poems, before it can produce any effect upon the imagination, or the feelings. I did not myself know, in what a strange way I had made the whole thing hang together. The first hundred poems are nearly complete; when I have finished the second, the Collection will look graver...." (Ibid., p. 121)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 29 October 1815):

"Now I must tell you, that my *Divan* is larger by several numbers, some of them of the freshest and most youthful kind. It can now be divided into books, according to the different contents; and there are several vocal things among them, though--in accordance with their Oriental style--reflection prevails in most of them,--as moreover befits the years of the poet."

(Ibid., p. 122)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 11 March 1816):

"My *Divan* has grown in bulk and in strength. The style of poetry, which, without further reflection, I have adopted and made use of,

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has this peculiarity, that like the Sonnet, it almost resists being sung, it is also notable enough that the glory of Orientals is writing, not singing. However, it is a kind of poetry that suits my time of life, mode of thought, experience and view of things while it allows one to be as foolish in love-matters as one can only be in youth."

(Ibid., pp. 124 f.)

Letter to Zelter (Baden, 2 August 1819):

"How naturally all this comes, and what will your honoured friend F. A. Wolf, say, when he comes to read the first lines in Hafis (*Divan*, p. 379)? I jumble up one thing with another, reading now here, now there, and just enjoying myself, to the top of my bent, in the harum-scarum life here, everything comes into my head all at once."

(Ibid., p. 181)

Letter to Zelter (Baden, 12 August 1819):

"...What you say on page 377 of the *Divan*, under the heading, Verwahrung, as to the difference between poetry and the elocutionary arts, seems to me to apply here: these are tales, and a man who does not choose to believe them, can let them alone."

(Ibid., pp. 183-184)

Letter to Zelter (Weimar, 4 January 1819):

"Once we had seen this great stream of court-society and life flowing North in your direction, I turned at once to the East and back to my former acquaintances [of the *Divan*]. I am keen to finish it with the additional poems, and I want to reach you by Easter. However, we shall have to be fairly busy and active for three or four months more, will all the interruptions that come..."

(*Letters from Goethe*. Translated by Dr. M. von Herzfeld and C. Molvil Sym. Introduction by Prof. W. H. Bruford. Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1957, p.417)

55. Goethe explains the change in his diary:

"The political heaven seemed, meanwhile, gradually to clear up. The wish to roam about in the open world, especially in my free native district, to which my mind now fondly turned, impelled me

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to a journey. The blithe air and the nimble motion stimulated several growths in me of the new Eastern genius. A healthful stay at a watering-place, rural residence in a district I had roamed all over in youthful days, meetings with dear friends of cultivated mind--all this quickened and enriched me, raising me to the happy state which every man of feeling will find reflected in the *Divan*."
(*Annals*, op. cit., under 1815, p. 418)

56. George Henry Lewes, op. cit., Introduction by Havelock Ellis, p. xi.

57. *The Life of Goethe*, 3 vols, New York 1905-1908 (Reprinted: 1970); originally published in German, 2 vols. Munich, 1896-1903.

58. See A. Müller: *J.J. von Willemer*, 1925; G. Jacobs: *J. J. Willemer*, Diss. Frankfurt/M. 1971.

59. The grandfather of C. G. Jung, the reputed psychologist, was rumored to be the illegitimate son of Goethe. Perhaps, this is the reason that he expressed the opinion that he had himself been Goethe in a previous incarnation.

Jung says:

"There is circumstantial evidence that my grandfather was one of Goethe's sons. However, my grandsons don't know about it. I haven't made it a family tradition. My grandfather's mother played an important role in the theatre world of Mannheim."

((*C. G. Jung Speaking. Interviews and Encounters*. Edited by William McGurie and R.F.C. Hull. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978, p. 271)

For the legend of Jung's descent from Goethe, see his

Memories, Dreams, Reflections. London etc., 1961 (paperback), ch. II, n. 1, pp. 51-52, 261 and a footnote by Aniel Jaffe (pp. 51-52).

The family name of Marianne Jung and her deep interest in the theatre from the childhood, intensified by her mother, may have some link with Jung's ancestors.

Jung pronounced Goethe "a prophet", a title that is very close to Iqbal's oft-quoted distich about Goethe:

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Who, though without prophetic fame

Has an inspired book to his name

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, Eng. tr. by Hadi Hussain Lahore, 19[illegible] (1971), p. 170)

(60) 1784-1860, family name Maria Anna Katharina Piers[illegible] Linz in Upper Austria, daughter of the instrument maker Jos[illegible] the Viennese actress M.A.I. Pungernber, in her childhood s[illegible] much interest in theatre as well as literature and languages; [illegible] with her mother in a troupe of ballet dancers to Frankfurt in 1[illegible] and earned the fame for her performance on the stage and [illegible] attractive charms. J.J. Willemer with the consent of her mother took her to his house and provided the facilities for sharpening her talent for theatre and music. after his wife's death he married her (27th September 1814). Goethe met her in Wiesbaden for the first time (4th August 1814) and was completely enraptured by her beauty and artistic accomplishments. during his frequent visits of Frankfurt and Gerbermühle in two years (1814 and 1815), their mutual relationship peaked: after their last meeting in Heidelberg on 29th September 1815, Goethe did not see her again but he never ceased belonging to Marianne inwardly. letters, gifts and words of graceful recollection were exchanged. three weeks before his death (29th February 1832) Goethe returned to Marianne her letters, requesting her to leave the packet unopened "until the unspecified hour"; she found among the letters another word of gratitude, a last poem "Vor die Augen meiner Leben..." (31st March 1831) of her beloved, dedicated to her.

In 1850s, Herman Grimm was the first scholar who pointed out the contribution of Marianne to the *Divan* under the name of "Zuleika."

For the life of Marianne and her relation with Goethe, see Joseph Francois Angelloz: "Un couple exemplaire. Goethe et Marriane de Willemer" (*Mecure de France*, sér. med., 308 (1950), pp. 652-669); Karl Bahn: *Mariamne von Willemer, Goethes Suleika*, Berlin, 1928; Carl Becker: "Das Buch Suleika als Zyklus." (*Varia Variorum*, Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt, Münster Köln, 1952, pp. 225-252); Bernhard von Brentano: *Dass ich eins und doppelt bin Mariamne von Willemer und Goethe*, 2nd completely rev. ed., Wiesbaden: Limes Verlag, 1961 (1st ed. entitled *Goethe und Mariamne von Willemer. Die Geschichte einer Liebe*, Zürich,

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1945); Karl Buchheim: *Suleika--Vom Ewigen in der Liebe*. München, 1948; Franz Dornseiff: "Goethes Aschiedsgedicht an Marianne--Suleika." (*Goethe*, 4 (1939), pp. 306-311); Heinrich Düntzer: "Goethe und Marianne von Willemer." (*Westermann's illustrirte deutsche Monatshefte fur das gesammte geistige Leben der Gegenwart*, 28, N.F., Bd. 12, Braunschweig, 1870, pp. 639a--663a); Hermann Grimm: *Goethe und Suleika*. Sonderdruck (Mit einem Nachwort von Rudolf Bach). Hamburg, 1947 (originally published in: *Preussischer Jahrbucher* (Berlin) 24 (1869), 1. Ht. Juli, pp. 1-21); Carmen Kahn-Wallerstein: *Mariamne von Willemer, Goethes Suleika und ihre Welt*. Bern München, 1961; Emilie Kellner: *Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika*. Leipzig, 1876; Edgar Lohner: "Hatem und Suleika: Kunst und Kommunikation." (*Interpretationen zum West-ostlicher Divan Goethes*. Hrsg. von Edgar Lohner. Darmstadt, 1973, pp. 277-304); Werner Milch: *Bettine und Mariamne*. Zürich, 1947; Friedrich Neumann: "Worte Suleika zum Begriff "Persönlichkeit" [zu: "Volk und Knecht und überwinder"] *Muttersprache*, 1957, pp. 113-116); Hans Pyritz: *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer Eine biographische Studie*. 3rd. ed. Stuttgart, 1948, (1st ed. Stuttgart, 1941, pp. VI, 132); Ibid.: *Mariamne von Willemer*. Mit einem Anhang: Gedichte Marianne von Willemer. Berlin, 1944; Ibid.: "Goethe und Marianne von Willemer". (ibid.: *Goethe-Studien*, 1962); Wilhelm Scherer: "Eine österreichische Dichterin (*Aufsatze uber Goethe*. Berlin 1886, pp. 235-246); Erich Schmidt: "Marianne-Suleika." (E. Schmidt: *Charakteristiken*. I. Berlin 1886, pp. 321-331); Aurelia Grether Scott: *Goethes Zuleika. Mariamne von Willemer, and her world*. Columbia Phil. Diss., 1954 (Doctoral Dissertation Series, Publication No.: 10,800. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Order No. 55-333); Reinhold Steig: "Aus Suleikas hohen Tagen." (*Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts*, 1907, pp. 214-229); Paul Stöcklein: "Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Suleika spricht." (*Wege zum Gedicht*. Mit einer Einführung von Edgar Hederer. Hrsg. von Rupert Hirschenauer und Albrecht Weber. I. München Zürich, 1965, pp. 84-98); Edwin Zellweker: *Mariamne Willemer. Lebensbild einer osterreichicherin*. Wien: Volksbuchverlag, 1949, pp. 213 with pictures; Hans Frank: *Mariamne*. Berlin Darmstadt: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1956; G.C. van Niftrik: "De geschiedenis van den domineesdochter" (*Ex Auditu Verbe*. Essays in honour of Dr. G.C. Berkouwer. Kampen: Kok, 1965, p. 113, Note 64); H. Sachse: *Neues Leben, neue Liebe*. 1982; G. Wacha:

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Mariamne von Willemer. 1954. P. Meier "Tamal in meinem Leben" (in Ibid *Tulle des Inexprimés*. 1955). Goethe and Suleika" (Western. by I. I. Soldan. vol. I. 1958) pp. 61-66. *Zuleika. The Book of Zuleika from the West-Eastern Divan of Goethe (Das Buch Zuleika)*. Translated by A. Gaethert Scott. New York Stechert-Hafner. 1951.

The correspondence between Goethe and Marianne furnishes valuable information for understanding the *Divan*'s poetics. See *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer (Suleika)*. Hrsg. mit Lebensnachrichten und Erläuterungen von Theodor Creizenach. Stuttgart 1877. 2nd rev. ed. 1878. Goethes *Briefwechsel mit Marianne von Willemer*. Hrsg. von Philipp Stein. Leipzig 1908. 2nd ed. Hrsg. von Max Hecker. 1915. *Marianne und Johann Jakob Willemer. Briefwechsel mit Goethe. Dokumente. Lebens-Chronik. Erläuterungen*. Hrsg. von Hans-J. Weitz. Frankfurt M., 1965.

61. To Eckermann (dated 11th March 1828).

62. Paul Böckmann: "Die Heidelberger Divan Gedichte". in *Goethe und Heidelberg*. Unter Mitarb. von...hrsg. von der Direktion des Kurpfälzischen Museums. Heidelberg 1949. pp. 204-239. Reprinted under the title: "Die Liebessprache der Heidelberger Divan-Gedichte." in : *Formensprache. Studien zur Literaturästhetik und Dichtungsinterpretation*. Hamburg 1966. pp. 167-192; see also *Miscellaneous Travels of J.W. Goethe*. Edited by L. Dora Schmitz. London 1882. "From a Tour on the Rhine, Maine, and Neckar, in 1814 and 1815." Translated by the Editor. pp. 289-424. Heidelberg pp. 395-417.

63. She was born in Heilbronn; came to Heidelberg for higher education and resided there with her elder sister, Sofie Wegenast. She taught German language privately to the foreign students of the University. She was also the tutor of Iqbal, when he stopped in Heidelberg for a short period of two and a half months in order to improve his German. Later on, she was employed in the University clinic and after her retirement, she spent most of her time in Heidelberg till her death in 1964. In early 1960s she handed over all these letters (written between 1907-1933) to Pakistani officials so that those could be preserved in the National Archives. See also Note 107-109.

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64. See for German and English handwritten scripts of all these letters, together with their transcripts, *Iqbal Europe Mein* ("Iqbal in Europe", in Urdu). By Dr. Saeed Akhtar Durrani, 2nd rev. ed., Lahore: Ferozsons, 1999 (ist ed., 1985), pp. 375-470, Appendix 6).

65. Wilhelm Bode: *Goethes Liebesleben*, Berlin 1914; Felix Aaron Theilhaber: *Goethe Sexus und Eros*, Berlin 1929.

66. Graham Shaw: *Printing in Calcutta to 1800*. A description of checklist of printing in late 18th century, Calcutta, London 1981.

67. A. J. Arberry: *Oriental Essays*. Portraits of Seven Scholars, London: Allen & Unwin, 1960, p. 7. "The Founder, William Jones" pp. 48-84; Fück, op. cit., pp. 129-135, Lord Teignmouth: *Memoirs of the Life, Writings,and Correspondence of Sir William Jones*, Philadelphia 1805; John Hennig: *Goethe and the English Speaking World*, Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1988 (This collection of essays explore what Goethe read, whom he met, with whom he corresponded--the immense effort he made to be fully informed of what was happening in his time); *Eminent Orientalists*, Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., no date.

68. " ..er {Jones} übersetzte 1788 das schönste indische Drama, die Sakuntala des Kalidasa, welche bei ihrem Bekanntwerden in Europa einen tiefen Eindruck machte und in der aus der englischen Übersetzung geflossenen Verdeutschung Georg Forsters Herder und Goethe in einen Überschwang des Entzückens versetzte." (Fück, op. cit., p. 135)

69. A. J. Arberry: *Seven Odes*, London 1957; Goethe: *Annals*, p. 417, under the year 1815.

70. *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex*, London 1774. (see also Note 74)

71. Full title: *Blumen aus morgenlandischen Dichter gemacht*, 1792.

72. In *Noten*, Goethe remarks twice of Jones:

> "Die Verdienste dieses Mannes sind so weltbekannt und an mehr als einem Orte umständlich gerühmt, dass mir nichts übrig bleibt, als nur im Allgemeinum anzuerkennen, dass ich aus seinem Bemühungen von jeher möglichsten Vortheil zu ziehen gesucht habe; dass will ich eine Seite bezeichnen, von welcher er mir besonders merkwürdig geworden."

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(cf. *Goethe's sämmtliche Werke*. Bd. I. Stuttgart 1857. p. 51.)

"Wir wollen uns nicht zu weit verlieren, anderen wie gegenwärtigen Falle nur so viel, aber wenn der vortreffliche Jones die Orientalischen Dichter mit Lateinern und Griechen vergleicht, so hat er seine Ursachen, die Verhältnisse [illegible] und den dortigen Alterthümern mehrere, die dieser [illegible] strengen classischen Schule gebildet, begreift, [illegible] ausschliessende Vorurtheil, das nichts wollte gelten lassen, was von Rom und Athen her auf uns vererbt worden, [illegible] schätze, heute seinen Orient und wünschte sein Productionsfeld Altengland einzuverleiben, einzuschwärzen, welche [illegible] unter dem Stempel des Alterthums zu bewunken war."

(Ibid., p. 257, under "Warnung")

73 Goethe. *Werke*. op. cit., 1857. pp. [illegible] Cf. also op. cit., p. [illegible] Goethe was also in [illegible] at that time and there he met [illegible] with Eichhorn.

74 Full title: *Poesos Asiaticae [illegible] appendice*. Paris and London, 1774. Eichhorn. Lipsiae 1777.

75. Friedrich Rückert: *Nal und Dimayanti von Hala*. Arabische Dichtung aus dem Nachlass. Hrsg. und eingeleitet von Hartmut Bobzin. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988. Einleitung, p. 10.

76. For Dr. Modi's scholarly vastness and diligence, see his collection of articles entitled *Iranian Papers*, in four volumes (Bombay: 1905, 1917, 1927 and 1929); *Collection of Papers read at the Oriental Conferences held in India*. Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1932. *Papers on Indo-Iranian and other subjects contributed by several scholars in honour of J. J. Modi*. Edited by the Dr. Modi Memorial Volume Editorial Board. Bombay: Fort Printing press, 1930.

An authority on Parsis writes about Dr. Modi:

"The best known to the world at large was Jivanji J. Modi, who was hereditary priest-in-charge of a Bombay fire temple, a graduate of both Elphinstone Institute and the Sir J. J. Madressa and for forty years full-time secretary of the Parsi Panchayat. He wrote many books and articles on Parsi rituals and customs, history, beliefs and folklore, and received much recognition from foreign learned societies. His major work in English, published in

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1922, was *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, written partly to record observances which were then being abandoned in the rush of industrialized life."

(Mary Boyce: *Zoroastrians Their Religions, Beliefs and Practices*. London: Routledge 1979, p. 217)

For Dr. Modi's articles see: *A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia*. Edited by J. D. Pearson. London: Mansell 1975, index, s.v.

77. In a footnote of his article *Goethe's Parsi-Nameh* he writes:

"The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfort. During my two days visit of Frankfort, in 1889, I had the pleasure of visiting his house on 21st September 1889. I have put down in my notebook, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hierschgraben, [correct: Hirschgraben]. There is also his statue in Frankfort. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poecy--Tragedy and Comedy; on another, his Faust, and Mephistopheles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works." (*The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxiv (1914-15), p. 68, f.n. 6).

78. Edward Dowden, (1843-1913), an Irish writer and literary critic (see Boyd's *Appreciations and Depreciations*, 1917, pp. 141-162). His article "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan", in: *Contemporary Review*, vol. 94 (July 1908) pp. 23-42, also in: E. Dowden: *Essays and Elizabethan*. Edited by Elizabeth Dowden. London: Dent, 1910, pp. 89-119.

79. *JBB Royal Asiatic Society*, op. cit., pp. 66-101; also in: Modi: *Asiatic Papers*, Part II, Bombay 1917, pp. 119-148.

At the end, Modi clarifies:

"I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interesting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled 'The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany' (1904). It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here." (p. 95, f.n.1)

Arfthur F. J. Remy wrote a book *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*. New York 1901 (reprinted:

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New York: Amis Press, 1960, also available in Urdu translation by Dr. Reyazul Hasan, Karachi, 1973.

80. Dr. Modi's summarized article 'Hafiz and Goethe' published in *Proceedings, Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 1061-1066.

81. *Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam*, Surat, 1932. It gives a biographical sketch of Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914) and his review of Umar Khayyam's poems and philosophy from his Urdu work *Shi'r-ul-Ajam*, vol. I, pp. 205-260. Note: The copy sent by the author to Iqbal on 29 September 1933 is preserved in the Iqbal Museum, Lahore, No. MM 1977.158.

For Dr. Modi's remarks about Goethe, see Foreword, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

82. The title of this Gujrati translation is *Hafiz Pahavi Farhang* and was printed in 1897.

83. A few names of such personalities can be mentioned and they all were born in 1870s, like Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Iqbal (1877-1938), Muhammad Ali Jauhar (1878-1931), Sir Lutf-i-Husain (1877-1936), Sh. Abdul Qadir (1874-1950), Maulana Shaukat Ali (1873-1938), Fazlul Haq (1873-1962), Abdul Bari Farangimahalli (1878-1926), Raja of Mahmudabad (1877-1931), etc.

Many reputed politicians, scientists, religious thinkers and writers were also born in 1870s, such as K. Adenauer (1876-1967), W. Churchill (1874-1965), Shri Aurobindo (1872-1950), A. Einstein (1879-1955), J. Stalin (1879-1953), Martin Buber (1878-1965), Thomas Mann (1875-1955), Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), Hugo van Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) etc.

84. See for his life and works, *Searching for Solace: A Biography of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Interpreter of the Qur'an*, By M. A. Sherif, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 1994.

85. *Centennial History of Islamia College, Lahore, 1892-1992* (in Urdu), vol. i, by Ahmad Saeed, Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1992, p. 152 and with index.

A. Yusuf Ali was appointed the Principal of the College twice (27 September 1925--November 1927; 16 April 1935--13 March 1937). See for details, *Faran* (Govt. Islamia College Magazine).

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1999, p. 79 article by M. Siddiq: "Our New Principal" (in: *The Crescent*. The Magazine of the Islamia College Lahore. vol. xx. no. 78. Oct.--Nov. 1925, pp. 5-10. The Editorial by M. Sadiq).

86 *Contemporary Review*, 90 (August 1906), pp. 169-181; also in: *Eclectic Magazine*, 147 (October 1906), pp. 298-306; for its extract, see *Searching for Solace*, op. cit., pp. 237-240, Appendix II: "Selected Writings".

87. See for details, *Stimmen der Zeit*, (Feb. 1921, Bd. 101, pp. 416-429); A. Aronson: *Rabindranath Tagore through Western Eyes*, Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1943; G. Herdt: "Rabindranath Tagore in German Literature." (*Visva-Bharati Quarterly* (Santiniketan), vol. 27, nos. 3-4 (1961-62), pp. 260-274); Taraknath Sen: "Western Influence on the Poetry of Tagore", in: *Rabindranath Tagore: A Centenary Volume: 1861-1961*, 3rd ed., New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1987 (1961), esp. pp. 274-275. Theodor Heuss (Former President of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-59): "Tagore and Germany", in: Ibid., pp. 321-322. See also Note 131.

88 Letter written to Mawlana Ahsan Marahrawi (28 February 1899). See, *Iqbal Namah*, Edited by Sh. Ataullah, vol. i, Lahore 1944 p. 3; also in: *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, edited by Muzaffar Hussain Barni, vol. i, 1989, Delhi: Urdu Academy, p. 61.

89 Iqbal was appointed as the Assistant Professor in the English Department of the Government College, Lahore (1st January, 1901) for six months; afterwards his reappointments and extension in the same Department on 16 October 1902, 3 June 1903, 30 December 1903 upto the 31st March 1904, when he transferred to the Philosophy Department. During this time, particularly in 1901, he also taught English literature in Islamia College for a short time, when Sh. Abdul Qadir took the leave and sailed for England for higher education (cf. Dr. Waheed Quraishi: *Klasiki Adab ka Tahqiqi Mutali'a*, in Urdu), Lahore 1965, pp. 326, 337-341, 339, f. n. 3; Hanif Shahid: *Iqbal aur Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (in Urdu), Lahore, 1976.

According to Waheed Quraishi (op. cit., p. 326), Iqbal got the first leave of absence from the Readership of the Oriental College, Punjab University, in 1901, for a few months to serve in Islamia College, Lahore, as Professor of English in place of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, the permanent incumbent of the post who proceeded on leave. This fact is supported by a statement of the late Dr.

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Khalifah Shuja-ud-Din who studied the English textbook *Scenes from Faust* with Iqbal in his intermediate in those days (*Panch Chiragh*, Lahore (in Urdu), pp. 74-75).

90. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement Volume I. *Iqbal Review*, Special Issue on Sir Thomas W. Arnold, April 1965, esp. articles "Arnold and Iqbal" by Dr. S. A. Durrani, pp. [illegible]; "Arnold as a Student of Islam" by Dr. C. W. Troll, pp. [illegible]; *Iqbal Europe Mein* by S. A. Durrani, op. cit., pp. 87-103; *Nawadir-i-Iqbal Europe Mein* (in Urdu) by Saeed Akhtar Durrani, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1995, pp. 127-130; 196-97 (Two letters of Iqbal to Arnold from Munich). Dr. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi's article "Sir Thomas Arnold" (Urdu), in *Iqbal Sarfaraz aur Idabi Dunya*. Edited by Dr. Anwar Sadeed. Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1988, pp. 172-187; "T. W. Arnold: His Life and Works" By Bakhtyar Hasan Siddiqi, in *Iqbal* (Lahore), XXV, 3, January 1968, pp. 59-67.

In a "Private and Confidential" letter, Iqbal writes to E. P. Thompson (d. 1935) (17 October 1925): "I shall also write to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Harley, but I feel I have very little claim on his attention--except that he is a great friend of Sir Thomas Arnold who was my 'Guru' both in India and England and who has always taken a keen interest in me."

(Photocopy of the original letter in Iqbal Academy, Lahore. Urdu translation in *Kulliyat-i-Maktubat-i-Iqbal*, II, pp. 608-611). For new dimensions of intellectual relationship between Iqbal and T. W. Arnold, see Siddiq Javed's "Iqbal and Arnold" and "Allama Iqbal--Orientalists and Arnold" in his Urdu collection of articles *Iqbal par Tahqiqi Mutali'ey*, Lahore 1988, pp. 53-74, 91-111.

91. *Val-e-Firaq* (in memory of Arnold), in : *Bang* (see. *Kulliyat* (Urdu), pp. 77-78). Originally published in *Makhzan* (vol. 7, no 2, May 1904, pp. 45-47, with a brief introductory note by Iqbal).

The German translation of a part of this poem "Trennungsklage" is as follows:

Wo bist Du, o Mose auf dem Gipfel des Sinai der Wissenschaft?

Die Woge Deines Geistes war ein belebender Wind für die

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Wo ist jetzt das Verlagen nach Durchquerung der Wüste der Wissenschaft?

Dein Atem weckte auch in meinem Haupt die Leidenschaft für die Wissenschaft?

(*Steppe im Staubkorn.* Texte aus dem Urdu--Dichtung Muhammad Iqbals. Ausgewählt. übersetzt und erläutert von J. Christoph Bürgel. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz 1982. pp. 15-16)

92. Edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. London: OUP, 1965 (1931). pp. 204-205.

93. Arnold had intimate relations with some German orientalists and he supported Iqbal while he was in Germany for submitting his doctoral dissertation in Munich.

94. *Makhzan*. (monthly. Lahore) under the editorship of Sh. Abdul Qadir. an intimate friend of Iqbal. Its first issue came out in April 1901. but the poem on Ghalib (1797-1869) was published after five months in September 1901. cf. *Ibtidai Kalam-i-Iqbal*. Chronologically arranged (in Urdu). Edited by Dr. Gian Chand. Hyderabad Deccan: Urdu Research Center. 1988. pp. 119-120

95. *Kulliyat* (Urdu). p. 26. In a footnote by Iqbal. it is stated that in Weimar the famous poet of Germany. Goethe. was buried. For English translation. see *Call of the Marching Bell*. Eng. tr. and comm. of *Bang-i-Dara* by Dr. Mr. A. K. Khalil. St. John's Newfoundland. 1997. p. 71; J. Ch. Bürgel translates this verse in German as follows:

O weh! Du ruhst im verrotteten Delhi;

während dein Mitsänger im lieblichen Weimar schläft.

(*Steppe im Staubkorn*. op. cit., p. 108)

The contrast between 'Desolate Delhi' and the 'Garden of Weimar' is an eloquent expression of the sad neglect from which Ghalib suffered. as compared with the well-deserved recognition accorded to Goethe by his countrymen.

96. For a detailed discussion on this subject. see Dr. Siddiq Javed's Urdu article on the creative source of Iqbal's poem "Ghalib". published in: *Iqbal*. vol. 37. nos. 1-2 (January April 1990). pp. 39-76. esp. pp. 44-46. 57. According to Dr. Muhammad Sadiq. the

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poem of Iqbal on the death of Mirza Dagh (1831-1905), a famous Urdu poet, is modelled on Mathew Arnold's *Memorial Verses*, see his article "Borrowings from English", in *The Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), April 21, 1961.

97. Cf. Yusuf Husain Khan, *Ghalib aur Iqbal* (in Urdu), New Delhi, Ghalib Academy, 19[illegible], p. 20 (repr. Lahore 1986). Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Akram has an Urdu article in his new book on Iqbal (Lahore, 1998).

98. A line of the poem in memory of Arnold is:

"I shall reach you after breaking the chains of the Punjab" (*Bang-i Dra*, Eng. tr. by Khalil, op. cit., p. 133).

99. In the introduction (Geleitwort) of the German translation of Iqbal's *Javidnameh*, "Buch der Ewigkeit" (München, 1957), he writes:

"Drei Reichen des Geistes gehört Sir Muhammad Iqbal an: drei Reiche des Geistes sind Quellen seines gewaltigen Werkes: die Welt Indiens, die Welt des Islam und die des abendländischen Denkens."

100. Atiya Begum (1877-1967), a unique and reliable source of Iqbal's stay in Europe, writes in her book: "Iqbal had hardly taken three months to master the German language." (*Iqbal*, Bombay, Academy of Islamic Publication, 1947, p. 9. Reprinted frequently and translated also in Urdu).

About his mastery of German language she states:

"[On 23 July 1907]... I brought out a letter I had received from Iqbal who was already in Germany. It was written in the German language and when it was read out both the fluency of the writer and the literary merit of the work were admired."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., pp. 19-20)

For other details see my article "Iqbal and Germany", presented at the Seminar "Iqbal and the Modern Era", in Ghent (Belgium), 17-18 Nov. 1997. (forthcoming)

101. "A few days later Iqbal invited me to supper... to meet some German scholars with whom he was working." (*Iqbal*, by Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 15)

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"The next day [10 June 1907] Iqbal came to my place with a few German and Arabic books on philosophy in the company of a German Professor, and read out portions from them starting a discussion in which we all joined..."

(Ibid., p. 17)

"A German woman named Miss Sholey invited me to an Indian dinner on the 27th June [1907]...so I readily accepted, and discovered that Iqbal was staying at this place, and it was at his suggestion that Miss Sholey had invited me." (Ibid., p. 19)

102. *Iqbal*, by Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 19.

103. Atiya Begum informs: "I discovered that Iqbal was also a great admirer of Hafiz. "When I am in mood for Hafiz," he said, "his spirit enters into my soul, and my personality merges into the poet and I myself become Hafiz." (*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 15)

"... and read out portions from them starting a discussion in which we all joined, referring to Hafiz in between as a comparison. I felt that Iqbal believed more in Hafiz than in any other Persian poet, as there was not an occasion he let go, but referred to the ideas and ideals of Hafiz and compared him with other philosophers." (Ibid., p. 17)

104. Atiya Begum states: "Professor Arnold said, 'Iqbal, I am going to send you there, as you are the right man for this responsible work [to decipher a rare Arabic manuscript]."

(Ibid., p. 17)

105. Atiya Begum, op. cit., p. 19

106. Ibid., p. 24.

107. When Emma met Iqbal, she was 28. Archival institutions of Heidelberg provide very scanty information about her life. She continued teaching German probably upto the First World War, with certain gaps. Afterwards, she was employed in the clinic of Heidelberg University as a technical assistant (15 June 1920) and retired from this post at the age of 68 (21 November 1947). See for details, my article "Iqbal and Emma Wegenast" (in Urdu) in : *Nawa-i-Waqt* (daily newspaper) Lahore, 9-15 November 1984 (reproduced in: *Iqbaliyat 84*, ed. by Dr. Waheed Ishrat, Lahore, 1985).

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108. *The Iqbal Pilgrim: An introduction to the Life and Work of Muhammad Iqbal* By Iqbal Singh 2nd ed Delhi OUP 1990 (1951) p 156 New Chapter "Matters of No Importance" pp 147-152)

109. Emma handed over all these letters to [illegible] but according to [illegible] biographers 40) to Dr Mumtaz Hasan ed [illegible] and Mr [illegible] Aman Hobohm, a German convert to Islam in the early [illegible] few years before her death (1964) She intended to preserve them in the National Archives of Pakistan, so that the specialists on Iqbalean studies could use them as their basic source Unlike Emma's sincere desire, these letters kept in secrecy till Mr Hobohm, who luckily had two letters in original and the others in photocopy, disclosed them when he presented a paper "Muhammad Iqbal and Germany A Correspondence of the Heart" in SOAS (London) on the occasion of the fourth birth anniversary of Iqbal in 1977 Later on, this material was widely publicised by Dr S A Durrani in print media of Pakistan and now all the original letters with their transcripts and translations have been published in the second edition of his book *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit

As indicated by Iqbal in some of his letters to Atiya Begum, Emma often wrote letters to Iqbal, evidently in German, because she did not know English, or she was not willing to use this language as the vehicle of her thoughts

"Two three weeks ago I received a letter from your friend Frl Wegenast. I like the girl. She is so good and truthful. I have written to her and to the good old Frau Professor" (Letter, dated 9 April 1909 from Lahore cf. *Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 391)

"I received a letter from Miss Wegenast some time ago. When I write to her I shall remind her of the days when you were in Germany--Ah! the days which will never come again." (Letter dated 17 April, 1909, from Lahore. cf. *Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 48)

Unfortunately, all these Emma's letters written to Iqbal have been lost and we are now completely ignorant even about their contents.

110. *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit., p. 421

111. Ibid., pp. 425-426

112. Ibid., p. 434

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113. Ibid., p. 439

114. *Heidelberger Tageblatt*, 29-6-1966

Atiya Begum (op. cit., p. 23), an Indian friend of Emma, mentions about her philological and philosophical aptitude in these words:

"...two girls Professor Frau Wegenast and Fraulein Seneschal started a discussion on German, Greek and French Philosophy. These girls knew all the three languages, and I saw what a store-house of knowledge they were."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 23)

"... and in company of these German Professors, and particularly the Beautiful Frau Seneschal and Frau Wegenast, he seemed to develop a brilliancy he himself was surprised at, for not only were these women professors were beautiful, but so talented that even the learned appeared before them, though Iqbal sparkled in their midst." (Ibid., p. 86)

I have written in detail about the life and service record of Emma in my article "Iqbal and Germany" (forthcoming) but here only a few passages of these letters are given, showing their emotional intimacy with each other.

"Für ein Mann welcher hat Ihre Bekanntschaft, es ist nicht möglich ohne Sie zu leben" (London, 2 December, 1907)

"Ich danke tausendmal für die Photographien die ich heute Abend erhalten. Es ist so gut von Ihnen. Beide zind schön und sie werden immer in meinem Studien-Zimmer auf meinem Tisch stehen. Aber glauben Sie nicht dass sie nur auf dem Papier sind; sie sind auch in meinem Herz, und werden immer da bleiben." (London, 25 January 1908)

"Mein Körper ist hier, mein Gedanken sind in Deutschland. Es ist Frühling, die Sonne lachelt, mein Herz, aber, ist traurig. Senden Sie einige Wörter, und Ihre Brief wird meinen Frühling seien. Ich habe sehr schöne Gedanken für Sie in meinen traurigen Herzen, und schweigsam gingen sie nach Ihnen ein nach ander. Diese sind meine Wünsche für Sie."

(London, 3 June 1908)

"Vergessen Sie nicht dass es gibt eine unsichtbare Verbindung zwischen uns und, obgleich viele Länder und Meere uns von

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einander trennen. Mit einer magnetischen Gewalt meine Gedanken eilen nach Ihnen, und diese Verbindung festigen und stark machen. Schreiben Sie mir immer, und erinnern Sie sich, dass ein treuer Freund haben obgleich er entfernt ist. Wenn die Herzen bei einander sind, Entfernung macht nicht

(London [illegible] 1907)

"Ich habe meine Deutsche ganz vergessen, aber ich erinnere mich nur ein Wort--Emma"

(Sialkot 3 September 1908)

115. "Bitte geben Sie mir einen kleinen Platz in Ihrem Herzen und Erinnerung" (Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast, Lahore, 20 July 1909)

116. In a letter (7 April 1921) to Waheed Ahmad (editor "Naqeeb"), he openly admits, "During Europe's stay a great revolution took place in my ideas. Truly Europe had made me a Muslim."

117. "My object is to run away from this country as soon as possible....I should leave this wretched country for ever, or take refuge in liquor." (Iqbal's letter to Atiya Begum, Lahore 9 April 1909, in her *Iqbal*, op. cit., pp. 35-36)

118. Edited by Dr. Javid Iqbal, Lahore 1961. Revised and enlarged ed with facsimiles, Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1992. Under the title "Stray Thoughts" Iqbal wrote for the *New Era* (Lucknow). Some extracts, published in 1917, are reproduced in *Discourses of Iqbal*. Compiled by S. H. Razzaki, Lahore 1979, pp. 169-174. Two Urdu translations by Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad Siddiqi, Lahore 1973 and by Dr. Abdul Haq, Delhi 1975 are available.

119. "Maxims and Reflections from Goethe" (in: *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 13, N. S. 1876, pp. 338-348. Same article in: *Eclectic Magazine*, vol. 23 N. S. pp. 745-754, and *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 129, pp. 117-125). *Maximen und Reflexionen*. Nachwort von Walther Killy und Anmerkungen von Irmtraut Schmid. München: C. H. Beck, 1989; *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*. Translated by Bailey Saunders. London: Macmillan, 1893; *Maximen und Reflexionen*. A selection. Ed. and tr. with an intr. and notes by R.H. Stephenson. Glasgow: Scottish Papers in Germanic Studies, 1986 (pp. 161); *Goethe's World-View Presented in his Reflections and Maxims*. Ed. with an intr. by F. Ungar. Transl. by H. Norden. New York 1963 (pp. 215).

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S. Khuda Bakhsh's *Maxims and Reflections* (London: Dentt. 1916) Persian ms., as stated by him in the foreword:

"It was the merest accident two years ago which took me, one fine January morning, to an old bookstall. Among the stock for sale I found a neglected heap, dusty and battered by the shocks of time. I cut the string, and lighted upon an exquisitely written Persian manuscript. It was not very old. In fact it looked quite modern. It was a collection of sayings--prose, poems were perhaps a more appropriate description. It promised to be very interesting, and that promise it amply fulfilled. It bore no name, and the provokingly brief autobiography which preceded the text threw but scant and insufficient light upon its authorship."

120. English translation entitled "Criticisms, Reflections and Maxims of Goethe", by W.B. Rönnfeldt. London: W. Scott Publishing Co., undated.

See, "Catalogue of the Iqbal Collection of Books," in: *Mementos of Iqbal*, by Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen. Lahore: All-Pakistan Islamic Education Congress, n.d.; *Armaghan-i-Iqbal* (in Urdu). Ed. by Ibid., Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1991, pp. 262-320; Muhammad Siddiq: *Descriptive Catalogue of Allama Iqbal's Personal Library*. Lahore 1983; Ibid., *Allama Iqbal and his some Friends* (in Urdu). Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal 1988, pp. 49-60.

It is argued that the significance of Goethe's aphorisms and verse maxims does not lie in any conceptual originality on his part, but rather in his aesthetic transmutation of commonplace thought.

(cf. R. H. Stephensen: *Goethe's Wisdom Literature. A Study in a Aesthetic Transmutation*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1983).

121. "Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own."

(*Stray Reflections*, 1992, op. cit., p. 25)

In a letter to Atiya Begum (Lahore, 17 July 1909) he writes:

"Byron, Goethe and Shelley were not respected by their contemporaries--and though I am far inferior to them in poetic power I am proud that I am in their company in this respect."

(*Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 49)

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122. "I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel Goethe the first two led me into the "inside" of things."

(Ibid., p. 61)

He further remarks about Goethe

"Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato po philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in t case of Goethe." (Ibid., p. 113)

"...But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone."

(Ibid., p. 130)

123. For the detailed discussion on these poems see my article "Iqbal and Germany" (op. cit., forthcoming)

124. *Bang*, p. 138. For its English translation, see *Call of the Marching Bell* (op. cit., p. 203) and also its German rendering by Burgel in his *Steppe im Staubkorn*, op. cit., p. 75, with this note "Eine Reminiszenz aus Iqbals Heidelberger Zeit und gleichzeitig ein unverkennbarer Anklang an Goethes "Über allen Wipfeln ist Ruh."

125. At the beginning of 1776, on the slope of the Ettersberg, Goethe wrote this poem:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh.
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch.
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

English translation:

Hush'd on the hill
Is the breeze;
Scarce by the Zephyr
The trees
Softly are press'd;
The woodbird's asleep on the bough.
Wait, then, and there
Soon wilt find rest.

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126. See Iqbal's letter to Shatir Madrasi (Sialkot, 29 August 1908), in: *Khatut-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Rafiuddin Hashmi. Lahore 1976, pp. 72-73.

127. *Asrar-i-Khudi*. Lahore 1915; Also in: *Makalat-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Sayyid Abdul Wahid Mu'ini and M. Abdullah Quraishi. 2nd ed., Lahore 1988, p. 194; *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*. By Faqir Syed Waheed-ud-Din. 2nd ed., Karachi 1965 (1964), vol. ii, p. 45. This introduction has been excluded from the other editions.

128. *Kulliyat-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Muhammad Abdur Razzaq. Hyderabad Deccan, 1342 A.H., Preface, p. 51.

129. With Hafiz, he also criticised Plato, see J. Ch. Bürgel: "Die griechische Ziege und das Schof von Schiras. Bemerkungen zu Gedanken Muhammad Iqbals über Plato und Hafis" (in: H.R. Roemer und A. Noth (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*. Leiden 1981, pp. 12-27)

130. A. Schimmel: *The Secrets of Creative Love. The Work of Muhammad Iqbal*. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1998, p. 14.

131. One year before the War, Tagore was awarded with the Nobel Prize in Literature (1913). He toured Europe and America (1921) and the local Urdu journalism also covered his extrensive travelling (see *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), Oct. 1922, pp. 308-309).

For the influence of Goethe in particular and the German thought in general on the Bengali mind, including Tagore, see Alokeranjan Dasgupta: *Goethe and Tagore: a restrospect of East-West colloquy*. New Delhi: South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, Delhi Branch; Wiesbaden: Steiner [in Komm.], 1973.

Six poetical works of Tagore (all published in London 1923) and a collection of his letters from abroad are still available in Iqbal's personal collection, preserved in the Islamia College Library, Lahore (see *Catalogue*, op. cit.); see also "Tagore and the Nobel Prize", in : *Men and Memories. Recollections of William Rothenstein*, vol. II (1900-1922), London 1932, pp. 282-286 (in the Iqbal Museum, Lahore, with the signature of the author. Tagore was also called "Indian Goethe", see *Rabindranath Tagore. A Centenary Volume, 1861-1961*. 3rd ed. 1987 (1961), New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, p. 144.

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In Iqbal's life some of his friends expressed their views that as a poet he had an edge over Tagore see Abdul Majeed Salik, Abdul Razzaq, op cit, p 130 Nazeer Ahmad, Allama Iqbal Number, 1932, p 13

132. J Ludwig Uhland (1787-1862) see *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1956 vols, 1875-1912 Vol V Uhland *Johann Ludwig* of *Heinrich Heine* Edited with an Introduction by Havelock Ellis London, no date, pp 135-141

133. Dated 10 Oct 1919 *Iqbal Nameh* Ed by Shaikh Mumtaz Lahore 1944, vol I, pp 107, 108 *Kulliyat-i-Maktubat* (1991), pp 13

134 To Muhammad Akbar Munir, 4 August, 1920 Ibid vol II (Lahore, 1954), p 150, *Kulliyat-i-Maktubat Iqbal* op cit vol II (1991), p 201

135. To Ibid, April or May, 1922, II, pp 164-165, Ibid, II p 354

136. To Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, 14 May, 1922, Ibid, II, p 131, Ibid II, p. 356.

137. To Maharajah Kishan Prashad, 19 March, 1923 *Shad-Iqbal* Edited by Dr. Muhyiddin Qadiri Zor, Hyderabad Deccan 1942 p 139; *Iqbal Banam Shad* Ed. Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1986, p. 274 and Shad's letter to Iqbal (14 May, 1923), pp. 369-370 *Kulliyat-i-Maktubat-i-Iqbal*, op cit, II, p. 439.

138. See for details, monthly *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), January 1922, p 8, *Nairang-i-Khyal* (Iqbal Number) Lahore, September-October 1932, p. 38, article by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq. Reprinted: *Vaqoosh* (Iqbal Number), Lahore 1977, p. 25; *The Poet of the East*, By Abdullah Anwar Beg, Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939, pp. 51-52; *Zikr-i-Iqbal*, By Abdul Majeed Salik, Lahore 1955, p. 117; Muhammad Hanif Shahid's article in: *Sahifa* (Iqbal Number), November December 1977-January February 1978, pp. 138-151. (Almost all biographers of Iqbal have referred the bestowal of this title of Knighthood to Iqbal).

139. see Ch. Muhammad Husain's comprehensive review in a journal *Risalah Hazaar Dastan* (Lahore), vol. 2, no. 2 (February, 1923), pp. 4-14.

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140. *Maktubat-i-Iqbal*. Edited by Nazir Niazi. Karachi 1957. p. 159; A. Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing*. Leiden: Brill. 1963. p. 44.

141. *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*. A Collection of Translations. Essays and other Articles. Presented by the Pakistan-German Forum. Karachi 1960. pp. 10-11 (Translation by Mumtaz Hasan).

142. A. Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing*. op. cit.. p. 45.

143. Eng. tr. by A. J. Arberry entitled *The Tulip of Sinai* (London. 1947).

144. A. Schimmel writes: "I personally think that for a Western reader. particularly for a German reader. this book [*Payam*] is more interesting than all his other works. because he shows image of Europe as he had seen it with the eys of a poet." (*Pakistan's Philosopher-Poet Mohammad Iqbal*: An Introduction. Talk on 20 Jan. 1989 in Hague).

145. In the beginning of the ms. of the *Payam* (Iqbal Museum. Acc. No. AIM-1977 213) Iqbal has written: "In reply to Goethe's West-östlicher Diwan". different from the sub-title of the printed edition: "In response to German poet-Goethe.

"My third work is *Payam-i-Mashriq* that was written in the style of Goethe's *Diwan*. Some of its parts is a reply to Heine and Goethe". (*Guftar-i-Iqbal* Ed. M. Rafiq Afzal. Lahore 1969. p. 242).

146. R. A. Nicholson's review on *Payam*. in: *Islamica* (Leipzig) vol. I (1925). p. 114.

147. In this first edition. the poem entitled "Jalal and Goethe" (pp. 182-183). Jalaluddin Rumi with Goethe in Paradise and after hearing from read *Faust*. Rumi eulogizes the German poet. In the *Payam* (in: Iqbal Museum. op. cit.) another poem was under the heading "Schopenhauer and Goethe" but in the first edition Iqbal changed this title and replaced by "Schopenhauer and Nietzsche" (p. 170). In the section of "Lyrical Nectar" (Ghazals). Iqbal. after many years. has used again "Gulshan-i-Weimar" in the last verse of a ghazal (p. 144. no. 13):

O morning breeze. convey
My greetings to the happy Weimar town.
The light that radiated from it has

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Hummed many sages' minds
(Translation by Hadi Hussain, p. 119)

In a letter to Maulana Girami (28 January 1924), Iqbal wrote the same verse with an alteration and that is "Mawlad i Hafiz" (Birthplace of Hafiz) instead of "Gulshan i Weimar". (See *Makatib-i-Iqbal bnam Girami*. Ed. by Muhammad Abdullah Qureishi. Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1969, p. 102.) See also Iqbal's letter to Maharajah Kishan Prashad (28 Dec. 1914) in *Iqbal bnam Shad*. Ed. by Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi. Lahore: 1986, p. 116.

148. Iqbal added these poems himself in the first printed copy of the *Payam* (1923) and this revised edition is still preserved in the Iqbal Museum (Acc. No. AIM-197[illegible] 1901). The second edition (1924) is entirely based on it, including these two poems (pp. 147-149, 151-152).

149. This song of Goethe (1774) was intended to be introduced in a projected drama entitled "Mahomet", the plan of which remained incomplete. He mentions that it was to have been sung by Hazrat Ali towards the end of the poem in honour of the Holy Prophet, shortly before his death, and when at the height of his glory, of which it is typical.

For its German text, see *Goethe: Selected Poems*. Edited by Barker Fairley. London: Heinemann 1981 (1954), pp. 9-11. *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy, 1978, pp. viii-xii.

Its English rendering is by Edgar Alfred Bowring, in: *The Poems of Goethe*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1904.

Urdu translation of this poem by Saqib Razmi, see in: *Memoriam-III* (Iqbal Day Speeches and Articles). Karachi: Iqbal Academy 1969, pp. 22-24.

For its detailed study, see Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts "Mahomets-Gesang" bei Goethes Zeitgenossen und in der modernen persischen Adaption Muhammad Iqbals (1923)", in : *Goethe Jahrbuch*. Im Auftrage des Vorstandes der Goethe-Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Karl-Heinz Hahn. Einhundertster Band der Gesamtfolge. 1983. Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger Weimar, pp. 111-126.

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150. From *Divan*'s "Chuld Nameh" (Book of Paradise) under the title "Einlass" (Admittance). See. *West-Eastern Divan*. rendered into English by J. Whaley. London 1974. pp. 208-219 (with German text: repr. with an introduction by K. Mommsen. Bern etc: Peter Lang. 1998); *Goethe's Reineke Fox. West-Eastern Divan. and Achilleid*. Translated in the original metres. by Alexander Rogers. London: George Bell & Sons. 1890. pp. 327-333; Persian tr. in: *Divan-i-Sharqi*. by Shuja-ud-Din Shafa. Teheran 1328 sh.. pp. 118-123. R. A. Nicholson erroneously named it "Mädchen und Dichter" and claimed that it does not belong to the *Divan*. (cf. *Islamica*. 1925. op. cit., p. 114)

151. "Purer East", used in the first poem of the *Divan* ("Hegire"), where "on patriarch's air to feast" and "Khizer's spring shall make thee young." A comparative study of the *Divan* and the *Voten* shows that Goethe did not mean by "Purer East" any historical or geographical area of the Islamic world but "House of souls" and a "Land of Poets" were in his mind. Compare the sections "Despotie" and "Einrede" of the *Voten* (1857 ed., pp. 245-249) with the *Divan*. J. Ch. Bürgel has also elaborated this point, see his *Ohnmacht und Machtigkeit. Religion und Welt im Islam*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck 1991. Introduction. p. 16 and "Iqbal und Goethe". in: *Iqbal und Europa*. Hrsg. von J. Ch. Bürgel. Bern-Frankfurt M.. 1981. p. 13.

In an international Goethe symposium organised by the Goethe Institute (Brürgel spoke on the notion "rein" (pure) in the *Divan* and its possible Oriental roots.

(Letter. 11th January 2000)

152. R. A. Nicholson in: *Islamica*. 1925. op. cit., p. 114.

153. Syed Abdul Vahid: *Iqbal. His Art and Thought*. London: John Murray 1959. p. 234.

154. Eng. tr. by Mumtaz Hasan. in: *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*. op. cit., p. 10

155. A few names can be mentioned here: Konrad Burdach. Ernst Beutler. H.H. Schaeder. Wolfgang Lentz. Katharina Mommsen. Ingeborg H. Solbrig. J. Ch. Bürgel and Annemarie Schimmel.

156. A German Iranist who presented his doctoral dissertation to Halle University in 1885: *Die Nominalflexion im Avesta und die*

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allgemeine Kritik [illegible] (41) He did most of his research on Persian studies while he was teaching in Strasburg One of his important articles entitled "Geschichte Irans in islamischer Zeit" was published [illegible] *der romanischen Philologie* Hrsg. von W. Cooper [illegible] Strasburg 1896

157. *Geschichte der persischen Literatur* Leipzig [illegible] in *Die Literatur des Orients in* [illegible] Halbband

158. "Was verdanken wir Persien?" in *Nord und Süd* Eine deutsche Monatsschrift Hrsg. von Paul Lindau Breslau Vol IX Band Septembre 1900, Heft 282, pp. 377-395 on Goethe pp. 384-86

159. Albert Bielschowsky *Goethe Sein Leben und seine* [illegible] Bde., Munchen 1896-1904 The passage quoted by Iqbal is in vol. 2 (pp. 341-342). Frequently reprinted and also translated in English by W. A. Cooper under the title *The Life of* [illegible] vols. New York 1905-1908) The above-mentioned passage is in vol. III, (p. 30)

160. Arthur E. J. Remy. *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*. Columbia University, 1901 (Repr. New York, 1966)

At the end, the author concludes: "We cannot possibly agree with the view that would place Goethe's *Divan* side by side with the master's best productions. We do not believe that he ever would have become famous through that" (p. 80)

161. *A Message from the East* Tr. by M. Hadi Hussain Lahore: Iqbal Academy 1977 (1971), pp. 1-2

Sh. Ijaz Ahmad, the son of Iqbal's elder brother, narrates that perhaps in 1922, his uncle was travelling by rail to Lyallpur (present Faisalabad) or Jhang for a law suit. He was accompanied by Sh. Abdul Qadir and Sir Zafrullah Khan who told the narrator that during the journey, Iqbal recited his verses about Goethe from the *Payam* which was at that time in preparation. Ijaz Ahmad has also given a verse that was not included in the printed text

Oo = Mahbubi aziz Kishwaren

Man cheh Yusuf-i-Hindi Sudagrey

Chon Sikander har do ra Taenaev

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Her do ra Jam-i Jamay dar Sinaay

Eng. tr. His amiability crowned him with the belovedness of a great country

And me, like Joseph, slave of a merchant
Both, like Alexander, possess the mirror
Both have the Jamshed's cup in their breast.

See, *Mazloom Iqbal*. (Some Reminiscences and Impressions). By Ijaz Ahmad. Karachi 1985. pp. 147-148; *Anjuman* (A collection of personal memories and expressions). By Faqir Syed Wahid-ud-Din. Karachi 1966. pp. 219-221.

162. Dr. Mumtaz Hasan: "Iqbal's Tribute to Goethe" (in: *Iqbal*. Quarterly Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal. Lahore. vol. xxi. no. 1. Jan.-March 1974. p. 34).

163. Ibid., p. 33.

164. Maulana Jami's saying on Rumi is extended here on Goethe's *Faust*.

165. From Rumi's *Masnawi* that sums up the lesson of *Faust*.

166. Mumtaz Hasan, op. cit., p. 30

167. Goethe explains in his autobiography:

"Several of the songs, to be introduced in the drama, were composed beforehand; all that remains of them, however, is the one among my poems bearing the title "Mahomets Gesang", (Mahomet's Song). According to the plan, this was to be sung by Ali in honour of his master, at the highest point of his success, just before the changed aspect of affairs resulting from the poison."

(*Poetry and Truth. From my own life*. A revised translation by Minna Steele Smith. Vol. II, London: G. Bell & Sons. 1913, p. 171)

168. Published under the title "Gesang" in Boie's *Musenalmanach of the year 1774 (1773)* (repr.: *Göttinger "Musenalmanach auf das Jahr 1774"*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980)

169. A. Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe", in: *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978,

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pp. 272-273. For the detailed study of this poem, see Ingeborg H. Solbrig: "Die Rezeption des Gedichts 'Mahomets-Gesang' in Goethe", *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 100 (Weimar, 1983) pp. 111-126. In a recent study of Iqbal, A. Schimmel writes that "What neither Goethe nor Iqbal could know is that exactly this image [of living stream] had been used already in the 10th century by the Shia theologian Kulayni in order to describe the Prophet with a wonderful symbol." (*The Secrets of Creative Love: The Book of Muhammad Iqbal*. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1996, p. 13). In another article she writes: "This idea of the Prophet as the stream has fascinated Iqbal. It occurs in small nuances throughout his work. But the very fact that he calls himself Zinderood, the living stream, shows exactly, like his image of the caravan bell, that he felt his inspiration came out of the Prophetic tradition, that he felt bound to the Prophet of Islam who was his true guide. And it is this aspect of Iqbal which one should always keep in mind." (*Pakistan's Philosopher-Poet Mohammad Iqbal: An Introduction*. Talk given on Jan. 20, 1989 at the Residence of Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands, the Hague.)

For the other shades of Iqbal's symbol of this 'living stream' in his Persian and Urdu poetry see Dr. Syed M. Akram Shah's Urdu article in his recent book *Iqbal-Ek Tehreek* (Lahore 1998), pp. 5-19; According to Dr. Tara Charan Rastogi, William James' conception of Stream of thought consciousness enters in Iqbal poetry, see "Zinda Rud in Javid Nama--An appraisal in the perspective of Stream of Thought" (in: *Iqbal Review*, Hyderabad Deccan, offprint, undated, pp. 41-50)

Goethe has used twice the name of "Zindarud", a river near Ispahan, in his *Divan's* "Parsi Nameh" (Buch des Parsen):

Wie euch Senderud aus Bergrevieren
Rein entspringt, soll er sich rein verlieren
(Senderud from mountains in the distance
Rises pure, and pure should lose existence)
and:

Will dem Ufer Senderuds entsagen,
Auf zum Darnawand die Flügel schlogen,
(I'll renounce now Senderud's fair fountains,
Soar on wings to Darnawand's sheer mountains)

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(cf. Whaley, op. cit., pp. 198, 199, 200-201)

After Goethe, his follower and the poet-scholar, F. Rückert also refers this river:

Und wenn ich meiner Tränen Flut göss' in den Sinderud,
Würd in ganz Irak alle Staat neugrün auf einmal stehn.

(Friedrich Rückert, *Dreiundsechzig Ghaselen des Hafis*. Mit einer Einleitung von J. Ch. Bürgel. Hrsg. von Wolfdietrich Fischer. Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz 1988, p. 55, Ghazal No. 31)

170. For example in: *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), June 1923, (by Syed Sulaiman Nadvi); *Jamia'* (Aligarh) Sept. 1923 (by M. Aslam Jairajpuri); *Aligarh Magazine*, May-July 1923 etc.

171. Perhaps from "Kunst-u. Buchdruckerei, "KAVAINI" (Berlin-Charlottenburg, Weimarer Str. 18), a German publishing house that was internationally known for printing the Persian texts of literary and historical works (especially of Nasir Khusrow). It was already proposed by this publisher to print a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poetry (*Anwar-i-Iqbal*, Ed. by B. A. Dar, Lahore 1977 (1967), p. 195) but nothing came out. After some years, Ghalib's Urdu *diwan* and a drama (1925, by Dr. S. Abid Hussain) were published from this publishing house.

172. Iqbal's letter to Prof. Reuben Levy (Lahore, 30 Oct. 1923)

"... my book *Payam-i-Mashriq*--written in response to Goethe's *West-Oestlichen Divan* --might be of some interest to you. It was published only a few months ago and a second Ed.--revised and enlarged will come out in a short time. I therefore take the liberty of sending a copy of it to you and should like very much to know what you think of it." (cf. *Iqbal Europe Mem.* by S. A. Durrani, op. cit., p. 367)

At the same time, Iqbal informed, though modestly, some of his friends about the contents of this new book, such as:

"There is much work to be done, like the editing of the second edition of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* that will probably be published from Germany... Most of the poems of Goethe's *Divan* have been translated into English, possibly in the series of Pan (?) Library. Perhaps, its one volume is available in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore."

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(Iqbal's Urdu letter to Nazir Ahmad Shah of Ghazipur. 16 June 1923, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*. II (1991), p. 460)

It seems that Iqbal was not sure about the availability of *Payam*'s translation in Lahore. Even his personal collection of books now housed in Iqbal Museum and Islamia College, Lahore does not have a single copy of *Payam*, either in original or in translation. So, his remarks about the *Payam* might have based on the previous studies of his stay in Europe.

"In the meantime, I have published a book entitled *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Now its first edition is extant. Second revised edition will be published within a few days. This book has been in response to Goethe's *Payam*." (Iqbal's Urdu letter to Akbar Munir, 2 February 1924, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*. II (1991), op. cit., p. 518.

"You will get a copy of Iqbal's publication *Payam-i-Mashriq* with this book. ..It is a pity that this book (e.g. *Payam*) has not yet been translated into English. The translation is not easy, but possible.

(Ch. Muhammad Husain's Urdu letter to Iqbal Shaidai, 4 Oct. 1923. Unpublished. In the National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, Iqbal Shaidai's Collection, No. I-10 Is)

173. "About *Payam-i-Mashriq*, many letters from different places have arrived and are still coming. A professor from Berlin has said that it is a "wonderful" book. Prof. Horovitz [Josef Horovitz, 1874-1931] who was a Professor of Arabic language in Aligarh and now in Germany, is writing a review on it that will be published in German newspapers."

(Iqbal's Urdu letter to M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, 20 July 1923, cf. *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), op. cit., p. 463)

"I am sure that the review [on *Payam*] of Prof. Horovitz of Frankfurt soon will come to India. It will be translated (from German) to English and publsihed here."

(Iqbal's Urdu letter to M. Niaz-ud-Din Khan, 28 July 1923, cf. *Makatib-i-Iqbal banam Khan Niaz-ud-Din Khan*. Lahore 1954, p. 47).

174. *Oriental Essays*. Portraits of the Seven Scholars. By A. J. Arberry. London 1960, p. 214.

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175. In the introduction, Nicholson quoted Iqbal's detailed letter to him that has come to be regarded as among the most important documents ever written by the poet-philosopher.

One year before the publication of the *Payam*, in the first book on Iqbal it is written that,

"The esteem shown by Dr. Nicholson for the young poet recalls to mind the astonishment evinced by Napoleon when he saw Goethe. It reveals (as it does in this case) what had been regarded for centuries as the "German spirit". When Goethe entered the room, Napoleon, impressed by his personality, exclaimed: "Voilà un homme"--that was as much as to say: "But this is a man! and I only expected to see a German."

(Zulfiqar Ali Khan: *A Voice from the East*. Repr.: Lahore: Iqbal Academy 1982 (1922), p. 16)

In one of his comparative remarks, it seems that the author, one of Iqbal's intimate friends, knew Goethe very well as a writer:

"It remained his [Iqbal's] glory that in his poems he held up the mirror to his age, as Goethe had done before him in *Wilhelm Meister*." (Ibid., p. 9)

176. "While Iqbal has been profounly influenced by Western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron and Shelley; he is as familiar with *Also sprach Zarathustra* and l'évolution créatrice as he is with the Qur'an and the *Mathnawi*. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth."

(*The Poet of the East*. By Abdullah Anwar Beg. Lahore: Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1939. Foreword by R. A. Nicholson)

This passage was first published in the review article of the *Payam* in: *Islamica* (vol. I, 1925, p. 112)

177. Unfortunately, Nicholson's letter is lost, but Iqbal described its contents in another letter to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (dated 5 July 1923), see *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), p. 461. The addressee reproduced a few lines from this letter in the journal *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), 1923, p. 12) with his brief comments.

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178 *Islamica*, I (1925), pp. 112-124. Rept. *The Oriental Magazine* of Islamia College, Lahore, vol. xx, no. 81 (1926), pp. 9-18; *Observer* (in different instalments, 1926); *Iqbal Review*, XIII (Oct. 1972), pp. 6-16; *The Sword and the Scepter*: A collection of Writings on Iqbal, dealing mainly with his life and poetical works), Collected and edited by Rafiq Hassan, Lahore: [illegible] Academy Pakistan, 1977, pp. 301-320.

On this issue of *Islamica*, see S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, London 1927, pp. 54-57 (On Nicholson's reviews, pp. 56-57), see also Syed Sulaiman's brief article 'Islamica and Iqbal' in: *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh), vol. 16, no. 6 (Dec. 1925), pp. 407-409.

An Urdu translation of this review was published in the same year (*Nairang-i-Khayal*, Lahore, Eid Number 1925). Afterwards two translations came out, one by Abdullah Chaghatai (*Nairang-i-Khayal*, Iqbal Number, 1932, pp. 314-327; Reproduced in *Naqoosh*, Lahore, Iqbal Number, 1977, pp. 224-235; A. Chaghatai: *Iqbal ki Suhbat Mein*, Lahore 1977, pp. 142-161 and in many other collections of articles on Iqbal) and the other by Habibullah Rushdi (*Maaallah Usmania*, Hyderabad Deccan, vol. 32, nos. 3 & 4, 1938. Reproduced in: Dr. Tahseen Faraqi (ed.): *Naqd-i-Iqbal*..., Lahore 1992, pp. 319-338; *Iqbal Review*, Hyderabad Deccan, April 1994, pp. 3-8).

After some years, Iqbal informs Dr. Abbas Ali Khan in a letter (6 July 1923) about this review. (*Iqbal Namah*, vol. I, op. cit., p. 277).

179. In this regard, the name of Prof. Annemarie Schimmel, the living German authority on Iqbal, can be mentioned. In one of her articles, she writes:

> "Still, in spite of the hardships of life in wartime Berlin I continued my 'passage to more than India' as a student, and discovered one day in our Seminar in Berlin University that copy of the Journal *Islamica* (1925), in which R. A. Nicholson had published his article on Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Being a lover of German poetry in general and Goethe's *West-oestlicher Divan* in particular; being also a disciple of the great German orientalist Hans Heinrich Schaeder whose book on Hafiz and Goethe (*Goethes Erlebnis des Ostens*, 1938) is still a classic, I read Nicholson's article with enthusiasm, copied it, and was inspired

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by the Persian verses which I found there." ("Iqbal as I see him", in: *Jashn Nama-i-Iqbal*. Ed. by Dr. Ebadat Brelvi. Lahore: University Oriental College, 1977, p. 153)

Hanns Meinke (d. 1974) was inspired by the English translation of the selective verses of the *Payam* by Nicholson and rendered them freely in his own language which he sent to Iqbal in an artistically decorated book (handwritten script is still preserved in the Iqbal Museum). See for details, my article "Iqbal and Germany" (forthcoming).

About H. Meinke, Schimmel informs:

"..... an elderly German poet, Hanns Meinke, who was one of the strange romantic dreamers of olden times enamoured by the mystical flights of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and likewise by Iqbal, whose works he knew, again, through Nicholson's article."

(In: *Jashn Nama-i-Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 154)

180. Like Josef Hell (1875-1950) who was a professor of classical Arabic in Erlangen University. One of Prof. Hell's book was translated in Urdu by Syed Nazir Niazi (Delhi, preface dated 15 July 1927) with an appendix (pp. 163-194) from the English translation by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh (a copy of Niazi's translation is still available in the private collection of Iqbal, see *Catalogue*, op. cit.). Some Urdu writers knew about this German translation of the *Payam*, see Krishan Chandra's article in *Adabi Dunya* (Lahore, August 1938, p. 105).

Prof. Schimmel writes about this German translation of the *Payam*:

"The translation was never published. I once had an opportunity of examining it but found it too unpoetical for a publication. Still, the very fact that Professor Hell undertook this venture--probably in the 1930s, and in any case long before any other translation outside the English language appeared--proves that there was indeed some interest in Iqbal's work in German academic circles."

("Germany and Iqbal", in: *Muhammad Iqbal, und die drei Reiche des Geistes*. Hrsg. von Wolfgang Koehler. Hamburg 1977, p. 49)

After some years, Prof. Schimmel translated the *Payam* in verse entitled *Botschaft des Ostens* (Wiesbaden 1963) and also included

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in her selection of Iqbal's works under the same title (Tubingen Basel: Erdmann Verlag 1977, pp. 121-1983).

In an article by Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq it is mentioned that a person, Deutsche Russo (?), translated the *Payam*'s introduction in German (see, *Nairang-i-Khiyal* 1932, p. 17).

181. In *Nairang-i-Khiyal* (Iqbal Number, 1932) some of the writers have expressed their comparative views about Iqbal and Goethe and tried to trace out the common aspects between them poetic thought (pp. 145, 380-381). A contemporary critic, Ali Abbas Husaini, paid our attention to an important aspect of the prevailing discussion that being a 'reply' to Goethe we must know about the 'question' of this great German poet and now it has become inevitable for Iqbal to translate in Urdu verse his *Faust* (see *Zamanah* (Cawnpur), March 1927, p. 139).

182. Syed Nazir Niazi, one of the close associates of Iqbal, writes:

"And it was Iqbal who turned our attention to Goethe. It is a remarkable episode in our history that Iqbal alone should have resisted the force of a whole literature and culture which was dominating our life through political control. Whatever the reasons--and they need not be discussed here--it is a fact that we accepted Goethe rather than Shakespeare. Shakespeare is no doubt admired but Goethe is the favourite. Shakespeare is a unique artist whom we all recognise, but Goethe is one of us who has secured a place in hearts."

("Conversations with Iqbal", in: *Muhammad Iqbal, Poet and Philosopher*. Karachi 1960, pp. 68-69)

182. *Seminar Iqbal East and West* (held on Nov. 4, 1979). Hyderabad Deccan. "Concluding Remarks." By A. Schimmel, p. 21.

184. "An instance in point is the legend of Faust, to which the touch of Goethe's genius has given a wholly new meaning."

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh. 2nd. ed., Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1989 (1986), p. 65).

185. A. Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe" in: *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Ed. Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978, p. 282; A Bausani, the translator of *Javidnameh* in Italian, writes about this 'Prologue': "Evidente allusione faustiana. Iqbal era

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grande ammiratore di Goethe, di varie opere del quale esistone traduzioni in Urdu." (*Il poema celeste*. Bari: Leonardo da Vinci ed., 1965, p. 39, f.n.)

In the manuscript copy of *Javidnameh*, Iqbal has also written "Prologue in Heaven" with the title "Tamheed" (in: Iqbal Museum, No. AIM-1977-202). In a letter to Syed Nazir Niazi, (14 August, 1930), Iqbal asked whether Dr. Abid Hussain has translated "Prologue in Heaven" of *Faust* or not. (cf. *Maktubat-i-Niazi*. Karachi 1957, p. 30)

186. Mujtaba Minawi, an Iranian scholar, emphasized that both Goethe and Iqbal preferred Love to Intellect: a similarity that deserves special attention (see his *Allama Iqbal*. Urdu tr. by Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Lahore 1955, p. 35)

187. Numerous studies on this subject have been made both in Urdu and English and here only a few, including some new ones, are referred, such as: A. Schimmel: "Die Gestalt des Satans in Muhammad Iqbal's Werk" (*Kairos*, 1962, pp. 124-137); Ibid.: "Iblis in Iqbal's Poetry" (*Iqbal Centenary Papers*. Compiled by Prof. Mohammad Munawwar. vol. I. Lahore: University of the Punjab 1982, pp. 119-122); P. J. Awn: *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption. Iblis in Sufi Psychology*. Leiden: Brill, 1983; Khalil Shaikh: *Der Teufel in der modernen arabischen Literatur. Die Rezeption eines europäischen Motivs in der arabischen Belletristik, Dramatik und Poesie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1986 (for *Faust*, Abschmitt 4 : "Der Pakt mit dem Satan", pp. 160-210); Jürgen Holz: *Im Halbschatten Mephistos Literarische Teufelgestalten von 1750 bis 1850*. Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 1989; See also Note 203.

188. *Javidnamah* (ms.) in Iqbal Museum, Lahore (Acc. No. AIM-1977-202). List of notable persons, drawn by Iqbal himself. Goethe's name is under 24.

189. See Bürgel: *Steppe*, op. cit., p. 20. Goethe has also adopted the same style in "Buch des Unmuts" of *Divan*. See also Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und die arabische Welt*. Frankfurt/M.: Insel 1988 (chapter on the influence of the pre-Islamic poetry on *Divan*, *Noten* and *Zahme Xenien*, pp. 51-156).

190. *Mazloom Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 325; Also in: *Ruzgar-i-Faqir*, II (Karachi 1965; Lahore 1987), p. 183; *Kulliyat-i-Makatib-i-Iqbal*, II (1991), pp. 372-373.

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191. Narrated by Ghulam Rasul Mehr (d. 1970) in his newspaper *Inqilab* (11 Jan. 1929), see *Guftar-i-Iqbal*. Edited by M. Rafiq Afzal. Lahore 1969, pp. 215-216.

192. Ch. Muhammad Husain (1894-1958) has referred this work of Iqbal in his review article on *Zabur-i-Ajam* (1927), see *Iqbal Muhammad Husain ki Nazar Mein*. Edited by M. Hanif Shahid. Lahore 1975, pp. 147, 161.

English translation of *Zabur* entitled 'Persian Psalms' by A. J. Arberry, Lahore 1961 (1948). Selective German translation by A. Schimmel in: *Persischer Psalter* (Koln: Verlag Jakob Hegner 1968), pp. 88-94, and in *Botschaft aus Osten* (Tubingen: Basel Erdmann, 1977), pp. 90-96. The German translator elaborates the main subjects of this book in these words:

"In diesem Werk finden sich einige seiner feinsten und schwungvollsten persischen Gedichte, das Hauptmotiv ist auch hier das Verhältnis von Mensch und Gott. Die unlosbare Verbundenheit zwischen Schöpfer und Geschöpf, das Wechselspiel zwischen dem liebenden Ich und dem geliebten, ersehnten Du, oder, anders ausgedrückt, zwischen dem menschlichen Ego und dem göttlichen Super-Ego ist in manchem dieser Geschichte in unvergesslicher Zartheit widergespiegelt. Gott ist ebenso sehnsüchtig wie der Mensch, war er doch, wie die islamische Mystik immer wieder betont, 'ein verborgener Schatz', der die Welt schuf, um geliebt und verehrt zu werden. Die Natur scheint Iqbal durch das Schauen des Menschen entstanden zu sein; ohne seinen Blick hätte sie keinen Sinn. Der Mensch aber ruht unlösbar in dem allumfassenden Grössten Ich, in jenem Gott, der den Falken wie die Jagdbeute schafft und der den Menschen verwandeln kann, wenn er sich ihm im Gebet anvertraut; dann wird der Mensch das Instrument des göttlichen Willens." (*Botschaft*, p. 90)

193. *Iqbal Europe Mein*, op. cit., p. 462.

194. Ibid., p. 89.

Some learned contemporaries of Iqbal were fully aware of these words, uttered by Goethe when he was breathing his last, and they used them in their own perspective; for example Muhammad Ali writes in one of his articles:

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"We [mild Hindu] wanted, like Goethe on his deathbed, "more light."

(*The Comrade*. The Weekly Journal. Edited by Muhammad Ali. vol. 3, no. 8, February 24, 1912, p. 176)

Rabindranath Tagore has also used these words in a letter (September 22, 1894):

"Goethe on his death-bed wanted "more light." If I have any desire left at all as such a time, it will be for "more space" as well; for I dearly love both light and space."

(*Glimpses of Bengal*. Selected Letters, 1885-1895. New Delhi 1980 (1921), pp. 144-145, paperback).

195. Ijaz Ahmad has given a list of all these books (see *Mazhoom Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 160).

196. Like, R. A. Wilmot: *The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, 1857.

197. Muhammad Siddiq: *Descriptive Catalogue of Allama Iqbal's Personal Library*, Lahore 1983, Introduction.

198. The translator has used the German text *Maximen und Reflexionen*. Edited under the title *Sprüche in Prosa* by Gustav von Loeper, Goethes Werke, Berlin 1869-79, vol. xix, cf. Bailey Saunders: *Goethe's Maxims and Reflections*. For other details about this book and its impact on Iqbal's *Stray Reflections*, see Note 119-120.

199. This book forms the central focus on the basic concepts of the theory of knowledge of Goethe's *Weltanschauung* with reference to Schiller, together with an addition of Goethe's "Scientific Works". The author, R. Steiner, has also written five more books on Goethe (published after 1921) that have been listed at the end of the present book.

200. Iqbal's introduction to *Payam* begins with this Heine's quotation: "The charm of this book (*Divan*) is indescribable; it is a salaam sent by the Occident to the Orient, and many a quaint and curious flower is gathered there..." (present edition, pp. 118-119).

Unfortunately, the complete Iqbal Collection, including these seven titles, has been badly-documented in the *Descriptive Catalogue*...(op. cit., 1983). It must be revised, added with the description of the contents of the books and their authors and for

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this undertaking the pattern of the such catalogues can be followed:

a) Hans Ruppert, *Goethes Bibliothek. Katalog*. Weimar: Arion 1958

b) Otto Lerche *Goethe und die Weimarer Bibliothek*. Berlin: H. Harrassowitz, 1929

It will be worthwhile to note here that some of Iqbal's letters indicate that he often lent the books from the local libraries e.g. Punjab University Library and Punjab Public Libraries for his studies. At the time of preparing his *Lectures* (1st ed. 1930) he tried hard to search for the relevant material and got it temporarily from the private and governmental libraries. If possible a list of such borrowed books can be prepared, modelled on the following book:

Elise von Keudell and Werner Deetjen (eds.) *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek. Ein Verzeichnis der von ihm entliehenen Werke*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1931

201. In a letter of 29 June 1923 (just one month after the first edition of *Payam*), Iqbal writes to Shah Nazir Ahmad Hashmi Ghazipuri:

> "The second edition of *Payam* is in process and perhaps it will be printed in Germany ...Most of the poems of Goethe's Western *Divan* have been translated in English, perhaps in the Panj'i Library Series. Probably, its one volume is available in the Punjab Public Library."

(cf. Bashir Ahmad Dar: *Anwar-i-Iqbal*. Lahore, Iqbal Academy 1977 (1967), p. 195).

Obviously, in such writings Iqbal has frequently used the word 'perhaps' which means that he furnishes the required information to his addressee only based on his memory and in some instances it lacks the authenticity. With reference to this letter, he is not fully confident about the publisher or the availability of the English translation of the *Divan*. Upto that time, three English renderings of Goethe's *Divan* had been printed (by J. Weiss, Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877; by A. Rogers, London: George Bell, 1890 and by E. Dowden, London 1913) and it is not clear that out of these three translations, which one he has referred.

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202. M. M. Sharif: *About Iqbal and His Thought*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture 1977 (1967), p. 195

203. See, B. A. Dar: "The Idea of Satan in Iqbal and Milton." (*Iqbal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1952), pp. 83-108; Taj Muhammad Khayal: "Iqbal's Conception of Satan" (Ibid., vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1953), pp. 1-17); Dr. Javid Iqbal: *Ma'i Lalafaam* (Urdu articles), Lahore 1973; "Iqbal awr Shaitan" (pp. 159-187); Prof. Aal-i-Ahmad Suroor: *Nai awr Purane Chiragh* (Urdu articles), 3rd ed., Karachi 1957 (Delhi 1946); "Iqbal awr Iblis" (pp. 41-75); Dr. Hamdi Kashmiri" *Harf-i-Raz*, New Delhi 1983; "Iblis--Iqbal awr Goethe ki nazar mein" (pp. 75-83).

204. S. Vahiduddin: "Tradition and Modernity in Iqbal's Philosophical Thought." (*Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad Deccan), vol. lxi, no. 3 (July 1987), p. 23).

205. It "is clear to Goethe's ideal man who constantly strives to reach higher summits than he is Nietzsche's Superman." (Message of Prof. A. Schimmel on the Ceremony held on 26th March 1999 at Lahore to mark the Birth Anniversary of Goethe, in : *Goethe and Iqbal*, A Tribute to J. W. Goethe on his 250th Birth Anniversary. Lahore 1999).

206. Aziz Ahmad writes: "The expression used by Nietzsche for his conception of the Supreme is Uebermensch, an expression which he has borrowed from Goethe. It is usually a hangover from Goethe's earlier romanticism, before his conversion to the Neo-classicism which manifests itself in the second part of *Faust* where the heroine is Helen, the essence of Hellenism, and no longer Gretchen." ("Sources of Iqbal's Perfect Man", in: *Iqbal*, vol. vii, no. 1 (July 1958), p. 2).

According to M. D. Taseer: "Both [Iqbal and Goethe] worship the Uebermensch (Superman). Iqbal got him from Nietzsche and Nietzsche got him from Goethe." ("Some Thoughts on First Iqbal Day", in : *The Civil and Military Gazette*, (Lahore), Iqbal Day Supplement, 21 April 1961, p. viii.

Dr. Taseer continues to compare them: "Iqbal's scheme of life is more human and workable. As a poet, he is more akin to Goethe than to the dry-as-dust philosophers and abstract thinkers. It is Goethe who said in *Faust* :

Be self-possessed.

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That is the only Art of Life and Goethe also believed in winning immortality through personal endeavour. Iqbal's greatest work in Poetry, *Payam-i-Mashriq* is appropriately dedicated to Goethe."

207 Syed Abdul Vahid Munim, *Nawa-i-Iqbal*, Lahore 1960, p. 59.

208 Prof. Dr. Otto Spies, an outstanding German Orientalist:

"Schon in der Wetzlarer und Frankfurter Zeit (1772 bis 1775) hat Goethe den Koran gelesen, der ihm in der 1772 in Frankfurt erschienenen deutschen Übersetzung von Megerlin vorgelegen haben muss. Den die Sätze in seinem Brief an Herder: 'Ich möchte beten wie Moses im Koran: Herr mache mir Raum in meiner engen Brust' sind wörtlich dieser Übersetzung entnommen."

(*Der Orient in der deutschen Literatur*, H. Kindler 1954, p. 184)

S. Khuda Bakhsh (d. 1931), a well-known translator of books written by German Orientalists, writes:

"The kernel and doctrine of Islam, Goethe has found in the Second Surah which begins as follows: 'This is the Book. There is no doubt in the same. A guidance to the righteous, who believe in the Unseen, who observe the prayer, and who give alms of that which has been sent down unto thee--(the revelation) which had been sent down to those before thee, and who believe in the life to come. They walk in the guidance of their Lord, and they are the blessed. As to those who believe not--it is indifferent to them whether you exhortest them or exhortest them not. They will not believe. Sealed hath Allah their hearts and their ears, and over their eyes is darkness, and theirs will be a great punishment.' 'And in this wise', Goethe continues, 'we have Surah after Surah. Belief and unbelief are divided into higher and lower. Heaven and hell await the believers or deniers. Detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religions, form the body of this sacred volume which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever new and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us to veneration.'

(Quoted in: "Iqbal's Tribute to Goethe" by Dr. Mumtaz Hasan, in: *Iqbal*, xxi 1 (Jan.-March 1974, p. 20) See also Nos. 17-21.

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209. Katharina Mommsen, a reputed German scholar of Goethe's contact with Islamic Orient, writes in detail on this subject, see her article:

"Goethes Bild vom Orient", in: *Der Orient in der Forschung*. Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5 April 1966. Hrsg. von Wilhelm Hoenerbach. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967, p. 455.

See also Nos. 23-28.

210. In *Diwan*, Goethe says:

Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst
In Islam leben und sterben wir all.

In a letter (19 November, 1831), Goethe writes to Schopenhauer:

"Im Islam leben wir alle, unter welcher Form wir uns auch Muth machen."

For other details see Katharina Mommsen: *Goethe und der Islam*. Stuttgart 1964; Said Abdel-Rahim: *Goethe und der Islam*. Diss. Berlin 1969; G.-H. Bousquet: "Goethe et l'Islam", in: *Studia Islamica* (Paris), 33 (1971) pp. 151-164.

211. Prof. Annemarie Schimmel: "Iqbal and Goethe", in: *Iqbal, Essays and Studies*. Edited by Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978, p. 272.

212. Syed Nazir Niazi: "Conversations with Iqbal." (in: *Muhammad Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher*. Karachi: The Pakistan-German Forum, 1960, pp. 112-120); also in: *Muhammad Iqbal und die drei Reiche des Geistes*, op. cit., pp. 67-76.

213. See his letter to Siraj Nizami (15 June 1927), cf. *Khatut-i-Iqbal*, op. cit., p. 176 and *Kulliyat-i-Maktutib-i-Iqbal*, II, pp. 675-676.

214. *Maktubat-i-Niazi*, op. cit., 1977 (1957), p. 34.

215. Published in 1931, with an extensive preface by Dr. Abid Husain (1896-1978). Only first part of *Faust* was translated.

216. By Dr. Riyazul Hasan in 1933. Reprinted: Karachi 1967. The translator met Iqbal twice (1930 and 1935) and discussed Goethe and his novel that Iqbal did not like to be read by his son, Dr. Javid Iqbal, who was eleven years of age at that time. (Preface to the translation, 1967, p. 39).

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217) Cf. *Mahbubeh-e-man wast ...Iqbal's Love Poem* Amjad Ahmad Alexander Shadow eine interkulturelle Projektdokumentation Berlin 1993 p. IX

218) Johan Hemme *Goethe und die Persische Sprache* Bern etc. Peter Lang, 1988

219) Stuart Atkins. *The Testament of Werther in Poetry and Drama* Cambridge (Mass.) 1949

220) Otto Baumgarten *Goethe und wir* Tubingen 1916

221) *Risalah Hazaar Dastan* Lahore Editor Hakim Ahmad Shuja The translator was also one of the members of its Editorial Staff. The title of the translation is "Ghami Nashi" (Love Story of *Werther*) and the words of "Qarshi Siddiqui" were suffixed with the name of the translator (e.g. Muhammad Hadi Husain). The translation was published with certain intervals, in the different parts of this journal. vol. 1 No. 7 (July 1922), vol. 1 No. 8 (August 1922) pp.4-10 with an erratum), vol. 1, No.9 (September, 1922), vol. 1, No. 10 (November, 1922), pp. 9-19, vol. 1 No. 11 December 1922), pp.41-44, vol. 2, No.2 (February, 1923), pp. 33-40; vol.2, No. 5 (May, 1923), pp.3-8 vol. 2 No. 6 (June 1923), vol. 2, No. 7 (July 1923), pp. 11-23, vol. 2, No. 8 (August 1923) vol.2, No. 9 (September, 1923), pp.43-50, vol.7 No. 2 (August, 1925), pp. 25-32, vol.7, No. 3 (September, 1925), pp. 71-77, No. 7, No. 4 (October, 1925), pp. 4-12 (still continued, but the remaining parts are not available) These lacunae can be filled from *Dil-i Nadaan* (mentioned below), pp. 8-22, 88-103, 127-137 and 188-272.

After many years, this translation came out in a book form under a different title "Dil-i-Nadan" (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1953, pp 272), having no introduction from the translation, except a brief note written by the publisher in which he pointed out that the translation appeared about thirty years before in a journal (*Risalah Hazaar Dastan*) and it was made by Muhammad Hadi Husain M.A. (PCS). The translator has made drastic changes in the text.

222) *Risalah Hazaar Dastan*. Vol. 7, No.2 (August, 1925), p.25.

223) In that year, Iqbal stayed in London (October to December, 1932) as a member of the Second Round Table Conference, but he did

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not participate in any gethering relating to Goethe. M. Abdullah Chaghatai. one of Iqbal's intimate friends who was also in London at that time. describes:

"During these days all over Europe the Centenary of Goethe (1749-1832) was being celebrated. which was. then. considered a great literary festival. I myself had attended similar functions in Paris. Berlin. Vienna and Venice in which great distinguished and literary persons from all over the world paid many tributes to his memory .... The girl [Elza Haffener. a resident of Bremen in Germany] showed her greatest satisfaction and appreciation after conversation with the Allama. particularly on Goethe's contribution to Art and Literature. The Allama explained to her why he was persuaded to write his *Payam-i-Mashriq* in response to his *Diwan of the West*."

(*Reminiscences*. in: *Iqbal*. vii 1 (July 1958). p.76).

This German girl. accompanied by Abdur Rahman Chaghatai (d.1975). met Iqbal and was much impressed by his personality and ideas. During her short stay in London. she visited Iqbal regularly and when he fell sick there. she nursed him with great devotion (see Ibid., p. 77).

Like Goethe's death anniversary. his 200th birth anniversary was not warmly celebrated in this subcontinent. Only private assemblages were organized like the Poetry Society of Hyderabad Deccan which celebrated it under the aegis of Nawab Mahdi Nawaz Jang. an influential employee of the State. and where an important article on the Romantic Movement of the Western Literature was presented.

(See. Yusuf Husain Khan: *Yadoon ki Baraat*. Azamgarh 1967. p. 377).

224) Allahabad: Literary Syndicate (pp.58. 144). Second revised edition. Karachi: Adabi Syndicate. 1967 (pp. 192. including 47 pages of Introduction); Reprinted Karachi: Idara Adbiyyat-i-Alam. 1983. For the appreciative reviews on the first edition. see *Idabi Dunya* (Lahore). October 1933. p. 479; *Zamana* (Cawnpur). November 1923. pp. 310-311; *Ma'arif*. (Azamgarh). October 1934. pp. 319-320.

225) It is claimed by the translator that he consulted some English translations of *Werther* but finding them incomplete and

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defective, he made up his mind to translate it into Urdu, from the original German text, published in the thirteenth volume of Goethe's Works (Munchen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1962).

Preface of the second edition (1967) shows that certain shortcomings of the previous edition (1933) have been removed and it is also clarified that an attempt has been made to [illegible] the real spirit and meaning of the original, instead of making it verbatim translation (p. 37).

Two more Urdu translations of *Werther* were published, one by Mian Muhammad Afzal (Lahore: Maktaba Shahkar, 2nd ed. 1976, pp.42) and the other by Ahmad Nadim Qasmi (1915-), an eminent Urdu poet and writer, who completed its preliminary parts in 1958 and when he came to know about its two Urdu translations already existed he stopped his translation, but two of its parts were published in a journal *Nagoosh* (Lahore) before 1960.

(See, *Khutoot-i-Taraam*. Edited by Mirza Hamid Beg, vol. II (Prose). Islamabad: Muqtadra, 1987)

226) Preface to the 2nd edition (1967), pp. 38-39; also Note 216

227) *Faust I, Faust 2 und Urfaust*. Hrsg. und kommentiert von Erich Trunz. München: Beck, 1996.

In 1770, Goethe conceived its plan and it took more than sixty years to finish it. The complete Part One appeared in 1808 and the Part Two begun in 1800 and published in 1827, is chiefly the product of Goethe's last years (1827-1831). It was completed shortly before his death (1832), and published posthumously in 1833. Part One is concerned largely with highly personal experience, while Part Two deals with the society as a whole, and Faust, the main character, develops from a single individual into a symbolic figure who represents the striving spirit of man in the modern world. It is said that Part One portrays the "small world" of inner experience and Part Two the "great world" of social institutions, ideological systems and intellectual institutions. Thus, both Parts mirror different aspects of the same philosophical theme.

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Faust is based on the medieval legend of a man who sold his soul to the devil. It treats modern man's sense of alienation and his need to come to terms with the world in which he lives.

228) Some Urdu critics opined that after *Payam*, Iqbal must have translated *Faust* in Urdu (see, Ali Abbas Husayni's article in: *Zamana* (Cawnpur), March 1927, p. 139). Up to 1927, Iqbal was not very much interested in translating *Faust* in Urdu, as he writes in his letter to Siraj Nizami (15 June 1927):

"As I know, there is no Urdu translation of *Faust*... I have no intention to translate it. It is not easy to do it. Much leisure is required for this task. I believe that the Urdu translation of *Faust* will not be useful for common readers."

(See, *Khatut-i-Iqbal*, Ed. Rafiuddin Hashmi, Lahore 1976, p. 180; also in: *Kulliyat-i-Maktub-i-Iqbal*, vol. II, pp. 675-676.

229) Syed Nazir Niazi: "Conversations with Iqbal", in: *Muhammad Iqbal: Poet and Philosopher*, Karachi: The Pakistan - German Forum, 1960, pp. 69-70, also in: *Muhammad Iqbal und die drei Reiche des Geistes*, op. cit., pp. 67-76. For the Urdu text of this passage, see *Maktubat-i-Iqbal*, Ed. Syed Nazir Niazi, Lahore 1977 (1957), p.34.

230) 'Prolog im Himmel': its setting implies that the life and fate of Faust are matters of universal significance, which will clarify the relationship of God and man, good and evil, existence and non-existence. It also presents another crucial question whether the Lord has been competent as a Creator and whether his creation, the world and its inhabitants, is worthy of survival.

The songs of its three archangels (Raphael, Gabriel and Micheal) express Goethe's belief that universe is a dynamic continuum where action is the law that dominates Nature and man.

231) Syed Nazir Niazi's *Conversations*, op. cit., p. 69; A. Schimmel's "Western Influence on Iqbal's Thought" in: *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 21, 1961, Iqbal Day Supplement.

232) See above, end of section V of this Introduction.

233) *Faust*, Pt.I, translated by Dr. S. Abid Husain, Delhi 1982 (1931), pp. 136-140.

The translator was among the highly educated young contemporaries of Iqbal, and fully conversant with the German

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scholarship. Once Abid Husain was thinking to have a *Iqbal Fest* in which the renowned Indian scholars could contribute their studies, as a homage paid to Iqbal (see, Iqbal's letter to Syed Nazir Niazi, dated 11 December 1931, *Mukatibat-i-Nazir*, op. cit. p. 45). Primarily, the idea of holding such a seminar was taken from Germany. cf. *Irmaghan-i-Iqbal*. Ed. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen, Lahore 1991, pp. 255-256.

For Abid Husain's life and works, see *Nazr-i-Abid* Delhi 1974 *Iqbal* (Delhi), Abid Husain Number, June 1980, *Mah-i-Nau* (Lahore), November 1990, pp. 33-39 (about his translations).

234) First Urdu translation of *Faust* was published before 1923 under the title *Farah-i-Hasn* from Lucknow. (See, *Maghrib* aur *Nazr Tarana*. Ed. by Mirza Hamid Beg, Islamabad: Muqtadra, 1988, p. 453).

The other poetic and prosaic Urdu translations of *Faust* (only the first part) are as follows:

i) *Shaitan ka Ghulam*. Tr. by Munshi Jawala Prasad Baqi (in dramatic form, before 1927). Iqbal also mentioned it in his letter of 15th June 1927, written to Siraj Nizami (cf. *Khatut-i-Iqbal*, op.cit., p. 180).

ii) *Faust*. Tr. by Sayyid Abid Husain. Aurangabad: Anjuman, 1931 (Reprinted: Delhi, 1982).

iii) *Faust*. Poetic rendering by Maulvi Abdul Qayyum Khan Baqi (20th September 1908 - 2nd December 1953). Karachi: Anjuman, 1961.

The translator, a pupil of Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif, was born in Hyderabad Deccan; obtained his Master's degree from Jamia Usmania and appointed there as a Lecturer in Urdu Department. He was also very much interested in music and painting. See for other details, *Iqbaliat-i-Baqi*. Ed. by Musleh-ud-Din Sa'di, *Abdul Qayyum Khan Baqi, Hayat aur Karnamey*. By Makhdum Ali Sabri, (M.A.), Jamia Usmania (Hyderabad, Deccan), 1970.

iv) *Faust*. Tr. by Shahid Ahmad Dehlavi. Delhi: Saqi Book Depot, n.d. (Based on an incomplete English translation).

v) *Faust*. Tr. by Fazl-i-Hameed. Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1964.

(Prose translation with an introduction entitled "Goethe and his Philosophy" in which he has discussed the major concepts and

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principal characters of *Faust*. The translation is simple with some changes in naming the characters of this dramatic poem).

vii) *Faust* (Part I, volume-II). Tr. Allama Beshishwar Prasad Munawwar of Lucknow. Karachi: Pakistan-German Forum, 1965; Dedicated to Mumtaz Hasan (1907-1974). This poetic translation is probably based on an English rendition but much has been taken from Abid Husain's above-mentioned translation. See also translator's autobiography, published from Pasban, Chandigarh, in May 1959.

viii) Another translation under the title *Lafangay kee Diary* by Kamal Ahmad Rizvi (Lahore, n.d.), based on an English translation (cf. Hamid Beg Mirza, 1988, op.cit, p.457).

235) Jürgan Holz:, *Im Halbschatten Mephistos Literarische Teufelgestalten von 1750 bis 1850* Berlin, 1989.

236) "Iqbal awr Iblis" (in: *Nay awr Purane Chiragh* By Aal-i-Ahmad Surur, Karachi: Urdu Academy Sindh, 3rd. ed., 1957 (Delhi, 1946), pp. 41-75.) See for other details: A. Bausani, "Satan in Iqbal's Philosophical and Poetical Works"; translated by Dr. R. A. Bütler in *Trying to Respond*, ed. M. Ikram Chaghatai, Lahore: Pakistan Jesuit Society, 1994, pp. 89-149; Taj Muhammad Khayal, "Iqbal's Conception of Satan", Iqbal, Vol.2, No. 1, July, 1953, pp. 1-17; Dr. Javid Iqbal, "Iqbal awr Shaytan", *Mae Lala Faam*, (Urdu) Iqbal Academy Pakistan, Lahore, 1996, pp. 175-188, 189-210.

237) Niaz Jallandhari's article "Iqbal, Milton and Goethe", in: *The Sun* (Daily, Karachi), 21 April, 1974.

238) Here a few examples can be cited:

i) *Shaitan ka Ghulam* (op. cit., before 1927)

ii) *Saif-i-Sulaimani*. By Mahmud Mian Raunaq Banarsi (staged on 16 October 1880); copy in India Office Library and Records, London.

iii) *Sim-i-Haman* (or *Fayb-i-Izraeel*). By ibid., two - act play (1880, in India Office Library and Records, London).

vi) A play, based on *Faust* Mephisto, by Sufi Riaz Husain Haidari.

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v) *Gulistan-i-Khamkar i Hamari* By Murad Bardvi (1888?) cf *Nairang i Khiyal* (Lahore), July 1927, p 14. *Nawa i Lat* (Bombay), July 1945. *Urdu Dharti* By Dr Abdul Aleem Nami Vol I, Karachi 1962 p 323, vol II (1963) pp 87-89 [all vol III (1963), pp 202-203. *Kuliyat i Iqbal Urdu* By S Inayat Ali Lal vol V, Lahore 1969, Preface, pp [illegible]

239 In three volumes (pp 466 840 984) New Delhi Sahitya Akademi, 1958-1959 (Only the first part of *Hafiz Se Marx Tak* translated)

240. *Geistige Gestalten und Probleme* Eduard Spranger zum 60 Geburtstag. Hrsg von Hans Wenke Leipzig, 1942 He also wrote articles on some poetic aspects of Goethe's *Diwan*, see VI Bibliography (Relating to *Diwan*). Nos 245-247

E. Spranger's three letters (in Urdu translation) written to Dr Abid Husaion, see *Ubiadh Nama* Eds Saleh Abid Husain and Sughra Mahdi, New Delhi 1997, pp 10-14

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Prof. Annemarie Schimmel

IQBAL AND GOETHE

Among poets Iqbal had unbounded admiration for Rumi and Goethe who had indeed become the guiding stars in his life. He has immortalized their contribution to human culture in a poem in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* where he sees them as representatives of love, of that dynamic love which was expressed by Goethe in his *Faust* and by Rumi in the *Mathnavi*, so that each of them 'has a book although he cannot be called a prophet' (as Jami wrote about Maulana Rumi).

Iqbal is like a prism filtering out, as it were, certain rays of a particular wave length from the poetry and thought of both Rumi and Goethe. It would be all too easy to compare these masters superficially, as has been done time and again. We have to remember the different cultural situations, the political and social settings into which Goethe and Iqbal were born. Furthermore, as much as Goethe's poetry was inspired all through his life by the various experiences of human love, of *eros* in the full sense of the word, as little do we know of any 'human' attraction which could have induced Iqbal to write his poetry--neither *Faust's* Gretchen, nor the Sulaykha of Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan* has a counterpart in Iqbal's work; nor do we know of a Shams-i-Tabriz in his life if we want to compare him to Rumi. Inspite of these external differences, however, there exists a spiritual affinity which enabled Iqbal to understand some of the most vital aspects of Goethe's work.

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Goethe stands at a critical point of German cultural history, especially the history of Germany's meeting with the Near and Middle East. He came at the time when the Age of Enlightenment had already opened new horizons; the narrow, church-bound attitude towards the Muslim East was slowly being overcome in the West. The literary treasures of the East were now discovered for the first time, and duly appreciated. The beginning, however, of what Iqbal calls the 'Oriental Current' in German literature is mainly due to Herder. This theologian and philosopher had inherited from his teacher Hamann the idea that poetry is the mother tongue of the human race, and he rightly held that from poetry we come to learn the human mind much better than by studying the crooked ways of political history. Herder was very fond of Sa'di while the elegant verse of Hafiz, available only in rather insipid translations, seemed too butterfly-like to him. It was during his meeting with young Goethe in Strassbourg that the latter's interest in Oriental subjects was kindled. In Goethe's paternal home in Frankfurt, the Bible was, of course, intensely studied, and the poet always remained indebted to the powerful diction of this book. In 1772, at the age of 23, Goethe, however, began to study the Quran in the German version by his Frankfurt compatriot Megerlin. Inspired by various and conflicting writings about Prophet Muhammad, he intended to compose a drama about him as a counterweight to Voltaire's rather satirical picture of the Prophet of Islam. But he finished only two pieces of this drama: one is a prayer of Abraham, forsaking the worship of stars and turning to the Creator instead; it is clearly inspired by the relevant passage in Sura 6. The second piece was meant as a dialogue between Ali and Fatima, but later converted into a hymn called *Mahomets Gesang*. Here, the Prophet is symbolized as a stream which, emerging from a small fountain, grows into a brook, and eventually into a mighty river, carrying with him all the smaller rivers, which he brings back to the Father, the fathomless ocean. Goethe has very well interpreted the

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mystical feelings, expressed by Maulana Rumi and others, that prophetic activity indeed resembles a river nourished by the rain of grace; river-like, the Prophet will bring home all those who search for the same goal and cannot find the way by themselves. Most than a century after Goethe, R. M. Rilke was to use the same symbol in a deeply felt appreciation of Islam in a letter written from Duino to the Princess Thurn und Taxis (1912). The truly Islamic character of Goethe's poem is evident, that is why Iqbal has given a very free Persian version of it in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, and we may assume that the *nom de plume* which he is given by Rumi in the *Javidnama* is *Zindarud*, 'Living Stream', is an elegant allusion to the prophetic power.

Goethe took little interest in Oriental topics, at least in the form of serious studies of these themes, for more than forty years, although he read the translations that appeared year after year in Europe (among them that of Tahsinuddin's *Kamalata and Kamarupa*). It was in early 1813, at the time of the greatest political turmoil in Germany, that he felt attracted to the East once more. Not in vain did he call the first verse of the new collection of poems, which grew in the next five years, *Hegira*, for he wanted to flee from the confused political scene in the West to the world of patriarchal harmony and purity. The outward reason for this reverting to the East was not so much the output of the Romantic poets and scholars who attested that the Orient, and particularly India, was the homeland of everything beautiful; it was rather the appearance of the first complete German translation of the Divan of Hafiz, produced by Joseph von Hammer. This rather unpolished translation of Hafiz, which was published in two small volumes in 1812-13, awakened in Goethe the feeling of a close relationship with the Persian poet, whom he called his 'twin brother'. Hammer's translation has often been criticized, but it is still better, because it is more faithful, than most of the later adaptations of the poetry of Hafiz in German or English. Goethe was

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able to discover the greatness of Hafiz from these translations, and he readily saw the oscillating character of Persian poetry, which should neither be understood as completely worldly (as Hammer thought) nor as purely mystical (as Silvestre de Sacy held). 'The world is a fan'--that is what Goethe discovered: a fan, both veiling and unveiling the beauty of the Friend's face. Goethe was also aware that 'in this poetry the language as language plays the most important role'. The love of a charming young woman--Marianne Jung-von Willemer--added to the feeling of proximity to the Persian poet's love-songs all the more as Marianne was able to answer him in elegant verse. Thus various reasons contributed to the growth of the *West-Östlicher Divan*, in which Goethe utters his confession that, if Islam means surrender into God's will, all of us live in Islam:

Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst,
In Islam leben und sterben wir alle.

In this book of poetry a perfect blending of Eastern and Western thought has been achieved for the first time. And besides the deep and colourful poetry there are also the *Noten und Abhandlungen*, a collection of stray thoughts about oriental topics, such as the character of Arabic and Persian poetry, the most famous poets, political systems and so on. Even today the Orientalist cannot but admire Goethe's deep insight into the essentials of Islamic culture and into the character of Persian poetry.

In the same year that the *Divan* appeared in print, in 1819, a young German orientalist-poet, Friedrich Rückert, composed for the first time ghazals in German, introducing the thought of Maulana Rumi as well as the Persian form into German literature. He thus inaugurated the Oriental Current proper, a current of which he, a gifted poet and an excellent scholar of some fifty languages, was and remained the best and foremost representative.

The Germans had accepted Oriental topics from early times, and with Goethe the legacy of the Islamic world became part and

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parcel of Germany's cultural tradition. In the East, however, the knowledge of Western traditions was very deficient. For political reasons the Indian Muslims remained mainly confined to the Turkish tradition in literature. Iqbal is an exception. Although he read Wordsworth and translated short poems of some English and American writers into Urdu in his early years, his love for Goethe is visible from the very beginning of his career. It is evident from his beautiful poem in honour of Ghalib, who, says Iqbal, rests in the dust of Delhi, while his spiritual brother Goethe slumbers in the rose garden of Weimar. This corresponds well with his remark in *Stray Reflections* (1910): 'I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth'. In fact, the *Stray Reflections*, which are notes written after Iqbal's return from Europe at the time of a transformation in his *Weltanschauung*, allow us a revealing insight into Iqbal's mind. Although it would have been natural for a poet educated in British Mission schools and universities to prefer English poetry, yet he gives the palm to Goethe. Syed Nazir Niyazi rightly observes:

> "Perhaps what life needs more than those who 'know the secrets of nature' are men who can understand its ultimate purpose. Goethe was such a man and so was Iqbal. And it was Iqbal who turned our attention to Goethe. It is a remarkable episode in our history that Iqbal alone should have resisted the force of a whole literature and culture which was dominating our life through political control. Whatever the reason...it is a fact that we accepted Goethe rather than Shakespeare is a unique artist whom we all recognize but Goethe is one of us who has secured a place in our hearts. If we bear this point in mind, a glimpse of the perfect man, or vicegerent of God, or Man, and his character and

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> disposition as conceived by Iqbal, is seen to some extent in Faust, a creature of Goethe's thought, and not in the Superman of Nietzsche."

According to Iqbal, Goethe was capable of symbolizing humanity in the one figure of his Faust:

> "Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the Divine thought of creation. There is, however, one important difference between them. The realistic Englishman re-thinks the individual--the idealist German, the universal. His Faust is seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised." (*Stray Reflections*, p 144).

Or, in different words: 'if you wish to study the anatomy of the human mind, you may go to Wundt, Ward, James or Stout. But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone'. (ibid., p. 139). Iqbal does not hesitate to see in *Faust* the true representative of the German mind, much closer to the people's feeling than even the New Testament: 'it is Goethe's Faust--not the books supposed to have been written by the Galilean Fishermen--which reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it' (ibid., p. 66). And as he acknowledged his indebtedness to Maulana Rumi's genius by choosing him as his spiritual guide, he also confessed that he discovered his own limits after reading Goethe: 'our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It [was] not until I had realized the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own'. (ibid., p 2). This statement is repeated in poetry in the Prologue of the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, which contains perhaps the finest praise of the German poet in Iqbal's work. Rather, the whole of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* is devoted to his praise, for it was Iqbal's intention to give an answer to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. He eagerly looked for someone who might translate this book of his into German so that

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Goethe's compatriots might see the first answer to his work coming from the East.

> We may ask ourselves what the common denominator between the two men was. Perhaps one answer can be found in Iqbal's remark about Plato (quite different from his later criticism) that he was not quite decided what to make of Plato: poet or philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe (ibid., p. 128). Was he himself not also caught in the same dilemma, acting both as poet and philosopher, although in both cases with a strong undercurrent of 'prophetic' inspiration and activity? Perhaps it was Goethe's creativity which made Iqbal admire the German poet.
>
> > "Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century -nay, the entire experience of the human race. His transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe out of the chaos of formless matter." (ibid., p. 71).

Here, Goethe appears as the creative *khalifa*, God's vicegerent, whose activities are expressed best in the 'Dialogue between God and Man' in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Iqbal was also attracted by Goethe's evaluation of history and his broad knowledge of humanities and science: the lines in the *Divan*:

> Wer nicht von drei tausend Jahren
> sich weiss Rechenschaft zu geben,
> bleib im Dunkln unerfahren,
> mag von Tag zu Tage leben--

(He who cannot give account of three thousand years of history, should stay in the dark as an ignorant man and may live from one day to the next!) fit well into his own appreciation of history in which, as the Quran has stated, God's activity manifests itself. To know the

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history of three thousand years, as Goethe deems necessary, means to see the ways of God in the movements of history and to possess the accumulated treasures of the past experience of mankind. Iqbal's stay in Germany certainly enhanced his love for German culture, as Atiya Begum has clearly attested in her memoirs; it also enhanced his capacity for reading German literature in the original language, and he did enjoy not only Goethe's but also Heine's verse (see *Stray Reflections* p. 151). One of his most famous early poems in the *Bang-e-Dara*, written in Heidelberg on the bank of Neckar on a summer night, is without doubt his answer to Goethe's tender poem *Wanderers Nachtlied* (Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh...) which the poet, then 31 years old, as Iqbal was in 1908, composed on 6 September 1780 in Ilmenau (Thuringia). Still, it was not so much Goethe the lyric poet that attracted Iqbal, nor the Goethe who had praised Hafiz in glowing terms; it was rather Goethe the poetical thinker. Ernst Beutler rightly says that the poems of the *West-Östlicher Divan* 'exude strength'; Iqbal did certainly feel this spiritual strength, this joyful acceptance of life in all its varieties as it found expression in Goethe's work.

One aspect of Goethe's thought which was particularly close to Iqbal's own feeling was the importance he attached to a certain polarity of experience. He had expressed the idea of this polarity with the help of an oriental symbol in his poem: 'In Atemholen sind zweierlei Gnaded...' (Favor twofold we in breathing see, / The air we draw, then set it free, / One is constraint, the other bliss...) thus taking up the Sufi tradition of the constant change of *qabz* and *bast*, spiritual constriction and spiritual exaltation as manifest in the act of breathing. This permanent interplay of the two 'breaths' is manifested best in the *dhikr* formula of the *shahada*, where the negative *la ilah* leads to the positive *illa Allah*. Comparable to Ibn Arabi and his followers, who saw the world as part of the eternal process of Divine breathing, Goethe, too, recognized God's breath in the *systole* and

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diastole, the inherent polarities of creation—be they thought and action, or Lucifer and the angelic powers. In Iqbal's work, the interplay of *jamal* and *jalal* is highly important, and like Maulana Rumi who had described the mystical *hal* as a sudden *jalwa* and the *maqam* as the enduring state of *Khalwa* (*Mathnawi*, I, 1435), Iqbal sees the secret of man's spiritual life in his constant movement from the prayer-life in the *khalwa* with God to *jalwa* where the results of the former experience are to be manifested. *Khalwa* and *jalwa* together form the fabric of life, just as Love and Intellect constitute the *warp* and *woof* of human existence. Again we may remember Goethe who said in 1829: a century which occupies itself exclusively with analysis and is almost afraid of synthesis, is not on the right path; for only the two together, like inbreathing and outbreathing, constitute the life of science. Iqbal's poem 'Love and Science' in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* seems like a poetical version of this saying. Like the German poet, Iqbal too thought that the polarities which constitute real life will be reserved in the infinite Perfection (*kamal*) of God. He therefore does not hesitate to quote one of Goethe's poems in his *Lectures*:[2]

In the endless self-repeating
For evermore flows the Same.
Myriad arches springing, meeting
Hold at rest the mighty frame.
Streams from all things love of living.
Grandest star and humblest cold,
All the straining, all the striving
Is eternal peace in God.

Iqbal recognized in Goethe the same dynamism which permeated his own philosophical and poetical work. Faust, the man who always strives to attain higher levels of individuation, seems like a prefiguration of his own ideals. He was also fascinated by the second figure in *Faust*, Satan or Mephistopheles. This spirit 'who always negates' and who 'always intends evil and creates good' fitted well

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into Iqbal's satanology. Did not Goethe put the following words about Satan's importance into the mouth of God?

Des Menschen Tatigkeit muss allzuleicht erschlaffen;
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Drum geb ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muss als Teufel schaffen.

For man's activity can easily abate,
He soon prefers uninterrupted rest;
To give him this companion hence seems best
Who rolls and must as Devil help create. (tr. W. Kaufmann)

Out of man's constant struggle with Iblis, who lured him out of the peace of Paradise, the colorful picture of the world emerges. 'His blood make the story of creation colorful', as Iqbal sings in the *Javidnameh*. His clearest statement about Satan is certainly the one in *Taskhir-i-fitrat*, the five-part poem in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, which ends with man's victory over his temptor who now performs the prostration before the Perfect Man he had not performed before the unexperienced Adam. The Perfect Man can say with the Prophet *'Aslama shaytani'*, (My Satan has surrendered to me, or, has become a Muslim). Goethe's Faust, in turn, is rescued from Satan's clutches by the angelic powers because of his incessant striving to move to higher levels. Man's duty is the *jihad akbar*, the fight against the satanic powers and his own lower potencies which may prevent the unfolding of his personality--Goethe says in the *West-Östlicher Divan*, when the poet asks for admission to Paradise:

Lass mich immer nur hinein;
Denn ich bin ein Mensch gewesen,
und das heisst ein Kämpfer sein.

...once for all now--let me in,
Know that I have been a mortal,

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That's fighter to have been (tr. J. Weiss)

This constant struggle of man is the theme of both Goethe's and Iqbal's verse; it should not, however, be interpreted as an ascetic achievement- something that distinguished early Sufism. It must rather be understood in the context of love, which is the dynamic core of life. Every step in which Satan is overcome is a step towards God, and that means, for both poets, towards the realization of man's personality. Goethe admired 'the powerful personality' even though he recognized its demonic aspects: his verses on Tamerlane in the *Diwan*, where the conqueror and the demons of winter are confronted, is his poetical expression of his feelings for Napoleon and his breakdown in the Russian winter of 1812. To be sure, Goethe's most famous verse about 'personality' has a slightly ironical bent

Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder
sei nur die PersÖnlichkeit--
Highest bliss for human beings
be the 'personality'...

We may interpret his attitude in the sense in which Max Scheler was to define it a century later: 'Love in prophetic religion means to gain a true personality by the living contact with God'. That would be Iqbal's view, too; for man drawing closer and closer to God, realizes the possibilities of his small Ego the more he approaches the all-embracing Divine Ego. It implies a constant growth in love; and in this respect Iqbal is close to classical writers of Sufism, such as Qushayri, Najmuddin Kubra, Attar and Maulana, who knew after every step a new step will follow, that longing has no end (as Ghazzali said in his *Ihya al-'Ulum al-Din*), and that the 'way in God' follows the 'way toward God'. The poet unfolds his love in growing circles; he cannot stop anywhere, and even the houris in Paradise complain that he does not care for them: Iqbal's poem, 'The Houri and the Poet' in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* reminds the reader immediately of Goethe's similar treatment of the subject, as do some lines in

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Iqbal's later Urdu poetry. At the end of the *Javidnameh*, when Zindarud experiences 'growing without diminishing' in the Divine Presence, we are not only close to classical Sufi theories but even more to Goethe, who describes Paradise at the end of his *Divan* in the words:

> bis im Anschaun ew'ger Liebe
> wir verschweben, wir verschwinden...
> ...till in swoon of Love eternal
> we melt up, and with it blend.

This constant growth is produced by 'dying to one's lower qualities', by constant sacrifice. By following the device *mutu qabla anta mutu*, 'die before ye die', man experiences the spiritual resurrection already here on earth, and the shock of corporeal death means not much to him. His Ego will continue growing in the other world, provided it is strong enough: 'Personal immortality is not a state, it is a process.' This statement from the *Stray Reflections* (p. 17) is later elaborated in the *Lectures* 'Personal immortality... is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort' (p. 119). Heaven is no holiday, as Iqbal states in the same lecture: for man is called to enter into deeper and deeper abysses of the infinite Godhead. Goethe felt the same way, as he mentioned on 4 February 1829 to Eckermann: 'The conviction of our continuation emerges, for me, from the concept of activity; for when I work here without rest then nature is obliged to arrange for me another form of existence, if the present one can no longer endure my spirit.' But how to realize this growth? Goethe's poem *Selige Sehnsucht* is the answer to this question. Here the German poet has taken over the symbol of moth and candle, used first in the Islamic tradition by Hallaj in his *Kitab al-Tawasin*, to show that eternal life can be found only by 'dying and becoming', by sacrificing oneself in order to attain duration. He has expressed this feeling of necessity of metamorphosis, the development in animals and plants, in many a poem, for he knew that the wish to remain stable and immobile is

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equivalent to death:

Denn alles muss in Nichts zerfallen,
Wenn es im Sein beharren will

Iqbal intends the same mystery of life in his numerous lines about the *soz-i-nafasnam*, the renewed longing for ever-new and fresh manifestations of life.

But we should not limit the similarities between Goethe and Iqbal to the spiritual sphere alone. Iqbal has also adopted some outward features from the German master--the very form of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* shows that. The *Javidnameh* is also influenced by Goethean forms although the name of the German poet is not mentioned. But the story of the upward way of the poet-philosopher as in *Faust* blended with motifs from Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Dante's *Divina Commedia*, begins with a 'Prologue in Heaven' and a 'Prologue on Earth', both modelled on prologues in Goethe's *Faust*. Once more Syed Nazir Niazi is an important source for our knowledge of Iqbal's relation to Goethe. He writes:

> "*Faust* was translated direct form German into Urdu at the instance of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu by the writer's companion, Dr. Syed Abid Hussain, in the Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi. This translation was in prose and was confined to Part I of *Faust*. It is possible that I had mentioned this translation to Iqbal or it had reached him in some other way, but in a letter dated the 14th August 1931 he enquired if Dr. Abid Hussain had also translated the Prologue in Heaven. Perhaps he made this enquiry in connection witth the *Javidnameh* which he was writing at that time....When I met Iqbal some days later and *Faust* was mentioned in the course of conversation, he again enquired why Dr. Abid Hussain had not translated the second part. He also

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> offered to help Dr. Abid Hussain in this task. He observed that the second part was a little difficult as it contained numerous terms connected with Astronomy and Chemistry and also references and allusions with which the people of the West were not familiar and which were properly understood only by Oriantals."

The impression that Iqbal's admiration of Goethe was partly due to German poet's deep historical knowledge is reinforced by a further quotation from Nazir Niazi's book referring to the latter's impression of *Faust*:

> "He [Iqbal] said: During my stay in Germany, I had many an occasion to offer clarifications and explanations of these terms and usages and this used to leave a deep impression on my German audience. The fact is that Goethe possessed an enormous vision. It was his belief that if one had not studied and examined the history of the past one thousand [sic] years, he could not claim to be cultured and refined. How was it possible, therefore, for every German to be familiar with all the usages and allusions that Goethe had culled from Oriental literature? To us these terms are words of daily use. I had no difficulty whatsoever in digesting these sections of *Faust*. The Germans really marvelled at the ease with which I explained these terms."

This is perhaps the best explanation for Iqbal's great fascination for Goethe.

There is, however, one point that has always been slightly embarrassing for the lovers of both Goethe and Maulana Rumi. Iqbal himself has pointed out the fact that the remarks of his German

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spiritual guide about Rumi, as laid down in the *Notes and Abhandlungen*, were anything but flattering. It seems that from the few comments which were available in German literature (Hammer's *Fundgruben* and, in 1819, the same scholar's *Geschichte* [illegible] *Rede Günsle Parsiens* he gained the impression that Rumi was representative of measureless and formless pantheism, a creed which he thoroughly disliked, for hazy mysticism contradicted his lucid views about God and the world; Rumi's tales seemed to him confused and confusing. Goethe was afraid of, and did loathe, everything shapeless, everything that did not develop in a living form. Just as he wrote some satirical lines about many-headed Indian deities so that A.W. Schlegel, the founder-father of German Indology, called him 'Allah's new zealot', he could not find anything attractive in the few tales of the *Mathnavi* which were available to him. Iqbal rightly states in his Urdu introduction of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* that even though Maulana Jalaluddin appeared to Goethe as a pantheist, it was amazing that he, who defended Giordano Bruno and showed a deep interest in Spinoza, was not willing to acknowledge Rumi's greatness. Iqbal recognized the similarity of at least some of Rumi's and Goethe's thought, and that is why he placed them side by side in one of the most revealing poems of the *Payam-i-Mashriq*: he gratefully confesses his indebtedness to both the German and the Islamic poet-thinkers by showing that both of them were aware of the deepest mysteries of man's way through the world and had experienced and taught that the secret of life is (in Rumi's words): 'From Satan intellect, from Adam love'.

Notes

1 *Stray Reflections. A Note book of Allama Iqbal*, edited by Javed Iqbal (Lahore, 1961), p. 54. [Revised and enlarged edition with facsimiles. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1992. Ed.]

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2. Sir Mohammad Iqbal. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore, 1958), p. 60.

(In: *Iqbal: Essays and Studies*. Edited by Asloob Ahmed Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy 1978. pp. 271-284; also in: *Iqbal: Commemoration Volume*. Eds. Ali Sardar Jafri and K. S. Duggal. New Delhi: n.d., pp. 242-253)

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Mumtaz Hasan

IQBAL'S TRIBUTE TO GOETHE

Iqbal admired Goethe and was deeply influenced by him. In spite of differences of background and environment, the two of them had what Goethe would call 'elective affinities'.

Both were poets with a message. They spoke of the greatness and glory of Life, of the striving of the Life-impulse towards higher and nobler goals of fulfilment. Iqbal said:

زندگی جوئے رواں است و رواں خواہد بود
ایں مئے کہنہ جواں است و جواں خواہد بود

[Life floweth like a stream and ever it shall flow
This ancient wine is strong and heady: it shall ever be so.]

Goethe would go further. For him Life seems to be its own goal:

'Das Leben ist des Lebens Pfand, es ruht
Nur auf sich selbst und muss sich selbst verbürgen.'

[Our life is pawned to Life, its only pledge
Is of itself, itself the sole redemption]

(translation by Mayne).

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Goethe's view of Life was coloured by a pantheistic outlook. Iqbal in his Cambridge days was also inclined towards pantheism, but veered away from it later. Pantheism tends to have a negative impact on the whole question of moral value, and it is difficult for it to co-exist with that intense sense of moral responsibility which Iqbal developed in his اسرارِخودی (*Secrets of Self*) and رموزِبیخودی (*Mysteries of Selflessness*) and which pervades the whole of his work.

Both Iqbal and Goethe held the development of human personality as of the highest importance, and the path to that development lay, for both of them, through constant and creative activity. Both are bridges between East and West. Iqbal brought the West to the East and Goethe took the East to the West. In the process, both retained their own identity, although, in the end, Iqbal remains more of an Easterner than Goethe is a Westerner. Iqbal prized the science and technology of the West, but there was little to attract him in its social and economic system with its nationalism, racialism, capitalism, imperialism and last, but by no means least, communism. He felt that differences of race, geography, language, income and wealth, which the Western world emphasised, were calculated to divide man from man, intensify social and economic exploitation and destroy the whole concept of the Oneness of Humanity, to which he was committed heart and soul and which formed an integral part of his *Weltanschauung*. He fully realised, and even insisted, that the problem of bread had to be solved, but he declared with all the emphasis at his command that man cannot live by bread alone. He regarded Karl Marx as a false prophet, whose religion was based merely on the equality of stomachs. Iqbal did call for a revolution in human affairs, but it was primarily a revolution of outlook and of mental and spiritual reorientation. It is true that there is something like a touch of impatience in some of his later utterances, such as when, in the *Bal-i-Jibril* (Gabriel's Wing), he imagines God telling the angels to go and set fire to every ear of corn in a field from which

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the ploughman cannot get a proper living. But this is no more than an expression of exasperation on the part of an idealist who has suffered frustration through the passing years, and may be regarded as a passing phase.

Goethe did not have to face the problem of communism. Nor any exhibition of mass violence, destroy, as it must, the higher values of culture, could not have had his approval. The French Revolution did not please him and the communist upheaval would have made him less than happy.

Goethe was a citizen of the world. His spirit could not be confined within political or geographical frontiers. Although he never travelled outside Europe, and his visits and vacations were more or less limited to Germany, Italy and Switzerland, the limitations of time and place had little meaning for him. The amazing versatility of his mind, combined with a remarkable catholicity of outlook, marks him out as an example of the مردِ آفاقی (the universal man) that Iqbal speaks of. His whole personality was best summed up by Napoleon when he met him at Erfurt in 1808. Expecting to see a German he met a man "Vous êtes un homme" (You are a man), he said to Goethe.

Goethe's longing for the East was born of his disappointment with the West, which he saw was in the grip of confusion and disorder, and where the human spirit was loosing its warmth. What attracted him in the East (in his own words) was 'unquestioning acquiescence in the unfathomable Will of God; a serene vision of the pulsating flux, the incessant convolutions and involutions, circle-wise, spiral-wise, of the terrestrial rhythm; love affections, hovering between two worlds; all matter purged of its dross, symbolically evaporating.' His chief guide in this spiritual sojourn was Hafiz of Shiraz, who to him was 'Heiliger Hafis'--Saintly Hafiz.

Goethe's cultural background was much wider than that of Iqbal. He knew far more languages. His knowledge of Arabic and Persian was surprising, although it is a little odd to see him giving his

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Book of Love in the *Divan* "Buch der Liebe" the title of 'Ushq Nameh' instead of 'Ishq Nameh'. His English, similarly, was far more perfect, judging by the specimens available. There can be little doubt, however, that he had unlocked the treasures of history and culture to a much greater extent than his Eastern counterpart. He was a scientist who discovered the inter-maxillary bone in man, studied the life of plants, and challenged Newton's Theory of Colours. His most lasting contribution to science, though, was perhaps the way he looked at Nature and the principle of unity in natural phenomena which he emphasised a principle to which some of the greatest scientists of our time, such as Max Born and Werner Heisenberg, are increasingly attracted. He was also a man who spent the best part of a lifetime in administration and policy-making, having held in the Duchy (later Grand Duchy) of Saxe-Weimar, the offices of Privy Councillor and Minister. He held a number of portfolios one after the other, including Agriculture, Forests, Mines, Education, and the somewhat sensitive one of Finance. He also became President of Council or Prime Minister. He did not merely go from chair to chair as is the wont of ministers and civil servants, but brought to whatever office he held not only the expected luster, but also concrete achievement. His work for the University of Jena, the silver mines in Ilmenau and a number of other projects was a contribution to the welfare of the Grand Duchy and its people. Not content with that, he was for years Director of the Weimar Theatre as well, an office which he resigned when the then reigning beauty of the Grand Duke's court wanted him to let a do bark on the stage as part of the presentation, something he quite rightly refused to do. He accompanied the Grand Duke on military and diplomatic expeditions, found time for significant scientific researches, his immortal art, his love affairs, and even for semi-academic lectures to the ladies of Weimar.

Iqbal never held any office in the Government of his time. While he was profoundly interested in modern science and the

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philosophical aspects of its achievements, he was never actively engaged in scientific pursuits. His main contribution was his doctrine of the Self which runs through his whole work and has had a catalytic influence on thought and literature in the Subcontinent and outside. He led the way to a reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, and was active in national politics, particularly for the last twelve years or so of his life. He was the first to put forward, from an official political platform, the idea of a consolidated Muslim State in the Sub continent--the State which came into being as Pakistan nine years after his death. As poet-philosopher-statesman, he is thus unique among the great ones of thought and literature.

Women were of great importance in Goethe's life. His interest in them was never merely physical or romantic. Even though his love affairs, and there were quite a few of them, were of an unconventional character, they were not usual in any sense of the word. Every one of his women, from Charlotte Buff and Charlotte von Stein to Marianne von Willemer and Ulriche von Lwetzow (not to speak of Christiane Vulpius, who promoted from mistress to wife, became the mother of his only son, August), represents a phase in his development. For Goethe woman was the crowning glory of the feminine principle in Nature, a principle which, in Goethe's eyes, expresses itself in all the beautiful and delicate things in creation. Woman was also, for Goethe, the hope of man's salvation. In the closing scene of *Faust*, when the forces of good and evil are struggling to take possession of Faust's soul, he is redeemed through the intervention of Margaret, the girl he had loved and betrayed. 'Love' (for Goethe), says Bayard Taylor, 'is the all-uplifting and all-redeeming power on Earth and Heaven; and to Man it is revealed in its most pure and perfect form through Woman. Thus, in the transitory life of Earth, it is only a symbol of its divine being; the possibilities of love, which Earth can never fulfil, become realities in the higher life which follows; the Spirit, which Woman interprets to

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us here, still draws us upward (as Margaret draws the soul of Faust) there.'

At the end of *Faust* the Chorus Mysticus gives expression to the same idea in some of the noblest words ever uttered by man:

'Alles vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis;
Das Unzulängliche
Hier wird's Ereignis;
Das Unbeschreichliche,
Hier ist es Getan;
Das Ewigweibliche
Zieht uns hinan.'

Bayard Taylor's translation is:

'All things transitory
But as symbols are sent
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to Event.
The Indescribable,
Here it is done.
The Woman-Soul, leadeth us
Upward and on!'

That is a message of hope for the human race. The hope that Iqbal brings us, even though it does not reach us through the Eternal Feminine, is no less universal; it is, if anything, even more categorical and comforting:

آنچہ بود است و نباید زمیاں خواہد رفت
آنچہ بایست و نبود است سماں خواہد بود

[What should not be shall cease to be, all that ever was
What hath not been but ought to be, the same shall come to pass.]

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As regards woman, Iqbal thinks of her as an embodiment of creative activity, a carrier of life and a perpetuator of the race. Iqbal sees an apotheosis of woman in her role as mother, even though, of the two, Goethe seems to owe more to his mother than Iqbal who inherited more of himself from his father. Nonetheless, the heart-rending poem Iqbal has written in memory of his mother finds no parallel in Goethe.

He has had his tender moments with her, but his view of her is far less cosmic than that of Goethe. He even preferred her to be hidden from sight, 'for the genius of every creator needs secrecy to preserve it'.

زانکہ حفظ حکمت ہر خالق اوستوی است

Goethe and Iqbal were both lawyers, but of two Goethe was much less interested in law and gave up after an uncertain start. Goethe lived to be eighty-three, while Iqbal died about twenty years younger. In spite of serious illnesses, Goethe enjoyed better health in life than Iqbal. Iqbal was unconventional about his dress and his way of living; Goethe not so. As artists, both were dedicated to Life. For both of them, Art is of Life and for Life. There is no Art for Art's sake. Both had to wait for moments of inspiration; it was difficult for them to drive themselves. Although Goethe is far more prolific and versatile than Iqbal, he allowed himself a holiday whenever the artistic impulse was not compulsive. So did Iqbal.

Goethe and Iqbal both welcomed America with its freedom from outworn tradition, and looked to it to lead mankind to a newer world.

There is, however, an essential difference between Iqbal and Goethe. It consists in Iqbal's deep and earnest concern for society, which is comparatively lacking in Goethe, as in Rumi who, with Goethe, forms the second most powerful influence on Iqbal. It might also be relevant to say that while Goethe's compositionism, as that of

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Ghalib or Hafiz, springs from his individualism. Iqbal's view of humanity strikes a balance between the development of the human individual and the creation of a model society. The individual must not overshadow society, nor should society swallow up the individual. Iqbal's individual cannot grow except in the social context, while an ideal society cannot be built except by great individuals, who have to sacrifice immediate and individual advantage for the ultimate and common good--a sacrifice which, in turn, helps them to surpass themselves.

What I have said so far offers no more than a brief--all too brief--glimpses of these two great men, a detailed comparison of whose life and work in the context of their respective times and circumstances would be fascinating and will, I hope, be undertaken by someone who has more time and competence than I can command. What attracted Iqbal particularly to Goethe, apart from Goethe's dedication to the idea of the growth of human personality, was Goethe's interest in the Orient and Oriental literature. And what brought him still closer to Goethe was Goethe's admiration for Islam, the Prophet and the Qur'an. For example, he says in the *Divan*:

'Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst
In Islam leben und sterben wir alle.'
[If Islam means that we submit our will to the Will of God,
Then we all live and die in Islam.]

This single verse shows a profundity of understanding of the spirit of Islam on the part of a non-Muslim which is rare even among the Muslim exponents of Islam. It was not a merely intellectual understanding; it had, indeed, become part of Goethe's being. When he had to face one of the most tragic moments of his life, when the news of the death of his only son, August, was conveyed to him, he said, with a resignation characteristic of the true believer, 'I knew I had not begotten an immortal.' His famous tribute to the Qur'an in

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one of the Notes to the *Divan* is well known. In the words of Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh: 'The kernel and doctrine of Islam, Goethe has found in the Second Sura which begins as follows: "This is the Book. There is no doubt in the same. A guidance to the righteous who believe in the Unseen, who observe the prayer, and who give alms of that which We have vouchsafed unto them. And who believe in that which has been sent down unto thee--(the revelation) which had been sent down to those before thee, and who believe in the life to come. They walk in the guidance of their LORD, and they are the blessed. As to those who believe not--it is indifferent to them whether thou exhortest them or exhortest them not. They will not believe. Sealed hath ALLAH their hearts and their ears, and over their eyes is darkness, and theirs will be a great punishment...." 'And in this wise,' Goethe continues, 'we have Surah after Surah. Belief and unbelief are divided into higher and lower. Heaven and hell await the believers or deniers. Detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religions, form the body of this sacred volume which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever new and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us into veneration.'

His Ode to the Prophet, the famous 'Mahomets Gesang,' of which I shall speak later, is one of the greatest tributes ever paid to Muhammad by anyone, Muslim or non-Muslim. And that is something which brings Goethe closer to us than any other writer of Europe. He has, indeed, proved to be a greater influence in Pakistan than Shakespeare or any other writer of the English language, notwithstanding the fact that we in Pakistan have grown up in the British educational tradition and are used to English rather than German.

Goethe has inspired more than one poem of Iqbal. Great poets are often influenced by their predecessors and even by their contemporaries in one way or another, but the individuality of each

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artist shines through his work and makes it unique. Homer inspired Virgil and Virgil inspired Dante. Shakespeare owes the stories of almost all his plays to earlier sources, such as Bendellio, Froissert and others. Goethe owed a great deal to Shakespeare and so, even though the two men are different in that Goethe has a philosophy of life while Shakespeare has none. Incidentally, Goethe inherited the Faust legend just as Warith Shah had the 'Hir and Ranjha' story ready to hand. What is important is the artist's treatment of his subject, and not the source from which the subject may be derived.

Iqbal is quite remarkable for the manner in which his critics have searched for sources of inspiration. These diligent gentlemen have been at pains to tell us what he owes to Nietzsche, Bergson and others. It may not be an exaggeration to say that Iqbal ranks only after Shakespeare and that the Taj Mahal in regard to the desire on the part of the critical fraternity to attribute his work to someone other than himself. It is usual for these gentry to ignore chronology and the existence of earlier sources of inspiration which may have been common to him and those to whom he is said to have been indebted. (Incidentally, the late Professor Sharif has shown to Descartes has reproduced Ghazali, page after page, without mentioning his name.) When, for example, we speak of the 'Übermensch,' the 'Superman' of Nietzsche, and its influence on Iqbal, we overlook the fact that 'Übermensch' is a word which occurs in Goethe's *Faust* and that the idea of the 'Perfect Man' is derived from Muslim mystics like 'Abd-ul-Karim al-Jili on whom Iqbal wrote an article in Sir Richard Temple's journal, *The Indian Antiquary*, in 1901. This is not the occasion to elaborate the point, but there can be no doubt that the main influence on Iqbal's art and thought are Rumi and Goethe and even here, as has been shown, there are differences of a fundamental character between them.

Iqbal's main response to Goethe took the form of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* or the 'Message of the East,' which was inspired by the

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West-Östlicher Divan and which has been translated into German by Annemarie Schimmel under the title *Botschaft des Ostens*. But there are also poems outside the *Pavam* in which Goethe's influence could be traced. An example, which may not be the only one, is a poem from the *Bang-i-Dara* ('Caravan Bells') entitled 'An Evening in Heidelberg' which was written on the banks of the Neckar.

خاموش ہے چاندنی قمر کی شاخیں ہیں خموش ہر شجر کی
وادی کے نوافروش خاموش کہسار کے سبز پوش خاموش
فطرت بیہوش ہو گئی ہے آغوش میں شب کے سو گئی ہے
کچھ ایسا سکوت کا فسوں ہے نیکر کے خرام بھی سکوں ہے
تاروں کا خموش کارواں ہے یہ قافلہ بے درا رواں ہے
خاموش ہیں کوہ و دشت و دریا قدرت ہے مراقبے میں گویا
اے دل! تو بھی خموش ہو جا
آغوش میں غم کو لے کے سو جا

This, along with five other poems of Iqbal, was translated into German by the late Otto von Glasenapp, Vice-President of the old Reich Bank and father of the late Professor Helmut von Glasenapp. Glasenapp's translation is as follows:

Still ist der Berg und der Fluss und das Tal,
Es scheint die Natur in Sinnen versuken.
Die geufiederten Sänger verstummen zumal,
Und der Wald an dem Hügel ruht schlummertrunken.
Die Karawans der Sterne zieht
Ohne Glöckanklingen auf himmlischen Wegen.
Still leuchtet der Mond, die Bewegung entflicht,
Im Schosse der Nacht sich schlafen zu legen.
So stark ist der Stille Zaubermacht,
Dass der Neckar ruht, weiterfliessend.
Nun sei auch du stille, mein Herz, in der Nacth
Und schlafe, das Leid in dich verschliessend.

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I have ventured an English rendering of the poem:

Silent is the moonlight,
Silent the boughs of trees.
Creation, lost to itself,
Is asleep in the arms of the night.
The stillness has cast such a spell
That even the flow of the Neckar seems still.
The caravan of the stars moves on
In silence, without caravan bells.
Silent are hill and desert and forest
Nature seems lost in contemplation.
Thou too, O heart, be still!
Hold thy grief to thy bosom, and sleep.

The poem contains an echo of the famous "Wandrers Nachtlied" (Wanderers' Night Song) of Goethe, which is one of the two songs he wrote with the same title:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch,
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde,
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

The English translation, probably by Coleridge, is as follows:

Over all the hilltops
Is peace;
In all treetops
Thou feelest
Hardly a breath;
The little birds are silent;

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Wait but a while, soon
Thou too shalt rest.

A somewhat free Urdu translation, for which I am largely to blame myself, would be something like this:

آوارہ گرد کا نغمہ شبانہ

چوٹی چوٹی پہ کہسار کی ہے سکوں
اور درختوں کی شاخیں ہیں یوں دم بخود
جیسے ان میں کوئی سانس باقی نہیں،
اور جنگل میں معصوم ننھے پرندے بھی خاموش ہیں۔
ٹھہر، ایک پل کے لئے تو ٹھہر،
تجھے بھی سکوں جلد مل جائے گا۔

Both poems are full of night and silence and the restlessness of the poet's heart. There is a note of youthful, romantic melancholy in both. Both end on a note of peace, which Goethe expects and Iqbal longs for. Of the two, Iqbal's is the longer moment of inspiration, but the theme and the atmosphere are almost the same. Goethe wrote his poem on the wooden wall of a belvedere in the Thuringian forest near Ilmenau during his early days in Weimar, and saw it again fifty years later when he visited Ilmenau for the last time on his last birthday. Iqbal's poem was written in Heidelberg and is steeped in the magic environment of that city of beauty and romance where our German friends go all the way to lose their hearts--'Ich hab mein Herz in Heidelberg verloren' (I have lost my heart in Heidelberg)--where Goethe met Marianne von Willemer, the Suleikha of the *Divan* for the last time, and where Iqbal himself spent some of the happiest days of his life.

'An evening (in Heidelberg)' is included in the *Bang-i-Dara* (Caravan Bells), the first collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems. There is another poem in the same collection, entitled 'Haqiqat-i-Husn' (The Nature of Beauty) which, as Dr. Reyaz-ul-Hasan has pointed out, is

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derived from Goethe's 'Vier Jahreszeitchen' (Four Seasons). The last six lines under 'Sommer' (summer) read:

> Warum bin ich vergänglich, O Zeus, so fragte die Schönheit.
> Macht ich doch, sagte der Gott, nur das vergängliche schön.
> Und die Liebe, die Blumen, der Tau und die Jugend vernahmens,
> All gingen sie weg, weinend, von Jupiters Thron
> Leben muss man und lieben; es endet Leben und Liebe
> Schnittest du, Parze, doch nur heiden die Fäden zugleich.

These lines may be rendered as follows:

> 'Beauty asked of Zeus, "Why am I transitory?"
> "I made beautiful only that which doth not last," said the God;
> And Love, and the flowers, and the dew, and Youth all heard the news,
> They all went away, weeping, from the throne of Jupiter,
> One must live and love; (but) this ends life and love.
> Thou cuttest, O Fate, both the threads of Life and Love at the same time.'

Let us now turn to Iqbal's poem:

> خدا سے حسن نے اک روز یہ سوال کیا
> جہاں میں کیوں نہ مجھے تو نے لازوال کیا
> ملا جواب کہ تصویر خانہ ہے دنیا
> شب دراز عدم کا فسانہ ہے دنیا
> ہوئی ہے رنگ تغیر سے جب نمود اس کی
> وہی حسیں ہے' حقیقت زوال ہے جس کی

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میں قریب تھا یہ فسانہ قمر نے سنی
فلک پہ عام ہوئی اختر سحر نے سنی
سحر نے تارے سے سن کر سنائی شبنم کو
فلک کی بات بتا دی زمیں کے محرم کو
بھر آئے پھول کے آنسو پیام شبنم سے
کلی کا ننھا سا دل خون ہو گیا غم سے
چمن سے روتا ہوا موسم بہار گیا
شباب سیر کو آیا تھا سوگوار گیا!

This might be rendered as follows:

'One day Beauty asked the Lord:
"Why didst Thou not make me immortal in this world?"
The answer came, "The World's a picture-gallery,
'Tis but the story of the long night of Nothingness.
Since it has emerged from the transient hues of Change,
That alone is a thing of beauty which is of passing moment."
The moon was somewhere near, and heard this conversation
It became the talk of the heavens and reached the morning star.
The star told the Dawn: the Dawn told the dew,
And (thus) disclosed a celestial secret to a confidante of the Earth,
The rose heard it from the dew, and was in tears,
And the tender heart of the rose-bud turned to blood with grief,
Spring departed from the Garden, weeping,
And Youth, out for a carefree stroll, went away in sorrow.'

There can be little doubt that the theme of Iqbal's poem is inspired by Goethe's lines, although his treatment of the subject (like his treatment of Tennyson's 'Love and Death') is more poetic than Goethe's and is hauntingly beautiful. It might be mentioned that when this poem was published for the first time in the *Makhzan*, it bore the

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title 'Husn Aur Azal' (Beauty and God) and there was an indication that it was 'Makhudh az German' (derived from German).

The 'Javednameh,' 'The Book of Eternity,' which has been translated by Annemarie Schimmel as *Buch der Ewigkeit*, opens with the تمہیدِ آسمانی (Tamhid-i-Asmani) which phrase is a translation of *Faust's* 'Prolog im Himmel' the Prologue in Heaven. There is otherwise nothing in common between the Prologue of *Faust* and the (Tamhid) of the *Javidnameh*, which has an entirely different orientation.

As Bayard Taylor has pointed out, the fundamental idea underlying the 'Prologue' in *Faust* is derived from the Book of Job, where Satan is invited to try to turn Job from the service of the Lord by means of affliction. Mephistopheles is to try the same experiment with Faust by means of pleasure, and with like result.[2] The 'Tamhid' begins with Heaven taunting the Earth on the First Day of Creation with being devoid of light and life. The Earth feels depressed and sad, until a Voice from beyond the Heavens says reassuringly that man, the denizen of the Earth, will bring such light with him as shall put the angels in the shade. This is followed by a chorus of angels, singing an ode to Man:

فروغ مشت خاک از نوریاں افزوں شود روزے
زمیں از کوکب تقدیر او گردوں شود روزے

[(Man), this handful of dust, will excel the Angels one day
The star of his destiny will exalt the Earth like Heaven.]

The 'Tamhid-i-Asmani' is followed by the تمہیدِ زمینی (Tamhid-i-Zamini) i.e. Prologue on Earth, where the Spirit of Rumi appears on the scene to guide the further proceedings.

One or two other examples may be of interest. In *Faust* a Spirit (Geist) sings:

'So schaff ich an sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.'

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Bayard Taylor has rendered this as follows

'Thus at Time's humming loom 'tis my hand prepares
The garment of Life which the Deity wears

One can hear an echo of this in the نوائے وقت (The Song of Time) in the *Payam-i Mashriq*, where Time is made to say

من کسوت انسانم پیراہن یزدانم

[I am the robe of man, and the garment of the Deity.]

The *Payam-i-Mashriq's* حور و شاعر (The Poet and the Huri) inspired as it obviously is by the *Divan's* 'Dichter und Huri' has nonetheless an entirely different approach. Goethe is interested in Paradise and the Huri he meets, and would like, so to say, to give her the benefit of his company. Indeed, he suggests that she should come with him, and let some other Huri guard the gate for her. She is not reluctant either, but says that it is her experience that the Muslims (she apparently takes the poet to be one) prefer earthly beauties to the heavenly ones even though, as she assures the poet, the latter can muster all the graces and cast as much of a spell on man as their terrestrial sorority.

The poet is ardent. To quote Alexander Rogers, 'as he cannot accustom himself to the thought of Eternity, he breaks it up into ages which he counts upon her fingers'

'Nein ! due wahlst nicht den geringern!
Gib die Hand, dass Tag für Tag
Ich an deinen zarten Fingern
Ewigkeiten zahlen mag.'

[No! thou wouldst not choose a base one;
Give here thy hand, that so I may

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Count upon thy tender fingers
Eternities all day by day.]

The Huri admits having heard when on her watch at the gate, certain sounds (that is, the poet's songs) trying to penetrate into Paradise, but being unable to do so. The poet is rejoiced at her recollection and hopes her companions, when similarly on watch, when they hear those songs, may echo them back again, so that both worlds may rejoice at them.

The Huri incidentally mentions the Prophet's visit to Paradise during the course of his sojourn through the Heavens and recalls how he did not care to stay a moment with them or give them even a glance. Says the Huri:

'Als der Prophet durch alle Himmel fuhr,
Da passten wir auf seine Spur;
Rückkehrend hatt' er sich's nicht versehn,
Das Flugelpfered es musste stehn
Da Hatten wir ihn der Mitte!--
Freundlich ernst, nach prophetensitte
Wurden wir kurzlich von ihm beschieden:
Wir aber waren sehr unzufieden.'

[As the Prophet rode through Heaven
We watched his traces.
While returning (to the earth) he did not let
His flying-horse to stop even for a moment.
We had him in our midst
Friendly but serious as befits a Prophet.
We were granted only a fleeting glimpse of him
And were very much unsatisfied.]

As a contrast to Goethe, we see the Huri in Iqbal's حور و شاعر (The Huri and the Poet) complaining of indifference on the part of the poet, who has enchanted her with songs full of longing and desire:

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بنوائے آفریدی چہ جہان دلکشائے
کہ ارم بچشم آید چوں طلسم سیمیائی

[With these songs you have created such a world of bliss,
that round me
As if called by incantation I see Paradise unfolding !']

In reply the poet, while extolling the charms of the Huri, explains that he cannot be content with her or with anyone else, however beautiful, as his quest is endless.

چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگار خوبروئے
تپد آں زماں دل من پئے خوبتر نگارے

[When my eye comes to rest on the loveliness of a sweetheart.
My heart at that moment yearns for a sweetheart lovelier still.]

In Iqbal, the poet concludes by saying that he is not interested in Paradise:

دل عاشقاں بہ میرد بہ بہشت جاودانے
نہ نوائے دردمندے نہ غمے نہ غمگسارے

[The hearts of lovers would cease to be in a Paradise eternal
Where for them there is no pain or sorrow, no song of sadness and none to offer consolation.]

مزی اندر جہانے کور ذوقے کہ یزداں دارد و شیطاں ندارد

Here the two poets have different things to say to their Huris. Iqbal's view of Paradise as expressed in this poem is of a piece with what he says in another poem in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*:

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[Spend not thy life in a world devoid of taste
Which has God, but not the Devil.]

It is possible that, in saying all this to his Huri, Iqbal's poet found his cue from the description by Goethe's Huri of the Prophet's transit through Paradise, but the important point is that Iqbal's poem expresses his whole attitude towards life and has not been merely inspired by the occasion, as seems to be the case with Goethe.

Incidentally, Goethe's *Divan* too has sources of inspiration which can often be identified without difficulty. Take the famous lines:

'Gottes ist der Orient;
Gottes ist der Occident.'
[To God belongs the East;
To God belongs the West.]

This is obviously a translation of the Qur'anic verse لله المشرق والمغرب (He is the God of the East and the West) which Iqbal placed on the title page of his *Payam*.

Similarly, when Goethe prays:

'Wenn ich handle, wenn ich dichte
Gib du meinem Weg die Richte.'
[When I do business, or write poetry,
Keep me, Lord, on the straight path]

does he not remind us of the Qur'anic verse:

اهدنا الصراط المستقيم

[Lead us to the straight path, O Lord]?

Again, when Goethe says:

'Im Atemholen sind zweierlei Gnaden:
Die Luft einziehen, sich ihrer entalden;
Jenes bedrängt, dieses erfrischt.
[Two graces give our breathing worth,
To draw air in, then send it forth,

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That with a power to cramp and tighten
This to expand us, and to lighten !'

Are not these lines reminiscent of Sa'di's *Gulistan*

هر نفسی که فرو می رود ممد حیات است و چوں بر می آید مفرح ذات

[Every breath that goes in supports life, and when it comes out, refreshes us].

The differences is that while Sa'di calls the drawing of breath a help to life, Goethe speaks of it as cramping and oppressive

All these examples are from the same poem 'Talismane,' which occurs in the 'Mogamni Nameh' (*Buch des Sängers*, the Book of the Minstrel. To take one more example, one of the most interesting pieces in the *Buch Suleika* (The Book of Zuleikha) opens with the lines:

In tausend Formen magst du dich verstecken,
Doch, Allerliebste, gleich erkenne ich dich

In English, they would read:

'In thousand forms mayst thou attempt surprise,
Yet all-beloved one, straight I know thee.'

Can we not recognise in this the famous Persian verse:

بہر رنگی کہ خواہی جامہ می پوش من انداز قدت را می شناسم

[Whatever the colour of thy garment, my beloved,
I shall know thee all the time?]

A closer study of the *Divan* might bring to light many more examples of this kind, but the important point is that the inspiration which Goethe received from the East he found expression through his own personality in words of deathless beauty. There has been a tendency among certain critics like Arthur Remy (who seems to be somewhat unhappy at the thought that the East should have influenced a Westerner so deeply) to under-rate the poetical quality of the *Divan*. On the other hand, we have the verdict of Heine who has called the

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Divan a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East. 'Goethe's verses,' says Heine, 'are so perfect, so harmonious, so tasteful, so soft, that it seems really surprising that he should ever have been able to have brought the German language to this state of suppleness.' There is now a growing realisation that the *Divan* is one of Goethe's finest works, if not the finest.

Iqbal has expressed his admiration for Goethe without reservation. His first poetic reference to Goethe occurs in his poem on Ghalib. Addressing Ghalib, Iqbal says:

آہ! تو اجڑی ہوئی دلی میں آرامیدہ ہے
گلشن ویمر میں تیرا ہم نوا خوابیدہ ہے

[Alas, that thou shouldst lie in desolate Delhi
While thy compeer sleeps in the garden of Weimar.]

The significance of this comparison becomes clearer when we remember that Iqbal regards Ghalib as superior to himself.

Then there is the famous couplet in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, the 'Message of the East':

صبا بہ گلشن ویمر پیام ما برساں
کہ چشم نکتہ وراں خاک آں دیار افروخت

[Go, morning breeze, and take my salutations to the garden of Weimar,
For the dust of that land hath enhanced the vision of discerning eyes.]

The *Payam-i-Mashriq*, according to Iqbal himself, owes its inspiration to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan* (The West-Eastern Divan). Incidentally, he speaks of it as the 'Divan-i-Maghrib' that is, the Western Divan. As, however, Goethe called it *Östlicher Divan von Westlichen Verfasser* and 'الدیوان الشرقی للمؤلف الغربی' (The Eastern

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Divan by a Western Author it would be more correct to refer to it as the 'Eastern Divan' unless, of course, we use the full title

In the Introduction to the *Payam*, Iqbal has spoken of the *Payam* at some length, and has given a brief but interesting history of the Oriental Movement in German literature. It was necessary to speak of this movement, as the *West-Östlicher Divan* is its finest flower, even though Iqbal had only Arthur Remy's (to whom he refers inadvertently as Charles Remy) book to rely on. But even on the basis of this single source, Iqbal's account calls for two clarifications. In the first place, the Oriental Movement in Germany, which reached the zenith of its glory in Goethe, was part of what may be regarded as a bigger European movement, with men like Sir William Jones and others as its pioneers. Secondly, the Orient of Goethe, as that of Platen, was virtually confined to Iran and the Arab world, while Rückert and others who came late annexed India and China to the Oriental literary domain.

Even though the *Divan* inspired Iqbal to what many of his critics regard as his greatest work, his admiration for *Faust* was much greater than that for the *Divan* or any other of Goethe's masterpieces. In a poem in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* entitled 'Jalal and Goethe,' Iqbal describes Goethe as a man 'who was not a Prophet but had a Book all the same'--the Book, of course, being *Faust*.

Iqbal has written a footnote to the poem as well. 'In *Faust*,' says he, 'the poet speaks of the progressive potentialities of human development and, for this purpose, has used the old legend of the Philosophers' covenant with the Devil with such consummate art that it is impossible to imagine anything more perfect.' The poem itself is worth quoting. Iqbal imagines Goethe meeting Jalaluddin Rumi in Paradise and reciting *Faust* to him. Rumi listens and extolls Goethe as one who has really understood the Great Secret:

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نکتہ دان المنی را در ارم — صحبتے افتاد با پیر عجم
شاعرے کو ہمچو آں عالی جناب — نیست پیغمبر ولے دارد کتاب
خواند بر دانائے اسرار قدیم — قصہ پیمان ابلیس و حکیم
گفت رومی اے سخن را جاں نگار — تو ملک صید استی و یزداں شکار
فکر تو در کنج دل خلوت گزید — ایں جہان کہنہ را باز آفرید
سوز و ساز جاں بہ پیکر دیدۂ — در صدف تعمیر گوہر دیدۂ
ہر کسے از رمز عشق آگاہ نیست — ہر کسے شایان ایں درگاہ نیست
"داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است — زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است"

[In Paradise, the Poet of Allemagne
Met the Sage of Iran.
Where is the poet as great as he?
Though not a Prophet he has a book!
He recited before that knower of ancient mysteries
The story of the pact between the Philosophers and the
Devil.
Then Rumi said, 'O thou that dost enkindle life in poesy,
And dost hunt the angels--nay, the Deity himself,
Thy thought lived in the loneliness of thy heart
Until it gave new life to this old world of ours.
Thou hast witnessed the Soul's turmoil in the body
And seen the pearl growing within the shell.
'Tis not given to everyone to know the secret of love
Or be fit to be admitted to the Presence.'
'The fortunate one to whom the mystery hath been revealed
doth know
That Love is from Adam, and Reason from *Iblis*.']

The last couplet, which puts the whole argument of *Faust* in a nutshell, is a quotation from Rumi himself. In bringing Goethe and Rumi together, Iqbal brought together not only two of the greatest spirits of the East and the West, but also the two men who have

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influenced him more than anyone else in his career as a thinker and an artist. This celestial meeting was also necessary for the reason that Goethe, in the *Divan*, does not seem to know Rumi as well as he knows some of the other luminaries of the Persian literary firmament. Iqbal, in his Introduction to the *Payam*, finds himself wondering how Goethe, who admired Spinoza, could have failed to appreciate Rumi. In any case, Iqbal, as the friend and disciple of both Rumi and Goethe, could hardly afford to let the two of them remain strangers to each other.

Iqbal wanted to see *Faust* translated into Urdu, and offered to help Dr. Abid Husain, who had already translated Part I, with the translation of Part II. Syed Nazir Niazi, one of Iqbal's close associates, has given an interesting account of Iqbal's offer. '*Faust*,' says Mr. Niazi, 'was translated direct from German into Urdu at the instance of the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu by the writer's companion, Dr. Syed Abid Husain, in the Jami'ah Milliyah Islamiyah, Delhi. This translation was in prose and was confined to Part I of *Faust*. It is possible that I had mentioned this translation to Iqbal or it had reached him in some other way, but in a letter dated 14 August, 1931, he inquired if Dr. Abid Husain had also translated the "Prologue in Heaven". Perhaps he made this enquiry in connection with *the Javidnameh* which he was writing at that time. Moreover, there is a section in the *Javidnameh* under the caption "Heavenly Introduction" which is a Persian translation of the "Prologue in Heaven". When I met Iqbal some days later and *Faust* was mentioned in the course of conversation, he again inquired why Dr. Abid Husain had not translated Part II. He also offered to help Dr. Abid Husain in this task. He observed that the second part was a little difficult as it contained numerous terms connected with Astronomy and Chemistry and also some references and allusions with which the people of the West were not familiar and which were properly understood only by Orientals. He said, "During my stay in Germany, I had many an

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occasion to offer clarification and explanations of those terms and this used to leave a deep impression on my German audience. The fact is that Goethe possessed an enormous vision. It was his belief that if one had not studied and examined the history of the past one thousand[7] years, one could not claim to be cultured and refined. How was it possible, therefore, for every German to be familiar with all the usages and allusions that Goethe had culled from Oriental literature? To us these terms are words of daily use. I had no difficulty whatsoever in digesting these sections of *Faust*. The Germans really marvelled at the ease with which I explained these terms."

There are two poems in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which are of importance in the present context. Of these, the one entitled 'The Huri and the Poet' has already been mentioned. The second poem is entitled 'The Rivulet' and is a rendering of "Mahomets Gesang" of Goethe. It also has a footnote by Iqbal. 'The Rivulet', says the footnote, 'is a free translation of Goethe's famous poem entitled "Mahomets Gesang." In this poem, which was written long before the *West-Östlicher Divan*, the great German poet has given a beautiful exposition of the Islamic concept of life. It was, in fact, part of a projected Islamic play which he was unable to finish. The object of the present translation is merely to bring out Goethe's point of view.'

Goethe pictures the Prophet as an expanding, all-embracing personality striving for the supreme fulfilment of the Life-impulse and the ascent of man to a more God-like plane of existence. The following stanzas of "Mahomets Gesang" as translated by Bowring, will serve to illustrate the point:

Social streamlets
Join his waters. And now moves he
O'er the plain in silv'ry glory,
And the plain in him exults,
And the rivers from the plain,
And the streamlets from the mountains

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Shout with joy, exclaiming, Brother,
Brother, take thy brethren with thee,
With thee to thy aged father,
To the everlasting ocean,
Who, with arms outstretching far,
Waiteth for us.

Ah, in vain these arms lie open
To embrace his yearning children;
For the thirsty sand consumes us
In the desert waste; the sunbeams
Drink our life-blood; hills around us
Into lakes would dam us! Brother,
Take thy brethren of the plain,
Take thy brethren of the mountain
With thee, to thy father's arms!

And so beareth to his brethren,
All his treasures, all his children,
Wildly shouting, to the bosom
Of his long expectant sire.

Iqbal has summed up the thought in one of his stanzas:

صد جوئے دشت و مرغ و کہستان و باغ و راغ
گفتند "اے بسیط زمیں با تو سازگار
ما را کہ راہ از تنک آبی نہ بردہ ایم
از دستبرد ریگ بیاباں نگاہ دار"
وا کردہ سینہ را بہ ہوا ہائے شرق و غرب
در بر گرفتہ ہم سفران زبون و زار
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
باصد ہزار گوہر یک دانہ می رود

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The English rendering, by Professor Hamid Ahmad Khan, is as following:

A hundred brooks from woods and meadows, from vales and
gardens and villas cried:
'O thou with whom accords the earth's expanse!
Stricken with drought, we have fallen by the way;
Protect us from the pillage of the sandy waste!'
It opened its breast to the winds of the East and the West,
Clasping its weak and wailing fellow-travellers.
Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows;
With a hundred thousand matchless pearls it flows.

It is difficult to describe the Prophet's mission in more inspiring words; I, for, one, have not come across anything greater than Goethe's tribute to Muhammad.

In Iqbal's letters there are numerous references to Goethe, the *West-Östlicher Divan*, and the *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Two of these references may be of interest. In a letter dated 17 July 1909, which he wrote to Miss Atiya Faizi (later the Begum Atiya Faizi Rahmin) he made a whimsical comparison between himself and three European poets. 'Byron, Shelley and Goethe,' he wrote, 'could not win the approbation of their contemporaries. I cannot claim to be their equal in the poetic art, but I am proud to think that at least in this respect I am in the same boat with them.'

The second letter is dated 10 October 1919 and is addressed to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. In this letter Iqbal expresses regret that his professional preoccupations preclude him from devoting more time to his art. 'Art,' says Iqbal, 'demands extreme hard work, and this is impossible for me in present circumstances. Two of the great German

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poets were barristers, namely, Goethe and Uhland. Goethe practised law for a short while and then became Minister at Weimar. He thus had a full opportunity of devoting himself to his art. Uhland, on the other hand, spent his whole life arguing cases. The result was that he could write very little, and could not develop his poetic potentialities fully.'

In his Lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal has referred to Goethe at least thrice. To start with, he quotes Goethe's appreciation of Islam. 'The main purpose of the Quran,' says Iqbal, 'is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the Universe. It is in view of this essential aspect of the Quranic teaching that Goethe, while making a general review of Islam as an educational force, said to Eckermann: "You see this teaching never fails; with all our systems, we cannot go, and generally speaking no one can go, farther than that."'

He next quotes Goethe while discussing the nature of the Deity. 'God's life,' says Iqbal, 'is self-revelation, not the pursuit of an ideal to be reached. The "not-yet" of man does mean pursuit and may mean failure; the "not-yet" or God means unfailing realization of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process.

'In the endless self-repeating
For ever more flows the Same.
Myriad arches springing, meeting,
Hold at rest the mighty frame.
Streams from all things love of living,
Grandest star and humblest clod.
All the straining, all the striving
Is eternal peace in God.'

Lastly, while discussing the import of various Qur'anic legends, Iqbal quotes the example of Goethe's treatment of the 'Faust' legend. The object of the Qur'an in dealing with the legends in question is,

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according to Iqbal, 'seldom historical; it nearly always aims at giving them a universal moral or philosophical import. And it achieves this object by omitting the names of persons and localities which tend to limit the meaning of a legend by giving it the colour of a specific historical event, and also by deleting details which appear to belong to a different order of feeling. This is not an uncommon method of dealing with legends. It is common in non-religious literature. An instance in point is the legend of Faust, to which the touch of Goethe's genius has given a wholly new meaning.'

It only remains now to refer to the Dedication of the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, which contains one of the greatest tributes ever paid by one great man to another:

پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی آں قتیل شیوہ ہاے پہلوی
بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ داد مشرق را سلامے از فرنگ
در جوابش گفتہ ام پیغام شرق دماہ تابے ریختم بر شام شرق
تاشناسائے خودم' خود بیں نیم با تو گویم او کہ بود و من کیم
او ز افرنگی جواناں مثل برق شعلہ من از دم پیران شرق
او چمن زادے' چمن پروردۂ من دمیدم از زمین مردۂ
او چو بلبل در چمن "فردوس گوش" من بصحرا چوں جرس گرم خروش
ہر دو داناے ضمیر کائنات ہر دو پیغام حیات اندر ممات
ہر دو خنجر صبح خند' آئینہ فام او برہنہ' من ہنوز اندر نیام
ہر دو گوہر ارجمند و تاب دار زادۂ دریاے ناپیدا کنار
او ز شوخی در تہ قلزم تپید تا گریبان صدف را بر درید
من بہ آغوش صدف تابم ہنوز در ضمیر بحر نایابم ہنوز

[That sage of the West, the Poet of Allemagne,
Who lost his heart to the winning ways of Iran,
Who painted a picture full of the beauty of sweethearts,
young and saucy
And gave the salutations of the West to the East.
The 'Message of the East' is my response to his greeting,
I have illumined the Eastern evening with moonlight;

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For that I am self-knowing but not vain,
I tell thee who he was and who I am.
He was one of Europe's youthful ones, with the quality of
lightning,
While my love-flame is borne of the breath of the wise
men of the East,
He was born and nurtured in a garden
While I sprang from barren soil.
His melody was a paradise to the ear, as the song of the
nightingale in the garden,
While I am like caravan bells ringing tumultuously in the
desert,
The mysteries of the Universe have been revealed to both,
Both are messengers of life in death.
Both are like daggers, bright as the mirror and smiling
as the dawn,
He is unsheathed, but I am still in the scabbard,
Both are pearls of great price and luster,
Born of the shoreless sea.
His insistent urge made him restless in the depths of the
ocean,
Till he burst forth from his shell,
While I am still striving in my shell's confines,
Undiscovered yet in the ocean's abyss.]

Notes

1. Goethe Gedichte, In: *Zeitlicher Folge*, Band I, Insel Verlag, Leipzig.
2. Bayard Taylor: English translation of *Faust*, with notes by Douglas Yates (London: 1954, Oxford University Press, The World's Classics), p. 393.
3. Ibid., p. 17.

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4 Tr. by V. G. Kiernan.

5 Thomas Mann. *The Permanent Goethe* (New York: 1948). p. 647. Translated by J. S. Blackie.

6 Presumably Mr. Niazi is referring only to the title. Others, as pointed out earlier Iqbal's 'Tamhid' has nothing in common with Goethe's Prologue.

7 Goethe said three thousand in one of his late aphorisms, quoted by Thomas Mann (op. cit., Introduction, p. xiii):

He whose vision cannot cover
History's three thousand years
Must in outer darkness hover,
Live within the day's frontiers.

(In: *Iqbal* (Quarterly Journal of the Bazm-i-Iqbal). Lahore. Vol. XXX, No. 1, January-March 1974, pp. 13-40)

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Mumtaz Hasan

GOETHE AND THE EAST

"Wer sich selbst und andre kennt
Wird auch hier erkennen:
Orient und Okzident
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen"

Goethe: *West-Östlicher Divan*

Whoever knows himself and others
This he will also know
That East and West
Are not separable any more."

To the great mind of Goethe, East and West seemed closer to each other than they have ever appeared to the people of the West or the East. His interest in the Orient began early in life. When, in 1770, he went to Strasburg to complete his law studies he met Herder, who at that time was one of the most eminent figures in German literature. Herder was a student of Persian literature and an admirer of Sa'di', and his influence opened the door to Goethe's Oriental studies.

The range of Goethe's interest in this field was almost unlimited. He not only planned a drama about the Prophet of Islam, paraphrased the Song of Solomon, and studied the Old Testament, but also devoted attention to Chinese poetry and to the Vedas, which he

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thought of versifying. And he had, of course, read, "The Thousand And One Nights".[4] He was delighted to be able to copy Arabic manuscripts in their peculiar characters.[5] Indeed, there is evidence of this in the *West-Oslicher Divan* itself. His oriental studies did not however, bear artistic fruit till the publication of Von Hammer's translation of the Divan of Hafiz. Hafiz appealed to Goethe more than any other Oriental poet or writer and evoked a spiritual response from him which no one else could have inspired.

The political condition of Europe was also a powerful factor. Those were times of great turmoil. Napoleon had turned the whole of Europe into a battleground, and Goethe saw sceptors and crowns tumbling into the dust around him. His spirit recoiled from this scene of conflict and confusion and took refuge in the rose-garden of Persian poetry. That, more or less, is the story of the *West-Östlicher Divan*, as told by Goethe himself. The first stanza of "Hegire," the opening poem of the *Divan*, strikes the key-note:

Nord und West und Süd zersplittern,
Throne bersten, Reiche zittern;
Flüchte du, im reinen Osten
Patriarchenluft zu kosten:
Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen
Soll dich Chisers Quell verjüngen

(North and West and South are crumbling
Throne are falling, empires are shaking;
Flee to the peaceful East
To breathe in the patriarchal air
There is loving, drinking, singing
Youth from chiser's well is springing[6]
With love, wine and song;
Khizer's fountain will rejuvenate thee.

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The *Diwan* is one of Goethe's greatest works, and has influenced East and West alike. While, on the one hand it gave a great impetus to what Iqbal calls the Oriental Movement in German literature,[7] on the other it inspired Iqbal himself to his own masterpiece, the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, (the "Message of the East") Iqbal has acknowledged his debt to Goethe in the following famous lines

پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی آں قتیل شیوہ ہاے پہلوی
بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ داد مشرق را سلامے از فرنگ
در جوابش گفتہ ام پیغام شرق ماہ تابے ریختم بر شام شرق

(That Sage of the West, the Poet of Allemagne,
Who lost his heart to the winning ways of Iran,
Who painted a picture full of the beauty of sweethearts,
young and saucy,
And sent the salutations of the West to the East,
"The Message of the East" is my response to his greeting;
I have illumined the Eastern evening with moonlight)

Through his influence on Iqbal, who called him a man "who is not a Prophet but has a Book nevertheless,"[8] Goethe comes close to Pakistan. He comes still closer as an admirer of the Quran and the Prophet and as a man who showed an exceptionally sympathetic understanding of the spirit of Islam. "Mahomets Gesang", written as part of a play which was not finished, is Goethe's immortal tribute to the greatness of the Prophet's personality. The opening stanza of the poem, which is now familiar to us in Iqbal's Persian translation (in *Payam-i-Mashriq*) begins as follows:[9]

Seht den Felsenquell,
Freudehell
Wie ein Sternenblick;
Über Wolken

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Nährten seine Jugend
Gute Geister
Zwischen Klippen im Gebüseh.

(See the rock-born stream
Like the gleam
Of a star so bright.
Kindly spirits
High above the clouds
Nourished him while
Youthful
In the copse between
The cliffs.)

There is a vivid description of the effect the Quran had on Goethe. He found the heart and kernel of Islam in the Second Sura which begins as follows: "This is the Book. There is no doubt in the same..." "And in this wise," says Goethe, "we have Sura after Sura. belief and unbelief are divided into higher and lower. Heaven and hell await the believers or deniers. Detailed injunctions of things allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian religion, amplifications of all kinds, boundless tautologies and repetitions, form the body of this sacred volume, which, to us, as often as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever anew and fills us with admiration, and finally forces us into veneration."

Goethe's observations on Islam are, if anything, even more enthusiastic. While making a general review of Islam as an educational force, he says to Eckermann:

"You see this teaching never fails; with all our systems we cannot go, and generally speaking, no one can go, any further."

Goethe was deeply impressed by Islamic monotheism. Muhammad, according to him, "had succeeded in conquering the world through the conception of the unity of Allah."[10]

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And then we have what is probably the greatest homage ever paid to Islam by a non-Muslim "Wenn Islam Gott ergeben heisst, im Islam leben and sterben wir alle" That is, "if Islam means submission to the will of Allah, all of us live and die in Islam"

Notes

1 Aus Goethes Nachlass, in H Krüger Westend *Goethe and the Orient* Weimar 1913 p 1

2 Translation by the writer

3 Iqbal's introduction to the *Payam i Mashriq*

4 Goethe by Emil Ludwig 1934 page 482

5 The Life And Works of Goethe by Lewes Everyman's Library page 530

6 Translation by Dr Athar Rashid

7 Iqbal-Introduction to the *Payam i Mashriq*

8. The Book referred to is *Faust* vide Iqbal's poem entitled 'Jalal and Goethe' in *Payam-i-Mashriq*

9 Translation by E. A. Bowring.

10. Quoted by Professor Dr. Gruitzmacher in "Moslemische Revue", Berlin Vol XIII. page 81-82.

11. Ibid.

(In: *Pakistan Quarterly* (Karachi). IX'3. Autumn 1959. pp. 12-13 Also in: *Islamic Literature* (Lahore). XV i (January 1969). pp 51-54)

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T. C. Rastogi

IQBAL AND GOETHE

Before proceeding to discover how and to what extent Iqbal was influenced by Goethe it is apt to reproduce a few portions from Iqbal by Atiya Begum whose stay in Germany coincided with that of Iqbal's. She writes: "Iqbal was in Heidelberg to complete the philosophical research work he had undertaken. Heidelberg provided every kind of facility to such scholars. Here the essence of every branch of knowledge known to the world was...made accessible to the lover of learning, so that men of understanding and ambition made this spot their place of pilgrimage, and their work in this town changed the course of thought and action of the knowledge-seeker[1]..." Iqbal was all for German knowledge, and said, 'If you wish to increase your understanding in any branch of learning, Germany should be your goal.'[2] Iqbal began to write German with a literary flavour.[3] All this is perhaps sufficient to show that Iqbal must have consequently read the German master-minds in the original.

The influence of Goethe on Iqbal is profound. So deep was the influence of Goethe, whom Karl Viëtor calls 'one of the Titans in the realm of literature,'[4] that "the whole scheme of this volume (i.e., *Payam-i-Mashriq*) was suggested by Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*."[5] *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East), published in 1923, "was written when he (Iqbal) had fairly developed his poetic art and drunk .

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. . deep of the Western fountains . . . (It) was completed in response to the Western Divan of the German poet, Goethe . . . Iqbal's object in writing (it) was to present moral, religious and national truths that have their relation with the inner development of individuals and nations . . . . The first part . . . includes quatrains presenting some of his philosophical interpretations of the intricate problems of human life, such as eternity, manifestations of God, desire and its effects on the world, love and reason and their influence on man, life and materialism. A number of other poems, such as 'Life', 'the World of Action', 'Wisdom and Poetry', are dealt with in the second part. Under the caption of *Naqsh-i-Farang* (i.e., Impressions of the West), there are a few short poems on the great men of Europe, such as Schopenhauer, Tolstoy, Karl Marx, Nietzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Goethe, Bergson and Lenin. *Khurda* (i.e. subtle points) brings (the book) to a close."[6] In the preface to *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal pays homage to Goethe's genius and praises his "Western Divan" (Der West-Östlicher Divan) for its Persian sources. Mentioning Goethe's holding Persian poets like Hafiz, Sa'di, Attar, Rumi in great esteem, Iqbal proceeds to remark: ". . . Despite all this Goethe does not follow any Persian poet. His poetic nature is entirely independent. His carolling in the oriental melody is only a passing phase. He does never part company with Western spirit; he lights upon only those Oriental values that can be well assimilated by his Western disposition."[7] And with regard to his *Payam-i-Mashriq* he, in the same preface, says : *"Payam-i-Mashriq* . . . has been written a century after the *Western Divan*. Readers would, however, notice that the idea behind my book is to bring to light those moral, religious and national verieties that are concerned with cultural upbringing of the people and nations."[8] Besides, the "Western Divan" (*Der West-Östlicher Divan*), Goethe's *Faust* is also a source of poetic inspiration to him. However, before turning to Iqbal's poetry for discovering Goethe's influence we may have a look at a few entries in his diary,

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posthumously edited by the poet's son Javid Iqbal:

"No nation was so fortunate as Germans. They gave birth to Heine at the time when Goethe was singing in full-throated ease. Two uninterrupted springs!"[7]

"Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own."[8]

"Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the divine thought of creation. There is, however, one important difference between them. The realist Englishman re-thinks the individual--the idealist German, the universal. His *Faust* is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised."[11]

"If you wish to study the anatomy of the human mind, you may go to Wundt, Ward, James or Stout. But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone."[12]

"Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato--a poet or philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe."[13]

"It is Goethe's *Faust* . . . which reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it."[14]

"Goethe's *Faust*.

Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century--nay, the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine Workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful

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universe out of the chaos of formless matter."

These entries from Iqbal's *Stray Reflections* go a long way towards testifying to the critical acumen he was endowed with. This penetrative insight seems to have helped Iqbal to imbibe from Goethe a good many things.

To discover the Goethe in Iqbal let us first turn to the poetic homage that Iqbal pays to him. The poem *Jalal wa Goethe* (Jalal and Goethe), contained in *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East), is worth attention. Explaining this poem Prof. Saleem Chishti says "Jalal stands for Jalaluddin Rumi who is regarded by Iqbal as his preceptor. . . . Once, in paradise, Goethe waited on Rumi . . . and recited to him his *Faust*. Rumi said: You have doubtless infused into Poetry a new lease of life. O Goethe, by revealing the mysteries of life you have enriched the world. Your insight has penetrated, so to say, into the pearl-oyster to observe pearl-formation. That is, you have thrown light on all the stages of spirituality. There is no gainsaying that every man cannot attain to this sublimity; that is, manifestation of love's attainments would elude many a poet. Fortunate is he who understands the mystery that man's distinguishing quality is not intellect but love. Satan made intellect his guide and that is why he was cursed; but Adam by treading the path of love could have access to Divine Presence" This poem is not only indicative of Iqbal's being influenced by Goethe it also brings to the fore the points at which Goethe touches Iqbal. Intellect or Reason and Love are the main themes that strike every cord of Iqbal's heart. His jottings on Goethe, already reproduced from his note-book, bear testimony to the fact that Iqbal understands the meaning and philosophy behind Goethe's *Faust*.

Let us begin with Iqbal's *Iblis* (Satan) and Goethe's Mephistopheles. *Iblis* in Iqbal is not the Satan of traditional conception. In pre-Iqbalean Urdu-Persian poetry Satan symbolises only evil that an aspirant for spiritual uplift must guard himself

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against. That 'Evil' too constitutes a stepping stone to virtue is the mystery that Iqbal learns from Goethe. What is then Evil in Goethe? Goethe's Mephistopheles himself says:

> "Part of that power, not understood, which always wills the Bad, and always works the Good."[17]

And Mephistopheles pays attention to life and throws overboard the theories expounded by intellect. He says:

> ". . . gray are all theories
> And green alone Life's golden tree."[18]

Iqbal in his poem *Jibril wa Iblis*[19] contained in *Bal-i-Jibril* (Gabriel's Wing), makes Iblis give the following reply to Gabriel when the latter advises him to seek reconciliation with God:

> "But in Man's pinch of dust my daring spirit has breathed
> ambition,
> The warp and woof of mind and reason are woven of my
> sedition.
> The deeps of good and ill you only see from land's far verge:
> Which of us is it, you or I, that dares the tempest's scourage?
> Your ministers and your prophets are pale shades the storms
> I teem
> Roll down ocean by ocean, river by river, stream by stream!
> Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within his sight-
> Whose blood is it has pointed Man's long history so bright?
> In the heart of the Almighty like a pricking thorn I lie;
> You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God most high![20]

Satan claims to have painted 'Man's history bright'.[21] This claim is

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almost the same as Goethe's Mephistopheles makes. No Urdu Persian poet of Pre-Iqbalean era shows the audacity to bring Gabriel and Satan together. Not to say of other poets, even Iqbal's poetry written prior to his departure for Europe does not show any such confrontation. This is the way of Goethe's and Iqbal adapts it. *Iblis*, in *Javidnama* (Pilgrimage of Eternity), complains to God:

> O Lord of good and bad, man's company
> And commerce has degraded me. No once
> My bidding dares he to defy; his self
> He realises not. And never feels
> His dust the thrill of disobedience;
> Until as it is by the ego's spark
>
> . . .
>
> . . . O Woe
> To me whose sinewy heart he has turned soft
> And frail. His nature is effeminate
> And feeble his resolve, he lacks the strength
> To stand a single stroke of mine. A man
> Endowed with vision would have suited me.
> A riper rival I deserve. Reclaim
> From me this game of chaff and dust, for pranks
> And impish play suit not an aged one.
> This Adam's son is just a heap of hay,
> Whom my one one spark can all consume. If Thy
> World had but straw why didst Thou light a lake
> Of fire in me. Thou dost confront with glass
> The one who could e'en mountains melt. Now for
> The piling torture of these victories
> I claim to be required. Lead my way
> That I may find a man of God, who dare
> Resist my might, and who will twist and turn

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My neck, whose single glance will make my flesh
To creep, and who will say to me "Begone",
Who will not weigh me by two eats. O God!
Confront me with a single faithful man,
May I perchance gain bliss in my defeat![22]
(lines 2681-2712)

This confrontation of Satan and God cannot but bring to one's notice 'Prologue in Heaven' in Goethe's *Faust*.[23] Mephistopheles, in Prologue in Heaven, complains to the Lord that man is no match and consequently describes man as 'a long-legged grasshopper'.[24] And he ends up by saying:

Now Lord! I find things, there, still bad as they can be
Man's misery even to pity moves by nature;
I've scarce the heart to plague the wretched creature.[25]
And, again, he observes, replying to God:
My thanks! I find the deed no acquisition,
And never cared to have them in my keeping.
I much prefer the cheeks where ruddy blood is leaping
And when a corpse approaches, close my house:
It goes with me, as with the cat the mouse.[26]

In both these poets, therefore, Satan is sorry at man's plight and consequently ends up with a request for a better adversary capable of withstanding Satanic onslaughts. To Iqbal's *Iblis*, man 'is just a heap of hay'; to Goethe's Mephistopheles, man is 'a long-legged grasshopper'. If Iqbal's *Iblis* desires an opponent 'who will twist and turn my neck'; Goethe's Mephistopheles seeks a well-matched fight, not as 'it goes with me, as with the cat the mouse'. *Iblis* and Mephistopheles both arrogate to themselves the credit of having ushered in the world culture and civilization by stirring up love for

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life in human breast. At times Iqbal's *Iblis* becomes a little more saucy. How cheeky does he become the poem *Taskhir-i Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature), included in *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East), seems to give us a fair idea. *Iblis*, accounting for his refusal to prostrate before Adam, says to God:

> It is I who make blood course in the arteries of the universe.
> I am behind the tumultuous winds and thunders
> I organise the atoms and bring elements into harmony.
> I impart life and passion to everything.
> (Then) I destroy my own creations
> To carve out a new image out of the old ashes.
> You created the stars: I gave them movement.
> It is thus I who am the life of every thing.
> Yours is the path of passivity, mine that of activity."

This is all in consonance with the Goethe's conception of evil Discussing Goethe's conception of evil, Karl Viëtor, in his book *Goethe The Poet*, observes : ". . . Goethe . . . in his Shakespeare's discourse (1771) says . . . that we call evil is only 'the obverse of the good', necessary for its existence and hence belonging to the entirety of the world. Without the opposition between good and evil there would be no struggle for the realization of the good, no moral decision, hence no moral activity. Thus along with everything in the world which we are pleased to call negative, the morally negative is likewise justified. 'If there were not this contrariety there would be no motion.' . . . To be sure, the devil can 'make' nothing, but he is involuntarily effective in another way: he calls creative forces into life. This is what the Lord means when he says in the Prologue in Heaven that man's nature is such that his activity easily slackens; hence he has given man an associate the demon of nothingness, who should act as a good. Thus even the Devil must serve the eternal

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Becoming, unwillingly and eternally cheated out of his destructive intentions . . . "[28] In another publication of his, Karl Viëtor, throwing light on what Goethe calls 'charakter', writes : ". . . He (Goethe) understands by that not the moral quality of the individual, but the definite peculiarity, the daimon in him, which reaches out into the world 'with unconditioned willing', the indefatigably vital activity and obstinacy whereby the monad seems to make its personal existence a reality . . ."[29]

In *Ighwa-ay-Adam* (Seduction of Adam), the third canto of the poem *Taskhir-i-Fitrat*, Iqbal makes *Iblis* speak as Mephistopheles speaks in scene IV, Part I of *Faust*. A student calls on Faust in order to 'greet and know the man of fame',[30] since he craves

". . . The highest erudition;
And fain would make my acquisition
All that there is in Earth and Heaven,
In Nature and in Science too."[31]

Disguised as Faust, Mephistopheles, expressing the shallowness of knowledge, says to him:

Of Metaphysics learn the use and beauty!
See that you most profoundly gain
What does not suit the human brain!
A splendid word to serve you'll find
For what goes in--or won't go in--your mind.
. . .
I know what science this has come to be.
All rights and laws are still transmitted
Like an eternal sickness of the race,--
From generation unto generation fitted,
And shifted round from place to place.[32]

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Likewise Mephistopheles goes on and, then, hits upon the nail

My worthy friend, gray are all theories,
And green alone Life's golden tree."

Iblis, of course in different words, says almost the same things in order to seduce Adam: The life of 'eternal peace' (*Sukoon-i-Dawami*) such as you are leading in paradise is no life. Life consists in ceaseless striving, not in saying prayers. Good and evil are nothing but the figment of the brain. Don't get enmeshed in the controversy of virtue and vice. Let action be your lodestar to which you should hitch your waggon. Come along with me, if you act on my advice I can usher in a new world for you. Entering this world, believe me, you will find your life revolutionized."[34]

Not only does *Iblis* resemble Mephistopheles, Iqbal's Adam too betrays some traits of Goethe's *Faust*. Let us begin with Faust. "The bearing of the Prologue in Heaven upon the subsequent plot", writes Victor Lange, "cannot be overemphasized--it is the key to every thing that is to come. . . . The Lord insists that the sense of discrimination between good and evil, even though it may not easily be realized in a life of positive action, represents the true character of the human being. As long as the perception of values is active, it should entitle man to eventual salvation. This is the meaning of the term 'striving' which the Lord recognizes as the essence of man's character and which, not in the sense of aggressive and a moral ruthlessness, but of a persistent power of moral judgment, Goethe offers as the central concept of Faust's career."[35]

The Lord tells Mephistopheles:

As long as he on earth shall live,
So long I make no prohibition
While Man's desires and aspirations stir,

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He cannot choose but err.[36]

There is a clear echo of these words in *Javidnameh*:

As man grows from a mould of dust, he grows
With longing in his heart. To savour sin
Is his desire, to taste its raptures sweet.
He searches for his ego; save with sin.
The ego but eludes one's grasp; until
Access he gained to it, frustration lies
In store for man . . .

(lines: 3559-3565)[37]

These two sets of lines from Goethe and Iqbal establish a favily likeness between Faust and Adam. To Faust 'word' is "the metaphor of life, the unfathomable vehicle of an inexpressible substance."[38] Puzzled over the expression--'In the beginning was the word,' Faust exercises his brain and ultimately says:

. . . Now I see the Light![39]

This reading of word into act or deed[40] is indicative of Faust's attitude towards life. Faust is throughout devoted to the highest form of life, he decides to live resolutely for he 'wants food which never satiates.'[41] He trips over many a hurdle yet he marches on non-stop. His voyage for mystery continues and ultimately he is redeemed, "Classical mythology", to quote from Victor Lange, "would hardly have conveyed the full meaning of the essentially modern, Christian transfiguration of Faust--the radical experience of inadequacy that must remain insubstantial without the constant 'striving' for an awareness of good and evil and that can be resolved, not in secular justice, but only in divine grace."[42] Iqbal, too, makes his Adam speak in this manner. In the fifth canto of the poem 'Taskhir-i-Fitrat' (Conquest of Nature), Adam is shown before Divine Presence. This

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canto is entitled 'Subh-i-Qyamat' (Resurrection). Yusuf Saleem Chishti comments on it as follows:

"In this canto Iqbal, in a symbolical style, has thrown light on the fact that Adam, if he had not transgressed, could not have used his will, and could have never succeeded in conquering Nature. Still his disobedience was nothing but the use of will he was excused by God."[43] Both Faust and Adam, as evident from the foregoing discussion get tempted but in spite of transgression they succeeded in gaining divine grace. God liked their strivings since these were the outcome of their freewill. Faust and Adam did not rest on their oars, they continued endeavouring according to their lights. Iqbal, in other words, agreed with Goethe's views on free-will which keeps man away from degenerating into an automation. An entry in Iqbal's diary, in this connection, is worthy of attention. "Every experience evokes something from the soul of man. Even the experience of sin will reveal some aspect of your soul of which you were not cognizant before. Experience, then, is a double source of knowledge; it gives you an insight into what is without you, as well as an insight into what is within you."[44] This is what Goethe means by 'striving'. Karl Viëtor observes: "Goethe rejects neither man nor life. He is convinced that an inclination to evil . . . is as much inborn in man as . . . the inclination to goodness and reverence. This faith Goethe retained to the end as firmly as his faith in the basically good nature of life. 'The Prologue in Heaven' gives clear expression to this faith, which is the synthesis of Yea and Nay."[45]

Both Goethe and Iqbal, therefore, are exponents of 'free-will'. Man, in their opinion, is free to choose, according to his lights, between good and evil if man had not been privileged with this freedom, he would be no better than machine propelled by an Omnipotent power. Not only this, Virtue and Vice would lose their content and meaning, is freedom of action is denied. And, evil, too, performs an important function. Striving should be the goal. Goethe's

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striving, as understood by Iqbal and rightly too, implies a series of experiences that gives 'an insight into what is without you, as well as insight into what is within you.'[46] Goethe is said to have written in one of his letters: "Every return from error develops a man mightly in particular and in general, so that one can well understand how a repentant sinner can be dearer to the searcher of hearts that ninety-nine righteous men."[47] Goethe, if follows, has no love for cloistered virtue. Man should continue a life-long chase after a goal, a goal that too goes on changing:

> On runs the man, pursuing
> Forever a changeable goal.[48]

In Goethe constant striving is a recurrent note:

> Error will never desert us. A craving for what is ennobling
> Urges, however, our constantly striving minds gently, towards truth.[49]

In Iqbal also this is an oft-repeated note. Let us, for example, turn to his poem 'Hoor-wa-Sha'ir' (Houri and Poet) written, according to Iqbal's note, in response to a poem of Goethe's under the same caption.[50] A few lines from Iqbal's poem are reproduced below. The poet, replying to Houri, says:

> While a mistress stands before me and her loveliness enchants me,
> Even then my thoughts are pinning for a mistress yet more lovely;
> In a spark I crave a star, and in a star a sun: my journey
> Has no bourn, no place of halting: it is death to me to linger[51]

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How beautifully do the above-quoted lines reflect the ideas given expression to by Goethe in *Faust*. It is as if in confirmation of Mephistopheles' statement- 'The way we take, our goal is yet some distance!--that Faust says:

> So long as in my legs I feel the fresh existence,
> This knotted staff suffices me.
> What need to shorten so the way?
> Along this labyrinth of vales to wander,
> Wherefrom the fountain flings eternal spray . . .[52]

Thus Faust stands for 'ideal striving'; he is even ready to lose to Mephistopheles 'if the urge to life in him should ever be stilled, if his will should, in eternal dissatisfaction, no longer strive for some thing higher and highest . . . Such an ideal of life places enjoyment and profit of existence not in the results but in the process of life's activity. The goal is not important, but the striving for that goal, the energy for tireless movement, the courage for ever new beginnings. What does it matter whether a man arrives or not? Always to be on the way--that is the thing."[53] This is what Iqbal too says:

> You are a falcon born to soar,
> Still with your wings now heavens keep pace:
> Let day-and-night not snare your feet,
> Yours are another Time and Space![54]

> Strange, strange the fates that govern
> This world of stress and strain,
> But in the fires of action
> Fate's mysteries are made plain.[55]

It is more or less like Faust realizing that "life . . . is a never-ending

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task. Over and over again it must be earned; and each day life's most precious good, an independent existence, must be conquered anew. To live with the valiant and capable would be a goal to make being and working worthwhile . . .

I must still be mounting higher,
Wider vision must I win.
(*Faust* V, 9821)[56]

Goethe, however, knows the limitations of human nature and makes due allowance for man's frailities. But man has a distinctive quality. He, like Faust, goes on striving "without regard for right and wrong, for good and evil, for truth and evil . . . because . . . the act of willing . . . belongs not to the realm of freedom but to that of nature. It relates to the outer world, to the deed. But this is only half the truth. For the natural necessity of a determined will, which comprises the heart of personality, meets another force which exists in indissoluble tension:: the will to moral autonomy, 'that good will which by its nature can only be directed to the right'. It too is innate; it too belongs to the nature of man. Can one deny Faust this good will? What else is the eternal feeling of insufficiency, which can be satisfied by no success, but the incessant endeavour to bring Would and Should into harmony."[57] Iqbal, too, holds: "good and evil . . . though opposites, must fall within the some whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact; for facts are synthetic wholes the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference."[58] In his *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East) he gives poetic expression to this view:

How should I resolve the mystery of good and evil--
I shudder at the thought for the problem is knotty enough.
The flower and the thorn are two on the twig

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(But) within there is neither flower nor thorn[59]

Iqbal is well-acquainted also with Goethe's idea the incessant endeavour to harmonise Would and Should. How Adam of Iqbal's conception brings into harmony these two would be evident from th following lines:

God said, "The world so lies,
And say not otherwise."
Said Adam, "So I see;
But thus it ought to be!"[60]

Iqbal's Adam is always conscious of his endeavours in the direction of 'Ought'. Here is one more example:

God and Man

God

I made this world, from one same earth and water,
You made Tartaria, Nubia and Iran.
I forged from dust the iron's unsullied ore,
You fashioned sword and arrowhead and gun;
You shaped the axe to hew the garden tree,
You wove the cage to hold the singing-bird.

Man

You made the night and I lamp,
And You the clay and I the cup;
You-desert, mountain-peak, and vale:
I-flower-bed, park, and orchard; I
Who grind a mirror out of stone,
Who brew from poison honey-drink.[61]

"Attempts to found a creed on Goethe's ideas", says Stephen Spender, "and in some world religious movement like theosophy."[62]

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Goethe's theosophy, as the following lines delineate, is more or less a consummation of thought, deed and love. Faust's striving is ultimately in divine grace. In stages of extraordinary rich meaning and poetic power Faust's earthly remains are at last transformed into pure perception, and Margaret, Mephistopheles' great metaphysical antagonist can now lead Faust to clarity. Her unselfish love merges with that of the Blessed Virgin to elevate him to Forgiveness."[63] The last lines from *Faust* seem to bring home all this:

Chorus Mysticus

All things transitory
But as symbols are sent:
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to Event.
The Indescribable,
Here it is done:
The Woman-soul leadeth us
Upward and on![64]

Faust, Mephistopheles and Margaret constitute the whole drama of human life. The ideas about thought, deed and 'eternal feminine' that is, the force of love abound in Iqbal, with a Goethean ring. Let us turn to the following lines from *Javidnameh:*

It (life) makes the march of time all dolorous,
And robs the nations of their wealth. Its strength
Befriends but Satan who its light doth turn
To his own fire. To murder him is hard
Because he lies all hidden in the depths
Of hearts . . .

(lines 1390-1395)[65]

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But there is a way out:

> But if it blends with love, it joins the ranks
> Of celestial spirits. Love-bereft
> All knowledge is but cold as death, the shaft
> Of intellect its target fails to reach.
> But let love's sight restore a vision fresh
> To one who is blind and so in darkness gropes.
>
> (lines 1402-1407)

Iqbal is very optimistic. "The Song of Angels" (*Naghma-i-Malayak*), included in "Pilgrimage of Eternity" (*Javidnameh*), too bears witness to the penetration to Goethe's views in his works:

> Such glory shall the man of clay
> Own far above the angel's light
> That with his star of destiny
> He'll make the earth like heaven bright.
> Possessed of such a mind that feeds
> On every storm that time may bring,
> He'll fly and clear across one day
> The whirlpool of this azure ring.
> Consider what man signifies
> Evolving to what's yet to be
> A subject heaving into form,
> Of him why should you ask of me?
> Soon fashioned forth in rhythmic poise,
> This subject old, this common man,
> Will with his rapturous impact
> The heart of even God attain.
>
> (lines 161-176)[67]

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Iqbal realised in full measure, in his own words, "the infinitude of Goethe's imagination."[68] So impressed was he with the Goethe."[69] He brought all these ideas to bear upon his poetry as well. He imbibed from Goethe that evil is not all useless; it is complementary to good. An awareness of these, good and evil, with constant striving ends in Divine Grace. This conception of evil is not to be met with in his poetry written before his intimate contact with Goethe's writings.

Notes

1. Atiya Begum: *Iqbal* (Academy of Islam Publication, 1947), p. 9.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. *Vide*, pp. 19-20 Atiya Begum: Iqbal (Academy of Islam Publication, 1947).
4. *Vide* p. 3 Karl Viëtor *Goethe, The Thinker* (Cambridge-Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1950).
5. V. G. Kiernan: *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955), p. 111.
   Note: Werner P. Friedrich: *An Outline of German Literature* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1960) gives the name of Goethe's book as *Der West-Östlicher Divan*. *Vide* , p. 107.
6. A. Anwar Beg: *The Poet of the East* (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1961), pp. 32-33.
7. *Mazameen-i-Iqbal* (Urdu articles by Iqbal), edited by Tasadduq Husain Taj (Azam Steam Press, Hyderabad, 1362 Hijri), p. 59 (from Preface to *Payam-i-Mashriq*).
8. *Ibid.*, p. 59
9. *Stray Reflections* (A Note-book of Iqbal), ed. by Javid Iqbal, (Lahore, Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1961), p. 151.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

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14 *Ibid* p 66

15 *Ibid* p 71

16 Prof Yusuf Saleem Chishti *Sharh i Payam i Mashriq* [illegible]
Payam i Mashriq Lahore Ishat Publishing House Lahore [illegible]
587 588

17 Goethe *Faust* translated by Bayard Taylor (New York The Modern Library, 1950) p 46

18 *Ibid* , p 69

19 The title means 'Gabriel and Satan'

20 *Poems from Iqbal* (London John Murray, 1955) tr by V G Kiernan pp
52 53 from the poem 'Gabriel and Satan'

21 Syed Abid Ali Abid finds Iqbal in agreement with Goethe's Conception of
Satan *Vide* Persian section, p 6 *Talmeehat i Iqbal* (i e Allusions of
Iqbal, Lahore: Bazm i-Iqbal, 1959)

22 *Pilgrimage of Eternity* (tr of Iqbal's *Javidnameh* by Sh Mahmud Ahmad
(Lahore Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961)

23 Goethe *Faust*, translated by Bayard Taylor (The Modern Library, 1950)
pp 9 13

24. *Ibid* , p. 10

25 *Ibid*., p 11.

26. *Ibid*., p 12.

27. Md. Iqbal: *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Delhi. Kutub Khana Nazirea. 1962 reprint)
p. 58 from "Taskhir-i-Fitrat". "Inkar-i-Iblis" (Satan's refusal), couplets. 2.
3. 4. 6. 7.

28. Karl Viëtor: Goethe. The Poet (Harvard University Press. 1949). p 299.

29. Karl Viëtor: Goethe. The Thinker (Harvard University Press. 1950). p.
145.

30. Goethe: *Faust* (New York. The Modern Library. 1950). tr. by Bayard
Taylor. p. 63.

31. *Ibid*., p. 65.

32. *Ibid*., pp. 66-67.

33. *Ibid*., p. 69.

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34. *Vide* Iqbal's poem 'Taskhir-i-Fitrat' (Conquest of Nature), included in *Payam-i-Mashriq*, canto 3. Resume of the ideas.

35. *Vide* p. XI. Introduction (written by Viëtor Lange, Professor of German Language and Literature, Cornell University) to Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950) tr. by Bayard Taylor.

36. Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor, p. 11. Prologue in Heaven.

37. *Pilgrimage of Eternity* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961), translation of Iqbal's *Javidnameh* by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad.

38. *Vide* p. XIX. Introduction (by Victor Lange, Professor of German Language and Literature) to Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor.

39. Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor, p. 43, scene III, Pt. I.

40. Louis MacNeice translates as 'deed'. *Vide* p. 93. *Great Writings of Goethe* (A Mentor Book: New York, American Library of World Literature, 1958), ed. by Stephen Spender.

41. Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor, p. 57, scene IV, Pt. I.

42. *Ibid.*, Introduction (by Victor Lange), p. XXI.

43 Yusuf Saleem Chishti: *Sharh-i-Payam-i-Mashriq* (Commentary on *Payam-i-Mashriq*), (Lahore: Ishrat Publishing House, 1961), p. 268.

44. *Stray Reflections* (A Notebook of Iqbal), edited by Javid Iqbal (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons, 1961), p. 146.

45. Karl Viëtor: *Goethe, The Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 326.

46. See p. 229 of this work.

47. Goethe's letter to Eichstadt, Sept. 15, 1804, quoted in Karl Viëtor: *Goethe, The Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 314.

48. Lines from Goethe, translated by Morgan, quoted in Karl Viëtor: *Goethe, The Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 322.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

50. Md. Iqbal: *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East), Delhi: Kutub

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Khana Nazrea, 1962 reprint, p. 96.

51. *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955), tr. by V. G. Kiernan, p. 96.

52. Goethe: *Faust* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor, p. 148.

53. Karl Victor, *Goethe, The Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 298.

54. *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955), tr. by V. G. Kiernan, p. 34, from 'Gabriel's Wing'.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 55 from 'Gabriel's Wing' (At Napoleon's Tomb).

56. Karl Victor, *Goethe, The Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 296.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

58. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1962, reprint), pp. 85-86.

59. Muhammad Iqbal, *Payam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East) Della Kutub Khana Nazirea, 1962 reprint, p. 32, rubai 86.

60. Persian Psalms (translation of Iqbal's *Zabur-i-Ajam*), by A.J. Arberry, (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1961), p. 122.

61. *Poems from Iqbal* (London: John Murray, 1955), tr. by V. G. Kiernan, p. 94.

This poem is from *Payam-i-Mashriq*; the caption is 'Muhawara-i-Mabain-i Khuda wa Insan' (Dialogue between God and Man). Kiernan's translation is entitled 'God and Man'.

62. *Great Writings of Goethe* (New York: The American Library of World Literature, 1958), Introduction, p. XVIII.

63. *Vide* p. XXI, Introduction (by Victor Lange, Professor of German Language and Literature) to Goethe: *Faust* (New York, The Modern Library, 1950) tr. by Bayard Taylor.

64. Goethe: *Faust* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950), tr. by Bayard Taylor, the last lines.

65. *Pilgrimage of Eternity* (translation of Iqbal's *Javidnameh*), by Sh. Mahmud Ahmad (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1961), p. 66.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

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67 *Ibid* , pp. 8-9.

68. *Vide* p. 217 of this work.

69 *Vide* pp. 217-218 of this work.

(In *Western Influence in Iqbal*. By T. C. Rastogi. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House. 1987. pp. 185-204)

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Bashir Ahmad Dar

IQBAL AND GOETHE

The eighteenth century in Europe--the Age of Enlightenment was characterised by rationalism in philosophy. Reason became the sole standard of judgment and religious dogmas therefore began to be questioned. In the psychology of the time, the place of vantage was given to intellect while feeling and will were neglected and given a subordinate place in the economy of mind. But, in reality, this intellectualism was negative in its effects. It started only as a reaction against the religious exclusiveness and theological bigotry of the Church. It made no positive contribution to the cultural development of Europe. In the last decade of the century, Kant (1724-1804) and Rousseau (1712-78) succeeded in bringing down the whole edifice of rationalism. Now attention began to be diverted to non-intellectual modes of thought, to will and feeling. Kant's position in this revolt against intellectualism was only preparatory. His *Critique of Pure Reason* clearly and finally demonstrated the limitations under which human intellect worked and beyond which it was incapable of going. He broke the spell women by the rationalists round the 'all-powerful' reason. But it was left to Rousseau to give some positive content to this revolt. To him feeling better expressed the nature of man than reason, and, therefore, he strove hard to focus the attention of his contemporaries on the unsophisticated life of the primitive man in whom feeling alone reigns supreme. He became the philosophic guide

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of the new movement. In his system the notion of nature became the absolute norm by which all things were to be measured. It was the antithesis of all that modern culture with its scientific advance stood for and it was to this urbane culture that the woes and ills of Europe were due. The only path of safety, according to him, lay in return to nature. Man was born free, but now he is everywhere in chains. By nature he is good and peaceful, but intellectual culture has made him unhappy and evil. In nature there is harmony, in the life of man nothing but confusion and disorder. He emphasised man's original oneness as a positive ideal against the sophisticated divisions of mankind into different classes. He pleaded strongly that emotions, passions, instincts and intuitions should be given a due place along with reason.

Rousseau's criticism of European culture, his rehabilitation of emotional and irrational forces, his ideal of a natural humanity, and especially his vague, but for that very reason useful, notion of nature as the supreme value, all laid the foundation for the new doctrines of life and art which arose Germany under Herder's leadership.

Herder made a great impression on Goethe and it was through him that Goethe became familiar with the intellectual currents which flowed together in Europe from diverse sources and converged to form a mighty stream of anti-rationalist doctrines and tendencies. The greatest defect of rationalism is that it views the human mind as static and uniform and ignores its historical development and its variegated nature. It taught that the principles of human life formulated in the light of reason were valid for every nation and for every age. Herder protested strongly against this view. He could not understand how Germans could follow French cultural traditions in all aspects of life and still retain their peculiar national character. Historically and geographically the two peoples were different and hence their literature must reflect their own national aspirations. His revolt against rationalism, therefore, became a revolt against

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supremacy of French hegemony in culture and literature. He did much in reviving the German folk songs (Herder was the first to give them this name), which, according to him, were the timeless modes of true poetry.

It was under the influence of Herder's personality that Goethe, during the storm and stress period, joined the new romantic movement. Nature and human feelings began to be idolised. Life itself seemed to awaken from the spell which an age of reason had cast over it. Herder once wrote: "Has anything ever been seen more wonderful than a pulsating heart with its unlimited stimuli? An abyss of mysterious inward forces, the true images of organic omnipotence. . . . With all his mysterious powers, stimuli, and impulses, inner man is nevertheless whole . . . . Our thought depends upon feeling."

Goethe, in one of his poems, wrote:

Wide, high, glorious the view
Gazing round upon Life,
While from mount unto mount
Hovers the spirit eterne,
Life eternal foreboding.[2]

Individual's life, according to the new ideal, was rooted not in thought or opinion but in the depths of the unconscious ego, in personal feeling and in the mysterious urge of an individual's will. For Goethe the power of art lay not in conformity to classicist aesthetics and criticism but in a demonstration of the true expression of an independent creative individuality.

And Nature, teaching you, will fill
Your soul with power.[3]

This Romantic movement was useful in emphasising the role of feelings, emotions and passions in human life. In its essence it aimed at liberating human personality from the fetters of social conventions and social morality. When passions are roused, the prudent restraint of social behaviour becomes difficult to endure.

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When these restraints are thrown off under the storm and stress of passions, a man often acquires a new energy and sense of power. But if this 'sense of godlike exaltation', 'this life intense, this godlike ecstasy, is not circumscribed by some kind of restraint,' it tends to be destructive[4]. So Goethe's genius very soon learned the limitation of this romantic movement. His visit to Italy helped him to free himself from the merely subjective and solipsistic tendency of romanticism.[5] He now looked towards the Greek models and saw for the first time a new significance in their creation. He achieved a clear insight into the objective norms of beauty. For him it was a matter of freedom under law and his originality in no way suffered by adopting norms of classical traditions. He no longer agreed with the romantic point of view that the poet's caprice could tolerate no constraining law. He could not now rest in the subjective alone. To him forms of art, like the laws of nature, must be produced in accordance with eternal laws, if they are to be beautiful, objective and true and these laws can be attained, Goethe realised, only through classical traditions. He held that "a synthesis of the ethical culture of Christianity with the aesthetic culture of antiquity, and a super-national world-wide humanity as the fruit of this alliance was the ideal goal for which the creative spirit of all nations must collaborate."[6]

Goethe's *Faust* is the mirror through which we can see the eternal conflict between these two forces in human life in every age. The first knows no restraint and no limitation. For its moral, religious and social values are meaningless in the face of passionate and vigorous life. It stands for absolute power, enjoyment pure and simple, denial of all that is not subjective and individual. It tends to the development of a lawless ego in man. It likes to have richness and abundance of life in all its aspects without any thought of consequences. And yet it gives to man energy for constant activity and wings to his ambitions. Day and night, he is on the move. Goethe's Egmont is one of the best characterisation of this spirit (in

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the play of the same name). Egmont walks with free stride, as if the world were his. He leads a beautiful and self contained life in which there is no anxiety for future and no brooding over the past. To him pure joy of the present is everything. "If you take life too seriously," he asserts, "what is its use? If the morning does not arouse us to new joys, and we can hope for no pleasures in the evening, is it worthwhile to dress and undress?" To him life itself is actually life's sole purpose.

The second force represents the tendency in man to understand the nature of reality, to make it objective in the light of his innermost experiences and to attain a sort of union with it. In this process of understanding he becomes so much engrossed in the fantasy of his creation that he is totally cut off from the actual reality and takes pleasure in withdrawing into the narrow shell of his imaginary world. Within the four walls of his inner world, he seems to attain self-fulfilment, but when he comes into contact with the actual reality outside, he proves misfit, a tragic figure. He is divorced from all fruitful activity. All his learning becomes barren and unproductive. Goethe's *Tasso* illustrates such a character. Tasso is a poet who lives in the world of his creation and to whom this world of nature and men has no meaning. He exists in the dichotomy between fantasy and reality, idea and deed, freedom and law, the self-created world of poetic dreams and the assured world of general normal life. Tasso refuses to compromise and the result is disaster. Tasso's antagonist is Antonio who stands on the polar opposition to him, the man of practical understanding of constant activity. Antonio in the hour of crisis advises Tasso to turn outward to the world. He answers that a life in which he did not dream and compose would no longer be life to him.

Dost thou the silkworm e'er forbid to spin
Because he spins himself more near his death?

Tasso expresses this eternal conflict. If he compromises with

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society, he loses his power of creative art. Without social humanity which demands discipline of the individual, peaceful communal life is not possible; without the creative personality, all culture would stiffen and decay. Life requires the deeds of the men of action as much as the visions and works of the artist. This higher unity in the life of the individual is the ideal which Goethe wished to present in the *Faust*. Mephisto represents the first tendency while Faust stands for the second. When Faust signs his pact with the Devil with his blood, it illustrates the ideal of Goethe to see the two forces combined in one individual who thereby attains the highest stature in life. *Faust* in reality is a picture of the individual of the new age. It depicts the eternal conflict which goes on in the soul of man between two opposing forces each of which is striving for mastery. Though the book specifically refers to Europe and its problems, yet, as a matter of fact, it is a mirror in which man of the modern age can see his spiritual history written in very bold letters. Goethe tried most successfully to bring to light the aspirations and hopes, shortcomings and drawbacks of man and suggested some ways and means to meet the challenge of the new age.

Goethe was the product of his age but, like all great men, he was also the creator of his age. In the beginning he was at one with the romantic movement of his time, but very soon he realised its shortcomings, and carved for himself a new path. He is no longer a poet of mere emotions and passions. To him this universe ceases to be a fantasy of imagination or a place where he can quench his thirst for sensual enjoyment. It becomes a system serving some higher purpose. This life is not something to be played with, but a stage in the spiritual development of the individual. *Faust* represents this change, and through it Goethe wanted to convey the new message of hope to his contemporaries as well as the future generations.

Iqbal, like Goethe, was the child of his age and for some time he treaded along the beaten track but his visit to Europe changed

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his outlook. With a penetrating eye which is the privilege of a great seer, he understood the potentiality of the 'inward change' that was taking place in the man of the new East. He saw the problems facing him as well as the new world that Life was creating for him on the ashes of the old.' The modern Asian is placed amid two conflicting forces that pull in opposite directions. On the one side is his traditional loyalty to the world of spiritual reality. This force had lost its charm and had become totally reactionary. Instead of helping him in meeting the challenge of the new world, it was leading him to close his eyes to the ever-changing phenomenon of life. It was unnerving the whole of society. On the opposite pole stood the new heaven created by the machine culture of the West. It was progressive and promised easy success and sure prosperity. On the one side is spiritual yearnings of man which demand self-denial and discipline, on the other, stand total and complete enjoyment, self-fulfilment and abundance of life. On one side, in the terms of Goethe, is Faust with a dim flicker of true-religious and spiritual light which is burning itself out for lack of proper oil; on the other hand stands Mephisto, with a charming 'heaven' of hyper-sensual pleasures made accessible to everybody, thanks to modern scientific advance. Will the spiritual light get replenishment? Or will the Satanic forces succeed in blowing it out?

In the beginning of the play, Faust is represented by Goethe as a man of great learning who had spent the greater part of his life in intellectual pursuits but who had remained unsatisfied. He is unaware of love, of beauty in nature or of active life among men. All his life he desired to know the secret of nature and at last realised that he had failed miserably.

That we in truth can nothing know!
That in my heart like fire doth burn'.

Mere intellectual knowledge does not and cannot lead man to the attainment of his higher ideals. It was the realisation of this truth

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that agitated the mind of Faust and this was in reality the main problem of Goethe's age--over-intellectualism which weakens the vital energies of man. As a reaction to this, Faust is represented as passionately longing for the simple vigour of nature, for warm sensual experience. Herder expressed the same revolt against intellectualism of the age when he remarked that he did not exist in order to think, but 'to be, to feel, to live, to rejoice.'[10] Faust was after such a life. He was fed up with abstract concepts. He first turns to magic. For some time he is attracted by the sign of Macrocosm. He feels new rapture and ecstasy of joy, but the relief is only transitory. The revelation proves only illusory.

A wondrous show? but ah! a show alone!
Where shall I grasp thee, infinite nature, where?[11]

Then Faust summons the Earth Spirit, the personification of creative forces in the earthly sphere. But Faust is yet immature and so the Spirit escapes him. He becomes hopeless. He decides to die. He is not willing to be only a "writing worm."[12] It is better to have no life at all than a pretty one. But the chiming of the Easter morning revives in him hidden springs of faith and love. Yet his longing to rise above his limitations and see the God who moves the world from within, once again makes its appearance and he is again overwhelmed with despair. In such a mood he takes up the Bible. He reads, "In the beginning was the Word." He thinks whether 'word' correctly conveys the idea of the original 'Logos.' He feels that it should be 'thought,' or 'power' and decides in favour of 'deed': "In the beginning was the Deed."[13] Was it a foretaste of the change that was to take place in him? As yet he has not learnt what a vigorous action can wrest from life.

Before Faust meets Mephisto he had fallen into the depths of despondency. He cursed almost everything in life. Cursed be the high ambition wherewith the mind deludes itself. Cursed be the lying dream's impression of name and fame and laurelled brow.[14] Then

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Mephisto's attendants by their song bring him back to life and he once again feels love for the pleasures and pains of the world

The Mighty Spirit deigns me no reply.
And Nature shuts on me her gate
The thread of Thought at last is broken.
And knowledge brings disgust unspoken.
Let us the sensual deeps explore.
To quench the fervours of glowing passion!
Let every marvel take form and fashion
Through the impervious veil it wore!
Plunge we in Time's tumultuous dance.
In the rush and roll of circumstance!
Then my delight and distress.
And worry and success.
Alternately follow, as best as they can:
Restless activity proves the man.[8]

It was this dynamic ideal of restless activity that Iqbal's *Iblis* as well as Goethe's Mephisto--places before Adam for his self-fulfilment. Man must plunge himself into this sea of constant striving in order to relish the meaning of existence. Before Adam meets Satan, his was a life of complete inactivity. It was devoid of any charm. Adam never felt the throb of real surging life in his innermost heart nor did he ever move his finger to satisfy not-yet-felt sting of human wants that in course of centuries became the motive force of his ever-developing culture.

جہاں تا از عدم بیروں کشیدند
ضمیرش سرد و بے ہنگامہ دیدند
(ارمغان حجاز۔ 177)

When the world was brought from non-being,
It was found to be cold and uneventful.
Iblis gives him a vision of a new world and promises him a

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life of tumultuous dance. He advises Adam to open his eyes and witness a new world; to leave the role of a cringing worm and attain the heights of perfection, to show his mettle in fighting against difficulties that cross his path. Life of inactivity is tantamount to eternal death. Secret of Immortality lies hidden in undying striving.

زندگی سوز و ساز' بہ ز سکون دوام
فاختہ شاہیں شود' از تپش زیر دام
ہیچ نیامد ز تو غیر سجود نیاز
خیز چو سرو بلند' اے بہ عمل نرم گام
خیز کہ بنمایت مملکت تازہ
چشم جہاں بیں کشا' بہر تماشا خرام
بازوئے شاہیں کشا' خون تدرواں بریز
مرگ بود باز را' زیستن اندر کنام
تو نہ شناسی ہنوز' شوق دمبہ میرد ز وصل
چیست حیات دوام؟ سوختن ناتمام(16)

A tumultuous life is better than perpetual peace,
A dove becomes a falcon due to agitation in being in a trap.
You are unfit for anything except to prostrate in submission;
O you who are slow in activity, stand up like a cyprus!
Rise that I may show you the new Kingdom
Open your world-seeing eyes, just move about to see!
Spread your falcon-like wings, shed the blood of doves,
It is death for a falcon to sit confined in its nest.
You hardly realise yet, desire dies with union;
What is everlasting life? It is undying striving.

Faust had enough of knowledge and now he wishes to have within his heart "all of life for all mankind created". Mephisto describes this new ambition of Faust:

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His food and drink are not of earth
An inward impulse hurries him afar.
Himself half-conscious of his frenzied mood,
From heaven claimeth he the fairest star,
And from the earth craves every highest good,
And all that's near, and all that's far,
Fails to allay the tumult in his blood

He wants to experience the highest and the lowest of life and to share the ills and joys of human race so that his individual self may expand to become one with the Universal Self. Mephisto laughs at his ambition and says that it is impossible to experience such a Universal Whole can be comprehended by a God alone while man is made for 'day and night' and not for the sake of enjoying in himself the Absolute. Faust with unflinching determination replies, "But I will" Rumi has described the story of a similar titanic personality who wanted to see with his own eyes the most unique individual. He was advised not to ruin his life after this 'mirage'. But he answered like Faust. That which is impossible to attain I will wager my all to get it.

گفتم کہ یافت می نشود جستہ ایم ما
گفت آنکہ یافت می نشود، آنم آرزوست

I said, "It is not attainable, we have already made an attempt"
He replied, "That which is unattainable is my object."

The pact with Mephisto is concluded. Faust himself determines the terms. If the Devil succeeds in lulling to sleep his 'ideal strivings' by means of pleasures which he is able to offer, then everything else may belong to him. If there can be a moment in life in which the fulness of existence were to be compressed, which would make all succeeding moments look empty and meaningless, then surely all eternity can be sacrificed for it. It is the very nature of man

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to move on from lower to higher planes and from there to still higher planes. Restless activity proves the man. With this view of himself, it is no unwise step for Faust to wager his soul to the devil. For it is impossible to imagine a state where man can say that he is satisfied, where the urge to life is stilled, where will in eternal dissatisfaction no longer strives for something higher and higher. If this is possible, then there need be no further life, no eternity, no salvation; for it itself is death and extinction.

> Canst thou with lying flattery rule me,---
> Canst thou with rich enjoyment fool me,
> Let that day be the last for me.[18]

Such an ideal places enjoyment not in the result but in the process of life's activity itself. The goal is not important but the striving for that goal the energy for tireless movement, the courage for ever new beginnings. It does not count whether a man attains his goal or not. What makes man a man is always to be on the way. Faust represents in his life this new dynamic ideal of existence. To him the beginning and end of life is forever unsatisfied striving, eternal feeling of dissatisfaction. It is at once torment and happiness.

> To bear the woe of earth and all its joys,
> To tussle, struggle, scuffle with its storms,
> And not fearful in the crash of shipwreck.[19]

It is not in Faust's character to desire adjustment or demand harmony of existence. If the world does not adjust itself to his needs, he is ready to go to any length to create a new world for himself. With a mighty will, he is after probing the limits of humanity. His lofty vision transcends all limitations.

> To bare my breast to every pang, --- to know
> In my heart's core all human weal and woe,
> To grasp in thought the lofty and the deep,
> Men's various fortunes on my breast to heap,

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And thus to theirs dilate my individual mind,
And share at length with them the shipwreck of mankind

Mephisto, according to Goethe, is the spirit of contradiction or a demon of negation. He is the enemy of all life and higher existence. He is represented as an advocate of philosophical materialism and nihilism. Everything that comes into being is worthy of being destroyed and hence it was better if nothing at all ever came into being. And yet he is not sure if he will ever succeed in his object of destruction.[22] In spite of all his efforts, earth and sea still hold together, and "that damned stuff, the brood of man and beast, still multiplies." "How many have I buried?" he cries, "and still the fresh new blood circulates without a pause. It is enough to drive me mad."

The Devil can 'make' nothing but he is involuntarily effective in another way. He is part of that power which always wills the evil and ever creates the good. He calls creative forces into life. In the Prologue in Heaven, the Lord explains: "Of all the spirits that deny, the rouge (i.e., the Devil) is to *me* least burdensome. Man's activity can too easily run slack. He loves to sink into unlimited repose; and so I was glad to give him a companion who excites and works and must create, as Devil."[23]

The role of *Iblis* in the life of man as viewed by Iqbal is the same as Goethe's. *Iblis* does not look with favour at the birth of Adam. He is all the while aware of his own superiority and therefore refuses to prostrate before him. Being created out of fire he is all life turbulent, aggressive and active, ever striving to reach higher and yet higher. It is through him that life moves in the arteries of the universe. He lives in the thunder of clouds and the blast of the windstorms. He creates and destroys and from the ashes of the old he gives shape to ever newer forms. The Lord created the stars and sun but He imparts to them movement and constant revolutions. It is He who gives life and pulse-beat to the inert and dead matter. What is

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Adam, after all, as compared with his creative powers? A handful of contemptible earth who does not yet know the potentiality of his greatness. With all the care bestowed upon him by God, he is no more than a living automation. It is I, claims *Iblis*, and not the Lord, who will impart to him real and true pulsating life. In *Payam-i-Mashriq* *Iblis* says:

می تپد از سوز من، خون رگ کائنات
من به دو صرصرم، من به غو تندرم
رابطه سالمات، ضابطه امہات
سوزم و سازے دہم، آتش مینا گرم
ساختہ خویش را، در شکنم ریز ریز
تا ز غبار کہن، پیکر نو آورم
پیکر انجم ز تو، گردش انجم زمن
جاں بہ جہاں اندرم، زندگی مضمرم
تو بہ بدن جاں دہی، شور بجاں من دہم
تو بہ سکوں رہ زنی، من بہ تپش رہبرم
(صفحہ 97-98)

It is through me that blood in the arteries of the universe moves,

I am in the boisterous winds of the desert and in the noisy thunders,

I give organisation to the atoms and harmony to four elements,

I impart life and heat to everything;

I break my idols into pieces

That I may create a new being out of the ashes of the old.

Your created the stars; their movement is due to me.

The hidden life of the universe is through me.

You blew your breath into the body (of man); but it became dynamic through me.

You walk on the path of passivity, while I had all to activity.

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In *Bal-i-Jibril*, *Iblis* justifies his 'denial' by referring to his creative activities in infusing a new life in man. To him alone is due the charm of this life. It is his sacrifice that gave meaning to human existence.

ہے مری جرات سے مشت خاک میں ذوق نمو
میرے فتنے جامہ عقل و خرد کا تار و پو
دیکھتا ہے تو فقط ساحل سے رزم خیر و شر
کون طوفاں کے طمانچے کھا رہا ہے میں کہ تو
گر کبھی خلوت میسر ہو تو پوچھ اللہ سے
قصہ آدم کو رنگیں کر گیا کس کا لہو؟

It is through my boldness that the handful of clay has the ambition for growth.
My temptations form the warp and woof of reason.
You see the strife of good and evil from the shore.
Who is fighting the storm? You or I?
If you get private audience with God, ask Him,
Whose blood (sacrifice) adorned the story of Adam?

Satan, according to Goethe, is a part of a force that creates and reveals in pleasures of life and works in conjunction with the Spirit of the Earth. His primary object is to instil in man a love for life and an ambition for vigorous and creative activity. But being defective by nature, he cannot put limits to his action. He becomes an advocate of hyper-sensual material enjoyments and in his creative activity he aspires to be an equal to the Creator. He wishes to deprive man of the 'glimpse of heavenly light' which men call reason, by diverting his attention from the world of spirit to the sphere of flesh. Yet in spite of all his efforts, he feels within his heart that he has very little chance of success. He constantly excites man in order to stifle in his heart the spark of light but man walks along with him for some time. In the end the same love of activity, the gift of Satan to man,

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helps him break the devilish charm. With the help of Satan, man succeeds in snatching victory and redeeming his soul. Thus the Evil One must serve the Eternal Becoming unwillingly and be cheated out of his destructive intentions.

The Devil promises to afford Faust every opportunity for sensual pleasures but in Faust there lives and grows a conception of true life which his materialistic companion is hardly able to comprehend. "A good man." says the Lord, "in his darkest aberrations, has still the instinct of the one true way."[24] Every enjoyment which Mephisto offers Faust evokes in him a desire for still higher ideals. He erres but after every false step he turns to the right path. The aspirations and ambitions of Faust are never-ending and his will-to-activity incessant so that the Devil always lags behind. The Devil asks him what he wants--does he desire power? Faust agrees but challenges him to divine the true nature of his desire. The Devil suggests the building of a great city, where people would crowd round Faust and honour him, where he would live in a castle built in glorious surroundings, with fair women for his companions. Faust smiles contemptuously at the Devil. Charms of flesh and eye have lost all power on him. He no longer feels any inclination towards sensual enjoyments offered by Satan. His meeting with Helen signifies that now he is capable of laying the foundation of an organised communal life. He has outgrown his individualistic outlook and is ready for a new social experiment. Mephisto feels puzzled at this change. He asks him whether he wants to possess the moon. To it Faust replies that this sphere of earthly toil gives him room quite enough room, for lofty deeds.[25]

The Deed is everything, the fame nothing.[26]

Faust wants power and dominion but he does not wish to inherit what others have created. He wishes to create his possessions himself. It is in a mood of exultation that Faust sees a new field for the exercise of his newly-won power. He wants to employ it not for the sake of self-

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glorification or for the satisfaction of his sensual impulses but for the good of the people, for the service of mankind. The sea ever and again attempts to drag the earth into its depths. Faust wishes to force it back, to give new land for new life. The creative spirit of man responds to the demon of nothingness with the vision of a will which is directed towards enriching life and expanding its scope. He wants to create a new land for free people. It may be surrounded by sea and therefore subject to constant dangers, yet to Faust life becomes significant only when there is an opportunity to fight against hostile elements.

Freedom alone he earns as well as life,
Who day by day must conquer them anew.

It was in the beautiful vision of a society of free people toiling hard to wrest a free soil from an ever hostile nature, that Faust found the realisation of his age-long ambition. It was the 'highest moment' for which he had bartered his soul.

The Devil has played his part, stirring the heavy torpor of the world like heaven, lest man should fall into unlimited repose. But Faust had striven to the end, and had found no lasting satisfaction in the lust of flesh or the lust of the eye. Only in the possible fulfilment of a labour for the cause and welfare of mankind had he at last foreseen the moment which he might did stay. And the Devil himself had proved that he was after all the spirit who always wills the evil and always works the good. Thus Mephisto in the end serves the Eternal Becoming. Though opposed to the creative forces of life, he evokes the most positive of all things, the will to activity. He did not understand the Divine Purpose. He refused and sacrificed himself and yet this sacrifice was not in vain. It aided in the realisation of God's grand design and in enriching man's life.[28] In the words of Iqbal:

اے خداوند صواب و نا صواب
من شدم از صحبت آدم خراب

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ابن آدم چیست؟ یک مشت خس است
مشت خس را یک شرار از من بس است
قصہ آدم کو رنگین کر گیا کس کا لہو؟

Whose blood adorned the story of Adam?

Iqbal viewed the destiny of man identically. Before Adam started on his new career, *Iblis* was chosen to be his companion. The Lord gave him His 'blessings' in his 'noble' mission of leading him astray. The angels in their farewell address eloquently refer to his humble origin as a handful of dust and then briefly map out the future course of his action, which will lead him to unravel the mysteries of the universe.

سنا ہے خاک سے تیری نمود ہے لیکن
تری سرشت میں ہے کوکبی و مہتابی
اندریں عالم اگر جز خس نبود
ایں قدر آتش مرا دادن چہ سود؟
منکر خود از تو می خواہم' بدہ
سوئے آں مرد خدا راہم بدہ
اے خدا یک زندہ مرد حق پرست
لذتے شاید کہ یابم در شکست

(صفحہ 160-161)

O God of good and evil!
I am sick of man's company.
Who is this man?--a handful of straw
For whom one spark from my fire suffices.
If there were nothing but straw,
What was the use of giving so much fire?
I demand from you one who denies me,
Guide me to such a one.
O God, give me a living, God-intoxicated man,
That I may enjoy my defeat.

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گراں بہا ہے ترا گریۂ سحر گاہی
اسی سے ہے ترے نخلِ کہن کی شادابی
تری نوا سے ہے بے پردہ زندگی کا ضمیر
کہ تیرے ساز کی فطرت نے کی ہے مضرابی

I have heard that you sprung out of dust, but
In your nature are combined light of the moon and the stars
Your bewailing of the early morning is a valuable asset.
Through it your old tree will blossom forth
Your cries will reveal the inner secrets of life.
For the nature of your song has guided you aright'

As Adam came down to his new abode, the Spirit of Earth welcomes him. In a strange environment, amidst lofty mountains, vast and limitless expense of the soil beneath his feet, roaring streams and thick forests, he stands alone and bewildered. The Spirit consoles him. All these things are therefore his service. He has only to bring into play his hidden potentiality for vigorous deeds, and all this earth and heaven will move at his order. The Spirit says that he was right in giving up a world--'heavenly abode he occupied before'--that did not feel the impress of his creative mind and hands. This new world before which he was standing against would be moulded and recreated to suit his ever-developing needs and aspirations.

خورشید جہاں تاب کی ضو تیرے شرر میں
آباد ہے اک تازہ جہاں تیرے ہنر میں
جچتے نہیں بخشے ہوئے فردوس تیری نظر میں
جنت تیری پنہاں ہے ترے خون جگر میں
ایک پیکر گل، کوشش پیہم کی جزا دیکھ
(بال جبریل صفحہ 179)

The light of the world-illuminating scene is in your sparks,
A new world is dependent upon your art.
Paradise made by others does not become you,
Your paradise is hidden in the blood of your veins.

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O body of clay, see the result of constant striving.

In this constant striving کوششِ پیہم in this undying spirit of man for fruitful and creative activity, lies his destiny and this ideal can be realised only through a never-ending struggle with and against *Iblis*. He supplies not only the motive force of action but also helps man in keeping this dynamic struggle alive. It was he who in the beginning of life lured man out of a "noiseless and dull heaven" and plunged him into the charming world of songs and cries, pains and torments, strife and ambitions and thus opened before him a new vista of opportunities. And then he comes to his rescue again whenever man feels an inclination to stupor. He whips him up into activity and thus the struggle goes on till man succeeds in the purpose which God set for him and for which He created *Iblis*.

پرسیدم از بلند نگاہے حیات چیست؟
گفتامۓ کہ تلخ تر ہاو نکو تراست
گفتم کہ شر بہ فطرت خامش نہادہ اند
گفتا کہ خیر او نہ شناسی ہمیں شراست
(پیام مشرق صفحہ 146)

I asked from a wise man, "What is Life?"
He replied, "It is a wine whose bitterest drop is the best."
I said, "Evil lies hidden in its nature."
He replied, "You do not know, its good lies in this evil."

In this apparent evil lies the secret of all good. No evil, no good. No life is worth living where there is no evil and no struggle against evil. It would be to go back to the primitive state from which Adam started and thus defeat the great design of the Lord. In never-ceasing activity, in a will towards productive existence, lies the whole future of man. Only he who keeps moving will reach the house of God and *Iblis*, by his very nature, helps man in attaining this object. Without *Iblis* it would be impossible to reach our goal. Life without

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the presence of Satan would be no life but eternal death

مزی اندر جہان کور ذوقے
کہ یزداں دارد و شیطاں ندارد

Don't live in an insipid world that has a God but
no Satan.

There are thus two forces in life which are working in opposite directions and yet ultimately they seem to co-operate in working out the Divine Purpose. They stand as two poles of a huge magnet. Life moves in a constant attraction and repulsion of these opposite poles. The process of formation and transformation continues incessantly. The Earth Spirit describes the working of the vital force which works rhythmically in bringing together and separating of coming into being and perishing.

In the swirling of life, the storm of action,
I rise and fall,
Weave back and forth.
I am the womb and tomb,
An ocean eternal.
A changing, glowing
Life in ferment:
Thus working on the roaring loom of time,
I weave God's living garment.[29]

This polar opposition keeps the life process going. In a poem in the *Divan* Goethe translates a saying of Shaikh Sa'di in support of this belief. This opposition was the source of all of life's events.

Favour twofold in breathing see:
The air we draw, then set it free;
One is constraint, the other bliss:

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So wondrously life mingled is."

Goethe has explained this opposition in his different works. Faust and Mephisto, Egmont and Alba, Tasso and Antonio, all represent two poles of life and in their mutual attraction and repulsion the continuity of life process develops. Unlike most writers who represent evil forces as retarding the progress and development of the good here, Goethe's characters work in collaboration. Their activities are complementary. They work in different and yet in such a way that the greater whole of the action develops out of them and encompasses them all. Faust and Mephisto are the symbols of polarised dynamism greater whole of the action develops out of them and encompasses them all Faust and Mephisto are the symbols of polarised dynamism of life process. To Goethe there is no question of good and evil where the issue is a conduct of life. The Devil himself must assist in creation. Goethe never talked of good and evil in dualistic terms implying that these were independent realities. He quotes with approval the saying of certain philosophers that what we call evil is only the "obverse of the good," necessary of moral life. In the course of a review, he says that no one knows whether that which we look upon as good and evil is also good and evil in the sight of God, "or whether that which is refracted into two colours be able to fuse into a single ray before Him."[31] Thus good and evil both form a higher unity.

An inclination to evil is as much inborn in man as inclination to virtue. Man is placed between the above and the below. He is both God and Satan, heaven and earth, all in one. If one wishes to be totally above all evil, one must renounce the world and all activity and that, Goethe says, does not seem to be the will of God. In the Prologue in Heaven, Faust is represented as a sort of sinner, subject to doubts and darkness and yet God is ready to wager on his behalf. He knows that truth and error are inextricably interwoven in the thoughts and actions of men. Whenever man determines to work and

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strive there is a possibility of his going astray. The Lord Himself refers to this possibility when He gives a long rope to Mephisto

> Man still must err, while he doth strive.

> If, for fear of this error, man paralyses the will to action, he is no longer a man but a beast. To Goethe cloistered virtue had no value. Without false steps it is impossible to reach good. In one of his letters he says, "Every return from error develops a man mightily in particular and in general, so that one can well understand how a repentant sinner can be dearer to the searcher of hearts than ninty-nine righteous men."[33] Man, despite his sins and follies, is directed by a higher hand. This 'higher hand' is a sort of inward urge residing in every man, which operates quietly like a necessity of nature. "A good man . . . is still conscious of the right path."[34] It means that man, in spite of his frailties, has a sort of unconscious urge to find the right path. Goethe says:

> Error will never desert us. A craving for what is ennobling
> Urges, however, our constantly striving minds gently
> onwards towards truth.[35]

> It is man's weakness that in his endeavour to bring *Would* and *Should* into harmony, he sometimes goes astray.

> So wondrously this human race is formed,
> So diversely connected, intertwined,
> That no man in himself, nor with others,
> Can keep his soul untangled, undefiled.[36]

Iqbal viewed this problem in a similar way. Good and evil, according to him, are not to be conceived as totally separate events but co-ordinate and inter-related moments in the life history of man. Elucidating the significance of the legend of Fall, he says that freedom of will granted to man was a double-edged weapon, which implied both the capacity to do good as well as a tendency to go astray. This risk could have been avoided if God had withheld this

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gift from mankind. But, as a matter of fact, the life of man as moral being began with the Fall if this involves evil, it must be viewed in the broader context of total good that it does to man. So "good and evil, therefore, though opposites, must fall within the same whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact for facts are synthetic wholes the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference."[3] In *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iqbal expresses the same idea:

چہ گویم نکتہ زشت و نکو چیست؟
زباں لرزد کہ معنی پیچ دار است
بروں از شاخ بینی خار و گل را
درون او نہ گل پیدا نہ خار است

What should I say about good and evil?
I tremble to express as the problem is knotty.
You see the flower and the thorn outside the twig,
While within it, there is nothing of the two.

In other words, according to Iqbal, good and evil are like flowers and thorns which together grow out of a single twig. Their apparent diversity implies a basic unity.

The narration of the Quran about the emergence of Adam out of a primitive state brings out clearly that man, while capable of great good, is always liable to error and sin. At every stage of life, he is confronted with a choice of great import and more often he chooses to follow a wrong track. But this fact does not imply inherent sinfulness. It is a logical outcome of freedom and for this very reason Adam was forgiven his first act of disobedience. He soon realised his mistake and willingly came forward with his apology and sought God's grace and guidance in determining the future course of life. Man's originality and creativeness are the result of this gift of freedom and soon man was able to say to God:

گفت یزداں کہ چنیں است و چنیں خواہد ماند
گفت آدم کہ چنیں ہست و چناں خواہد بود

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God said that this is so and so will it remain
Adam said: this is so but it *ought* to be so

It was man who with all his weaknesses and frailties was able to resolve the conflict between 'is' and 'ought'. It was he who in spite of all his proneness to wrong ways was capable of bringing 'would' and 'should' into harmony. A man may not be able to keep himself undefiled, surrounded as he is by an environment that is always seducing him to the wrong path, yet he has been endowed with an ambition for the pursuit of higher ideals and if he falls a prey - though temporarily--to the attractions of flesh, he is hopeful of God's guidance. God assured him of His constant help in the task of recreating the world on a new pattern which may be conducive to the abundance of good. If evil, in the last resort, leads to the creation of good for the benefit of man, then the presence of evil should in no way be allowed to stand in the way of our struggle for better ends.

The straying into a wrong path is no doubt a lapse but if ideal of cent per cent righteousness and rectitude becomes a sort of obsession and it stultifies all aspirations and results in sterility of all activity, then this impossible ideal tends to sap the healthy growth both of individuals and societies. Every active step taken towards higher ideals may involve man into bypaths of sin and guilt but this bypath is indispensable for reaching the destined goal. A man with a spark of divine light within him and guided by God's grace is sure ultimately to find his path after each aberration. In *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *Iblis* tells Adam that there is no fun in resting on one's oars. One should be always on the move. Reposing on one's laurels means stagnation and every stagnation implies decline from the higher to the lower plane. Our destiny lies in ceaseless activity so that each tomorrow may find us farther than today and in this constant endeavour there should be no qualms of good and evil.

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زشت و نکو زادۂ و ہم خداوند تست
لذت کر دار گیر، گام .نہ، جوئے کام
(پیام مشرق صفحہ 89)

Good and evil are the products of the whims of your Creator,
Taste the pleasure of activity, take the step, *attain your success*.

Adam on the Day of Judgment pleads guilty before God for some time straying into the bypaths of sin but was it possible, he asks, to avoid these pitfalls?

گرچہ فسونش مرا برد ز راہ صواب
از ظلم درگزر، عذر گناہم پذیر
رام نگردد جہاں تا نہ فسونش خوریم
جز بکمند نیاز، ناز نگردد اسیر(38)

Though its charm led me astray from the right path,
Overlook my mistake, accept the excuse of my sins.
The world does not submit to our control unless we are beguiled by it,
For without the net work of entreaty, blandishment cannot be entrapped.

God accepts this plea for the occasional aberrations do not condemn a man to eternal punishment. God has full faith in man's inherent strength of character. Man's freedom of will implies this risk. But, as Iqbal has said, God purposely took this risk which shows that ultimately these errors and aberrations are all going to serve His purpose. So God may safely leave man to Satan who, in the end, must serve the Eternal Becoming. By his very nature of contradiction, he evokes in man the most positive of all things, the will to activity. Once Goethe said to Eckermann that it is contradition that makes us productive. Casual error and guilt cannot condemn a man, provided he has lived his life fully and fruitfully. Faust, ever since his pact

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with Mephisto, has filled every moment of his life with incessant activity. He got entangled in guilt yet his life ended in a glorious deed of service to mankind. So the angels snatched away his entelechy from the hands of Satan and his accomplices, saying:

Whose with fervent will strives on
We angels can deliver.'

What is this striving with fervent will نوشش پیہم which saves a man in spite of his guilt? "To obey the forward-impelling urge, the will to productive existence, to never-ceasing growth, and at the same time to follow that other impulse, the will to augmentation (of self), which seeks to lift itself up step by step to ever higher deeds and visions of deeds, to the ideal goal of self-perfection. He who has lived so has truly lived, and it is this that God desires of His creatures and for which He will forgive them the earthly frailty which attaches to all human beings and doings. Upon the ladder of deeds with which he fills the space of life man ascends to the divine. Error, guilt, and even sin will be forgiven him who strives unweariedly. Only he who keeps marching will reach the house of Father. The most active citizen of earth will be the best-loved son of heaven."[4]

It is in this sense that Iqbal holds that creative activity of the highest order will be able to wash off the blot of sin and guilt.

گر از دست تو کار نادر آید
گناہے ہم اگر باشد ثواب است
(پیام مشرق صفحہ 62)

If you do any extraordinary (creative) act.,
It becomes a good work even though it is sinful.

But, can a sinful act be justified only because it is creative and original? How can it become virtuous? What is that transmuting force which brings about this miracle, which changes a base metal into gold? Both Iqbal and Goethe believe that it can be so and it is love that performs this miracle. What is this love? Goethe conceives it

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in a very restricted sense, and calls it "the eternal feminine," represented in *Faust* by the character of Gretschen, the noble and innocent woman who was seduced by Mephisto for Faust but who later becomes the symbol of true heavenly love. Mephisto drives Faust to the world of flesh, negation and destruction while Gretschen leads him to spiritualism, faith and eternal peace. She cannot bear the sight of Faust's companion who himself is afraid to look her in the face. In the last scene of the first part, Faust along with Mephisto visits her in the prison and entreats her to run away with him but she refuses: for she had realised that to go with Faust at this stage meant to traverse the path of evil. She dies and the angels of light take away her soul. Thereafter, Faust never falls into the snares of flesh. Every day he marches to higher and still higher ideals. It is the never-dying spiritual influence of Gretschen that sustains him throughout. At the time of death, when angels carry away the soul of Faust, it is the spirit of Gretschen that comes forward to lead his way. It is essential for man to be a companion of the Devil for a while, it is only through love that he is freed from the snares of the Evil One. The passion of man for knowing the secret of reality is not satisfied by his increasing knowledge and incessant activity alone. It is love that can quench this eternal thirst. When Faust had enough of abstract knowledge and had not yet experienced the ecstasy of love, his was a life of bewilderment, doubts and darkness. With love, he found true self-fulfilment in a high ideal of selfless devotion to the service of mankind. If Faust can utilise the services of Mephisto and still keep him under his control, it is only through love. Without love, it would be impossible to control the forces of contradiction and nihilism. In spite of his pact with Mephisto, Faust succeeds in attaining eternal heaven and immortality by a life of fruitful activity through love which knows no barriers and brooks no limitations. It is love that carries him away from pitfalls and snares of Satan to a glorious death and from death to an immortal life of eternal blessing.

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But with Iqbal this love assumes very wide proportions. It is not love which man feels for the fair sex however spiritualised. It is a cosmic force which moves heavens and stars. It is operative in all the universe:

بہ برگ لالہ رنگ آمیزئی عشق
بجان سا بلا انگیزئی عشق
اگر زیں خاکداں را واشگافی
درونش بنگری خونریزئی عشق
(پیام مشرق، صفحہ 31)

It is love that imparts colour to the tulip.
It is love that agitates our souls.
If you open up the heart of this earth,
You will see in it the blood-stains of love.

All movement and push towards the high plane, in organic and inorganic sphere, in animal kingdom and man, is the result of this love. In short it is co-terminus with life. Life is love and love is life.

عشق کے مضراب سے نغمہ تار حیات
عشق سے نور حیات، عشق سے نار حیات
(بال جبریل صفحہ 31)

The song from the strings of life is the result of the spectrum of love.
The light and flame of life are all due to love.

It is the degree of this cosmic force which determines the place of a being in the scale of life. Man being the greatest participant of love enjoys higher being and existence. His life becomes meaningful when this cosmic force of love is manifested in all his activities. In the words of Iqbal, "the striving for the ideal is love's

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movement towards beauty which is identical with perfection. Beneath the visible evolution of forms is the force of love which actualises all striving, movement, progress. Things are so constituted that they hate non-existence and love the joy of individuality in various forms. The indeterminate matter, dead in itself, assumes or, more properly, is made to assume by the inner force of love various forms, and rises higher and higher in the scale of beauty . . . The same force of 'natural' or 'constitutional' love is working in the life of beings higher than man. All things are moving towards the First Beloved--the Eternal Beauty. The worth of a thing is decided by its nearness to, or distance from, this ultimate principle."[41]

This love or we may call it life or *Khudi*, is the basis of this universe. It is creative and dynamic. The categories of mechanism, space and time are the modes which it creates for apprehending the objective world of science.

خرد در لا مکاں طرح مکاں بست
چو زنارے زماں را بر میاں بست
(زبور عجم صفحہ 216)

In non-spatial sphere intellect introduced spatial categories.
Like a belt it girdled time round its waist.

But this world which our intellect creates does not provide us with full opportunities for the expression of our personality. We need reason to a certain extent which helps us in overcoming the obstacles of the material world. But then we must go beyond it.

بہ آں عقلے کہ داند بیش و کم را
شناسد اندرون کان و یم را
جہان چند و چوں زیر نگیں کن
بگردوں ماہ و پرویں را کمیں کن

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ولیکن حکمت دیگر بیاموز
رہاں خود را ازیں مکر شب و روز
(زبور عجم صفحہ 218)

With the aid of that intellect that knows more and less,
Probe the world of how and why.
Catch the moon and pleides from the sky.
But then learn wisdom of another sort.
Free yourself from the snares of night and day.
Your real place is beyond this mundane world.
Aspire for a right that is without a left.

It is love alone that satisfies the real aspirations of man. Without love this universe would have been a dead, inert matter.

تہی از ہا و ہو میخانہ بودے
گل ما از شرر بیگانہ بودے
نبودے عشق و ایں ہنگامہ عشق
اگر دل چوں خرد فرزانہ بودے

The tavern would be without commotion,
Our clay would be without a spark
If there had been no love and its commotion,
If the 'heart' had been as wise as intellect.

According to Descartes, I am because I think; but, according to Iqbal, I am because I love.

در بود و نبود من اندیشہ گما نہا داشت
از عشق ہویداشد ایں نکتہ کہ ہستم من

My heart had doubts about my 'being' and 'not being',
Love proved the fact that 'I am'.

This was Iqbal's answer to the challenge of the modern age. Ever since the rise of rationalism in Europe in the 18th century, reason alone had been the guiding principle of life which, in due course, led to a complete annihilation of moral and religious values. The contemporary man feels frustrated. He feels that reason is not the be-

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all and end all of life. He had much of the fruit of reason's search for the control of the forces of the world but then he comes face to face with a blank wall, from where he finds no way out. It was Kant who first struck a successful blow against the omnipotent reason and then Bergson rehabilitated intuition or love. According to Iqbal, this change-over is the real key to the solution of all modern problems. Human reason is good and useful but it is not the whole of reality. We must try to surpass it and reach the very core of reality which is love.

عشق کی گرمی سے ہے معرکہ کائنات
علم مقام صفات' عشق تماشائے ذات
عشق سکون و ثبات' عشق حیات و ممات
علم ہے پیدا سوال' عشق ہے پنہاں جواب

The whole campaign of the universe is by the heat of love.
Knowledge is the stage of attribute, love is the seeing of essence.
Love is peace and stability, love is life and death,
Knowledge is an open question mark, love is a secret answer.

This contrast of intellect and love is symbolically represented both by Rumi and Iqbal by Satan and Adam. Satan is personified intellect while Adam is personified love. Satan, as an embodiment of intellect, is materialistic and thus incapable of appreciating the eternal values without which man would lose his distinctive human character. Satan is also on the side of determinism as a natural corollary of his intellectualism. Adam represents love, freedom and moral values.

داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است
زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است

He who is aware of the mysteries knows,
Intellect is from Satan and love, from Adam.[42]

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Our companionship with Satan is fruitful but to a certain extent only. We must take full advantage of the power and control which Satan--reason--confers on us. But then we must leave him behind if we are to attain the ideal of rich and abundant life and this is possible only through love. So long as our vision remains clouded by the brilliance of reason's achievements, we shall be condemned to a life which has no prospect of survival after death. Modern world is being driven to pessimism and desperation only because of the absence of this higher vision which can never be had without love. This world of time and space and determinism is all right--the world of our companionship with Satan--but then we must step beyond it. We must rise above these categories of intellect and soar into the world of reality on the wings of love. This prospect alone can save us from the ills of the modern world. Love alone is that transmuting force which lifts us above all weaknesses and frailties that are bound up with a mortal being and save us for a higher life of eternal striving and immortality. Without love man is condemned to a life of total despair while with love his life has vast possibilities of evolution even beyond the grave.

عشق شب خونے زدن بر لامکاں
گور را تا دیدہ رفتن از جہاں

Love is to lay ambush against the invisible plane;
To leave the world (i.e., to die) without passing through the grave.

In one of his articles, Iqbal has raised the question whether it is possible for man to reach the divine point of view, i.e., super-intellectual standpoint, whereby he can realise his freedom from the limitations of this universe which confronts him as an independent 'other'. Mystics have developed a method by which they claim to attain this object. It is to escape from the conditions which make the

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movement of intellect possible. But Iqbal rejects this method as totally inadequate. To him it is not possible for man to ignore the world of matter without impairing other important interests of life. Association with the visible, or symbolically speaking, our companionship with Satan, is an indispensable stage in the life of contemplation. This universe, in the words of the Quran, is not *batil* باطل and therefore the power that this companionship places at our disposal has its use: for it thereby prepares us for an insertion into what lies below the surface of the phenomena.

In *Javed Nama*, he pursues this question further. There is a Quranic verse (55:32) where God addresses mankind and says that it is not possible for anyone to pass beyond the limits of this space and time except through what it calls *sultan*.

باز گفتم پیش حق درفتن چساں؟
کوہ و خاک و آب را گفتن چساں؟
گفت اگر "سلطاں" ترا آید بدست
می تواں افلاک را از ہم شکست

Then I asked: How to go before God?
How to tear to pieces the mountain of water and clay?
He said, "If you achieve *sultan* (power),
Even skies can be rent asunder."

This 'sultan' according to Iqbal, can be attained through a "new second birth" as a result of love. With the first birth man came into this four-directional(چارسوئے)world but with this second birth he becomes free from these limits. With his physical birth he became subject to this limitation of space and time but with his second birth he became free from these. What is the birth? It is one mode out of hundreds which life manifests; sometimes it is hidden and sometimes it is manifest; sometimes it develops in seclusion and sometimes in open intercourse. This unity-in-difference, this new birth, is the result

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of first intellectual training and then going beyond it to the all embracing sphere of love. Human reason helps us in breaking the chains of limitation and every hindrance in the way pushes it on step by step towards the ideal. But its movements are halting and so it is doubtful whether it will ever carry us to our object. Then love comes. In a leap it carries us to our destination. All chains fall and man feels that he is not only master of himself, his destiny, his environment, but he is the sole embodiment of all that God wished him to be. He has assimilated even God within himself.

عشق ہم و خاکستر و ہم اخگر است
کار او از دین و دانش برتر است
عشق سلطان است و برہان مبیں
ہر دو عالم عشق را زیر نگیں
چوں خودی را از خدا طالب شود
جملہ عالم مرکب' او راکب شود

Love is straw as well as burning ember,
It is far above conventional religion and reason.
Love is 'sultan' and a clear proof;
Both the worlds are in the grip of love.
When the ego demands of God,
The whole world becomes subject to it.

So long as we are within the sphere of intellect, we live in the world of down and above, here and there. But in love these distinctions vanish. Referring to the Holy Prophet's Ascension, Iqbal says that it proves that it is possible for man to rise above these limitations of intellect.

سبق ملا ہے یہ معراج مصطفے سے مجھے
کہ عالم بشریت کی زد میں ہے گردوں

The Ascension of the Holy Prophet teaches this lesson
That the sky is within the reach of man.

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We only need to revolutionize our intellectual point of view and then not only this mundane world but even what we call the world beyond is within our easy grasp. We become denizens of both world of matter and world of spirit.

از شعور است ایں کہ گوئی نزد و دور
چیست معراج؟ انقلاب اندر شعور
انقلاب اندر شعور از جذب و شوق
وا رہاند جذب و شوق از تحت و فوق

The distinction of 'near' and 'far' are due to intellect.
What is ascension? Revolution in this way of thinking.
This revolution is the result of love,
Which removes the distinction of 'up' and 'down'.

This new, second birth which brings about this revolution is the result of love(جذب وشوق)and it is love that carries us away from the pitfalls and snares of Satan to a glorious death and from death to an immortal life of eternal blessing.

There is a tradition of the Holy Prophet about Satan. Once he said that every man on this earth had to contend against a devil deputed to lead him astray. Someone asked him if there was any devil with him. He replied, "Yes, but I have made my devil a Musalman." This answer very beautifully illustrates the dual character of man's life as well as the way to resolve this conflict. Man cannot run away from it. Satan has been given full liberty to use his machinations against man till the end of earth.[45] If this is the case, then there can be no escape from Satan in a life of renunciation. The Devil lives not in towns, cities and villages but in the heart of man. Run away to unfrequented places and there it will follow you. The only way of ridding oneself of him is through love, which, according to Iqbal, is identical with Islam.

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زندگی را شرع و آئین است عشق
اصل تہذیب است دیں و دین است عشق
(جاوید نامہ صفحہ 129)

Love is the law of life.
The basis of culture is religion and religion is love.

Man and devil must remain together. If you break this 'friendship', you destroy what is potentially good in man. They must be allowed to live together. Faust, before his encounter with Mephisto, is a "writing worm," worthy of contempt, ill-suited for the trials of life, incapable of high creative activity. It was Mephisto who helped him in attaining the highest ideal of life dedicated to the selfless service of man, free, active, vigorous, enjoying an abundance of existence. But this companionship proved fruitful only through the influence of the 'eternal feminine', the force of love. The highest ideal, therefore, both according to Iqbal and Goethe lies neither in renunciation nor in a life of abstract thought, nor in a life of activity but in a life which is a consummation of thought, deed and love. Faust, Mephisto and Gretschen all have a part to play on the stage of this universe and the whole drama of life develops out of the mutual action of the three forces. Iqbal has very beautifully expressed this idea in the following verses of *Javed Nama*:

علم را بر اوج افلاک است رہ
تا ز چشم مہر بر کندد نگہ
چشم او بر واردات کائنات
تا بہ بیند محکمات کائنات
دل اگر بندد بہ حق، پیغمبری است
ور ز حق بیگانہ گردد کافری است
علم را بے سوز دل خوانی شر است
نور او تاریکی بحر و بر است

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قوتش ابلیس را یارے شود
نور' نار از صحبت نارے شود
کشتن ابلیس کارے مشکل است
ز انکہ او گم اندر اعماق دل است
خوشتر آں باشد مسلمانش کنی
کشتہ شمشیر قرآنش کنی
علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں
علم با عشق است از لاہوتیاں
بے محبت علم و حکمت مردہَ
عقل تیرے بر ہدف نا خوردہَ
کور را بینندہ از دیدار کن
بو لہب را حیدر کرار کن
(جاوید نامہ' 82-83)

Scientific knowledge has access to the height of the skies,
So much so that it plucks 'sight' from the eye of the sun.
It observes the fluctuating experiences of the universe,
So that it may establish the fundamental laws of the universe.
If it is allied to the Truth, it becomes holy like prophets,
But if it is cut off from it, it becomes as detestable as unbelief.
Knowledge without the flame of the heart is evil,
Its light spreads gloom everywhere.
Its power becomes allied to *Iblis*,
Divine illumination in the company of fire (of Satan) becomes fire.
To kill *Iblis* is a difficult job,
For he lies deep in the recesses of your heart.
It is better that you make a Musalman of him,
Make him subject to the laws of the Quran.

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Intellect without love is rebellious,
Intellect with love is angelic.
Without love knowledge and wisdom is dead,
Intellect is like an arrow that has not experienced target
Heal the blind by giving the power of 'seeing'.
Transform *Bu Lahab* into brave 'Ali'.

But the age of Enlightenment was the age of reason *par excellence* and was soon to be followed by the age of deed and action which brought with it the maturing of rationalism into materialism. The claims of Love remained unrecognized. In spite of Kant's historic pronouncements with regard to the limits within which human reason works and Schopenhauer's emphasis on the supremacy of Will, the general trend of philosophical speculation in the West remained tied up with the exploits of intellect. Quite unexpectedly in the latter part of the 19th century--the period when materialism reached its highest pinnacle--a thinker of great eminence appeared who, setting his face against the current of the times, chalked out for himself a new path and chartered the sea of Love for the future wayfarer. In Bergson (1859-1942) the so far neglected claim of love found its greatest advocate. To this great French philosopher we owe the recognition of Love as a force of equal importance with reason.

Notes

1. Karl Viëtor, *Goethe the Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 12.
2. Ibid. p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Bertrand Russel, *History of Western Philosophy*, pp. 701-10.
5. Ibid., p. 707.
6. Karl Viëtor, op. cit., p. 308.
7. Ibid., 129.

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8. Introduction to Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

9. Goethe's *Faust*, translated by Anna Swanwick (London, 1915), p. 15, lines 10-11. All references are to this book.

10. Karl Viëtor, op. cit., p. 294.

11. *Faust*, p. 17, lines 102-3.

12. Ibid, p. 24, lines 304-5.

13. Ibid., p. 41, lines 876-89.

14 Ibid., p. 52.

15. Ibid., p. 56, lines 1392-1405.

16. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, pp. 98-9.

17. *Faust*, p. 10, lines 59-60.

18. Ibid., pp. 54-55, lines 1340-3.

19. Karl Viëtor, op. cit., p. 48. See *Faust*, p. 18, lines 116-18.

20. *Faust*, p. 57, lines 1416-21.

21. Ibid., p. 44, lines 990-3.

22. Ibid., p. 45, lines 1019-25.

23. Ibid., p. 44 lines 987-8; p. 11, lines 95, 101.

24. Ibid., p. 10, lines 86-7.

25. Ibid., p. 354, lines 143-6.

Upon this globe of ours
For grand achievement still there's space:
Something astounding shall take place.
For daring toil I feel new powers.

26. Ibid., p. 354, line 150.

27. Ibid., p. 401, lines 534-5.

28. Satan is as titanic as Faust with whom he has to contend. In this contest between two equally great personalities, Satan feels at his best. He feels degraded in the presence of men of lesser calibre. He calls them "dead" and "mice". In the Prologue in Heaven, Mephisto says to the Lord:

I find the dead no acquisition,
And never cared to have them in my keeping,
I much prefer the cheeks where ruddy blood is leaping.

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And when a corpse approaches close my house
I feel just as the cat does with a mouse

Faust lines 7 to 8[1].

In *Javed Nama* Iqbal's *Iblis* similarly expresses the same regret for the generality of mankind has grown so worthless that he no longer feels enjoyment in fighting against them. He prays to God to create another Adam a Faust in fighting against whom he may be able to relish failure

29 Karl Viëtor, op. cit., p. 44. See *Faust* p. 19 lines 151-161.

30 *Faust* p. 222. *West Eastern Divan* p.

"ہر نفس کہ فرد میرود ممد حیات است و چوں بر می آید مفرح ذات۔ پس بر ہر نفس دو نعمت موجود و بر ہر نفس شکر واجب۔"

(شیخ سعدی از گلستان)

31. *Faust*. p. 320.

32 Ibid., p. 10. line 75.

33 Karl Viëtor. op. cit., p. 314

34. *Faust* p. 10. lines 86-7

35 Karl Viëtor. op. cit., p. 122

36. Ibid., p. 326.

37 *Lectures*. pp. 85-6.

38. Cf. *Javed Nama*:

چوں برید آدم از مشت گلے
با دلے، یا آرزوئے در دلے
لذت عصیاں چشیدن کار اوست
غیر خود چیزے ندیدن کار اوست
زانکہ بے عصیاں خودی ناید بدست
تا خودی ناید بدست، آید شکست

(صفحہ 212-13)

39. Karl Viëtor. op. cit., pp. 314-15.

40. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 326.

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41.

42. Goethe also agrees with this point of view. In the *Prologue in Heaven*, Mephisto says to God about man. "He would live a little better had ye not given a glimpse of heavenly light: he calls it reason." *Faust*, p. 9, lines 42-43. *Vide* H. E. Nevinson: *Goethe, Man and Poet*, p. 174.

43. The Quran 15:36.

(In: *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism*. By Bashir Ahmad Dar. Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal 1965, pp. 125-175)

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Syed Abdul Vahid

IQBAL AND GOETHE

Iqbal drew deeply from Western thought and literature. Even before leaving for Europe for purposes of study he sat at the feet of European teachers in Sialkot and Lahore, and studied the works of European writers. In Europe he studied at Cambridge, London and Munich, besides visiting other seats of learning, notably Heidelberg. As we know early in his career he wanted to write a poem on the model of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.[1] While in Europe he studied the German philosophers, notably Nietzsche. Later in his career he admired and studied the French philosopher Bergson. Thus it will be seen that Iqbal was influenced by Western thinkers and writers considerably, and naturally enough, owing to the circumstances prevailing then and the educational system through which he passed. British writers, thinkers and teachers played a great part in the development and unfolding of his genius. But it can be safely said that apart from the Islamic influences, the most important factor which helped the development of Iqbal's genius was German culture-German thought and German literature. He studied deeply all the important German thinkers. We have only to mention Kant, Fichte and Nietzsche. In literature he studied the works of Goethe, Schiller, Heine and others. Even when he was a student in Europe his admiration for Goethe's *Faust* was unbounded. He always used to say that an Oriental mind can grasp the complex and mysterious sections

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of the second part of that immortal work more easily than a Western mind.[2] Hence it will be interesting to trace the points of similarity in the works of these two literary giants--Iqbal and Goethe. Goethe was born on 28th August 1749 and died on 22nd March 1832. Iqbal was born on 9th November 1877 and died on 21st April 1938. Thus the ages of these two geniuses were separated by a gulf of nearly a century. In spite of this wide gulf and difference of cultural and religious background very rarely in the literary history of the world two great poets have displayed such points of similarity in their works.

In the first instance, Iqbal, again and again, expressed in his poetry his unbounded admiration for the transcendent genius of Goethe. As early as 1901 when writing on Ghalib the great poet of Indo-Pakistan, Iqbal wrote:

آہ! تو اجڑی ہوئی دلی میں آرامیدہ ہے
گلشن ویمر میں تیرا ہم نوا خوابیدہ ہے

You are sleeping in the ruined city of Delhi,
Your fellow bard is resting in the garden of Weimar.

(BD, p. 10)

In the Introduction to his *Payam-i-Mashriq*,[3] he wrote about Goethe:

پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی — آں قتیل شیوہ ہائے پہلوی
بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ — داد مشرق را سلامے از فرنگ
در جوابش گفتہ ام پیغام شرق — ماہ تابے ریختم بر شام شرق
او ز افرنگی جواناں مثل برق — شعلہ من از دم پیران شرق
او چمن زادے، چمن پروردۂ — من دمیدم از زمین مردۂ
او چو بلبل در چمن "فردوس گوش" — من بصحرا چوں جرس گرم خروش

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ہر دو دانائے ضمیر کائنات
ہر دو خنجر صبح خند، آئینہ فام
ہر دو گوہر ارجمند و تاب دار
ہر دو از شوخی در تہ قلزم تپید
من بہ آغوش صدف تابم ہنوز

ہر دو پیغام حیات اندر ممات
او برہنہ، من ہنوز اندر نیام
زادۂ دریائے ناپیدا کنار
تا گریبان صدف را بر درید
در ضمیر بحر نایابم ہنوز

The Western sage, the German poet,
A votary of Persian manners,
Wrote about saucy beauties,
Offered salutations to the Orient from the West;
I have replied with the Message of the East,
I have poured moonlight on the evening of the East.
He like lightning--a young man of the West
My fire is from the breath of the old men of the East.
He was born and nurtured in a garden,
I sprung from soil that was arid.
Both knew the secrets of the Universe,
Both gave a message of life to the dying.
Both are like daggers, bright as the mirror and smiling as the dawn.
He is unsheathed, but I am yet in the scabbard,
Both are pearls of great price and lustre,
Born of the shoreless sea.
His insistent urge made him restless in the depths of the ocean.
Till he burst forth from his shell.
While I am still striving in my shell's confines,
Undiscovered yet in the ocean's abyss.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p.2)

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But perhaps the greatest tribute he paid to Goethe is contained in the following lines of a poem styled *Jalal wa Goethe*:

نکتہ دان المنی را در ارم صحبتے افتاد با پیر عجم
شاعرے کو ہمچو آں عالی جناب نیست پیغمبر ولے دارد کتاب
خواند بر دانائے اسرار قدیم قصہ پیمان ابلیس و حکیم
گفت رومی اے سخن را جاں نگار تو ملک صید استی و یزداں شکار
فکر تو در کنج دل خلوت گزید ایں جہان کہنہ را باز آفرید
سوز و ساز جاں بہ پیکر دیدۂ در صدف تعمیر گوہر دیدۂ
ہر کسے از رمز عشق آگاہ نیست ہر کسے شایان ایں درگاہ نیست
"داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است"

The sage from Germany in Paradise
Chanced to meet the sage from *Ajam*.
Poet like that exalted one,
There is not a prophet but has a book.
He narrated before the knower of ancient secrets
The story of the pact between the Devil and the Doctor.
Rumi said: 'O writer of great charm
You hunt the angels and capture the Almighty!
Your thought has found a place in the heart,
You have recreated this ancient world.
You have seen the fire of life in the body,
In a shell you have seen the production of a pearl.
Everybody does not know the secret of love
Everybody is not fit to enter this shrine.
Everybody acquainted with secrets knows
Intellect is from Devil and Love from Adam.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 246)

In the footnote to the above poem Iqbal has remarked about *Faust*:

"In this drama the poet has, while dealing with the legend of the pact between Dr. Faust and Mephistopheles, described the various

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stages in the development of man with such beauty and charm that it is impossible to think of greater artistic effort "[4]

In the history of poetic appreciation it is not often that one finds a great poet saying such glowing tributes to another great poet brought up in a different culture and writing in a different language

Apart from these tributes which Iqbal has paid to Goethe's genius the most significant affinity between these two great poets is noticed in the synthesis of romanticism and classicism that they attained in their art. In order to appreciate the significance of this synthesis in the works of two great artists, working at different times and with fundamental differences in their cultural background, it is necessary to explain how this synthesis was attained by each of them. We shall also have to show some latitude in the interpretation of these terms when applied to Goethe and Iqbal. Our task will not be rendered easier by the fact that the terms Classicism and Romanticism elude definition, in spite of the fact that innumerable attempts at definition have been made. In order to render our task easy the best thing will be to study the fusion of classicism and romanticism in Goethe first and then direct our attention to Iqbal.

Romanticism is a movement in literature which, originating in a revolt against the formalities and conventions of classicism, was characterized in the nineteenth century by concentration on the subjective aspects of life and nature and a free use of imagination. Romanticism assumes two different roles: firstly, there is the romantic attitude of mind, a feature of thinking which can be found in all ages and in most thinkers and literary men, but which is naturally more preponderant in some than in others. Secondly, there is the European Romantic movement, which was primarily a literary movement. This movement swept across the whole of Europe towards the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it had distinctive features in each country.

As is well known the eighteenth century in Europe was

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characterized by rationalism in philosophy. This was mainly a reaction to religious bigotry, and the result of this reaction was that religious dogmas began to be questioned, and reason became the sole standard of judgement. But it was left to Kant and Rousseau to bring down the whole edifice of rationalism, although Kant's position in this revolt was only preparatory. His *Critique of Pure Reason* clearly demonstrated the limitations under which the human intellect worked, and beyond which it was incapable of going. But it was left to Rousseau to give some positive content to this revolt. Rousseau pleaded strongly that emotions, passions, instincts and intuitions should be given a due place along with reason in man's life. In Germany it was East Prussians, Hamann and Herder who led this revolt against rationalism and reason, and became the spokesmen of the new age of sentiment. Herder, like his master Rousseau, stressed the claims of feeling versus intellect, of the individual against society. Herder taught that the essence of poetry lay in 'energy', that it was the gift of nature the mother tongue of human race. These ideas attracted a group of young writers who were to be known as 'Kraftgenies' or 'Stürmer und Dräenger.' During his stay in Strassburg (1770-71) Goethe came in contact with Herder and was greatly influenced by him. He became the leader of the movement and gave it its fullest expression in his early writings which breathed of vigour and revolt. It was amidst these revolutionary times of storm and stress that German romanticism was born, and its leaders at the time, including Goethe, came to be known as "ältere Romantik". Their main work was in the domain of criticism and philosophy rather than in actual literary production. This clearly school stands in contrast to "jüngers Romantik" which put into practice what the "ältere Romantik" had merely theorised about. According to this movement the power of art lay not in conformity to classicist aesthetics and criticism but in a demonstration of the true expression of an independent creative individuality. A world, in which things

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went on as they had always gone on, was replaced by a world of perpetual change in which individual initiative and enterprise were highly prized.

The term Romantic was initially used in different meanings and the Romanticists themselves never differentiated strictly between the various meanings. William Schlegel used in his Berlin lectures the phrase "*Über Schöne Literatur und Kunst*" for the first time as the antithesis to classic. Originally the movement aimed at liberating human personality from the fetters of social convention and social morality, but it was soon realised that this enthusiasm for liberation had to be kept within healthy limits. By the time members of the "ältere Romantik" group had grown into men and women the revolutionary "Storm and Stress" had lost much of its violence, and the leaders of the movement, Goethe and Schiller, had toned down the extreme individualism of their earlier works with a new classical objectivity. All these developments meant only one thing: that Romanticism had to define its position in relation to the new humanistic tendency as well as towards the old "Stürmer and Dränger." In the course of this adjustment on two fronts Goethe and Schiller realised that the best course for them was to keep above schools and parties and this aloofness from all parties and schools took them to classicism and this change became specially marked towards the Classical Age of Weimar. So far as Goethe was concerned it can be said that henceforth the following remarks of Professor Willoughby represented the true state of affairs: "Goethe was at once the embodiment of Classicism and the fountainhead of the Romantic School, and symbolised the reconciliation of both in the marriage of Helena and Faust."[5]

The union of Faust and Helena forms Act III of the Second part of *Faust*. It was the first section of the Second Part to be begun and was the first Act to be completed. It was published in 1827 under the title:

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HELENA

Classical Romantic Phantasmogoria Interlude to Faust

It was under these circumstances that "after a resplendent contribution to the romanticism, dominated by Rousseau and Herder, Goethe drew away from it."[6] It cannot be denied that the greatest works of Goethe are the result of this fusion of romanticism and classicism. It has been rightly remarked that "Goethe, born the greatest master of his language into the age of European romanticism was endowed with a genius too comprehensive to be only romantic; and in consequence we see him in the peculiar historical position of supplying antidotes to romanticism long before others had become aware that it needed them, indeed, whilst they were just discovering its most ecstatic and intellectually exciting modes."[7] Now we have to see how this fusion of romanticism and classicism was achieved by Iqbal. By classicism in Iqbal we mean adherence to traditions of old Urdu and Persian poets. When Iqbal started writing lyric poetry in Sialkot he followed his classical models in diction, imagery and form. He continued to do this in Lahore. His early poems bear the full impress of classicism in this sense. He gave a good deal of time and labour to the mastery of classical traditions, and his attachment to Dagh (1831-1905), a classical poet of great repute, completed his apprenticeship in the old traditions. But during his stay in Lahore, Iqbal came in contact with the poets of the romantic school of Urdu poetry. His studies of English poetry, especially Wordsworth and Shelley, also led him in that direction. The result was that he began writing the poetry of romanticism, the chief characteristics of which are:

1. It is the poetry of nature,
2. It is the poetry of man,
3. It is the poetry of revolt.

But unlike the poetry of English romantics, Iqbal's romantic poetry was never the poetry of simplicity. On the other hand it must be said

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that even when writing romantic poetry Iqbal continued to follow the rules, forms and metres of classical poets. Thus Iqbal attained a fusion of classicism and romanticism which can be said to characterize his poetry throughout his career. The period of pure classicism did not last long. So far as the synthesis of classicism and romanticism is concerned Iqbal and Goethe display great similarity in their literary art, so long as we realise that classicism connotes adherence to different traditions in each case. In their hands literary art attains such transcendental heights, after the attainment of this synthesis, that we are reminded of Professor Willoughby's remarks: "Pure Classicism and pure Romanticism is to be found only in the lesser poets, or among theorists." The genius of Iqbal and Goethe was too comprehensive and too astounding to be only one or the other. But there is one difference in the way the two achieved this synthesis. In the case of Goethe starting with classicism he came under the influence of Herder and became an ardent follower of romanticism, but after a resplendent contribution to the romanticism he drew away from it so much so that he once decried 'romantic' as 'das Kranke.' But later his mind added to its romanticism a more adequate view of reality. The net result of this development was that Goethe's works are full of paradoxes. If we compare his early works with his later ones we find marked contrasts in theme and style; *Wilhelm Meister* seems a direct opposite of *Werther*, *Iphigene* the opposite of Prometheus. Against this Iqbal attained a synthesis very early in his career and continued to retain it. This meant that his works display no paradoxes. Iqbal's thought underwent important changes at different periods of life, especially his attitude towards Beauty and Love and his conception of God. His free use of imagination was considerably affected by the nature of the subject on which he was writing, but it can be safely said that the synthesis of romanticism and classicism characterized his art throughout his career except the early preparatory period.

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We have mentioned above that the main tendency in the literary art of Goethe and Iqbal is the synthesis of classicism and romanticism, and we have also traced how this was achieved, but it will be interesting to trace the effect of this happy synthesis on their poetry. There have been great masters amongst the classicists as well as among the romanticists, but the combination of the two has always served to give art that universal humanism, that wider appeal, that supernatural world-wide humanity, what mellowed maturity, that balance of thought and emotion which are rarely met in writers who belong exclusively to one camp or the other. This synthesis enabled both of them to keep a control over their genius and enabled them to produce poetry of great perfection. Professor Rose has said of Goethe: "Compounded as he was of antitheses, he was yet perhaps the most complex human synthesis mankind has ever produced."[7] These remarks apply to Iqbal with equal aptitude and describe the conditions which enabled him to produce poetry of great and vital perfection. Iqbal has referred to the antitheses in himself in these lines:

ہے عجب مجموعہ اضداد اے اقبال تو
رونق ہنگامہ محفل بھی ہے تنہا بھی ہے
لے کے آیا ہے جہاں میں عادت سیماب تو
تیری بیتابی کے صدقے ہے عجب بیتاب تو

O Iqbal you are a strange bundle of contradictions
Asset to the joviality of an assembly you are still lonely.
You have come to this world with a mercurial temperament,
We love your restlessness but how restless you are!

(*Bang*, p. 128)

The most remarkable and important poetic symbol of this synthesis in Goethe is *Faust*. We find in this drama classical beauty and variety of poetic form along with romantic richness of emotional appeal. The composition of *Faust* occupied Goethe a very long period, from his youth to the end of his long life. In the last letter that

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he wrote to Wilhelm von Humboldt. Goethe informed the latter that the conception of the poem went back over sixty years. It was Goethe's testament to his nation and to the world. In it he describes the relationship of God and man, good and evil and the whole meaning of human life. But apart from the artistic perfection achieved in it by a synthesis of romanticism and classicism the universal appeal of *Faust* lies in the fact that in it Goethe deals with the fundamental problems that face mankind, and above all with the problem of good and evil, and the role played by Satan in the life of man. And it will be interesting to seek affinity between the thought of these two geniuses on this fundamental problem.

Throughout the ages philosophers have given thought to the problem of evil in the world. There is around us death, suffering and ill will. How is it possible for God, who is all-good, to create a world in which there is so much evil. Amongst the early Greek philosophers, Heraclitus, the philosopher of change, believed that good and evil were two notes in a harmony. According to him in the universe harmony results from the combination of opposites, good and evil. While we see only the opposites, good and evil, God sees the harmony, and for Him all things are just and fair. The Sophists introduced a good deal of confusion and chaos in this problem by asserting that each man has the right to determine for himself what is good and what is evil. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle gave this problem a good deal of thought. Socrates asked himself time and again: What is the highest good by which all else in the universe is measured? And his answer was that knowledge is the highest good. Plato thought that the world of sense is unreal, changing, fleeting and so evil, and the world of ideas is the world of good. But according to him man can live a good life even though he remains in a world of changing shadows of the real things so long as reason rules all his actions. According to Aristotle self-realisation is the highest good, the good of all else that is done. The Epicureans made the problem of good and

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evil as the corner-stone of their entire philosophy. For them happiness was the supreme good for all, as it was the goal of all human activity. The Stoics thought that man's highest good lay in acting in harmony with the universe. According to them the good man is one who lives in such a way that he fits into the scheme of nature, obeys its laws and is ruled in all his actions by reason. According to Philo, God was the source of all good and matter the source of all evil. Similarly the mind or soul of man is the seat of good and his body which is regarded as matter is the seat of evil. When the soul is incorporated in the body it suffers a fall from divine purity and perfection and becomes predisposed to evil. Thus the only way for man to overcome evil is to get rid of the body and return to God. The position of Plotinus was very similar.

A definite dualism was accepted by early Christian thinkers to explain the existence of evil.[3] The attitude considerably influenced Mani, who began preaching his new religion about 242 in Western Asia, which was based mostly on Zoroastrianism and Christianity. He started with a dualism of Light and Darkness, and ended in a moral system characterized by an extreme form of renunciation and self-mortification. The realms of Light and Darkness existed eternally apart. When Darkness invaded the realm of Light, Evil made its appearance. The dualism and moral asceticism of Mani had a great appeal to the people of his time, and in spite of persecutions, his religion flourished for over a thousand years. While early Christian thinkers had a great influence on the Manichee creed later on the well-defined dualism of this creed influenced Christendom considerably especially through the person of St. Augustine, who was a follower of this religion before becoming a Christian. For Augustine the goal of all mankind is complete union with God and escape from the world. This union with God is to be attained through love of God. The philosophers of Christian Scholasticism were influenced mostly by Augustine. Like him they were all worried by the paradox: How to

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account for evil in a world created by an all good God? The only explanation was that what appeared as evil was actually a part of the good whole and thus actually good. The greatest of the Scholastics was Thomas Aquinas. He tried to tackle the problem of good and evil by applying the philosophy of Aristotle to the basic principles of Christianity. God made everything, including man, for a purpose, and the realisation of this purpose is the highest good. According to Aquinas the best way to attain goodness is in other-worldliness, in cloistered virtue. For Aquinas evil is a lack of the good. All things created by God aim at goodness; when they fail evil results.

Modern thinkers have given this problem a good deal of thought. Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Schopenhauer, Mill, Bentham and Spencer, and then the Pragmatic School represented by William James and John Dewey, have all tried to discover the meaning of good and evil. There are two thinkers to whom a reference must be made here owing to their relations with Goethe--the pantheist Spinoza who exercised great influence on him, and Schopenhauer who is remarkable for the fact that on most problems his views differ from those of Goethe. Spinoza says: "The nature of things is neither good nor bad, neither well-arranged nor dis-ordered. It has neither beauty nor ugliness, it does not strive to realise our ends, nor fight against them. Sweet tastes and sounds, virtuous conduct and good intentions no more belong to things as they really are than the iniquities of the criminal or the horrors of putrefaction."[8] Thus it will be seen that Spinoza virtually denies the existence of evil. This is contrary to our everyday experience. We cannot shut our eyes to the presence of the evil in the world. Schopenhauer, on the other hand, is fundamentally a pessimist. He recognises the primacy of will, but thinks that the only way of escape from evil lies in total self-negation or *Nirvana*. For Schopenhauer Will is the real thing-in-itself transcending the world of phenomena. The Absolute, according to Schopenhauer, is Will rather than Reason.

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The Absolute is blind, irrational and unmoral. In such a Will there can be no morality, no happiness, no good. The only way of escape from this ever recurring strife and misery lies first and temporarily in aesthetic contemplation, and secondly in killing the will to live. It is obvious that both Iqbal and Goethe disagree with Schopenhauer, for them there is no cloistered virtue, hence a life of ascetic contemplation is out of the question, and they reject escapism by self-extinction or *fana* as unworthy of consideration.

In spite of these thinkers the more fundamental problem as to why a benevolent and beneficent God ever created evil still remains unsolved. As Iqbal says: "How is it, then, possible to reconcile the goodness and omnipotence of God with the immense volume of evil in His creation? The painful problem is really the crux of theism."[9]

According to Goethe evil is the obverse of good, and both form a higher unity. The fact that in *Faust* Mephistopheles is among the Lord's retinue implies that evil is part of God's system. While Goethe realises that error, imperfection and conflict are bound to occur in human life and effort he still believes that human life is inmately good.

Goethe's view of evil was Pelagian, as will be obvious from some of his sayings: "What we call evil is only the reverse of good, which belongs as necessarily to its existence and to the whole as the torrid zone must burn Lapland freeze in order that there may be a temperate region." It will be seen that there are two forces in life--good and evil--which are working in opposite directions and yet ultimately they work in co-operation in carrying out the Divine Purpose. Goethe does not believe in the dualism of Mani or early Christian thinkers, and yet he does not shut his eyes to the evil in the world. It is the action and reaction of good and evil that brings out the best in man.

> In the flood of life, in the storm of work,
> In ebb and flow,

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In warp and weft,
Cradle and grave,
An eternal sea,
A changing patchwork,
A glowing life,
At the whirring loom of Time I weave
The living clothes of the Deity.

Iqbal agrees with Goethe in this view of evil, and as we shall see later on, they both agree with Rumi. "Good and evil, therefore, though opposites, must fall within the same whole. There is no such thing as an isolated fact; for facts are systematic wholes, the elements of which must be understood by mutual reference. Logical judgement separates the elements of a fact only to reveal their interdependence."[1]

Iqbal says in *Payam-i-Mashriq* :

چہ گویَم نکتہ زشت و نکو چیست
زباں لرزد کہ معنی پیچدار است
بروں از شاخ بینی خار و گل را
درون او نہ گل پیدا نہ خار است

How should I describe good and evil?
The problem is so complex that the tongue falters.
Outside the bough you see flower and throne,
Inside it there is neither flower nor thorn.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 54)

In another place Iqbal says:

پرسیدم از بلند نگاہے حیات چیست؟
گفتا مئے کہ تلخ تر او نکو تر است
گفتم کہ شر .فطرت خامش نہادہ اند
گفتا کہ خیر او شناسی ہمیں شر است

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I asked a sage: "What is life?"
He replied: "Wine whose bitterest is the best."
I said: "They have put evil in its raw nature."
He answered: "Its good is in this very evil."

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 54)

In this apparent evil lies the secret of all good: no evil, no good. No life is worth living where there is no evil and no struggle against evil. In the Prologue it is made clear that the world is a constantly growing living process. Raphael declares:

The changing sun, as ever, rivals
The changing of his brother spheres,
And marches round his destined circuit--
A march that thunders in our ears.
His aspect cheers the Hosts of Heaven
Though what his essence none can say;
These inconceivable creations
Keep the high state of their first day.

To this Gabriel says:

And swift, with inconceivable swiftness,
The earth's full splendour rolls around,
Celestial radiance alternating
With a dread night too deep to sound.

And Michael responds:

And storms in rivalry are raging
From sea to land, from land to sea,
In frenzy forge the world girdle
From which no inmost part is free.

The whole of the universe is a constantly growing living process embodying harmony and conscious motivation. The sight of the sun provides consolation for the angelic hosts. In contrast to this

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harmonious measure the inconceivable speed of the Earth, to which Gabriel and Michael draw attention, typifies imperfection, disharmony and strife. Change, incompleteness, light, darkness, violence and storm are characteristics of life on earth. But all this contrariety, all this strife, this constant opposition between good and evil makes moral activity possible.

While the existence of evil is explained as above by both Iqbal and Goethe the nature of the evil can be illustrated only by a reference to the Devil. This has been done by making the Devil the chief agent of evil: Mephistopheles in Goethe and *Iblis* in Iqbal. A comparison of the characters of these two will be found interesting. Removing Satan from the world will mean removing the problem of evil which will mean a dislocation of the Divine Plan. In the history of human thought there are two opposite views about the Devil. According to one view, which is adopted in most of the Scriptures, the Devil is represented as the hideous, conceited creature who was punished by the Almighty for his disobedience, and who started by seducing our parents in the Garden of Eden and is now always tempting man from the path of rectitude mainly to cause pain to the Creator, and to prove that His trust in man was misplaced. But slowly this view underwent a change. Satan, or *Iblis* as Iqbal calls him, was no longer regarded as evil incarnate. He represents an egotist who believes in a philosophy of negation, but at the same time he displays some admirable qualities. His self-confidence, determination, and dynamic energy are remarkable. Along with a spirit of nihilism and conceit his indomitable courage and self-confidence are praiseworthy. It has been remarked that this view of Satan came to be adopted as a result of Manichean and Kabalist literatures. The role of *Iblis* is to excite and create; he can make nothing, but he is involuntarily effective in another way. He wills the evil and creates the good. Goethe describes Mephistopheles in the following words:

A part of that Power

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Which always will evil always procures good.

In Iqbal *Iblis* asks Gabriel the question: Whose blood has imparted colour to man's story?

Thus it will be seen that the role of Satan in the life of man is the same according to Iqbal and Goethe. *Iblis* describes himself in *Javid Namah* in the following lines :

آنچناں بر کار ہا پیچدہ ام
فرصت آدینہ را کم دیدہ ام
در گذشتم از سجود اے بے خبر
ساز کردم ارغنون خیر و شر
تا نصیب از درد آدم دا شتم
قہر را از بہر او گذاشتم
شعلہ ہا از کشت زار من دمید
او ز مجبوری بہ مختاری رسید

I kept myself so busy with works
That I never have the leisure of a holiday.
I forsook obeisance, O unknowing
To set the organ of good and evil.
Because I shared the worry of man,
I did not leave Master's wrath for him.
Flames arose from what I cultivated,
From compulsion he came to attain freedom.

(*Javidnamah*, pp. 158-159)

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In the above lines Iqbal describes the role that *Iblis* plays in the development of man, and Goethe agrees with it.

Unlike those writers who have depicted Satan as inhabiting Hell and planning his nefarious activities to mislead man from there, Goethe describes Mephistopheles in the Prologue as one of the elite of God in Heaven. And Iqbal places him in the planet of Jupiter in company with the great mystic Mansur bin Hallaj and the poet Ghalib, who refused to accept residence in Paradise and preferred to be constantly travelling about the Universe.

It is the dynamic ideal of restless activity that Iqbal's *Iblis* and Goethe's Mephistopheles place before man. In *Faust*, the Lord says:

> Man finds relaxation too attractive,
> Too fond too soon of unconditional rest,
> Which is why I am pleased to give him a companion
> Who lives and thrust and must as devil be active.

In *Bal-i-Jibrail*, *Iblis* says:

> ہے مری جرات سے مشت خاک میں ذوق نمو
> میرے فتنے جامہ خرد و عقل کا تار و پو
> میں کھٹکتا ہوں دل یزداں میں کانٹے کی طرح
> تو فقط اللہ ہو' اللہ ہو' اللہ ہو

> My boldness has imparted the handful of clay yearning for growth,
> My temptations form the warp and woof of reason and intellect.
> In the heart of the Almighty like a pricking thorn I lie;
> You only cry for ever God, oh God, oh God, most high!
>
> (*Bal*, p. 193)

In the Prologue in Heaven Satan is both devil and servant of God; he works evil on men, yet is full of contempt for them and humorously commiserates with himself upon the ease with which he can perform the allotted task:

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Your suns and worlds mean nothing much to me;
How men torment themselves that is all I see.
The little god of the world, one can't reshape him,
He is as strange today as that first day you made him.

Iblis complains to God:

اے خداوند صواب و ناصواب
من شدم از صحبت آدم خراب
این آدم چیست یک مشت خس است
مشت خس را یک شرار از من بس است

O Lord of good and evil,
Man's company has debased me.
What is this man? A handful of straw;
For straw a spark from my fire is sufficient.

(*Javidnamah*, p. 160)

In Goethe Mephistopheles sees to it that man is not affected by earthly inertia for it is only by constantly striving that man can work out his destiny. When striving man no doubt commits aberrations, but these occasional lapses do not condemn him to eternal punishment. So long as man persists in his creative activity the Lord will help him.

Should a man strive with all his best,
Heaven can foil the devil.

In *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iblis, when tempting man, says:

زشت و نکو زادهٔ و هم خداوند تست
لذت کر دار گیر، گام بنه، جوئے کام

Good and evil are the products of your Creator's whims
Take to action, step out, and attain success.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 98)

Mephistopheles uses all his devices, even employs the Spirit of Earth to tempt Faust into accepting conditions not conducive to the fulfilment of the Divine Plan, but in the end Faust is delivered. God's

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faith in man is justified. Faust conquers love unaided, even though it meant his death. Mephistopheles' influence ceases at Faust's death. He has not succeeded in dragging down Faust to his nihilistic level. Similarly Iqbal refers to man's final triumph in *Javid Namah*:

آنکہ خود را بہتر از آدم شمرد
در خم و جامش نہ مے باقی نہ درد
مشت خاک ما بگردوں آشناست
آتش آں بے سر و ساماں کجاست

He who considered himself better than man,
In his pitcher and goblet there is neither wine nor dregs.
This handful of our dust has attained Heaven,
Whilst the fire of that destitute is extinguished.

(*Javidnamah*, p. 155)

Eventually, God's confidence in Faust is justified. Mephistopheles fails to win the bet which he offered in Heaven. The Lord accordingly intervenes, Mephistopheles' influence ceasing, as he had been told, at Faust's death. Faust and Mephistopheles do not meet after Faust's death, and the contract is void. Iqbal says: "Freedom is thus a condition of goodness. But to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose, after considering the relative values of several courses of action open to him, is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves 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. Perhaps such a risk alone makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of a being who was created of the 'goodliest fabric' and then 'brought down to the lowest of the low'. As the Quran says: 'And for trial will We test you with evil and with good."[14] Faust has justified this faith placed in him by the Lord. According to Iqbal "this is the point where faith in the eventual triumph of goodness emerges

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as religious doctrine."[12]

There is a scene in Iqbal which has no counterpart in Goethe. When on the Day of Judgment Adam appears before God, he pleads guilty for, sometimes, straying into the bypaths of sin, but in all humility he submits it was not possible to develop his potentialities without these experiences:

اے کہ ز خورشید تو کوکب جان مستنیر
از دلم افروختنی شمع جہان ضریر
گرچہ فسونش مرا برد ز راہ صواب
از ظلوم در گذر و عذر گناہم پذیر

O Thou whose sun gives light to the star of life,
With my heart thou hast lighted the candle of the blind world
Though his charm has led me away from the right path,
Overlook my mistakes, and accept my excuses.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 100-101)

As the Lord says in the Prologue:

A good man with groping intuitions
Still knows the path that is true and full.

A critic has remarked that according to Goethe: "It almost appears as if the angels in Heaven are less well provided for than mankind with no devil to tempt them."[13] Voicing a similar sentiment Iqbal says:

مزی اندر جہانے کور ذوقے کہ یزداں دارد و شیطاں ندارد

Do not live in a world so ill-designed
That it has a God but no Satan.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 154)

Iqbal even goes further and tells the Almighty:

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مقام بندگی دیگر، مقام عاشقی دیگر
ز نوری سجده خواہی ز خاکی بیش ازاں خواہی

The stage of submissiveness is different from the stage of love.

From Celestial Beings Thou demandst obedience but from Earthly creatures something more.

(*Zabur*, p. 61)

Love plays a great part in the life of man and has always been regarded as a potent factor in the moral and spiritual uplift of mankind. "That which governs all universal life is Love, in the widest sense, not only God's love, but love manifesting itself in earthly form, the earthly being a symbol of the heavenly."[4]

Goethe emphasizes the importance of Love in the following lines:

The changing Essence which ever works and lives
Wall you around with love, serene, secure.

But it actually only in the last scenes of *Faust* that Goethe describes the full power of Love. A soul laden with guilt cannot be received into Heaven until it is cleared from all contact with the evil. There are two stages in this process. The first one is the liberation of Faust's soul from Mephistopheles, who with great confidence steps forward to claim it. The second is its elevation towards Heaven. The angelic choir scatters roses, and their efforts turn even the tomb into a bed of flowers. They have received the roses from famous women sinners now in Heaven. Mephistopheles reproves his host of devils for trying to avoid the descending blossoms and bids them blow and shrivel them with their hot breath. They blow too hard and the roses turn into flames, which roll the devils backwards into Hell, leaving Mephistopheles alone. The light of Heaven is brought to the earth by this initial victory of Love's redeeming power. The angels affirm that truth liberates the soul from evil and that Love joins it with the elect.

The angels now gain possession of Faust's soul and bear it

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heavenwards. The whole of celestial life is in motion as Faust's soul is brought aloft. Heavenly birth takes place as does terrestrial birth, being the result of woman's love, the Eternal Womanly, represented by the Madonna herself. We are drawn towards the love that is incarnate in her. It alone can satisfy and bring redemption. The Penitents gather round her knees in search of grace. St. Mary Magdalene, the Woman of Samaria and St. Mary of Egypt, all of whom sinned and yet loved, intercede on behalf of yet another penitent who was once called Gretschen, and pray that she shall convey Heaven's forgiveness to Faust. Transported with felicity, Gretschen nestles at the knees of the Virgin, for Faust has come to her again. With him beside her, love can now reach its highest fulfilment. At the end of her earthly life, so now again in Heaven, Gretschen intervenes decisively in Faust's destiny. By refusing to leave her prison she had prevented his absolute subjection to the devil's authority, and now her sacrifice is crowned by the joy of guiding him forward to Heaven's central glory. Gretschen begs to be allowed to guide him. Faust is to be guided by the Eternal Womanly. As the Mystic Chorus puts it all earthly endeavour must go forward in the glorious name of heavenly love, which is manifested in the Eternal Womanly, sustaining, comforting, guiding and drawing man ever forward. Thus, taking us to the realm of symbolism and imagery Goethe demonstrated the potency of Love in combating all evil, frustration and destruction. This message of Goethe is not confined to the concluding scenes of *Faust*, many passages could be alluded to in his other poems also, e.g., the *Marienbader Elegie*, *Eins und Alles* and others. But it must be said that, while admitting all that Love means to Goethe, there is no gainsaying the fact that he uses the term in a very restricted sense. While he recognises the redeeming and purifying influence of Love he does not recognise the omnipotent and all-powerful invigorating effect of Love on man. For Iqbal Love is a cosmic force which controls the whole universe, and a factor which

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controls the human destiny. According to Goethe it is only a factor which serves to help man in redeeming himself. Iqbal says:

زندگی را شرع و آئین است عشق
اصل تہذیب است دین و دین است عشق

Love is the code and law for life.
The essence of culture is religion and religion is Love

(*Javidnamah*, p. 129)

It will be seen that neither Iqbal nor Goethe believes in the doctrine of original sin. And both reject the doctrine of vicarious atonement. All that man can attain he must attain by his own efforts. Faust acknowledges, at the close of his career, that the individual life has no real existence except as a part of the whole pattern of humanity. He realises that his life can achieve reality and permanence only if it becomes an integral part in the context of human weal. Iqbal says:

راحت جاں طلبی، راحت جاں چیزے نیست
در غم ہم نفساں اشک راواں چیزے ہست

You seek peace of mind, peace of mind means naught,
To shed tears for the weal of fellow-beings is something.

(*Javidnamah*, p. 49)

Now we have to refer to a great phenomenon in the literary history of the world--*West-Östlicher Divan*. Before dealing with this great work of Goethe we must refer to what is known in Germany as *Weltliteratur*. There is no doubt that Germany has been more favoured than other nations in the possession of good translations from other languages. And this was partly due to the efforts of the Romanticists, with Schlegel at their head, to realise universal poetry. The Romanticists were not content merely with translating only European literary works in the German language they tried to bring East and West together. This laudable ambition is beautifully

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expressed in the second hymn of Novalis, "*Fern im Osten wind es helle.*" Friedrich Schlegel said in *Gespräch über Poesie* (1803): "Im Orient müssen wir das höchste Romantische suchen."

Partly as a result of this great movement and partly as a result of his own restless nature which was always trying new subjects and new forms of poetry Goethe was always attracted by the East. As Karl Viëtor says: "The tradition of the East, to be sure, had always been an effective element in Goethe's spiritual life. From his youth he had an interest in the culture of the Middle East as well as that of Greece and Rome. The Quran he had studied as a young man, and among the dramatic fragments of his early period was one intended to celebrate Muhammad as a religious genius."[14]

This interest in Eastern culture was further stimulated by the translation of Hafiz by the Viennese Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. Goethe read this in the summer of 1814. In the poetry of Hafiz Goethe discovered something which not only attracted him, but also had great affinity with trends in his own creative genius. The result was that Hafiz provided a great stimulus to a great creative effort which resulted in the *Divan*. The *Divan* including *Notes and Discussions* [Noten und Abhandlungen] appeared in 1819. Goethe was then seventy. After his death his two collaborators published some more poems, that Goethe had not included in the original *Divan*, under the title *Aus dem Nachlass*. These are pieces which were written later and also included some compositions which the author had never intended to publish. The *Divan* consists of the following books:

1. *Moganni Nameh*
2. *Hafis Nameh*
3. *Uschk Nameh*
4. *Tefkir Nameh*
5. *Rendsch Nameh*
6. *Hikmet Nameh*
7. *Timur Nameh*

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8. *Suleika Nameh*
9. *Saki Nameh*
10. *Mathal Nameh*
11. *Parsi Nameh*
12. *Chuld Nameh*

Most appropriately the book starts with 'Hejira', which in Muslim history means the departure of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca for Medina. A European writer has remarked about this departure: 'It was no flight into exile and frustration: a man called to greatness sought conditions which would permit him to inaugurate his work. Goethe's flight from the paralysing present is also a *hejira*. The poet of the Christian West, the disciple of Homer, is certain that he too can find God and His works here in the East, 'the land of faith and revelation, prophecies and promises.'[3]

Hafis Nameh and *Suleika Nameh*, the name under which he immortalized his love for Marianne von Willemer, are books of personal confessions in which lyric fervour is dominant. *Schekensbuch* is a glorification of the power of Dionysus, in which the intoxication produced by wine drinking is compared to divine ecstasy. The remaining books are didactic and gnomic, and it is said that they contain some of the ripest fruits of Goethe's philosophy of life.

Goethe has also written *Notes and Discussions*, which serve as an introduction to the history, religion and literature of Eastern people. These notes serve to reveal the poet's life-long interest in the culture and civilisation of the East. The remarkable fact is that although Goethe admired the complete humanity of Kalidasa's drama *Sakuntala*, he was repelled by the many-armed Siva and other figures of Indian mythology. It was mainly the Persian culture, including Zoroastrianism, and the cultures of the Near East that attracted him. "The very meaning of the word Islam--surrender--appealed to the sense of tragic 'renunciation' which had haunted him since his return

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from Italy."[16]

A great Goethe scholar has described the *Divan* in the following terms: "An old man to whom the vigour of his prime was momentarily restored wrote the *Divan*. A man tired by life but not discouraged, a sagacious man, whose deeper insight has not made him skeptical speaks it. Unexpectedly life is restored to him and grants him a last satisfaction. Once more love and the sense of full existence raise him to a state in which devout wisdom and the fire of passion interpenetrate and achieve unique fulness and wholeness. . . . The result is a work of singular abundance and sublimity. Wisdom and piety, the happiness of the senses and of the heart, love and beauty, lordly play of spirit and reverent earnestness are in it combined with an image of perfection."[17] As Iqbal has referred to Heine's opinion about the *Divan*, an extract from it is reproduced here:

"Goethe has put these enchanting and voluptuous customs into poetry, and his verses are so perfect, so harmonious, so tasteful, so soft, that it seems really surprising that he should ever have been able to have brought the German language to this state of suppleness. The charm of the book is inexplicable; it is a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East, composed of the most precious and curious plants: red roses, hortensias like the breast of a spotless maiden, purple digitales like the long finger of a man, fantastically formed ranunculi, and in the midst of all, silent and tastefully concealed, a tuft of German violets. This nosegay signifies that the West is tired of thin and icy-cold spirituality, and seeks warmth in the strong and healthy bosom of the East."[18]

A work of such sublime beauty by a great master challenged Iqbal and evoked a response in him. The *Divan* shows that according to the great Sage the West needed spiritual sustenance from the East and he presented it to the West. This stimulated the creative genius of Iqbal in offering all the spiritual warmth and vigour in his *Payam-i-Mashriq*--Message of the East, to the West. On the cover of *Payam*

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are written the words: "In response to the *Divan* of the German Poet " This is the greatest compliment that one great poet could have paid to another. In the *Divan* Goethe wrote:

Gottes ist der Orient,
Gottes ist der Okzident;
Nord-und südliche Gelände
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hände.

God is of the East possessed,
God is ruler of the West;
North and South alike, each land
Rests within the gentle hand.

On the cover of the *Payam* Iqbal has most appropriately quoted the following verse of the Quran:

"To God belong East and West"

As regards the book itself, Iqbal wrote in the Introduction:

"I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the *Western Divan*. The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities. There is a certain amount of similarity between the East of today and Germany of a hundred years ago. The fact, however, is that the inner turmoil which the nations of the world are going through today, and which we are unable to regard objectively inasmuch as we ourselves are affected by it, is the fore-runner of a social and spiritual revolution of very great magnitude. The Great War of Europe was a catastrophe which has almost wholly destroyed the old world order. Out of the ashes of civilisation and culture nature is now building up a new humanity and a new world for that humanity to live in. We can catch a glimpse of the new world order in the works of Professor Einstein and Bergson. Europe has seen with its own eyes the dreadful consequences of its

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scientific, moral and economic pursuits, and has also heard from Signor Nitti (a former Prime Minister of Italy) the heart-rending story of her decadence. It is a matter for regret, however, that the intelligent but conservative statesmen of Europe have not been able to comprehend the real significance of the revolution that has taken place in the human spirit. From the purely literary point of view, the weakening of the life potentialities of Europe after the painful happenings of the World War, is detrimental to the development of a sound and mature literary ideal. There is, indeed, a danger that the minds of nations may be overpowered by that time-worn and devitalising escapist mentality which cannot differentiate between the thoughts of the head and the feelings of the heart."[19]

It can be said that *Payam-i-Mashriq*, by reason of its breadth of emotional and intellectual appeal and its great wealth and variety of poetic form, has not only earned the right to be placed beside the *Divan*, but in several poems even reminds the reader of the universal content of *Faust*, whose grand theme is also touched by Iqbal in many poems not included in the *Payam*. There is no doubt that the appeal of *Payam-i-Mashriq* is more broad-based than that of *Divan* as its contents cover a wider field.

There is another link between Goethe and Iqbal--Iqbal has translated some of Goethe's poems. It is not very common that a master translates compositions of another master. Translations of masters we have in many languages of the world, but it is not often that the supreme art of the original is reflected in the translation. Iqbal translated *Mahomets Gesang*. Goethe intended this song to be introduced in a dramatic poem entitled *Mahomet*, the plan of which could not be carried out. It was to be sung by Ali towards the end in honour of the Prophet shortly before his death. Iqbal added the following note to the translation:

"This is a free translation of Goethe's poem known as *Mahomets Gesang*. In the poem which was written by Goethe long

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before the *Divan* the poet has beautifully described the Islamic ideal of life. Actually this was supposed to be a fragment from an Islamic drama which the poet could not finish. The translation is intended to illustrate Goethe's point of view."

The imagery, diction, and rhythm of the original as well as the translation are so superb that the temptation to quote them is irresistible:

See the rock born stream!
Like the gleam
Of a star so bright!
Kindly spirits
High above the clouds,
Nourished him while youthful
In the copse between the cliffs,
Young and fresh,
From the clouds he danceth
Down upon the marble rocks;
Then tow'rd heaven
Leaps exulting.[21]

Iqbal says:

بنگر کہ جوئے آب چہ مستانہ می رود
مانند کہکشاں بگریبان مرغزار
در خواب ناز بود بہ گہوارۂ سحاب
وا کرد چشم شوق بہ آغوش کہسار
از سنگریزہ نغمہ کشاید خرام او
سیمائے او چو آئینہ بے رنگ و بے غبار
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود

Look how beautifully the stream runs,
Like gleaming stars in meadowland!
She was asleep in the cradle of clouds,

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Opened the eye in the lap of crags.
Her gliding produces melody from pebbles,
Her forehead is like a mirror without dust and faults.
Towards the ocean how lustily she goes!
Unique in herself, stranger to others she goes.

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 151)

Then both Goethe and Iqbal wrote poems on common subjects. Out of these that on *Huri and the Poet*[22] is the most remarkable.

A remarkable fact is that owing to close affinity in their sensibility Goethe and Iqbal choose to express their sentiments in language which bears words of close resemblance. As for instance when Faust says:

Here stand I, ach, Philosophy
Behind me and Law and Medicine too,
And, to my cost, Theologhy,
All these I have sweated through and through
And now you see me a poor fool
As wise as when I entered school!

Iqbal expresses the same sentiments in the following lines:

دوستان خرم کہ بر منزل رسید آوارۂ
من پریشان جادہ ہائے علم و دانش کردہ طے

Friends are happy that a wanderer has reached the destination,
And I still confused after having acquired all knowledge and learning.

(*Zabur*, p. 69)

Welcoming Man the Spirit of Earth says in Iqbal:

اے پیکر گل کوشش پیہم کی جزا دیکھ

Image of clay! Behold the reward of ceaseless toil.

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Goethe describes a similar exhortation to Man in the following words:

Should a man strive with all his heart,
Heaven can foil the devil

In Goethe the spirit tells Faust:

At the whirring loom of Time I weave
The living clothes of the Deity.

In Iqbal Time says:

من کسوت انسانم پیرہن یزدانم

I provide robes to Man and living clothes to Deity

In addition to these salient points of affinity in their arts, and resemblance in their thoughts, there are several other minor points of resemblance, perhaps, mainly accidental. The most remarkable thing is that both had training as lawyers. While Goethe gave up the profession after giving it a short trial, Iqbal persisted in the profession, though not with any significant success from the professional point of view. While on the threshold of their literary careers, Goethe attained the fame through the lyrics he composed while a student in Leipzig, Iqbal attained fame by lyrics he wrote when he was a student in Sialkot and Lahore.

While Goethe found much to admire in Timur and Napoleon, Iqbal could admire Mussolini. The reasons underlying this admiration were psychologically the same and provide an interesting study.

While noting these points of resemblance and kinship, we cannot close our eyes to certain points of difference also. As a literary artist the genius of Goethe displayed much greater versatility. Iqbal, as a literary artist is mainly a poet and in poetry also he did not try drama. Goethe, on the other hand, tried all possible forms of literary art. He wrote drama in verse and prose, novels, long and short, epic and idyll, librettos, essays and reviews, and all kinds of poetry. While Goethe dealt with the development of man as individual, in Iqbal we find man dealt with in groups as well as individually. While Goethe was a pantheist, Iqbal was a theist.

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In spite of these differences, as remarked above, it is not often in the history of literary art that two masters display such remarkable kinship of genius. This kinship acquires greater significance when we recollect the cultural and religious differences which existed between Goethe and Iqbal. The most significant kinship that these two masters displayed is in the fact that all their lives they worked to synthesize conflicting forces. Both tried to bring East and West together, thereby enriching both spiritually and intellectually. By showing the way to overcome the devil in us both tried to synthesize conflicting forces within an individual, and in the relations of an individual with the outside world. Thus it is in the synthetic genius of their work that they have proved benefactors of mankind. Above all both were seers, not merely literary artists. They both provide spiritual sustenance to man. While Iqbal has expressed his admiration for many poets of East and West, it will be no exaggeration to say that his admiration for two poets--Rumi and Goethe--is unbounded.

Notes

1. *Iqbal Namah*, p. 21.
2. Nazir Niyazi: *Maktubat-i-Iqbal*, (Iqbal Academy, Karachi, 1957), p. 34.

   Note: All translations in this chapter of lines from *Faust* are by Louis MacNeice, as given in his *Goethe's Faust* (Faber & Faber Ltd. London, 1949).
3. First published in 1923.
4. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 246.
5. S. A. Willoughby: *The Romantic Movement in Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 1.
6. William Rose: *Essays on Goethe* (Cassell & Co., 1949), p. 24.
7. Ibid., p. x.
8. H. H. Joachim: *A study of the Ethics of Spinoza*, pp. 169-70.

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9 Iqbal. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. p.

10 Ibid., p. 81.

11 Ibid., p. 81.

12. Ibid., p. 84.

13. Alexander Gillies *Goethe's Faust*. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 195).

14. Ibid., p. 18.

15. Karl Viëtor: *Goethe, The Poet*. (Harvard University Press, 1949). p. 220

16 Ibid., p. 222

17. L. A. Willoughby: *The Romantic Movement in Germany*. (Oxford University Press, 1930). p. 152

18. Karl Viëtor: *Goethe, The Poet*. (Harvard University Press, 1949). p. 230

19. E. A. Browning: *The Poems of Goethe*. (George Bell & Sons, 1881). p. 385.

20. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, pp. k-l.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

22. E. A. Browning: *The Poems of Goethe*. (George Bell & Sons, 1881). p. 166.

23. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 147, and Goethe's *Huri-Dichter* in the *Divan*

Note: Not only are these lines in *Faust* reminiscent of the language used by Iqbal when describing certain situations, there are also lines reminiscent of the language used in the Quran. In fact in some cases lines in *Faust* seem to be a paraphrase of the lines of the Holy Book. In Prologue in Heaven Mephistopheles tells the Lord:

You will lose him yet

Provided you give me permission

To steer him gently the course I set.

In the Quran *Iblis* says:

Then by Thy Power, I will

Put them all in wrong.

In another place, the Lord says in *Faust*:

Very well: you have my full permission

Divest this soul from its primal source

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And carry it, if you can seize it

Down with you upon your course.

In the Quran it is said:

Iblis said: " O my Lord!

Give me then respite.

Till the Day

The dead are raised."

God said "Respite

Is granted thee

Till the Day

Of the Time appointed." (xv : 36)

The Lord says in *Faust*:

Now he may serve me only gropingly

Soon I shall lead him into the light.

In the Quran God says:

As for My servants

No authority shalt thou

Have over them. (xvii:65)

(*Studies in Iqbal*. By Syed Abdul Vahid. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1967. pp. 51-83. Summarized reproduction with some alterations in: *Iqbal. Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*. Edited by Hafeez Malik. New York. London: Columbia University Press. 1971. "Iqbal and Western Poets", pp. 357-369)

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Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali

IQBAL AND GOETHE

The literary and philosophical traditions of the nineteenth century had deep and lasting impact of Goethe's writings. The appeal of his thought was universal and he can undoubtedly be listed among the greatest figures in the world of human thought and letters. He lived at a time when the Romantic movement was at the peak of its popularity in Europe. The Romantic movement was characterised by the substitution of aesthetic for utilitarian standards[1]. The revolt of the individual instinct against social bonds formed the crux of politics, philosophy and sentiments of the Romantics.[2] Their main emphasis was on the role of feelings, emotions, and passions. They strove to emancipate human mind and soul from the bondage of tradition and convention. Their ideas were directed against the practice of conventional behaviour. Their basic contention was that passions unseal energy and power, which are so essential for human progress.[3] This is true to a considerable extent, but an equally important fact is that if these passions and emotions are not restrained they can lead to total destruction. The 'sense of God-like escalation'[4] that a Romantic experience was a temporary one, but ecstasy brought no permanent gain either in energy or power.

Goethe found that the Romantics, in a trance of exciting escalation, had failed to notice the limitations of their movement, which, if unchecked by something morally and spiritually higher,

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could cause abject misery to human life. After this he turned to the classical traditions of the Greeks, where freedom under law was considered to be the guiding principle of life. In his opinion, the beauty of art lies in its conformity to eternal laws. Goethe's philosophy can be summed up by saying that he believes that a synthesis of the ethical culture of Christianity with the aesthetic culture of antiquity, and a super-national world wide humanity as the fruit of this alliance, is the ideal towards which the creative spirit of all nations must strive.[5] In an age where emotions had robbed humanity of its peace and comfort, Goethe brought the soul-relieving message of higher spiritual values, which can repair the damage done by unrestricted pursuit of passions. These ideas adorn most of his poetry and plays.

Human life, according to Goethe, is a play-ground of two major forces. The first force is represented by passions which are not controlled by moral or spiritual values. It is a life of power for the sake of power, which leads to absolute anarchy. Pleasure with complete disregard to consequences is another aspect of this force. Men who are driven by this force have no care for the future and no regrets for the past. The second force is the urge to understand reality through highly imaginative but unrealistic means. There can be considerable learning, prudence and wisdom in this force, but it does not produce any constructive results. It represents the life of a dreamer, who lives in a self-created world of his own. The first force is represented in a character called Egmont characterised in the play of the same name. Egmont thinks that the world is made for his pleasure, and in the rosy radiance of to-day he has no thoughts about yesterday or tomorrow. The second force is symbolised in the character of Tasso, the poet. He lives in the twilight of fantasy and reality. He refuses to compromise with reality, and the result is disaster. Tasso is Goethe's expression of the eternal conflict in human life. If he reconciles himself with reality, he abandons his creativity, whereas if

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he pursues his creativity alone, he misses the social communion which is so essential for the richness and stability of human society. Without creativity, cultures decay, and in a stable and stationary culture creativity is stultified. This is the eternal dilemma of human society. Life for the fulness of its glory requires both action and vision. The unity of these two in the life of an individual is the ideal which Goethe has portrayed in his greatest work *Faust*. The story culminates when Faust signs a pact in blood with the Devil and this, in Goethe's view, signifies the highest individual attainment.

Faust, in the beginning of the play, is shown to be an intellectual with a tremendous amount of learning, but he is ignorant of love, beauty and action. There is great restiveness in his soul, and at the time he meets Mephisto he is extremely despondent. The following lines from *Faust* show his state of mind:

> That we in truth can nothing know,
> That in my heart like fire doth burn
> A wondrous show: but ah! a show alone.
> When shall I grasp thee, infinite nature, where?[7]

At this critical stage Mephisto rescues him from complete annihilation and Faust is converted to a life of pleasure, action and creativity. The last line of the song of Mephisto's attendents sums up the motto of conversion: "Restless activity proves the man."[8]

Iqbal had a very close intellectual and philosophical affinity with Goethe. It appears that even before his visit to Europe, he had read Goethe and realised certain supreme qualities in his thought.[9] In a poem written about the great Urdu poet, Mirza Ghalib, Iqbal expressed great admiration for the German poet. In this poem Iqbal eulogizes Ghalib and then in a verse compares him with Goethe:

> Ah! you lie buried in desolate Delhi while your
> compeer rests in the Garden of Weimar.[10]

As Iqbal moved towards philosophical maturity, his admiration for Goethe increased, and there is ample evidence in his writings to

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show great affinity between the two philosophers. The ideal of dynamic and creative activity is the most absorbing aspect of their thinking. Iqbal's greatest tribute to Goethe appeared in the form of *Payam-i-Mashriq* which was inspired by the latter's book of verses entitled *Western Divan*. Goethe, feeling disgusted with the spiritual and political anarchy of the West, turned towards the East for peace and solace. At this time, German literature was flooded with translations of classical Persian poets like Sa'di, Hafiz and Nizami. In 1812 von Hammer translated *Divan-i-Hafiz* in German which opened new vistas of thought and imagination for Goethe.[11] He was only impressed by the beauty and serenity of Hafiz's poetic genius, and was completely untouched by the mystical implications of his poetry, which were so popular in the East. It was this aspect which created close affinity between Iqbal and Goethe. Iqbal once recapitulated his understanding of Goethe in the following words:

> "During my stay in Germany, I had many an occasion to offer clarifications and explanations of these terms and usages, and this used to leave a deep impression on my German audience. The fact is that Goethe possessed an enormous vision. It was his belief that, if one had not studied and examined the history of the past one thousand years he could not claim to be cultured and refined. How was it possible, therefore, for every German to be familiar with all the usages and allusions that Goethe had culled from Oriental literature! To us these terms are words of daily use. I had no difficulty whatsoever in digesting these sections of *Faust*. The Germans really marvelled at the ease with which I explained these terms."[12]

Both Iqbal and Goethe lived in times of great difficulties for their respective nations. The situation in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century was sad; depressing social and political anarchy had completely disrupted the unity of this society; and Goethe, through his inspiring message, tried to find a way towards some kind

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of salvation. Similarly, Iqbal's genius flowered at a time when the Indian Muslims were passing through one of the most critical periods of their history. They were experiencing the crippling strain resulting from subjection and oppression. Iqbal's message was meant to provide them with material and spiritual comfort and relieve them from despondency which had deprived them of action.[13]

In *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iqbal has sketched a picture of the active life saying that a life of tumult and storm is better than perpetual peace. He regretfully remarks that a spirit of strength and determination is non-existent in the Muslim community. Apart from submission and obsequiousness a Muslim knows nothing. Iqbal beckons every Muslim to rise like a falcon to seek new horizons. To be confined within a nest means death for the falcon. The meaning of eternal life is ceaseless striving.[14] Goethe has also expressed a similar appreciation of restlessness. He advocates constant activity, which is forever seeking satisfaction, but remains eternally dissatisfied. He says:

> To bear the woe of earth and all its joys
> To tussle, struggle, scuffle with its storms
> And not be fearful in the crash of shipwreck.[15]

The closest affinity between Iqbal and Goethe emerged in the exposition of Devil, who, in the opinion of the two thinkers, symbolises one of the most creative forces in the life of man. In his poem *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature) Iqbal has given an eloquent picture of the qualities of the Devil, who has an insatiable urge to conquer environments, and who is constantly striving to establish his supremacy over others.[16] The Devil has enumerated an impressive list of his great achievements in the creation and maintenance of many diverse aspects of the universe. He prides himself on the fact that the blood in the arteries of the universe circulates because of his fire. His spirit pervades the thunderous sweep of wind in the desert, and he provides the requisite harmony

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and coordination to the four elements. He infuses life in everything and in every effort creates something new out of the ashes of the old. The Devil then addresses God and says that the latter created stars, but the force behind their movement was provided by him, and that he is completely aware of the hidden secrets of the Universe. God created man, but the Devil claims that human endeavour is due to him. Finally he charges God with passivity and boasts of his own activity.[17] The Philosophy of Satan revolves around the fact that Satanic incentive is an eminent part of progress and development in human life. The struggle with evil gives maturity and richness to spiritual elements. *Iblis* (Satan), according to Iqbal, is a vital and activating force behind every movement. This attitude of Iqbal is comparable to Goethe's Mephisto, who is a source of dynamic movement in the life of man.

According to a contemporary writer, Goethe and Iqbal have many things in common in their approach to the being of Satan. Moreover, the two thinkers have a close affinity in their outlook on the aims and objects of life. According to Iqbal, ends and purposes, whether in the conscious or sub-conscious of man, always gives a forward look to life. They not only give meaning to the present, but also reveal the future direction of events. Goethe in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit* [Poetry and Truth] has also expressed almost the same opinion.[18]

Iqbal has freely imported Goethean poems into Persian. *Ju-yi-ab* (The stream) and *Hur-o-Shair* (Huri and Poet) in *Payam-i-Mashriq* are versions of Goethean poems.[19] The philosophy and poetic affinity between Iqbal and Goethe has been summed up in the following words:

"Goethe has led him into the inside of things. Perhaps Goethean thought and poetry has influenced him more lastingly than Hegelian or Bergsonian philosophy, and he felt in the German poet a kindred soul of a much larger spiritual breadth. Iqbal was more of a prophetic spirit, Goethe more of a poet, but both went in the same direction,

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working in the hope of winning that immortality which is the privilege of fully developed personalities."

Notes

1. Bertrand Russell, p. 703.
2. Ibid., p. 707.
3. Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Iqbal and Post Kantian Philosophy*, Lahore, 1964, p. 117.
4. Bertrand Russell, op. cit., p. 707.
5. Karl Vietor, *Goethe the Poet*, Harvard, 1949, p. 308.
6. Goethe's *Faust* translated by Anna Swanwick, London, 1919, p. 15.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
8. Goethe's *Faust*, op. cit., p. 56.
9. Syed Nazir Niazi, "Conversation with Iqbal" in *Muhammad Iqbal*, published by Pakistan German Forum, Karachi, 1960, p. 112.
10. *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 10.

آہ! تو اجڑی ہوئی دلی میں آرامیدہ ہے
گلشن ویمر میں تیرا ہم نوا خوابیدہ ہے

11. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 4.
12. Syed Nazir Niazi, in: op. cit., p. 114.
13. Maulvi Abdul Haq, "Sir Mohammad Iqbal," *Indian Review*, vol. 26, 1925, p. 789.
14. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, pp. 98-99.

زندگی سوز و ساز، بہ ز سکون دوام
فاختہ شاہیں شود، از تپش زیر دام
ہیچ نیامد ز تو غیر سجود نیاز
خیز چو سرو بلند، اے بہ عمل نرم گام

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خیز کہ بنمایت مملکت تازۂ
چشم جہاں بیں کشا، بہر تماشا خرام
بازوئے شاہیں کشا، خون تدرواں بریز
مرگ بود باز را، زیستن اندر کنام
تو نہ شناسی ہنوز، شوق بہ میرد ز وصل
چیست حیات دوام؟ سوختن ناتمام

15. *Faust* op. cit., pp. 45-55. (lines 1340-42)
16. Iftikhar Ahmad Siddiqui. "Iqbal ka Nazria-i-Iblis' in: *Falsafa-i-Iqbal* Lahore. 1961. p. 81.
17. *Payam-i-Mashriq*. pp. 97-98

می تپد از سوز من، خون رگ کائنات
من بہ دد صرصرم، من بہ غو تندرم
رابطہ سالمات، ضابطہ امہات
سوزم و سازے دہم، آتش مینا گرم
ساختہ خویش را، در شکنم ریز ریز
تا ز غبار کہن، پیکر نو آورم
پیکر انجم ز تو، گردش انجم زمن
جاں بہ جہاں اندرم، زندگی مضمرم
تو بہ بدن جاں دہی، شور بجاں من دہم
تو بہ سکوں رہ زنی، من بہ تپش رہبرم

18. Annemarie Schimmel: *Gabriel's Wing : A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Mohammad Iqbal*. Leiden. 1963. pp. 313-14.
19. *Payam-i-Mashriq*. pp. 147-51.
20. Annemarie Schimmel. op. cit., p. 333.

(In: *The Political Philosophy of Iqbal*. By Dr. Parveen Shaukat Ali. Lahore: Publishers United 1978. pp. 35-41. Urdu tr., Lahore: n.d., pp. 64-75)

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Syed Vahiduddin

Goethe, Hafiz and Iqbal

A Comparative Study in their Creative Life-Styles

There are many good reasons to consider the life-styles of Goethe, Hafiz and Iqbal in a comparative framework and to explore their perspectives in a phenomenological way allowing each pattern of creative experience unstinted recognition. These great masters of poetic vision belong to different areas of the world and the influences that may have been decisive in the formation of their *Weltanschauung* have been varied. Goethe whom Matthew Arnold described as Europe's 'sagest head' was a man who enjoyed a rich and full life, who could love to the end of his day with the passion of youth. His concerns in life, were equally varied. He could interest himself in Nature at different levels, make a patient study of the plant life, formulate an unorthodox theory of colours and above all delve into the obscure recesses of man's life. He was not a man of science in any professional sense, but fought against the mechanistic concepts of science. Though the soundness of his approach has been questioned and his conclusions have not found favour with the academic spokesmen of science his interest in science could not have been in-vain and well there might be an aspect of Nature only to be seen through a poet's eye and discovered by a poet's genius. He was not also a philosopher in any technical sense nor even such a systematic

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student of philosophical thought as his friend and younger contemporary Schiller was, but he was nonetheless one of the most philosophical of world's great poets. His was a lyrical genius of the first order and as an observer of the human soul he could follow its majestic heights and feel his way through its sinister depths. The two parts of *Faust* reveal totally different dimensions of the poet's experience and the quality of his formative power also undergoes a striking change. What the second part stands for, what its symbolism really means, it is not easy to say, though some of Goethe's deepest insights are embodied in it. The first part is much more subjective; it responds to common understanding more positively. Dr. Faust is a disillusioned scholar who after long and laborious years of study realised to his utter dismay that his search for knowledge has led him nowhere. He is so disenchanted with all that goes in the name of knowledge that curses all that is held in esteem, be it love or hope, faith or patience.[1] Tempted by Mephisto, who is not so much the embodiment of evil as the principle of movement in man and the spirit of denial, he seeks compensation in the pleasures of the world. But peace he does not find. He has to go through sin and suffering to find deliverance and redemption in love. And this is described with a religious pathos and mystic élan in the concluding second part of *Faust*. This all embracing love he finds immanent in the Cosmos and it is only when every thing seems lost and the victory of evil over man seems complete, that it makes its presence effective. And it was this womanly aspect of the Cosmos (das Ewig Weibliche) which came to the rescue of Faust in his last anguish and carried him to everlasting peace and bliss.

The poetry of Hafiz has wielded immense influence wherever Persian is spoken or understood and he is recognised as the greatest lyrical genius of the Persian language. A mystical halo has surrounded his name and he is hailed as the interpreter of the unknown (*Tarjuman al-Ghaib*) and many legends have been woven round his name. People

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have sought mystic significance in his love poetry and where wine *shaji* and love are spoken of in glowing terms they are understood as symbols for love divine. The *Diwan* has even been used as a book of divination and many interesting anecdotes have been accumulated in the course of time. But in all mystical love poetry one cannot ignore the human touch, and a fascinating ambiguity lurks in it. Some of the greatest mystical geniuses have found in human love the basis of the mystic experience. What testimony can be more authentic than that of the great Shaikh, Ibn 'Arabi. "One of the most subtle phenomena of love is that which I experienced in myself. You experience a vehement love, a sympathy, an ardent desire, an emotional agitation so great as to provoke physical weakness, total insomnia, disgust at food, and yet you do not know for whom or by whom. And then by chance an image appears to you in an inner vision. Then this love attaches itself to it. Or else you meet a certain person: at the sight the previously experienced emotion attaches itself to the person (as its object), and you recognize that this person was the object of your love, though you were unaware of it. (Quoted after Henri Corbin, with a slight alteration: *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, p. 329).

That even romantic love may transcend itself and take almost the form of *caritas* is shown in the words of Shakespeare's Juliet:

> My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
> My love as deep; the more I give to thee,
> The more I have, for both are infinite.

When one goes deep into the poetry of Hafiz and allows its influence to work unhindered one finds that the love of which Hafiz sings is two dimensional. It gives expression to man's yearning on two planes which continuously intersect, and one is never sure of the soil on which one happens to stand at the moment. Friedrich Rückert

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who has made remarkable translations of oriental poetry has given a very pointed expression to this feature of Hafiz. "When Hafiz appears to speak only of the supersensible he speaks of the sensible. Does he then speak of the supersensible when he appears to speak of the sensible? His secret is supersensible because his sensible is supersensible." We find ourselves moving between the finite and the infinite and even when one understands the finite as finite it is suddenly transfigured and begins to emit light which seems to come from beyond. Hence Hafiz cannot be understood in a rigid and fixed frame of reference. He cannot be interpreted exclusively either in terms of other worldly Sufism or in terms of Bohemian estheticism. There are of course verses which reveal mystic heights and do not allow us to entertain any doubts as to its mystic origins. The experience speaks for itself and is marked by incontestable authenticity. As for example, when he speaks of the night when he found deliverance from sorrow and tasted of life eternal. Whilst the light of His essence overpowered him he drank deep from His attributes in their reflection:

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند
وندران ظلمت شب آب حیاتم دادند
بیخود از شعشه پرتو ذاتم کردند
باده از جام تجلی صفاتم دادند

No less authentically he sings of the mystic experience when he witnessed the creation of Adam re-enacted before his eyes and he found himself blessed with the company of heavenly hosts in supernal spheres of mystery:

دوش دیدم که ملایک در میخانه زدند — گل آدم بسرشتند و به پیمانه زدند
ساکنان حرم ستر عفاف ملکوت — بامن راه نشین باده مستانه زدند
آسمان بار امانت نتوانست کشید — قرعه فال بنام من دیوانه زدند

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And there are other verses where the human dimension is predominant, where the poet sings of Rukhabad and Musalla, wistfully recalls the joys of the human company, the enchanting beauty of Nature and the love of Shiraz. Again there are verses and they form the major part of the *Diwan*, which allow the interpretation either way. His love does not allow itself to be contained by biological compulsions and persists in old age with as much passion as in youth and refuses to wear itself out in course of time. Years do not make any difference:

پیانہ سرم عشق جوانی بسر افتاد و آن راز کہ در دل بنہفتم بدر افتاد

گرچہ پیرم تو شبی تنگ در آغوشم گیر تا سحر گہ ز کنار تو جوان برخیزم

The vision of Hafiz is permeated by the presence of God and in whatever way man may err he cannot escape the all-embracing mercy of God. Hafiz truthfully echoes the Quranic mood which assures man of His unfailing mercy and indeed the Quran serves Hafiz as an unerring guide. It is true that the poet is deeply conscious of the evanescent character of all that is. Power and glory pass away and man's pride which rests on human power is doomed. But though the world is transitory and all that exists is subject to death and destruction man should let his voice reverberate in the world so long as he lives and make his presence effective in life completely unconcerned with its transitory character:

عاقبت منزل ما وادی خاموشانست حالیہ غلغلہ در گنبد افلاک انداز

The world passes with its joys and sorrows but joys have a place of their own. It is true man even in the short life given to him

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has to pass through anxieties and cares without end, his sky is overcast with clouds. But even when his boat sinks and his friends totally ignorant of what has befallen him, enjoy sound sleep, he is not given to despair. Suddenly the transcendental powers make their presence effective in his consciousness:

بان مشو نومید چون واقف نہ ای ز اسرار غیب
باشد اندر پردہ بازیہای پنہان' غم مخور

صبح امید کہ بد معتکف پردہ غیب گوبرون آی کہ کار شب تار آخر شد

It may be thought that Hafiz does not recognize free will, does not seem to accord freedom اختیار at any place in his scheme of things. And here it is that the contrast with Iqbal seems to be most striking. On the one hand there is a poet who insists on man's uniqueness as self, on his *Khudi*, on his creativity; on the other there is a poet for whom freedom has no metaphysical roots, who seems to speak for total predestination. But their frames of reference are different.[3] Iqbal's poetry is much more determined by his ideology than either of Goethe or Hafiz. The predestination of Hafiz is not so much reflective as a part of his own mystic experience where nothing exists but God, where to say 'I am' is also a grievous sin. Man wins freedom after the sacrifice of his empirical attributes. When he has passed through the state of '*la*' or negation he emerges transfigured in a new light:

از پای تا سرت ہمہ نور خدا شود
در راہ ذوالجلال چو لی پاد سر شوی

The man of God then attains his creative and effective potency when he keeps vigils at night moaning in distress and prays in the morning with eyes filled with tears. He is not a slave of habit, but only by subduing its routine he acquires his mystic status. Hafiz never dissuades us from struggle, but insists on human endeavour perhaps

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because it is no less a part of God's pre eternal decision. Often when Hafiz takes recourse to predestination it is to refute the theologian with his own weapons and when he himself seems to commit himself to a deterministic view it is not that of mechanical determinism or that of Spinoza, but a part of his mystic experience when man becomes more than nature through the sacrifice of his nature

خواب و خورت ز مرتبه عشق دور کرد
آدم ری بدوست که بیخواب و خور شوی

What is it that fascinated Goethe in Hafiz? He wrote in 1815 that with the appearance of the German translation of Hafiz by J. von Hammer-Purgstall he was greatly shaken. He could not go through this experience without active participation and it worked so powerfully on him that he had to flee from his surroundings into an ideal world. Goethe, in order to appreciate the oriental world, found it necessary to breathe its air and to acquaint himself with the peculiarities of the language and the customs of the Islamic Orient. He read some fragments of the Arabic Poetry which were available in translations, and busied himself with the life of the Prophet of Islam. He could not stand the encounter with Hafiz, 'this mighty phenomenon', as he says, without responding to him in verses which were inspired by his own experience. The result was the *Diwan*. Even the cursory perusal of the *Diwan* shows how the German poet had involved himself in the world of the Islamic East. Earlier he had made his acquaintance with the Quran, and inspite of the disadvantages which all translations, and especially the Quranic, are subject to, he had found in it a book which infused in him ever-growing wonder. How much the unique personality of the Prophet of Islam had influenced him is shown in *Muhammed's Song* whose spirit is conveyed in a poem of Iqbal included in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*. Goethe, of course, could appreciate the world of Hafiz primarily in its aesthetic and human relevance. There are also in Goethe's *Divan*

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verses which show the German poet following the path of Hafiz with lyrical light-heartedness.

While Hafiz would fain to give Samarkand and Bukhara for the mole of his beloved, Goethe would present these wonderful cities and even more with equal ease. If this kind of generosity finds little understanding with the Kaiser it is because he has neither a beloved like the Poet's nor is a mendicant like him. Goethe also composed verses which closely follow the Ghazals of Hafiz in intention and spirit. When Hafiz asks the morning breeze to let the beloved know how he loves and pines for his love with grace بلطف Goethe completely assimilates this delicacy of sentiment and asks the West Wind to go post-haste to his beloved and convey his love gently (sanft) taking care to conceal his feelings so as not to make her sad. Now when love becomes realisation for both these great poets and lovers the intimate accents of their experience have a surprising similarity. Goethe here also completely succeeds in making the many splendoured world of Hafiz his own at least in some of its characteristic moments. Goethe was bound to Hafiz in what one might call pre-eternal affinity. Even before his encounter with Hafiz his poems reveal the same delicacy of sentiment and are informed with the same spirit of self-surrender. While Hafiz thinks himself too small to be thought of by the beloved:

من کہ باشم کہ بران خاطر عاطر گذرم لطفہا میکنی ای خاک درت تاج سرم

Goethe characterises love as 'happiness without peace' and runs eagerly to lay himself at her feet. (See Goethe's poems 'Rastlose Liebe' and 'Sehnsucht')

Now when Hafiz sings of love with raptures:

مطرب خوش نوا بگو تازہ بتازہ نو بنو بادہ و نکشا بجو' تازہ بتازہ نو بنو
با صنمی چو لعبتی خوش بنشین بخلوتی بوسہ ستان بکام او' تازہ بتازہ نو بنو

Goethe responds with equal fervour. His beautiful verses celebrate

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love a la Hafiz when kisses are exchanged with kisses, glances with glances and breath is mingled with breath with unabated warmth [4] But to say that he was insensitive to the mystic strain of Hafiz will be far from the truth. Goethe was fully aware of the fact that Hafiz was called 'the mystic tongue' and that his poetic imagery was invested with a symbolic meaning and he was equally aware that all that passes has an allegorical significance and that love itself, especially a woman's love, was capable of being transformed into an ultimate experience. He could give expression to this mystic all-God consciousness in those memorable verses of the *Diwan* which begin with the words, "In thousand Forms, Most Beloved, you can hide yourself and in as many magic veils you can cover yourself and yet as, All Present, I recognize you."

Muhammad Iqbal was greatly conscious of the affiliation with Goethe and his *Payam-i-Mashriq* is in fact composed as reply to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. He found in Goethe's emphasis on personality as the highest bliss of the children of the earth and in his urge for the full unfoldment of his potentialities as well as in his call to die, to live a kindred soul. The emphasis on action and freedom has been characteristic of post-Kantian German Idealism, though the idealistic concept of freedom and action is different from what Iqbal means. In a famous passage Faust feels dissatisfied with the translation of the beginning of Saint John's Gospel and after trying to substitute 'thought' and 'power' for 'Word' he decides that 'act' would more truthfully convey the original intention. Among German philosophers it was Fichte who in the early phase of his thought considered the Ego as ultimately real and the non-ego as posited by the Ego to make the exercise of duties possible. The ego of course here is the Absolute Ego. But the world Iqbal moves in has a different mould and his concept of freedom is not derived from German idealism but from the French philosopher Henri Bergson. The Bergsonian concept of freedom is based on the consciousness of the

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authentic time which is duration (durée) as distinguished from the serial time of physics and mechanics. Bergsonian duration involves the notion of continuity as well as persistence of being and the idea of the non-destructibility of what is past. In fact it is an attempt to reject the idea of a specialised time as a homogenous simultaneity. Iqbal, however, took clue from Bergson but developed his notion of time in his own way incorporating traditions taken from varied sources, Islamic and non-Islamic, and it is a question whether any consistent view of time can be ascribed to him. While philosophically Time as given in consciousness is identified with Reality it figures in his poetical formulation as a magician whose enchanted circle can be broken only by the man of God who has attained realisation, strangely reminiscent of the power of the Vedantic *maya* whose magic show is brought to nought with true knowledge or realisation. *Zervan* as the spirit of space and Time declares that 'he is life, he is death, he is resurrection' and whether it is angel or man he keeps them in his hold. But only he who has a time with God breaks his spell.

لی مع اللہ ہر کرا در دل نشست　　آن جوانمردی طلسم من شکست

Earlier the same prophetic tradition was quoted in support of a different trend of thought showing the marked impact of Bergson with a decisive separation of time from space:

اصل وقت از گردش خورشید نیست　　وقت جاوید است و خور جاوید نیست
وقت را مثل مکان گسترده　　امتیاز دوش و فردا کرده
(اسرار خودی)

His earlier poem *Nawa-i-Waqt*, very moving and beautiful indeed, has a Bergsonian accent as well but goes much beyond the philosopher's intention. Now Time is considered God's robe and Man's cloak and both of them, Man and God, are looked upon as holding one another's secret:

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پنہاں بہ ضمیر من صد عالم رعنا بین
صد لولب غلطان بین، صد گنبد خضرا بین
من ملت انسانم، پیمانہ یزدانم
(پیام مشرق)

This ambiguity, however annoying it may be at the philosophical level, constitutes the peculiar charm of Iqbal's poetry and shows that the poet truthfully gives expression to different phases of his poetic experience unhindered by philosophical scruples:

هستی و نیستی از دیدن و نادیدن من چه زمان و چه مکان شوخی افکار من است
(زبور عجم)

It is not so much on the philosophical as on the level of religious anthropology that Iqbal and Goethe seem to move on parallel lines, though on lines which by their very nature cannot fully meet. The religious symbolism of Satan greatly impressed Iqbal. The figure of *Iblis* in the Islamic context has inspired mystic speculation and in some cases he is even represented as a true monist, as one who refused to prostrate before any one but God. In Rumi, he is represented as the embodiment of discursive intellect whereas Adam is shown to represent love in total submission. *Iblis* questions the divine decision and holds God responsible for his refusal. Adam on the other hand repents and takes the blame on himself without any argument. Hence while *Iblis* is cursed and falls irretrievably the fall of Adam, in the Islamic perspective has not been unmitigated evil. Adam's sin offers new opportunities for development and leaves him the possibility of making good what he has lost. In Iqbal, *Iblis* enjoys a respectable position and though Islamic reference is never lost sight of, the Miltonian profile becomes more prominent. He represents a pride which cannot be subdued and speaks with a sense of righteous indignation and pleads his cause in a way which shows clearly where the sympathy of the poet in fact lies. It is as with Milton's Satan who embodies the spirit of revolt and who would rather rule in Hell than

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serve in heaven. But whether it is Milton, Goethe or Iqbal the force of evil could not assume an absolute character and could not lead to any form of Manichean dualism. Evil cannot ultimately triumph and however victorious it may appear to be in individual skirmishes and battles, the struggle leaves no doubt as to its result and that is the subjugation of evil in the end. Evil is always subordinated to the divine *telos*. Satan appears not so much in his confrontation with God as in his challenge to man, as a force that has made 'man's history colourful through his blood' and who in fact contributes to the glory of God in forcing man to show what is best in him and demonstrate the raison d'être of his existence. Iqbal has retained the Quranic motive when he makes *Iblis* man's indispensable counterpart who fully exploits God's permission to lure him away from the path and who considers even his freedom to act as pre-ordained. It is remarkable that a daring European mystic, Boehme, ventured to place evil within life Divine and to consider it as an abyss which is unfathomable.

Iqbal's poetry reminds man of what he is and what he can be. Man fears God with confidence and even takes pride in his achievements. While God blames man for disturbing the cosmic harmony man takes on himself the credit of creating civilization:

من آنم که از سنگ آئینه سازم　　من آنم که از زهر نوشینه سازم
(پیام مشرق)

But civilization cannot come into being without Nature. Man's creativity is not primary but secondary. Civilization cannot develop out of vacuum. A first creation which is Nature should precede a second creation which is civilization. But this is the spirit of revolt characteristic of the modern man which has found expression in Iqbal and has fascinated the Muslim youth. In Iqbal the spirit of complaint شکوہ speaks more authentically than that of the 'reply' which looks rather like a postscript to silence the critic. Iqbal, Hafiz and

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Rumi of course seem equally disappointed with men they come across. While Iqbal sings with Rumi.

از دیو و د ملولم و انسانم آرزوست

Hafiz wistfully longs for a new man to emerge from a new world:

آدمی خاکی بدین عالم نمی آید بدست
عالمی دیگر بباید ساخت از نو آدمی

We cannot say that either Goethe or Iqbal went through any mystic experience. But Goethe could draw very close to it while Iqbal consciously kept himself at a distance. Hence it is a remarkable fact that Iqbal's 'reply' to Goethe does not imbibe so much of Goethe as the German poet's response tells of Hafiz. Only it is in some of his lyrical exuberance that Iqbal comes very close to Goethe. His charming poem *Huri and Poet* catches the spirit of Goethe's poem which deals with the same theme and which Iqbal held as his model. In other words, there is more of Hafiz in Goethe than there is of Goethe in Iqbal. This is also equally true of the relationship of Iqbal to the great Sufi poet Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. The spirit of Rumi is only partially expressed in Iqbal and most of his characteristic moments are conspicuous by their absence. It is not the ecstatic Rumi of the *Diwan* nor the Sufi master of the *Masnawi* but it is Rumi only in some of his seemingly activistic moments who speaks through Iqbal. If we are not to be misunderstood, we may say that it is rather a Nietzschean interpretation of Rumi which Iqbal offers though of course Nietzsche is also appreciated through Iqbal's own image of Islam.

Iqbal's is a restless soul which cannot remain satisfied with any finite gain. His quest knows no station; his life knows no halt. To live like a man is to live exposed to dangers, inviting new challenges. Even death does not bring about any break in the continuity of the pilgrim's progress. Nay, man is not assured of immortality as his right; he has

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to struggle for it as a candidate and his success will depend on the quality of his effort. Every seed that is sown in the earth need not sprout to a new life. It is not only man who is in search of God but God himself is in search of man. But what is man? Of all the universe it is he whose heart is inflamed with love. It is not the desire خواہش which is characteristic of man but his inextinguishable longing آرزو Desires are subject to needs and move on the same plane; longing is oriented to new spheres of values and ideals which appear in the human horizon only to shift and recede. Man's longing aims at higher and higher ends. This is the reason why God demands from angels only obedience; but from man as the custodian of 'trust' he demands more, he demands love. His love even in its fulfilment is sustained by the ever present threat of separation.

Unlike the physical worlds with their borders demarcated geographically and disputed politically the worlds of spirit, especially as artistic creations, surprisingly meet even when they appear to develop conflicts and decisively separate even when they seem to converge. The sun which rises and sets again and again in Nature, said the great German philosopher Hegel, remains the same but the sun of the spirit is always different. Our experiences of values always assume different accents and even with the same person they may correspond to different orders. God may be approached at different levels and man may be understood in different ways. But whatever language they may speak and whatever words they may choose, what binds our poets and seers together is their sensitivity to beauty and their commitment to truth. It is only because their art was quickened with love and their life was consumed by its anguish, however different the order of their experience might have been, their everlasting presence is sealed on the record of the ever changing world:

ہر گز نمیرد آنکہ دلش زندہ شد بعشق
ثبت است بر جریدہ عالم دوام ما

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NOTES

1. The majestic verses of Ghalib naturally come to mind

بیدلی ہائے تماشا کہ نہ عبرت ہے نہ ذوق
بیکسی ہائے تمنا کہ نہ دنیا ہے نہ دیں
لاف دانش غلط و نفع عبادت معلوم
دردِ یک ساغر غفلت ہے چہ دنیا و چہ دیں

2 Incorporated in Iqbal's Urdu poem on Napoleon

3 Though their existential level were indeed different Iqbal could not resist the pervasive influence of Hafiz. The following verses have found an echo in Iqbal

ازین چمن گل بی خار کس نچید آری
چراغ مصطفوی با شرار ابو لہبی ست
حسن ز بصرہ، بلال از حبش، صہیب از روم
ز خاک مکہ ابوجہل، این چہ بوالعجبی ست

4. Lieb' um Liebe, Stund' um Stunde,
Wort um Wort und Blick um Blick,
Kuss um Kuss vom treusten Munde,
Hauch um Hauch und Glück um Glück.

(Goethe: West-Östlicher Divan)

(In: *Indo-Iranian Studies*. Edited by Fathullah Mujtabai. New Delhi. 1977. pp. 175-186).

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Jan Slomp

THE TRIANGLE: HAFIZ, GOETHE AND IQBAL

The word triangle in the title has been chosen without any moral, ethical or mathematical connotation. It is simply used as a graphic description of the fact that the Persian poet Hafiz (about 1320-1390) influenced Goethe (1749-1832) and Iqbal (1877-1938) respectively whereas Iqbal himself acknowledges that he was inspired in writing his *Payam-i-Mashriq* by the German poet.

On the title page of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's well-known poem *The Message of the East*, 1923,[1] we read besides the quotation from the Holy Qur'an, *'Allahi 'l-mashriqu wal maghribu* ("To God belong East and West': 2:142/136) the following sentence,

در جواب دیوان شاعر المانوی گوئٹے

("In reply to the *Divan* of the German poet Goethe"). In his prose introduction in Urdu to the above-mentioned work Iqbal wrote: "The motivating factor (*muharrik*) to write "*Payam-e-Mashriq*" was the "*Western Divan*" of the German philosopher of life ("*Hakeem-e-Hayat*") Goethe. About him the German Jewish author Heinrich Heine wrote: "This is a confession of esteem which the West has sent to the East. From this *Divan* we receive a testimony of the fact that the West, displeased with its own weak and cold spirituality, seeks for warmth at the bosom of the East."[2]

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One of the first poems of Iqbal in *The Message of the East* has Goethe as its subject. It starts with the words *Pir e maghrib shair-e-almaniya*:

پیر مغرب شاعر المانی آں مغیل شیوہ ہا ے پہلوی

Iqbal says, in the preface, that he would have liked to investigate this Eastern movement in German literature, but sources of such research are not available in this country, Hindustan.

As a Westerner, though not a German, I am taking as my starting point the angle assigned in the triangle to Goethe. A full treatment of the subject from every angle would provide material for a series of lectures if not for a book. Moreover, others more competent than the present speaker could deal with the subject from the angle of Persian literature, as e.g. has been done recently by Dr. J. Ch. Bürgel, Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Bern in Switzerland, in a lecture for the National Institute of Modern Languages on the 26th of October 1971.[3] Because of his completely different approach to the subject it was not necessary for me after hearing and reading Prof. Bürgel's lecture to make any major changes in the presentation which I had already prepared for this evening.

Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel and Mr. S.A. Vahid have dealt with Goethe's influence on Iqbal; so there is no need for me to repeat or summarize what they have said.[4] I feel, however, that it is in the interest of the cultural exchange between Europe and this part of Asia to try to describe how Goethe came in contact with the world of Islam. It is well-known that Goethe worked all his life on *Faust* till its final completion not long before his death. We discover a similar development in Goethe's growing interest in the Eastern, more particular the Islamic world. His ideas matured till they received their final shape in his great poetical cycle : *Der West-Östlicher Divan*.[5] From the appendix to his *Divan* we can partly reconstruct this maturing process. A few recent publications enable me to add

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perspective to Goethe's place both in Western as well as in Eastern literature.

Before embarking on this major enterprise it is essential to describe very briefly the important place, Goethe occupied in European culture, as a background and frame of reference for his contacts with the world of Islam. We know a great deal more about Goethe than we know, for example, about Shakespeare, who hides himself almost completely behind his poems, comedies and dramas.[7] Even Goethe's private life, because several romantic relations had given him the fame of a literary Casanova, inspired authors of books and articles.[8]

Goethe was a universal genius not only German but European. He was one of the first to develop the concept of "world literature". Whether we consult books on literature, philosophy, theology, science, botany, medicine or painting dealing with the latter part of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century, Goethe will be mentioned as a strong intellectual, cultural and spiritual factor. Even in an English Church History one gets an impression of his greatness and importance.

The supreme representative of the late eighteenth century was Goethe. His works clearly reflected many of the tendencies which modified the thought of the period. The amplitude of his mind and the range of his interests made him far more than a leading poet; he was one of the great spokesmen of his time and he helped to fashion the temper of the New Age. His early writings were typical of the *Stürm und Drang* (Tempest and Turmoil) movement, with its sentimentalism, its emotional confusion and its defiance of convention. After his visit to Italy, classical and even pagan elements appeared in his thought. But fundamentally his outlook tended toward a Spinozan view of nature as "the living garment of God", and this combined with a vague faith (derived from Leibniz) in the divine mission of human life.[9]

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Goethe's popularity, however, has fared differently at different times. Sometimes he was *en vogue*, sometimes he was not. When the hero of Somerset Maugham's book, *Of Human Bondage*, Philip Carey visited Germany at the beginning of this century, Goethe was very popular.

It was the period in Germany of Goethe's highest fame. Notwithstanding his rather condescending attitude towards patriotism he had been adopted as the national poet and seemed since the war of seventy (1870 J.S.) to be one of the most significant glories of national unity.

But Goethe is not very popular in Europe these days except with those supranationalists who have rediscovered him as an inspiring example of cosmopolitan humanism. Real greatness is attractive for every generation though through different aspects and for different reasons. The post-war generation has tried to stress the sceptical rather than the optimistic side of Goethe to make him more acceptable; though in his later years Goethe represented more the anti-revolutionary forces of the restoration period than the radical students associated with Karl Sand, who murdered the Weimarian dramatist Kotzebue (who was not on good terms with Goethe). I sometimes wonder whether many young people who cross the Khyber looking for the secrets of the East might not via Goethe's Eastern poetry be directed towards such great poets as Hafiz, Rumi and Iqbal.

How did Goethe come in contact with the Muslim world. Though he never visited any Muslim country and did not know Persian, Turkish, Arabic or Urdu, he travelled in his mind by devouring as many travel accounts as he could collect. Some say that his acquaintance with the pantheistic philosophy of the Dutch-Jewish philosopher Spinoza prepared his mind for mystical poetry. But in the text and Goethe's own *Notes* we do not find justification for this supposition. This philosophy may, however, have influenced his general world view or *Weltanschauung*.[12]

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There are in my opinion three main routes (besides the above-mentioned travel accounts) through which Goethe had access to the world of Islam :

1. Via a positive appreciation of the Holy Bible as an Eastern book and an aversion from the pietistic brand of Christianity he experienced in his close environment.
2. Via his own study of German translations of the Holy *Qur'an* and the life of Muhammad and other oriental works.
3. Via studies of Western orientalists.

I want to make a few remarks about each one of them.

1. The Bible and the Pietistic Environment

Goethe was in his own words *Biblefest* which means that he had a vast and reliable factual knowledge of the contents of the Holy Bible. Such a knowledge does not quality or disqualify one's faith as a Christian; it is purely intellectual. In the *Divan* he compares his own relation to the Holy Bible with Hafiz's knowledge of the Holy *Qur'an*, who, as his name implies, knew the holy book by heart. Goethe was born in an urban but pietistic Lutheran environment. One of the men, who opened his eyes to the poetical beauty of the Psalms and other parts of the Old Testament, was Johann Gottfried Herder, the greatest theologian in Germany in those days. Goethe gives an account of his poetical and historical Bible studies in the explanatory part of his *Divan*. He included material which he had prepared some 25 years earlier. Like any others he was greatly impressed by the story of the Exodus and particularly by the biblical story of Joseph, which is called in Sura 12 of Holy *Qur'an* the best of narratives.[13] Goethe used in his studies methods which would have been labelled "higher criticism" today.

There is, however, also a more negative aspect in Goethe's

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relationship to Christianity which opened his mind for new impressions from outside. Later in his life Goethe developed an aversion to the pietistic brand of Christianity. Pietism had become a tremendous spiritual power in Germany in the 18th century. It was a strong emotional protest against the rationalism of the Enlightenment. This emotionalism we see also reflected in Goethe's *Die Sorrows of Young Werther*.[14] Pietism produced a great Christian hymnology, gave impetus to foreign missions and protested against the class system and the social establishment. It was to some extent a subversive movement in the eyes of those who cherished the *status quo*. Goethe's mother sympathized with the movement. Her piety is characterized by what the O. T. calls "the fear of the Lord" (*Yirat Yahweh*, in German *Ehrfurcht*). The word can be compared in importance with the *sufi* concept of *tawakkul* and *taqwa*.[15] This concept of *Ehrfurcht* received a central place in Goethe's own reflections about religious development in the days when he wrote his *Divan*. Goethe's conception of the Church was outspokenly spiritualistic. This conception was influenced by Arnold and betrays again the impact of the pietistic movement on his thoughts. In the fellowship of pietistic brethren he was captivated by a search for the "real", the "original". His sensitive mind even experienced a religious awakening or revival as we learn from a letter to his friend Langer on the 17 of January 1769. "Mich hat der Heiland endlich erhascht". (The Saviour found me at last). In his after-thoughts when the engagement with Friederike, daughter of Pastor Brion did not take place, we find some deeper insight into Goethe's inner conflicts regarding the Christian faith.[16] He felt that the cage of his milieu had to be opened and had to remain open for the rest of his life. In his *Maximen und Reflektionen*, Goethe declared: "I cannot stand preaching--I probably overrate of it during my youth".[18] The overemphasis on *Jesusfrömmigkeit*, or Jesus piety, and on Christ's suffering in some mystical Moravian circles and their sometimes exaggerated terminology, created an aversion in his

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sensitive mind. Part of his aversion we see reflected in the appendix of his *Divan* where he refers in a poem about a necklace with a cross, to the fact that he does not like this sign.[19] Such poems probably were the reason that the *Divan* was not very well received in Germany and is still one of his lesser-known works.

This religious development away from Christianity was, of course, greatly enhanced by the secular trends and theories of the enlightenment, the renaissance of classicism and Greek humanism. "With ease and comfortableness he makes his own religion," to quote his own words. Part of this "ownmade" religion had a Greek inspiration, for example, when in a correspondence with Graf von Reinhard he defends the sculptors who were shocked by Paul's attack in the temple of Diana of Ephesus.[20] Hardly any Muslim would have difficulty in siding with Paul in this respect. In 1782 he wrote to the theologian Lavater: *Er sei 'ein dezidierter nicht Christ* ("I am decidedly a non-Christian"). A year before his death he called himself in a letter to Boisserée (22.3.1831) a syncretist.[21]

This detachment from the Christian faith, though not from the Christian heritage, made the great poet more and more open for new impressions from outside.

2. Goethe's First Contacts with the Muslim World

Through translations of oriental books, a biography of the Prophet Muhammad by a certain Turpin,[22] and a rather defective German translation of the Holy Book of Islam, he got acquainted with the Muslim World. About the *Qur'an* he writes in his own commentary on the *Divan* "It is, however, *not* religion which keeps us far from understanding that (Persian) poetry. The Unity of God, submission to his will, mediation through a prophet, all these things more or less correspond with our faith and our way of thinking. Our Holy Books, though in a legendary way, form the basis of theirs."[23]

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As a young man Goethe had made a plan to write three dramas, one dealing with Judaism, one with Christianity, one with Islam. The one on Islam was to have the Prophet Muhammad as its protagonist. But he only made an outline and a few poems. The poem *Mahomet* was later included in the *Divan*. In his autobiography entitled *Poetry and Truth* he devotes two pages to this subject. To save time and space I will summarize this very interesting section. A few quotations are, however, essential:

"But as I pursued all observations of this kind to the furthest extremity and looked beyond my own narrow experience to similar cases in history, so there developed within me the plan of representing in the life of Mahomet, whom I have never been able to regard as an impostor, those courses which were so clearly seen by me in actual life, which lead much more to ruin than to salvation. A short time before I had studied with great interest the life of the oriental prophet, so when the thought came to me I was fairly well prepared. The piece begins with a hymn which Muhammad sings alone under the clear sky of night"....

Then Goethe goes on to describe how Muhammad turns away from the concepts of the *Arab Jahiliyyat* and has an experience of God's presence:

"The mind feels it must yet rise above itself: it rises to God the only One, the Eternal, the Absolute, to whom all these splendid but limited creatures owe their existence. I composed this hymn with great warmth of feeling; it is lost, but might easily be restored for the purpose of a cantata, and would recommend itself to the musician by the variety of its expression. But it would be necessary to imagine, as at that time was the intention, the leader of a caravan with his family and a whole tribe, and so for the alteration of the voices and the strength of the choruses provision would be made. After Mahomet has thus converted himself he communicated these feelings and thoughts to his family. His wife and Ali join him unreservedly. In the second

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act he himself endeavours, but Ali more vigorously, to extend this faith in the tribe. Here agreement and opposition show themselves according to the difference of character. The feud begins, the strife becomes violent and Mahomet must fly. In the third act he overcomes his enemies, makes his religion the public one, purifies the *Kaaba* from Idols...."

In the next section Goethe follows the then general Western pattern of describing the career of Muhammad from Prophet to statesman as one of decline rather than as the one being a natural result of the other.[25]

We should remember that in those days the study of comparative religion had not yet reached the conclusion that every religion should be judged by its own standards, in other words, that differences should be taken seriously, e.g., the difference between the Christian understanding of Christ and the Muslim understanding of Muhammad.

Goethe had not set himself an easy task as he acknowledges himself: "All that genius can effect upon a man of character and intellect was to be represented, and how it wins and loses in the process". "Several songs, which were to be inserted, were composed beforehand; all that remains of them is that which stands among my poems under the title *Mahomet's Song*." Instead of making his own drama on the life of Muhammad, Goethe translated Voltaire's *Mahomet* from French into German.[26] On these events in the life of Voltaire and Goethe, Prof. H. Z. Ulken, at Ankara University, gave the following comments in his essay: *Influence of Muslim thought on the West*, which was published in *A History of Muslim Philosophy* (Vol. II, edited by M. M. Sharif under the supervision of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress in 1966):

"This sympathetic attitude towards Islam evoked a strong reaction in Voltaire. He made extremely offensive and insolent statements about Islam and the Prophet of Islam. In his *Mahomet* with

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great sympathy and enthusiasm Goethe describes the power of the new faith exalted against idolatry and the sincere adherence of its believers to it. This work of Goethe is in the nature of an answer to Voltaire's work bearing the same name."

In the footnote Prof. Ilken refers to Goethe's *Mahomet* (French translation sic!) As we saw above, however, Goethe never wrote a drama about Muhammad; consequently it could not exist in a French translation. On the contrary, instead of attacking Voltaire or answering Voltaire, Goethe translated Voltaire's drama into German. As we saw in the first quotation above from his autobiography Goethe wanted to use the biography of Muhammad for a drama to exemplify his own preconceived ideas about the relation between religion and power politics. The least we can say is that Goethe's evaluation of the Prophet of Islam is ambiguous. It is a mixture of great admiration and criticism.

A second observation should be made also. In Voltaire's theatre piece he does not have the intention of attacking Islam but he attacks those who use religion for political ends. Voltaire uses this *disguise* to attack the insider in the person of the outsider. This means the attack was aimed at the Roman Catholic Church and its intolerance, and against Christianity in general because of its close association (at least in France) with the state. In his *East sur les moeurs et l'Esprit des nations*, one can discover that Voltaire, the great promoter of the Enlightenment, found much to commend in the precepts of Islam and that he was an admirer of the *Qur'an*.[28]

A disguise similar to that used by Voltaire and to some extent by Goethe, but the other way round, was used by the Egyptian author Kamil Hussein in his famous book *City of Wrong* (A Friday in Jerusalem).[29] In this philosophical novel he criticises the disciples and the Jews in the case brought against Jesus. But the terminology he uses makes it quite clear that his criticism is at the same time aimed at those Muslims in his home country and abroad who use the concept of

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'ijma' (consensus) wrongly.[30]

In conclusion: we may be glad that Goethe never completed his drama about Muhammad. Every drama, whether dealing with Moses, Jesus or Muhammad is in my opinion bound to become a failure. Not so much because it might tend to hurt the feelings of believers--feelings are a very subjective matter. But the subjects to be treated transcend the very possibility of dramatization. Henri de Bernier's *Mahomet* contains a dramatization of the life of Muhammad. Its performance did not take place because of Turkish protests in 1889. A Muslim in Egypt, Taufiq al-Hakim, tried to do the same in 1936, though his piece was meant to be read rather than to be acted on the stage.[31] He also was not successful. In the Greek heritage that was incorporated into Islam, the dramatic tradition of Athens was not represented. That Goethe did not realize this can be concluded from his surprise expressed in the *Divan* that Persian poetry is mainly lyrical and not dramatical.[32]

3. Goethe and Western Orientalism

Let us turn to the background of the *Western Divan*. The means by which Goethe came in contact with the Arabic and Persian world were not only travel accounts but also Western Orientalism. A few names of Western orientalists should be mentioned in this connection: Sir William Jones (1746-1794), a linguistic genius and judge in the high court in Calcutta;[33] Joseph von Hammer Purgstall,[34] at one time a diplomat in Istanbul, later the founder of a journal *Fundgruben*, in Vienna which preceded the still existing W. Z. K. M. (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*); von Diez, a German; Silvestre de Sacy, a Frenchman, who should not be confused with de Tassy who translated Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Athaar al-Sanaadid* into French;[35] Kosegarten, who helped Goethe with the translation of the titles in the *Divan* such as *Sakinamah*,

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Zuleikhanamah, *Khuldnamah* etc and who edited the Hudahiten *Divan*; and Gustav Stickel (1805-1896) who instigated Goethe's studies of Islamic coins.

The immediate impulse to write the *Divan* came from the German translation by the above-mentioned von Hammer of the Poems of Hafiz in 1814. The Persian text of this book had been made available in print by the Upjohn Press in Calcutta under the supervision of Sir William Jones. Jones himself had tried to translate some of its poems into French verse.[32]

Though Hafiz was the great inspirer of Goethe, other Persian poets should be mentioned also. But Hafiz was no doubt the greatest "Witness the reverence in which he is held not only in Iran but throughout the East and West as the undoubted composer of some of the world's sublime and technically exquisite poetry."[33]

Western orientalists should receive credit for reviving the interest in Hafiz even in Iran itself.[34]

Goethe did not want to translate or imitate Hafiz. He distinguishes in the *Divan* three types of translation.[35] The first type makes us in our own mind and understanding acquainted with the foreign alien world. The best medium which serves this purpose is a literary prose translation. It takes the reader by surprise. Luther's translation of the Bible, according to Goethe, had such an effect. But some poetical beauty is sacrificed in this way. The second type is represented by Wieland's translation of Shakespeare. It is characterized by the appropriation of foreign elements as far as it is convenient. The foreign is made indigenous, i.e., Germanized. The third type is what Goethe tried in the *Divan*. The translation completely substitutes the original, takes its place. The translator, if we still can call him so loses to some extent the originality and identity of his own nation. In other words a universal dimension, world literature, comes into existence. To use a variation of the words of St. Paul, he becomes to the Persians, a Persian and to the Muslims,

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a Muslim. Before getting acquainted with Persian poetry Goethe had read the Mu'allaqat'[4] a selection of the famous pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Goethe's own so called "Arabic poetry", in German form, is found in the appendix of the *Divan*.[41]

The name Hafiz we find very often in the *Divan*, though one of the greater poems addressed to the Persian poet has not been included in the original text of Goethe's *Divan* but has been inserted in a section entitled "the future *Divan*".[42] Did Goethe have plans to make a second volume. If he had, he must have dropped the idea, otherwise he would not have included this poem in the appendix of the present one.

Hafiz has been called by Francesco Gabrieli: "The most brilliant pleiad in the Persian literary firmament". Gabrieli makes the following interesting observation about Persian poets:

"The voice of Islamic Sufism seems far more appealing in the work of the Persians that in the vast ascetic-mystic Arab literature, which is found in the austere sentences of Hasan al-Basri and the obscure qasidas of Ibn al-Farid; all the great minds of the West from Goethe to Hegel who sought to approach this aspect of Muslim spirituality, actually took as their guides not the Arabic ascetics or doctors but the great Persian poets we have just named".[43]

For those who do not know Persian, Arberry and Gertrude Bell have made Hafiz, Rumi and others accessible in beautiful translations.[44]

Muslim Elements in the Western Divan

In my analysis I had the serious handicap that I could not consult studies stored away in German libraries such as carried out by H. H. Schaeder, W. Lentz and Katharina Mommsen.[45] This fact makes my observations vulnerable to criticism, but might also here and there indicate originality, when I, in blessed ignorance, leave the

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path of the exegetical tradition.

The first poem in the first collection *Musāfir* 'The Book of the Singer' is entitled Hegire (i.e., *Hijra* = Muhammad left Mecca because life there had become intolerable and [illegible] Muslims left India in 1947 because they feared the same [illegible] travelled East in his poetry because Europe had become an impossible spiritual climate during the Napoleonic wars.

Nord und West und Süd zersplittern.
Throne bersten Reiche zittern.
Flüchte du, in reinen Osten
Patriarchenluft zu kosten:
Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen
Soll dich Chisers Quell verjüngen."

North and West and South are crumbling
Thrones are falling, empires are shaking
Flee to the peaceful East
To breathe in the patriarchal air
With love, wine and song
Khidr's fountain will rejuvenate thee.

Chiser is of course al-Khadir or Al-Khidr, of *Sura* XVIII *al-Kahf* vss. 60-82, the servant of Moses, who joins him on his journey to the *majma al-bahrain*, the confluence of the two rivers.[4] The poem entitled *Talismane* (a word derived from the Arabic *Tilism*) is also inspired by the Holy *Qur'an* and quoted by Iqbal on the title page of his *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

Gottes ist der Orient!
Gottes ist der Okzident!
Nord und südliches Gelände
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hände.

The next poem could be used by German Muslims as a prayer (*du'a*):

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Er, der einzige Gerechte,
Will für jedermann das Rechte.
Sei, von seinen hundert Namen
Dieser hochgelobet! Amen.

Goethe hopes to refresh the nations as Hafiz did. He expresses in poetical language how Allah gave four special blessings to the Arabs: Turban, Tent, Sword and Song. If he had lived in this century he could have added oil. But the *Moghanninamah* also includes various poems with a Greek theme, i.e., "Dichten ist ein Übermut" (to make poems) is *hubris* (pride). He prefers, like Firdausi, who as Goethe served at a royal court, the dust on the door-step of his beloved rather than the favour of Mahmud the King. This is clearly a reference to the great epic poet, Firdausi, who did not always get a fair treatment from Mahmud Ghaznavi, the idol-breaker. He explains in a beautiful poem, in the form of a dialogue between himself and Hafiz, the name Hafiz, *Korankenner* ("knower of the *Qur'an*"). He said: "I received a beautiful image in my innermost self from our own Holy Book, an image of clear faith, just as Veronica's handkerchief preserved the face of Christ.[48] This verse probably contains a reference in Goethe's renewed interest in Christian antiquities after a visit to the famous cathedral of Cologne. He was concerned about the preservation of old beautiful churches as monuments of culture.

In a following poem he defends Hafiz against those Muslim divines who had accused Hafiz of producing poetry which conflicts with the Holy *Qur'an*. Does this verse perhaps also contain Goethe's own experience in Germany, with those Christians who disapproved of Goethe's increasing alienation from the Christian faith. Those Muslim scholars, we learn, had called the faithful Muslims to their duty and had condemned Hafiz's books to be burned. Goethe wants to share his joy and pain with Hafiz, whom he calls his twin brother. Later, Iqbal would talk in the same way about Goethe and himself,

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being together two matching pearls.[4] Just as in Hafiz's poetry of love, which is no doubt ambiguous, Goethe plays hide and seek in his verses also. He found a defender in the Prince of the Egyptian poets Taha Hussein Bey, whose essay about Goethe was published in 1949 in the UNESCO Memorial Volume, printed to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Goethe's birth. Taha Hussein says:

"Goethe has been reproached for having misunderstood Hafiz, for the wine whose praises are sung by Hafiz is a mystic wine, and the intoxication that it gives is that of the annihilation in the Supreme Being. That Goethe should have turned this mystic wine into ordinary wine has been censured as shocking, even scandalous. But nothing proves to us that all the Bacchic verse of Hafiz and the other Persian poets is purely mystic; and nothing proves that Goethe's naturalism does not carry the secret trace of some mystic."[5]

Goethe compares the lot of the poet with the children's game called "Gänsespiel": the more one moves forward, that is to a vulnerable position, the closer one comes to places one does not want to be in. Usually the most outspoken Muslim confessions and opinions are put by Goethe into the mouth of others: Hafiz, Firdausi, Rumi and even the Prophet Muhammad himself. The latter is introduced to threaten those who endanger the unique position of the Holy Book and who confuse the people by their teaching. We recognize the Muslim theological tradition in the phrase which makes King Timur (1336-1405) say that Allah has made him as cruel as he is, because he had to fulfil his particular destiny. In those poems and in the attack on Timur's despotism in the commentary we recognize Goethe's own attitude towards Napoleon, whom he met once, just as Hafiz once met Timur.[51]

One poem relates the religious custom of putting a needle or a peacock feather in the Holy Book to find guidance in a particular situation. I was told by friends who visited Iran that Hafiz's own poems are consulted sometimes in this "superstitious" way in that

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country. I myself have observed similar "magical rites" used to consult the Bible by some pious but uneducated Christians. Goethe must have been aware of similar practices in Germany.

The *Zuleikhanamah* derives its name from Zuleika,[52] which is, according to some traditions, the name of the wife of Potiphar. But Goethe does not call himself Joseph/Yusuf in this cycle of poems but gives himself the name Hatem, probably derived from one of the pre-Islamic poets Hatem Tai.[53] These poems were inspired by a real love for Marianne von Willemer, the wife of his friend in Heidelberg. I have visited the place where Goethe and Marianne had their walks. Of all women who played a role of importance in Goethe's long life, she was the only one who answered herself in self-made verses. These verses were included in the *Divan*. This secret she revealed many years later, after Goethe had died. She was no doubt a gifted artist and actor. This romance inspired Hans Franck to write his Goethe-novel entitled Marianne.[54] Von Willemer and his wife *together* received the first, as yet unbound, copy of the *Divan*. Marianne's husband was 20 years younger than Goethe who was about 65 during this romance. Several biographers have raised the question whether Goethe was not committing a grave sin, or was acting against his own high principles by interfering in the married life of his friend. Raising the question is answering it. To discharge Goethe from this blame I stressed the fact that Marianne was an actress and that she and her husband *together* received the final product of this close poetical cooperation. The romance was for the old Goethe an "Indian Summer". "Und noch einmal fühlt Hatem, Frühlingshauch und Sommerbrand" (Only once more Hatem feels the air of spring and the heat of the summer). Once more he feels, we might freely translate *ishq* as "passion". In this cycle the poems attributed to Marianne or Zuleikha are in my opinion more spontaneous than the ones made by Goethe. We do, of course, not know to which extent Goethe rephrased Marianne's work. Goethe's own poems in this section show a certain degree of

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virtuosity by rather artificially referring to historical events and using terms derived from the Iranian civilization. Goethe knew already while he was writing that this romance would soon belong to the past.

Eh es Allah nicht gefället
Uns aufs neue zu vereinen
Gibt mir, Sonne, Mond und Welt
Nur Gelegenheit zum Weinen.

The theme in the poem "Wiederfinden" (Rediscovery) seems to me to be unislamic when he says: "Allah does not have to create any more, we create His world".

Several diplomats, one of them Reinhard, a German in the French diplomatic service, helped Goethe to get his material from the East. Several diplomats also played a role in obtaining good manuscripts for Western orientalists. The poem "Geheimschrift" (Chiffre-Code) compares love letters to secret diplomatic mail. Symbols such as mirrors, wine and birds who carry the messages from lover to beloved, which are frequently used in Persian mystical poetry, occur regularly in the *Divan* of Goethe. Instead of talking about 99 names Goethe refers twice to Allah's hundred names. In the *Sakinamah* Goethe shows that he is aware of the discussion about the question whether the Holy *Qur'an* is created or uncreated. In his own commentary he seems to be acquainted with the theory about *Nasikh* and *Mansukh* in the explanation of the Holy *Qur'an*."[55]

Pages 81 and 82 of the poetical cycle show that Taha Hussein was right in claiming for Goethe acquaintedness with mystical wine. Goethe speaks about "the best of wine" which should be used and about "gÖttlichste Betrunkenheit" (divine intoxication). He makes some Muslims say: "We ordinary Muslims have to be sober under the yoke of life. He (the poet) alone, in his holy zeal, would like to be completely out of his mind." De Saki (i.e., the cupbearer) confesses "God's presence in all elements of nature". This is the only "pantheistic" (in Islamic mysticism called the doctrine of unity of

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being, *wahdatu 'l-wujud*) reference I found in the whole book.[56]

It is not possible to mention all the references to Islam in the *Divan*. I only mention the most interesting ones. The stars of heaven and the small letters, the *ayats* of the *Qur'an* both teach God's greatness. The poem about Jesus bringing the Gospel and reading from it to his disciples and returning it to heaven gives the Muslim not the Christian idea of revelation. It reminded me of an English translation of a poem of Goethe in the *Divan*, quoted by the Jewish New Testament scholar in Jerusalem, David Flusser, in his well-known book entitled *Jesus*,[57] (which shows the degree to which the Muslim and Jewish ideas about Christ are similar).

I quote :

Jesus in silence His pure heart
With thought of one sole God did fill
They who Himself to God convert
Do outrage to His holy will.

Quite a surprise is the *Parsinamah* in which Goethe proves to be a real "sunworshipper." Goethe's interest in Persian poetry and in things concerning Iran goes beyond the Islamic way back to the Parsi times. In Parsism, he praises their concern about the pollution of water, air and soil. In other words Goethe gives good guidance for ecologists.

The *Khuldnamah*, i.e., the Book of Paradise (*Khuld* means in Arabic "eternity, paradise") starts with the following sentence: "The real Muslim talks about Paradise as if he had been there already". For somebody reared in the Jewish or Christian tradition the rather detailed knowledge about heaven and paradise in Islamic sources is something unknown. It is well-known how even Dante[58] in his *Divina Commedia* (II Paradiso) received inspiration from Muslim descriptions of the ascension of the Prophet (in Arabic called the *Miradj*[59]). In Paradise Goethe meets four privileged women: Mary, Khadija, Fatima and Zuleikha.[60] The Poet and a *Huri*, like Dante and

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Beatrice, have a conversation about heavenly matters. The *Huri* explains that *Buraq*[61], the horse, used by Muhammad during his nightly journey, had to stay in heavens (cf. *Sura al Isra* 17:1). Other privileged animals share his lot: one is the donkey which Jesus used on entering Jerusalem, which event is celebrated every year one week before Easter, in all Christian churches as Palm Sunday. The second animal is the wolf who was told by Muhammad to stop stealing the sheep of the poor. The third is the dog of the seven sleepers (*Ahl al Kahf*) of Ephesus mentioned in *Sura* 18. Goethe devotes a poem of about three pages to these *Seven Sleepers*.[62] The fourth is Abu Huraira's cat who had been caressed by the Prophet.[63] The dead dog whose teeth were compared by Jesus, according to apocryphal tradition[64], with pearls was not included. He was dead. He is dealt with in a nice poem in the appendix written by Goethe himself.

In the Bible the animal world is also represented in heaven in the apocalyptic literature contained in the last book entitled Revelation. Twenty times animals are mentioned, four animals are around the Throne.[65] In the appendix Goethe also mentions in a poem *Hudhud* as the messenger of love. *Hudhud* occurs as the speaking bird in *Sura al-Namal* (27:20).[66] This quick survey of some Qur'anic and Islamic imagery in the Western *Divan* shows to what extent the old Goethe was able to use a new medium and to create a synthesis of Western and Eastern art.

Reception of the *Divan*

In his correspondence with his above-mentioned diplomatic friend Reinhard, we receive some glimpses of information about the way the book was appreciated. On Christmas eve of 1819 Goethe sent the complete *Divan* to Reinhard with an accompanying letter. Goethe considers the period of his life described in the *Divan* as belonging to the past. He says: These days will never come again. He recommends

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the translations of the *Kabus* by the above-mentioned orientalist von Diez. But also, probably because it is Christmas, he mentions a book about Christian theology by Prof. Kestner entitled *Agape* (i.e., Love) one of the key words in the New Testament, which he was reading. He expressed at the same time, his joy for the fact that Reinhard had sent him a Luther Memorial Medal. In 1817, the third centennial of the Reformation had been celebrated.[67]

Reinhard answers Goethe one month later on the first of February, 1820. He writes that he recommended the *Divan* to a lady, as proof that one could rely on you (Goethe), *believing Muslim as you are* (glaubiger Moslem, wie Sie sind),[68] in spite of the *Sakinamah* (in other words, when you drink too much which is of course meant as a joke). Reinhard adds that Hafiz in the tavern is as much in need of mystical interpretation as Solomon on the Song of Songs. He then goes on to explain how he himself, 40 years previously, had written a thesis about Arabic poetry. His guide was Sir William Jones, "whom you (Goethe) also honour as he deserves". One sees that Reinhard was really excited about the book. The most remarkable sentence in this context is of course Reinhard's calling Goethe: "*Believing Muslim as you are*". One might, trying to make a Muslim out of Goethe, explain this as meaning that Goethe had accepted Islam as his personal religion. I myself consider it only as a strong complimentary remark by Reinhard, that is, that Goethe had obviously been so successful in creating in German the genre of Persian poetry that poetically he had completely become a Persian or a Muslim. Reinhard just used a hyperbolic way of expression. A similar hyperbole is used in my mother tongue, Dutch. When a person wants to stress very strongly his loyalty to the Protestant movement, he may use the rather colloquial but old expression: I would rather be a Turk (Muslim) than a Papist (Roman Catholic).

Goethe no doubt felt affinity with the Muslim world. The ideology of the Enlightenment had many elements not alien to Muslim

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thought, stressing as it did natural, rational religion. To support this view one could quote the opinion of Franz Rosenzweig, a Jewish German philosopher. He wrote to his friend Eugen Rosenstock in 1906: "The pious Turk has more in common with Goethe than with Jews and Christians".[70]

In the *Divan* he identifies himself to such an extent with the Persian mind, that Strich can write: "In the *Divan* he (Goethe) was ostensibly a European travelling in the East in oriental costume and adapting himself to foreign ways while obviously remaining a foreigner."[71] In 1827 Goethe declared to Eckermann: "Tonight I made the remark that the songs of the *Divan* ceased to have any relation to me. Both the passionate and the oriental aspects in it ceased to live on in me. It lays like a sloughed snake skin beside the pathway".[72] In other words he discovered that it had gone from him. But he had succeeded in his purpose. "In Hafiz, Goethe found the wisdom, piety and peace which he thought the West needed. He aimed at cosmopolitanism in German literature and cherished an ideal of "Weltliteratur". The romantic school at that time was completely turning away from classical to oriental themes and thoughts which were naturally more congenial".[73]

In his *Maximen und Reflektionen*, No. 807, Goethe wrote: "We are pantheists when we study nature, polytheists when we poetize, monotheists in our morality".[74]

Conclusion

While describing briefly Goethe's contacts with Islam we have not exhausted our subject. Seen against the wider background of the meeting between East and West and the cross currents of culture, many more interesting aspects of this confrontation, meeting and spiritual intercourse could be unveiled. Tentatively formulating a conclusion of a wider scope, I would endeavour to say that the cases

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of Goethe and Iqbal show once more clearly that great poets and cultures cannot flourish in isolation.

The cases of Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal may corroborate the thesis of the German orientalist, Becker, presented on the 30th of September 1921,[74] that the civilizations of Western Europe and the world of Islam, West of India, belong to the same culture. He mentions as ingredients for this cultural synthesis three aspects:

1. The Ancient Orient,
2. Hellenism,
3. Christianity.

Slightly changing this hypothesis, I would like to add a few observations under each of these three headings.

1. Judaism which took its origin in the Ancient Orient shows in many ways a greater similarity with Islam than any other religion including Christianity. Iqbal has called this common heritage "Semitic concreteness".[75] It is one of Iqbal's merits to have rediscovered access to this vital force of Islam.

2. As compared with the development in the West the influence of Hellenism was balanced in the heart of the Islamic world by the Iranian genius. Hafiz is one of the greatest representatives of this Islamized Persian culture. The poet, Taha Hussein, on the other hand, felt so strongly the influence of Hellenism that he claimed that Egypt belongs to the Mediterranean world and culture.[76]

3. The mutual impact and influence of Christianity and Islam as rival religions needs no elaboration here. Goethe, however, though betraying in all his work a strong Christian influence, was in his *Faust* and his *Divan* a spokesman of that same secular spirit which, in much greater dimension than in the early 19th century, forms a common challenge for Islam and Christianity.

The triangle--Hafiz, Goethe and Iqbal--is a geographical pattern which exemplifies an underlying unity in divergent cultures.

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Notes

1 Sir Muhammad Iqbal. *Payam i Mashriq. Dar Jawab Diwan Nigar i Maghrib Goethe* (Lahore. Sheikh Ghulam Ali Publishers. 1966). The first edition of this book was published in 1923, the twelfth printing in 1966.

2 Iqbal. op. cit., p. [illegible]

3 Iqbal. op. cit., pp. 2 [illegible]

4 J. C. Bürgel. *Goethe und Hafiz* (mimeographed).

5 S.A. Vahid. *Studies in Iqbal* (Lahore. Ashraf. 1967), Chapter III entitled "Iqbal and Goethe". Annemarie Schimmel. *Gabriel's Wing* (Leiden. Brill. 1964), *passim*. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. *Botschaft des Ostens* (Wiesbaden. Harrossowitz. 1963). This book contains a German translation of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and an introduction by Annemarie Schimmel.

6. I used the following editions: J.W. Goethe. *West-Oestlicher Divan*. Vorwort und Erläuterungen von Max Rychner (Zürich. Manasse Verlag. 1963. 600p.; *Der West-Oestliche Divan*. V München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag. 1961. mit einem Nachwort von Fike Middel: pp 555-578 contain. Ruhm und Nachruhm von Goethe's *West-oestlicher Divan*. The pages in this essay refer to von Maltzahn's edition.

7. See P.H. van Moerkerken: *Achter het Mombakkes* (Amsterdam. Van Oorschot. 1950). The author claims that Shakespeare was a pen name of Edward de Vere. His main source seems to be: Abel Lefrance: *Sous le masque de "William Shakespeare"*. (Paris. 1918). 2 tomes.

8. I used for the life of Goethe mainly the following sources: R. Friedenthal *Goethe. Sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: Deutscher Bücherbund. 1963). An English translation of this book was published by Weidenfeld and Nicholson in London in 1963.

E.M. Wilkenson: "Goethe" in: *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*. (Chicago: University Press. 1970). Vol. X pp. 522-529 and the article "German Literature". Vol. X. pp. 266-269.

Horst Hohendorf: *The Life and Times of Goethe* (London: Paul Hamlyn.

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1967).

9. G.R. Gragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason* (Harmondworth: Penguin Books, 1960), p. 255.

10. S. Maugham: *Of Human Bondage* (Harmondworth: Pelican Books, 1968), p. 99. This book was first printed in 1915.

11. *Goethe Homage* 1749-1949 (Paris: UNESCO, 1949 Publication no. 411), p. 179. and Hans Freyer: *Theorie des Gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag Anstalt, 1967). K. Jaspers: *Unsere Zukunft und Goethe*, Zürich: Zollikon, 1948).

12. Cf. F. Strich: *Goethe and World Literature* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 142. "Thus Spinoza prepared Goethe for Islam." On Spinoza and Goethe's pantheism, see the following study by the Spinoza specialist H. G. Hubbeling. *Is the Christian God-conception philosophically inferior?* (Assen, Holland: Van Gorcum, 1963).

Goethe makes reference to Spinoza's influence on him in his autobiography, *Poetry and Truth. From My Own Life* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1949) pp. 591-594: H. Windelband: *A History of Philosophy* (New York: Harper, 1958) Vol. II pp. 597-598. He writes about Goethe's "Poetic Spinozism": see also A. Zweig "Goethe" in: *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (New York: McMillan and Free Press) (III, 362-364).

13. On the Exodus see the study by the Muslim author Kamil Hussein in: *The Muslim World*, Vo. XLIX, No. 1 (Jan. 1959): on Joseph: D. B. Redford: *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970) and H. A. Brongers: *de Jozefsgeschiedenis bij Joden, Christenen en Mohammedanen, Een theologische, historische en literaire studie*, (Wageningen: Veenman, 1962). This book demonstrates on pages 21-23 how the story of Joseph influenced Muslim literature.

14. W.N. Visserman: *Goethe's Werther* (Kampen: Kok, 1959) in the journal *Bezinning*, XIV No. 5 (1959), pp 255-265.

15. B. Reinert: *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), p. 352. T. Izutsu: *God and Man in the Koran. The Semantic of the Koranic* Weltanschauung (Tokyo: Keio University, 1964)

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on *taqwā*, pp. 43-44. Massignon translates *taqwā* by *piete*. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique Musulmane* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1968), p. 149.

16. See for this section: J. Gotting, "Goethe", in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1958), Band II, S. 1668 ff. The article contains a thorough analysis of Goethe's thoughts about Christianity and religion in general. Cf. also J. J. van Oosterzee, *Goethe's Stellung zum Christentum* (Bielefeld: Belhagen und Klasing, 1858).

17. G. C. van Niftrik analyzes Goethe's attitude towards religion starting from his romance and planned engagement with Friederike Brion, a pastor's daughter, in "De geschiedenis van een dominéesdochter", in *De Stadt Gods* (Kampen: Kok, 1965), pp. 89-131. This book contains essays in honour of Dr. G. C. Berkouwer, Professor of systematic theology at the Free University of Amsterdam.

18. Cotta ed., II, 775.

19. Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

20. Goethe und Reinhard; *Briefwechsel in den Jahren* 1807 *bis* 1832 (Wiesbaden: Insel, 1957), p. 199; Gotting, op. cit., p. 1668.

21. Gotting, op. cit., p. 1669.

22. According to Dr. H.Z. Ulken, "Influence of Muslim Thought on the West" in M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1966), Vol. II, p. 1353.

23. Goethe, op. cit., p. 162.

24. Goethe, *Poetry and Truth*, (E.T.), pp. 557-559.

25. Most recent authors in the West do not make a contrast between the Prophet in Mecca and the Statesman in Medina; of C. Snouck Hurgronje writing in 1925: "It is easy to understand why Muhammad before the *hijra* and Muhammad after it has appeared to many an observer as two separate personalities. In fact, it was the completely new task which he had to solve after the migration which made hitherto latent capabilities and traits of character come into the open". C. Snouck Hurgronje: *Selected Works* (Leiden: Brill, 1957) pp. 20-21. For a smiliar opinion see: Tor Andrae,

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Muhammad: *The Man and His Faith* (New York: Harper, 1960), p. 133. This book was first published in 1932. The missionary author W. Freytag still strongly contrasts the two Muhammads: the prophet and the politician Reden und Aufsätze (München: Kaiser, 1961), p. 58.

26. J.W. Goethe: *Poetische Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1953) S. 921-987 "Mahomet: Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzugen nach Voltaire"; Goethe on Muhammad: *Divan*, op. cit., S. 137-140.

27. H.Z. Ulken, op. cit., p. 1353.

28. On Voltaire see: C. Snouck Hurgronje, op. cit., p. 113; Tor Andrae, op cit., pp. 174-175, and G. F. Pijper: *Islam in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), p. 6.33. Norman Daniel discusses Voltaire's relation to Islam twice: *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1960), pp. 288-2911. I quote Daniel: "the fictional plot": "Voltaire maintained his dislike of the Prophet himself": "We may say that Voltaire first thought an attack on Islam useful for the attack on religion generally and later saw the advantages of treating the fact less passionately in order to recommend natural religion at the expense of Christian belief".
Daniel: *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966), pp. 21, 25, 26, 27, 29. "With Voltaire the argument took a more ill-tempered form as unfavourable to Islam as to the Christian Church. An attack on both religions for the same faults was more logical than praise of Islam at the expense of Christianity". Daniel quotes a Roman Catholic historian who wrote in 1828: "Voltaire humbled both the pope and the sultan". He quotes also Napoleon who once remarked about Voltaire: "Il atteint Jesus Christ dans Mahomet" (He tries to get at Christ in the person of Muhammad). We see in Voltaire a mixture of motives and methods of approach. Voltaire and his disciples contributed greatly to the increase of anti-religious literature in Europe. In this context it is relevant to quote a remark by W. Montgomery Watt in: *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1962) while writing about the prospect for Muslim theology: "To make matters worse the traditional suspicion of Christianity among Muslims has led those young students to prefer the

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humanistic and anti religious European writers (p. 175).

29 Kamel Hussein, *City of Wrong: A Friday in Jerusalem* (New York: Scribner's Press, 1959). Translated from the Arabic with an introduction by Kenneth Cragg.

30 Though the word means 'consensus' the idea of the majority rule of the lawyers or catholicity is also implied in it. cf. Snouck, op. cit., p. 55.

31. C.E. Bosworth, "A Dramatization of the Prophet Muhammad's Life: Henri de Bermers's Mahomet" in *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). Vol. XVII, pp. 105-118.

32 Goethe, op. cit., p. 181.

33 See about Sir William Jones, Garland Cannon (ed.): *The Letters of Sir William Jones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). Vol. I, 452 pp., Vol. II, 47[illegible] pp. and Garland Cannon, "Sir William Jones's Indian Studies" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 91 No. 3, July-Sept. 1971, pp. 418-426.

34. See about all these orientalists in Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig: Otto Harrossowitz, 1955).

35. J.M.S. Baljon: *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Lahore: Ashraf, 1964), p. 7.

36 For the text see A.J. Arberry: *Classical Persian Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 337.

37. G.M. Wickens "Hafiz" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1965). New Edition, Vol. III, p. 56.

38. Wickens, op. cit., p. 57 and Arberry, op. cit., pp. 333 ff. The work of the Western orientalists preceded the rebirth of serious Hafiz scholarship in Iran proper.

39. Goethe, op. cit., p. 243.

40. A.J. Arberry: *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957) containing an introduction and translation of the *Mu'allaqat*.

41. Goethe, op. cit., p. 124.

42. Goethe, op. cit., p. 188.

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43. Fr. Gabrieli. "Literary Tendencies" in G.E. von Grunebaum: *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization* (Chicago: University Press. 1955). p. 100.

44. Gertrude L. Bell: *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (London: Heinemann. 1928). A. J. Arberry. *Hafiz: Fifty Poems* (Cambridge: University Perss. 1947).

45. Mentioned by J. C. Bürgel. op. cit., p. 2: see also the studies mentioned by Max Rychner in his edition of the *Divan* (see note 5) by Wurm. Schaeder. Korff. Hugo von Hoffmannsthal. et al.

46. Translation of "North and West and South are Crumbling" quoted from Mumtaz Hasan. "Goethe and the East" in: *Islamic Literature* Vol. XV No. 1. pp. 51-54. G.M. Wickens. op. cit., p. 529. mentions an English translation of the *Divan* by Edward Dowden in 1914. *The West-Eastern Divan*. which I was not able to trace. Translations in this essay are my own unless otherwise indicated.

47. A.J. Wensinck. "al-Khadir" in: H.A.R. Gibb and J.H.Kramers: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill. 1961). pp. 232-235.

48. See H. Paulus "Veronika" in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Mohr. 1962). Band VI. S. 1366.

49. Iqbal. op. cit., p. 3.

50. Taha Hussein. "Goethe and the East": in *Goethe. UNESCO's* homage on the occassion of the 200th anniversary of his birth (Paris: UNESCO. 1949). pp. 165-179.

51. For the historical background of the literary activities in that period see: Cark Brockelmann: *History of the Islamic Peoples* (New York: Capricorn Books. 1960). p. 254: for "Timur". *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*. s.v.: see note 7 above.

52. B. Heller. "Yusuf B. Ya'kub" in: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. p. 647.

53. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition. s.v. "Hatem."

54. Hans Franck. *Marianne* (Berlin. Darmstadt: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft. 1956). p. 398. For other studies on Marianne and Goethe see *Goethe*. Max Rychner ed., p. 577 and van Niftrik. op. cit., p. 113. note 64.

55. A. Jeffery: *Islam. Muhammad and His Religion* (New York: Bobbs Merrill.

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1958), pp. 66-68, who gives a literal translation of Ibn Salama *Kitab an-Nasikh wa'l Mansukh* (Cairo 1315 A.H. 1897 A.D.), pp. 4-150.

56 See about this doctrine R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge Univ. Press 1967), p. 82 and M.M. Sharif, ed., *A History of Muslim Philosophy* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), I, 400; II, 1574.

57 David Flusser, *Jesus* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), p. 153; Gotting, op. cit., S. 167-4.

58 Asin Palacios, *La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919; E.T. *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, translated and abridged by H. Sutherland (London, 1968), XI, 295 pp.

59 Cf. G. Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God and His Ascension* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1955).

60 For a different list see, M. Hayek, *Le Christ de l'Islam* (Paris: du Seuil, 1958), p. 77.

61. B. Carra de Vaux, "Burak", S.E.I., s.v.

62. Y. Moubarac, "Le Culte liturgique et populaire des VII Dormants martyrs d'Ephese (Ahl al Kahf)", Trait d'union Orient-Occident entre l'Islam et al Chretiente" in: *Islam*, (*Studia Missionalia*, no. 11, Roma: Pontifical University, 1961), pp. 138-193.

63. The name means "the father of the little cat", see I. Goldziher, "Abu Haraira", S.E.I., p. 10.

64. By "apocryphal tradition" is meant the so-called Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations. Translations of these spurious writings can be found in: A. Roberts and J. Donaldson: *The Anti-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), Vol. VIII.

65. Revelation 4:6.

66. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, s.v.

67. Goethe und Reinhard, op. cit., p. 235.

68. Goethe und Reinhard, op. cit., p. 235. Dr. Julia Gauss, Basel, drew my attention to this book and this place.

69. Eugen Rosenstock, *Briefe* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 716, 718.

70. F. Strich, op. cit., p. 151.

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71. *Diwan*. Rychner edition, p. 582.

72. P.K. Hitti: *Islam and the West* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1962), p. 60.

73. *Goethe's Poetische Werke*. Vollständige Ausgabe. Zweiter Band: *West-oestliche Divan, Epen, Maximen and Reflexionen* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1950), S. 780, No. 807.

74. C.H. Becker: *Islamstudien: Vom Werden und Wesender islamischen Welt* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), Vol. I, p. 28.

75. Sir Muhammad Iqbal: *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Ashraf, 1960), p. 131.

76. Referred to by Kenneth Cragg: *The Call of the Minaret* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 190.

(In: *Main Currents of Contemporary Thought in Pakistan*. Edited by Hakim Mohammad Said. Vol. II, Karachi: Hamdard Academy, 1973, pp. 388-414)

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Abdullah Yusuf Ali

GOETHE'S ORIENTALISM

(A paper read before the English Goethe Society in London, on 26th April, 1906, and published in the Contemporary Review of August, 1906.)

"We have been accustomed for a long time to direct our regards westward and expect light only from that quarter; but the earth stretches far towards the East." Goethe, in a letter to Lüders in 1813, expounded his attitude towards the politics of his time. By the change of a single word, one of his sentences, that quoted above, also expresses his attitude towards Orientalism. The common notion is that Goethe wrote the *Western-Eastern Divan* as a *tour de force*, that his admiration for Hafiz and Sa'di was merely an old man's caprice. To support this idea, Goethe's playful allusion to the subject in a letter to the musician Zelter is put forward. The Colossus of German literature, approaching the patriarchal age limit of three score years and ten, thus delivers himself in his light inimitable vein:-

"This Mohammedan religion, mythology, and manners allow to poetry a scope which suits my years. Unconditional submission to the immutable will of God, cheerful survey of the mobile affairs of Earth which are ever returning spirally upon themselves, love and inclination concillating between two worlds, all the real now clarified, now dissolving into symbols--what needs the Grandfather more?[2]"

This is banter against himself in a private letter. What says

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the poet *ex cathedra?* Addressing Hafiz he says:

"In thy song the light, swift fancies
Move in gentle flow
But anon a fire-wave prances;
Swallows me its glow."

Elsewhere he speaks of the "fresh air of the East," the people in morning-land as living "at the very source of being," among whom "doubts were few and broad was truth." Thus the poet took up the East as more than a mere vesture from unknown lands to clothe his thoughts with greater freedom. His Orientalism assumes its most marked outward manifestation, though it fails to reach its highest spirit, in the *Western-Eastern Divan*. But the spirit and core of it ran as a fibre through his being and affected his life, thought and poetry in many ways independently of his *Divan*, and long before he became acquainted with von Hammer's Hafiz on the day of the victory of Waterloo. Indeed, we can trace this vein of Orientalism through all the influences which went to the making of Goethe--through all the rough block of marble from which was sculptured his matchless figure that personifies so much in the world's literature.

The finest fruit of the genius of the German people is Goethe. This is not a point that anyone will controvert. The German language, German art, German theology, German strategy, German education, German industry, German music, and German philosophy will all have their detractors and defenders. But Goethe stands in the serene regions above prejudices and above differences of opinion. He is not the heritage of Germany only. Like our Shakespeare, he is the heritage of the world. And yet in attaining this airy height he used as stepping-stones his German language and the stock of ideas which had been accumulating in his fatherland, waiting for the master genius to weave them into the finished fabric. No man can create unless he also interprets, nor reap a bountiful harvest unless he sows with seed carefully selected and garnered by those who went before him. Can

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we trace a note of Orientalism in the German echoes and ideas which led up to the Goethe harmony?

Yes; in two ways. *First*, the spirit of the German race has ever moved in an expanding, all-embracing dream of universality. *Secondly*, that spirit was already taking shape in diverse forms in the age which led up to Goethe, the age whose *Zeitgeist* Goethe partly resisted, partly tamed to his own ideals. When we have considered these, we shall be in a position to consider the spirit of Orientalism in Goethe as an individual.

What makes the charm and the romance of the Empire of Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers? The fighting is merely the medium through which the finer spirit of chivalry speaks; the toad, ugly and venomous, which bears the precious jewel of Internationalism in its head. This Internationalism purged fighting of its grosser qualities, and cast the glamour of romance on lady's love, troubadour's song, and the ardour of the warrior battling to do right. A code of refined manners grew up in which enemies respected each other, prisoners were treated with chivalrous respect, culture was glorified with oriental fervour, woman was idealised with Teutonic gallantry, and poetry was enthroned in the homage of humanity. Should Charlemagne be treated as a German or a French hero? His spirit haunts both Aachen and Ingelheim, that spacious Rhineland which concealed for centuries the Rhine-gold, and gave birth to Goethe. His sway extended from the Ebro to the Elbe, and under his aegis met peoples of many tongues and nationalities. He exchanged salutations with the ambassadors of the far-famed Harun-al-Raschid in 798. Thus the first German *Western-Eastern Divan* was not suggested by Goethe's reading of Von Hammer on his visit to the Rhine in 1815. Its seeds were sown in German history by another hero of Rhineland more than a thousand years earlier.

The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was nothing but an attempt to maintain politics on a basis of universality and

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idealism, the twin rocks on which the medieval Orient, no less than medieval Germany, shattered its politics to atoms--the twin anchors on which German thought, like Eastern thought in its best days, sought safety against the seething billows of narrow interests, selfish aims, and barren, bigoted sectarianism. The apparent failure in politics led to greater freedom for the soul, maturer development for the higher faculties of man. Action can only be effective in proportion as it is illuminated by intellect. Society is polished in proportion as it is refined by poetry. Religion is pure and elevating in proportion as it recognises the unity of human hopes with Divine guidance, the mergence of the human destiny in the Divine will, the magic transmutation of even this world of ours, with its errors and its sorrows, into very Paradise, where the shadows are removed by the beneficent rays that proceed from the countenance of God.

All this is Oriental mysticism, you will say. What if I show it to be good German theology, true blue? The *Theologia Germanica* is a devotional book well known and widely read in Germany. The name of its author is unknown, but it is supposed to have been written by a knight of the Teutonic Order some time about 1350. No less a judge than Luther valued it next to the Bible and St. Augustine, and in respect of St. Augustine it must be remembered that Luther was an Augustinian monk. It breathes the spirit of German liberty, and the fact that the great leader of the Protestant Reformation stood sponsor to it is sufficient to stamp it as a representative expression of the innermost spiritual thought of Germany. It says in the 50th chapter:

"What is Paradise? All things that are; for all are goodly and pleasant, and therefore may fitly be called a Paradise. It is said also that Paradise is an outer court of Heaven. Even so this world is verily an outer court of the Eternal."

A simple argument, and one near akin to that of the Sufis of Persia, though not so elaborately worked out. In the 24th chapter there is an assertion of our unity with God which seems to be almost

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as bold as that of the mystics of Persia. Says the *Theologia Germanica*:

"Moreover, there are yet other ways to the lovely life of Christ besides those we have spoken of: to wit, that God and man should be wholly united, so that it can be said of a truth that God and man are one. This cometh to pass in this wise. Where the Truth always reigneth, so that true perfect God and true perfect man are at one, and man so giveth place to God that God Himself is there and yet the man too, and this same unity worketh continually, and doeth and leaveth undone without any I and Me and Mine, and the like, etc."

Compare with this the song of the Persian, terse and vigorous:

"I am the body and Thou art the soul; I am Thou and Thou art I. Let no one say after this that I am distinct from Thee."

I think I have said enough to show how the German spirit, with its bold speculation, its freedom in thought, its universality, its cosmopolitanism, its subtlety, its inborn imagination and poetry, has something of Orientalism in it. No wonder that the bold imagery of the book of Arabian Job or Hebrew Isaiah should find full expression in the German translation of the Old Testament. But this subtle, plastic quality of the German language, and this vague questioning of the German spirit, seem specially to have been brought to a head in the generations preceding and contemporary with Goethe. In the eighteenth century it was first emphasised as a revolt against the *Sturm und Drang* School. This school took its name from a play of that name brought out by Klinger in 1776, but the beginnings of the revolt were perceptible before this. In fact, it was the revolt that necessitated a nickname, by which the school was to be killed. This revolt was a sort of literary reformation, and was heralded by many voices under the old order of things before the new ideas and methods had asserted themselves in art, life and literature. It was not France only which was shaken to its foundations by a revolution in the

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eighteenth century. In Germany there was an equally far-reaching revolution in thought during the whole of the eighteenth century, compared to which the so-called re-awakening of Germany in the nineteenth century was a mere episode, even as the garnering of the harvest is the final episode in the long process of the ploughing of the land, and the sowing, maturing, and reaping of the corn. This German revolution took different channels in different directions, but the governing force of it all was the love of the beautiful in art, which may be called classicism, the yearning after the unknown and the universal, which may be called mysticism, and the detachment from the present and the actual in search of the free and the ideal, which was labelled later on with the name of romanticism. Now the mysticism and the romanticism, looked at from another point of view, may be called Orientalism. What was it that stirred Winckelmann (1717-68) to throw such a passionate, personal, and poetical note into his *History of Ancient Art* (1764), but an intense realisation of the grand emotions of the ancients in modern life, and a glorification of art as the emblem of truth and all that stirs the human soul? This turned him into a Roman Catholic in religion and an Italian in domicile, and if we use these words in a somewhat wide significance, looking merely into the essence and not at the outward and visible forms, we find that the statement applies to the choicest spirits of the age, including even Goethe. Catholic, Italian, Pagan, Hellenist, Mystic, Oriental--words connoting widely different ideas and in some cases contradictory views of life--become confounded or unified as body and spirit, Nature and God become confounded or unified in the twilight dreams of Pantheism. This will account for the simultaneous vogue of Jesuits and Mystics, Ossian and Homer, Lavater and Humboldt, Don Carlos and Wilhelm Tell, Richardson's *Pamela* and *Garissa Harlowe* with the dialects of Kant. The secret orders like the Illuminati, the Rosicrucians, and the Freemasons, flourished, even as the "Ikhwan-us-Safa" (the Brethren of Purity) flourished in the city of

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Basra, the Weimar of Arabian literature, in the tenth century, not for convivial gatherings or political objects, but for the advancement of science, the cultivation of art, the regeneration of society in an earnest, enthusiastic appeal to an intellectual hierarchy. Goethe himself was a Freemason and believed in the spread of culture by means of secret societies, to which admission was to be by strict selection and after a searching probation, and in which the grades and degrees were determined by character and virtue.

Such being the voices in the air of literary Germany, can we wonder that they awakened a responsive echo in the minds of the leaders of thought, and even became a Shibboleth for those who were gifted with mechanical ingenuity enough to imitate the methods and mannerisms of a school, but not with sufficient talent to catch or reproduce its spirit. Wieland's *Oberon* is full of scenes from the East and from Fairy-land, graceful, tender, whimsical and ludicrous. It is as if in a picture of Simla you had a background of Himalayan peaks covered with eternal snow under brilliant sunshine, while in the foreground is a group of English children in Georgian dresses dancing in a ring arm-in-arm with little graceful Arabian Nights children--meant to be Hindu--under the shade of *tropical* palm-trees! Who ever saw palm-trees near the snow-line?

But there were men who laid themselves out to study seriously Eastern manners, Eastern thoughts, and Eastern imagery, to prepare themselves for the *mise-en-scéne* in which their literary dreams were cast. Kotzebue, the dramatist, who from having once been rated too highly has now passed into deeper oblivion than he deserves, must have made a careful study of Hindu manners. It is true he is a little mixed between Mysore and the Ganges, the Muhammadans and the Hindus, but when he paints the following picture of Kaberdar[4] he would pass muster even in a modern comedy of India written for the Hindus, always assuming that Kaberdar is a Hindu:

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"He speaks very little; he chews betel; he has great veneration for cows, and whenever our town herd is driven out he receives them with the deepest marks of adoration. He bathes every day, and at every new and full moon he gives away alms to the poor."

But there were men who made a special and serious study of Oriental literatures in Germany long before the thought and poetry of the Orient were appreciated in the West. La Croze, librarian at Berlin early in the eighteenth century, with his friend and correspondent Bayer, was the first European to make a systematic study of the different Indian alphabets. Rückert was a deep Orientalist, and wrote *The Brahman's Wisdom, Rustam and Sohrab*, and many translations from the Persian, which breathe most remarkably the spirit of the originals. He translated the *Divan* of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi into German Ghazals with such success and mastery that English Orientalists like Dr. William Hastie are content to make their version from him rather than go to the original. In fact, he was an Oriental poet, even adopting the *Takhallus* (or pen-name) of "Freimund" after the most orthodox Oriental fashion. He introduced the Ghazal into German prosody, and, thanks to the work of Count Platen, the Ghazal as a form of verse is now naturalised in German. Von Hammer's translation of Hafiz inspired Goethe's deeper studies for the *Divan*. Schefer wrote *Hafiz in Hellas* and *The Koran of Love*. August Schlegel devoted himself to Sanskrit literature. In fact, if the names of even the most distinguished German Orientalists from La Croze to Bühler and Max Müller were to be reviewed, it would be a remarkable tale, not only of German industry and Orientalism, but of the fascination and romance which Eastern lands have contributed to the history of Western letters.

Now Goethe must be credited not merely with a *dilettante* meddling with Oriental literature, but with a deep and earnest study of Oriental history, legends, manners, and literary traditions. His learned and elaborate notes, affixed to the *Western-Eastern Divan*, are

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a sufficient testimony to this. His allusions, his imagery, his quips and conceits, and even, in some cases, his humour, have something of the flavour of the East. His humour, it is true, sometimes turns to laughter in the *Western-Eastern Divan*, whereas true Oriental humour never does in the most admired classical models. He also draws his imagery and conceits not only from Persian and Arabic sources, but also from Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, Hebrew-Greek, and Christian-Greek Oriental sources--and in at least one case from the Aztecs of the New World. Viewed through the spectacles of an exact Orientalist, who would decree an eternal divorce between insight and learning, this jumble would be a holy horror. There is not one Eastern world, but many Eastern worlds, all living in water-tight compartments, and here comes a man to open the flood-gates and confound the thoughts which had been carefully classified and ticketed! How inaccurate! Undoubtedly! And yet what a cameo--what a gem comes out of this churning of the ocean! What a rich suggestion of the basic unity, not only of the peoples of the East, but also of the Universal Brotherhood of Man!

Even as a boy, the sublime poetry of the Hebrew Prophets, as rendered in the German Bible, had taken hold of Goethe's imagination. When in his old age he claims kinship with Hafiz, he does not forget to mention that his mind and memory were stored up with the Bible, even as the mind and memory of Hafiz were stored up with the Koran. He early studied Hebrew, and was always in touch with the best that was known in his fatherland of the thought of the East. Goethe's personal education was well calculated to awake and strengthen his inborn Oriental proclivities, as well as the tendencies of his age and country. In 1770 he was under the influence of the great Herder, at Strassburg. Herder was only five years older than his pupil, and the cast of the two minds was quite different, the one adopting the authoritative tones of the schoolmaster and the preacher, and the other, a very young and eager Faust in truth, to whom the dry

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bone and lumber of erudition which were food to his Famulus, were merely the crude materials for distillation. We can imagine the austere Herder handing over the rhapsodies of Hamann to the handsome Goethe. They are dingily printed on bad paper, but Goethe discovers some hidden fire in them. But there is a heap of vagueness about it. Will Herder remove it? Herder only laughs and says: "You must read on and you will come to the meaning." Goethe reads on and finds even more meaning than was intended. This rhapsodist Hamann was the German "Wizard of the North" from whom no doubt Goethe imbibed much of both his orientalism and his mysticism. Herder himself insisted on the principle that poetry must be in harmony with the bed-rock feeling of the most unsophisticated people. His injunction was: Go to the popular poetry of the Hebrews, the Arabs, the mediaeval Europeans--even to the songs and ballads of half-savage races. The appeal of a writer should not be to a school, but to mankind.[5] Herder himself carried out this scheme in his *Voices of the People*, which makes an attempt to reproduce the spirit of oriental poetry. The seed thus sown soon bore abundant fruit in Goethe, for he never lost sight of the Orient. In Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe* we find many glimpses of this. "Now," he says, in effect, in one place[6], "the German horizon is not enough for us. We must be Greeks and Romans, French and English, and some must explore the East also." On the 10th of November, 1823, we find him recommending Rückert's *Roses from the East* (Oestliche Rosen) to Eckermann in the warmest terms of Eulogy.[7] On November 21st, 1823, we find him praising the Ghazals of Count Platen. As early as 1802 he had proceeded some way towards the writing of a play on Mahomet, by far the greatest historical character of the East. Touching the Hindu drama here is Goethe's epigram about the "Sakuntala" of Kalidas:[8]

Wouldst thou the smiling Spring?
Wouldst thou the Autumn's fruitage?

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The joy and grace of youth?
The food of Wisdom's ripeness?
If, in a word, thou wouldst embrace
Heaven and Earth, I'll say the name—
Sakuntala.

The *Western-Eastern Divan* set the seal to his pronounced Orientalism.

But let us see if there is anything in Goethe's character, literary methods, or philosophy, from which we can extract a few grains of Orientalism.

Here is Goethe's character at the age of 25, as drawn by Fritz Jacobi, and quoted by Albert Bielschowsky, Goethe's latest and best biographer:

"Goethe is as one possessed, and almost never has any choice as to what he shall do. It takes only an hour in his presence to convince one of the utter folly of expecting him to think or act otherwise than he does. By this I do not mean that there is no room for improving his life aesthetically and morally; but such a thing is possible only in the natural order of development, just as the flower unfolds, the seed ripens, the tree towers aloft, and spreads out its mighty branches."

What is this but a practical exemplification of the Hindu doctrine of Dharma as expounded in the Bhagavad Gita? In another form it appears in Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the greatest mystic of Persia:

"Complain not that in chains thou here art firmly bound;
Complain not that Earth's yoke doth crush thee to the ground;
Complain not that the world is but a prison wide;
'Tis only thy complaining that build thy dungeon round.
And ask not how Life's riddle will finally unfold;
For soon, without thy asking, unfolded 'twill be found."[9]

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The two great points in Goethe's character which are usually laid hold of for adverse criticism are his attitude in politics and his relations with women. Possibly his Orientalism may throw light on both. The best literature of the East is always non-political. It is above politics. It is too high for the dust and warfare of parties. There is a maxim in *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*[10] which might almost be adopted as the advice of an Eastern sage to a king: "Reign only that good men might be good without obstruction." Plato's description,[11] too, of a philosopher applies to Goethe and his times: "Some large minded men, bred in petty states, who have looked down with contempt on the politics of their country." The sentiment of freedom is no doubt noble, but the devotion to truth is nobler. In Goethe's play of *Tasso* the hero says: "Live freely, as you please." The princess corrects him: "Live truly, as you ought." This, I think, fairly describes Goethe's attitude towards politics. His detached position made him a better seer and a more authoritative critic of life. He gave to mankind what was too great for a party.

Respecting Goethe's ideas of women, much has been said, and mostly in Pharisaic strains. When I suggest that some light may perhaps be thrown on it by his Orientalism, let it not be said with a sneer, "Precisely, because woman is held in low esteem in the East." I answer, "By no means; woman is not held in low esteem either in the East or in Goethe's scheme of life." In Moslem hagiology there are four perfect women, but *no* perfect man. In Goethe's *Faust* the stormy destiny of humanity revolves round the pivot of Margaret, Helen, Woman. Would you describe the creator of Dorothea the simple, Dorothea the charming, Dorothea the self-possessed, Dorothea the unselfish, the modest, the true--in a word, Dorothea the womanly----- as having a low idea of woman? The fact is, Goethe was, like a true artist, ever seeking an equilibrium in his ideals of love and women, and never attained it. There is something satisfying in his realisable picture of the simple, though noble and virtuous Dorothea, but there

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is a more ethereal, a more elusive figure one more akin in power and grasp to the goddesses of heaven attempted in the searchings and questionings (failures though they be) after female perfection in the fairy flights of *Faust*.

Some people may draw a sharp line of distinction between Goethe the man and Goethe the poet, thinker, and artist. They take up a very superior attitude, and while they allow that Goethe's ideas about woman may have been fine, they pass over his dealings with women in actual life as something unworthy of investigation, to say nothing of admiration. I confess that I can find nothing to justify such an attitude. A prominent trait in Goethe's character was its singular transparency. He did not think and act differently. Like all great natures, his was one that dared much, and tore up many conventions in pursuit of an idea. But his ideas shaped his conduct, and his life illustrated his ideas. If his fine free spirit leaped over hedges which impounded steeds of a coarser breed, do not judge his movements by the dimensions of the narrow circle which he left. In life he faced facts, not in the spirit of the herd, which takes them as inevitable, but in that child-like "blessedness of the Oriental," which ever questions its own instincts and impulses, and allows that questioning faculty to go direct to the core of the matter without any quibbling or suppression. The woman in the home he worshipped an idolised, as we do in the East.. But he looked--even as the Báb did for Qurrat-ul-'Ain--for the Woman-Spirit to mate with the Man-Spirit in other regions to which man aspires. What his truthful soul could not do was to confound the one with the other, so that he could conveniently hold up the banner of freedom in the air, while he confined within narrower and narrower bounds the delectable sphere of Domestic Propriety!

Turning to Goethe's literary standards I will take two of his works, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* and *Hermann and Dorothea* as typical of some of the excellences which we most admire in

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Oriental literature. There is a poem in the *Western-Eastern Divan* in which poetry is personified as the Spirit of Oriental Art as contrasted with sculpture, which is the Spirit of Hellenic Art. The distinguishing characteristics of the two are that in the one everything is precise, grand, of noble proportions--close-grained ideas worked out with chisel strokes; while the other is comprehensive, colossal, dissolving like the curves of ocean waves, half-mysterious, ever indefinite in lineaments as in a twilight dimness illuminated with vivid lightning strokes. This is in truth the quality of *Faust*, this the charm of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*. The self-analysis that accompanies this method is also an Oriental characteristic. People who are not in sympathy with that method complain that it leads to nothing, that it is a jumble, that the parts do not cohere. They demand *status que* definition in the swiftly moving kaleidoscope of life.

To show that this method was not adopted fortuitously by Goethe in *Faust* and in *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, contrast it with that lyric-epic, *Hermann and Dorothea*, where the Hellenistic method is adopted, but modified and embellished with certain other traits that are Oriental. Here is a piece complete in itself, finely proportioned, worked like a temple of Greek Art. But withal you have the allusiveness, the sub-effects of Oriental poetry. What I mean is that when Hafiz or Saadi work out a theme, they are not satisfied with a single harmony, great as it may be. Subordinate to that single, central harmony are a number of minor echoes of beauty, effects which are not absolutely essential to the main theme, but which contribute materially to heighten and embellish its full meaning. This might be illustrated in *Hermann and Dorothea* most forcibly by considering the appropriateness of the names of the Muses given to the several chapters of the poem. Herodotus has also given to each book of his History the name of a Muse,but in Herodotus the name is fortuitous and has no connection with the subject of the book. In Goethe the names are taken in the order which suits the poet best, and

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that order is made to subserve the development of the action of the poem. The nine Muses, presiding each over her own department, point to the comprehensive character of the poem, as touching all the chords of human life. Along with each name of the Muse is further appended a sub-title in German, which tends to intensify the echo.

Thus the first chapter develops the opening theme - the flight of the refugees and their arrival in a friendly town. All this is spoken of in the third person, and not seen by the readers. The theme is epic, not dramatic. Can we wonder that the Muse, whose name the chapter bears, is Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, and that the modern title is Fate, or Sympathy?--a fitting prelude to the stately monarch of events, and the human interest of the piece. The second chapter contains the first wild passion of love in Hermann the hero, unconfessed as to its object, but evidently in full possession of the hero's moral nature. It leads to a breach with his father. Its strength and ardour are well typified by terpsichore, the muse of the choral dance, and by the sub-title: "Hermann"--the hero, the man. The third chapter weaves a web of many colours and contrasts, the old father's babbling wisdom, the mother's emotional reproach, her belief and hope in her son, and the physician's parsimonious musings, in the irresponsible if selfish character of the "crusty old bachelor", a true picture for the province of Thalia, the Muse of Comedy, while the quality of the hopes, fears, musings, and worldly wisdom is well summed up in the sub-title, "Burghers." The fourth chapter contains the story of the son pouring out his heart to his mother, and the mother giving him her sympathy, and is dedicated to Euterpe, the Muse of Lyric Poetry, with the sub-title, "Mother and Son." In the fifth chapter Hermann becomes eloquent in speaking of Dorothea; love lends a distinction and dignity even when he describes her dress to his friends, that they may know her; they at last meet the leader of the camp, who delivers the splendid rhapsody in which her individuality shines in a light all the purer for the setting of the great

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public events in which she bore so noble a part. The title is "Polyhymnia, the Muse of the Sublime Hymn," and the sub-title, "Citizen of the World." The sixth chapter is devoted to the narrative of public events--the French Revolution, the hopes it promised, the disillusion that followed. The heading is "Clio, the Muse of History," and the sub-heading, "The Age." The seventh chapter contains the famous scene at the fountain, where love devises a means for its final victory, and the simple gentle character of the heroine is developed. This is called "Erato, the Muse of Love Poems," and the second is "Dorothea." In the eighth chapter the shades of evening gather fast; the twilight yields to moonlight; there is a storm without, and doubt and reserve within--she stumbles at the steps, and he helps her--such events truly come within the ken of "Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy," while the sub-title, "Hermann and Dorothea," indicates the forging of the link. The ninth and last book sees the *dénouement* of their personal romance, but it looks higher and heavenwards at the end. "This strength alone would bear them on to Victory's glorious hour, till Peace and Freedom should be won, and Right should conquer Power."[12] This chapter is called after "Urania, the Muse of "Astronomy," and has a sub-title, "The Future, or the Looking Forward."

This richness of effect, this subtle device, by which arrangement, titles, words, allusions and associations are all made to contribute their subordinate quota to the grand meaning, is characteristic of Oriental literature, but not usually found in Western literature. The grand outline of the scheme stands out in bold relief, like the mighty wall of the Himalayas. You cannot fail to see it. There is enough grandeur, sublimity and beauty in it; but examine it in detail, from a position of greater intimacy: new mountains, peaks, fresh valleys, unsuspected gorges and chasms unfold before your view. Obscure gleams, misty shadows, turn out to be complete units of a mountain-world, each with its uplands, terraces, rivulets, and a

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babbling stream that hastens to pour its silt and fertility into a broad river--a Jumna or a Ganges--sweeping through the plains, and worshipped by millions of human beings who dream not of the sources far away. These methods and characteristics, which I have styled Oriental, are found in the highest Oriental art and poetry. To object that the decadent modern Oriental art is quite different is beside the purpose. It merely reminds me of the story of Fukrates, the magician's apprentice, in Goethe's *Zauber-Lehrling*. The apprentice has not learned the art, but only a mechanical formula. With it he calls up a spirit, who brings him sparkling water. He tells him to fill the bath. The spirit goes on pouring water till the bath is full, but the apprentice has not the power to stop him; the room is swamped, the house is flooded, and the apprentice is drowned! So are the modern decadent poetasters in the East drowned in the health-giving stream with which their predecessors vivified the world!

When we come to Goethe's philosophy, we find in it much of the universality, much of the sublime world-consciousness of the ethics of Spinoza. Such philosophy embraces and vitalises the soul. It purges religion of dogma and priestcraft, much in the spirit of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi,, who writes in this strain[1]:

"Love called to men from Heaven's bright gate,
"Who look to God now, soon and late?"
"'Tis we who look aloft to God,"
To Love replied the Priests elate--
Love cried: "How can you look on high,
Who thus your forms and words inflate?
Ye cannot see where pure light dwells,
So full your eyes of greed and hate!

Nor can the Just One justly give
The hearing which ye supplicate;
Or ere ye look to Heaven again

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Put off all earthly pride and state--
Your hearts let Love, not Hatred, rule;
Then look to God, and on Him wait."[13]

Much of Goethe's philosophy has been called Pantheism, and Goethe has sometimes been called a Pantheist, with a suggestion that it was a term of reproach. Now there is Pantheism and Pantheism. The German philosopher Hegel has some very fine remarks on the character of Oriental Pantheism in art. They are so full of discriminating insight that I will with your permission quote them:

"In a higher and subjectively freer way the Oriental Pantheism has been developed in Mohammedanism, especially by the Persians. A special relationship now comes in. The poet longs to behold the divine in all things, and he actually does so behold it; but he also now surrenders his own self, and gives himself up to It, while he at the same time in the same degree grasps the immanence of the Divine in his own inner Being when thus expanded and freed. And thereby there grows in him that cheerful inwardness, that free joy, that abounding blessedness which is peculiar to the Oriental, who, in becoming liberated from his own individual limitations sinks forthwith into the Eternal and Absolute, and recognises and feels in everything the image and presence of the Divine. Such a consciousness of being permeated by the Divine, and of a vivified intoxicated life in God, bordered on mysticism. Above all others Jalal-ud-din Rumi is to be celebrated in this connection, of whose poetry Rückert has furnished us with some of the finest specimens, in which, with his marvellous power of expression, he even allows himself to play, in the most skilful and free manner, with words and rhymes, as the Persians similarly do. Love to God, with whom man identifies his self, through the most unlimited self-surrender, and Whom, as the One, he now beholds in all the realms of space, leads him to refer and carry back all and everything to God; and this Love here forms the centre which expands on all sides,, and into all regions."[14]

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After all the highest aim of literature, art, philosophy and religion is to seek truth and perfection, as far as may be, for our inner and outer life. As Jalal-ud-din says:

"Ever shall I more desire,
Than Time's bounded needs require,
Ever as more flowers I pluck,
Blossoms new gay Spring attire--
And when through the heavens I sweep,
Rolling spheres will flash new fire.
Perfect beauty only can
True Eternal Love inspire."[5]

Compare this with Goethe's epigram in *The Four Seasons*.

What is holy? That which unites many souls as one, thought it binds them lightly as a rush binds a garland. What is holiest? That which, to-day and for ever, more and more deeply felt, more and more closely unites the souls of men.

Shall we not justly say that this same Goethe, master of the style of the East and of the West, can weave an invisible bond of enchantment, uniting, in thought and in their highest hopes, the people of the East and of the West?

Notes

1. "Danger." in the original quotations, p. xviii. Introduction to Goethe's *West-Easterly Divan*, by John Weiss. Boston. 1877.
2. Weiss, as above, pp. xxv and xxvi.
3. Ibid., p. 31.
4. *Indians in England*, a Comedy by Kotzebue, Act I, Sc. VII.
5. See the remarks in Gostwick & Harrison's *Outlines of German Literature*, pp. 234-5.
6. Mrs. Fuller's *Eckermann*, p. 78.

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7. From his *Indian Legends*.
8. Ibid., p. 64.
9. Translation by Dr. Wm. Hastie, in his *Festival of the Spring*.
10. Carlyle's Translation, *Collected Works*, 1824, Vol. XXXII, p. 181.
11. Plato: *Republic*, Book VI., Sec. 496.
12. Winter's translation of *Hermann and Dorothea*
13. "*The Festival of Spring*", from the *Divan of Jalal-ud-din Rumi*, translated by Dr. William Hastie.
14. *Hegel's Works*, x. 473, as quoted by Hastie: *Festival of Spring*, from the *Divan of Jalal-ud-din Rumi*, Introduction, p. xxi. (Glasgow, 1903)
15. Wm. Hastie, *Festival of Spring*, as above.

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Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi

Goethe's *Parsi-nameh* or Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of the Parsees

I

Introduction:

The subject of this paper was first suggested to me, about six years ago, by an interesting article of Prof. Dowden in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908,[1] entitled "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan." The word Divan دیوان in Persian means "A collection of miscellaneous poems." These collections generally contain "poems in the alphabetical order of the final letters of the various ending rhymes."[2] For example, the last letter of each couplet of the first group of odes is 'alif' or 'a'; then the last letter of each couplet of the second group is 'be' or 'b'; and so on. The *Divan* of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, who as we will see later on, suggested to Goethe the idea of his *Divan*, serves as an illustration of this arrangement of the odes.

The Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of the Parsees, which forms the subject of this paper, is a part of Goethe's "West-Östlicher Divan," i.e., the West-Eastern Divan. Of the twelve parts or books of the *Divan*, it forms the 11th part or book. As far as I know, all of Goethe's German works are not translated into English. The *Divan* is one of such untranslated book.[3]

On reading the above article, my knowledge of German having got all rusty, I had requested my friend, Father Noti of St.

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Xavier's College, to kindly translate for me the Buch des Parsen. On resuming my study of the subject recently, I found that Goethe had, in his "Noten und Abhandlungen" (Notes and Discussions), in connection with his "West-Östlicher Divan," written, under the head of "Ältere Perser" (Old Persians),[4] some notes on the ancient Persians. Father Hömel has, at my request, kindly translated it for me. I give both these translations at the end of this paper, hoping that they will help some students interested in the subject. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Father Noti and Father Hömel for their kindness to translate the poem and notes for me.

Goethe speaks of his Parsi-nameh as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens", i.e., "The Testament of the old Persian faith." He places his views in the mouth of a poor but pious man, who, on the approach of death, says a few words of advice to some young men who had nursed him and honoured him.

I propose to deal, in this Paper, with the following subjects in connection with Goethe's Parsi-nameh:

1. An outline of Goethe's Life and a few traits of his character, to enable us to understand well the circumstances which led the German poet to write on an Iranian subject.
2. A short account of his West-Eastern Divan, of the twelve books of which the Parsi-nameh forms the eleventh book.
3. An account of his Parsi-nameh, with a few observations on the most salient points of the book.
4. Translations into English of Goethe's Buch des Parsen and of his Notes on the Ancient Persians.

II

1. A short outline of Goethe's Life

To understand Goethe's poems well, his life must be known:

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To properly understand the time and the circumstances under which Goethe wrote his *Divan*, and in it the Parsi nameh, one must know, at least, a short outline of his life. One of his biographers, Mr Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "Goethe differs from all other great writers, except perhaps Milton, in this respect, that his works cannot be understood without a knowledge of his life, and that his life is in itself a work of art, greater than any work which it created. This renders a long and circumstantial biography a necessity to all who would study the poet seriously... He is not only the greatest poet of Germany; he is one of the greatest poets of all ages. He was the apostle of self-culture.... and taught both by precept and example the husbandry of the soul.... As Homer concentrated in himself the spirit of Antiquity, Dante of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare of the Renaissance, so Goethe is the representative of the modern spirit, the prophet of mankind, under new circumstances and new conditions, the appointed teacher of ages yet unborn."

Early Life and Influence of French Culture:

Johnan Wolfgang von Goethe was born in Frankfurt on 28th August 1749. He was the only son of his parents, who both formed a religiously inclined pair. His father had received the title of Imperial Councillor in 1742, at the age of 32. At first, Goethe was instructed at home by his father. French culture was much prevalent at the time. He came into great contact with it, through the soldiers of France who were at Frankfurt during the Seven Years' War, in which France sided with the Empire against Frederick the Great. In 1765, at the age of 16, he went to Leipzig for further study. There he wrote several smaller poems and songs. He returned to Frankfurt in 1768, at the age of 19, and remained there without any definite aim for a year and a half.

Contact with Mystic Writings:

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During this period, he came into contact with Mrs. Klettenberg., a member of the Moravian school. She drew his attention to the mystical writings of the saints and to Alchemy. The latter led him to the study of science, in which he, later on, made many researches. He then went to the University of Strasburg in April 1770 and studied there till August 1771. Here, he got most of the impulses of his later more active literary life. Then, his mind was for some time diverted from a literary to a scientific line, and he studied Anatomy, Midwifery and Chemistry, especially the last. He also studied here Art, and the Cathedral of Strasburg served him as a model of Gothic architecture.

Taste for Nature:

Here, in Strasburg, he came into contact with Herder, who was five years older than him, and who created in him a taste for Nature in Art and for the principles of the romantic school. In August 1770, he took his degree as Doctor of Law, the subject of his dissertation being "The duty of providing an established Church." He then returned to Frankfurt. He now wrote several works.

Thoughts of the other World:

In the spring of 1772, he left Frankfurt for Wetzlar, a quiet country town and one of the seats of the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperors held their Courts of Justice there. Here, he contracted the friendship of Lotte (Charlotte), the second daughter of one Herr Buff. At one time, Lotte spoke to him of the other world and of the possibility of returning from it. It was arranged between them that whoever "died first, should, if he could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life."[7]

His Works which laid the foundation of his Fame:

The fate of a young man named Jerusalem, whom he met at

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Wetzlar, and who committed suicide for failure in a hopeless passion for a married woman, suggested to Goethe the composition of the Werther. This work is said to have influenced many a lover who shot himself with a copy of Werther in his hand. Werther and Götz were the two works of Goethe which laid the foundation of Goethe's fame. Götz was a name of the chivalrous age which he had assumed in play with other literary friends discussing old chivalrous subjects. The assumption of that name gradually led him to write that work. Götz was published in 1773 and Werther in 1774. While writing such works Goethe also practised as an advocate at the Court at Wetzlar. At this time, he conceived the idea of writing Caesar, Faust, Mahomet, the Wandering Jew and Prometheus. To write the drama of Mahomet, he studied the Koran.

Tendency of the Time, from French to German Culture:

At the special invitation of the Duke of Weimar, who had passed through Frankfurt, Goethe went to Weimar in November 1775. Before the Seven Years' War, all the German princes looked to France for culture. But now, they "were beginning to take an interest in German literature."[8] Most of them had literary men of genius in their courts. So, the Duke of Weimar had Goethe who "rose like a star."[9] Weimar was known at the time as the German Athens. The Duke invested him with the title . . . . . of Geheimlegationsrath (Secret Legation Councillor), with a seat and voice in the privy council, and an income of £180 a year. . . . . Goethe devoted himself with industry and enthusiasm to the public business.[10] The first ten years at Weimar were interrupted now and then by long journeys, one of which was to Switzerland in 1779. Goethe was the principal adviser of the Duke of Weimar, who, in 1785, formed the Fürstenbund or league of princes, under the supremacy of Frederick the Great, to resist the ambition of Austria under Joseph II.[11] He thus took an interest in the question of the independence of Germany.

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A longing to possess his Soul in peace:

The year 1786 was very important for him. He saw that the work and the pleasures of the Court of Weimar, where he had spent ten years, had kept him away from his literary pursuits and from his study of art and science. Many of his literary compositions had remained unfinished. His study of science was kept off. It is said of his scientific studies that he had a glimpse of Darwinism before Darwin. "He succeeded in seeing, as in a vision, the great scheme of evolution applied to all phenomena of the natural and moral world."[12] So, to pursue quietly for some time, all his favourite studies, and to satisfy "his longing to possess his soul in peace,"[13] he journeyed in Italy from September 1786 to June 1788. He travelled *incognito* under the name of Müller. He returned to Weimar in June 1788, a new man, i.e., a man with a new idea about art, *viz.*, that, not only the work of art must be solid, firm and simple, but "that life itself should be a work of art."[14] He resolved to be free from "the distractions which had hitherto confused him."

His half-marriage:

In 1788, he entered into, what is called a "half-marriage" with Christiane Vulpius, a healthy blooming young girl, who first presented herself before him with a petition seeking some favour for her brother. Her simple beautiful features attracted Goethe. He took her home and made her his housewife. Several reasons are assigned, why he remained in an improper laison with her and did not marry her, one being her low position in life. A son was born to him of this girl. About 15 years after the first laison, he thought it advisable to marry her. The first half-marriage and the second legal marriage both were subjects of scandalous talk in the country and threw a slur upon the conduct of this great poet.

Goethe and Schiller:

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In 1792 and 1793, Goethe went with his master, the Duke of Weimar, to war. During the intervals of fight he pursued his favourite study of Optics and of the various branches of Natural Sciences. In the Autumn of 1793, the Duke left the Prussian service. Goethe, now being free, took to the management of the theatre for which he also wrote several pieces. He now contracted the friendship of Schiller who was younger than him by about 10 years. Their friendship inspired both of them mutually. Schiller's influence led Goethe to finish his Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre. The death of Schiller in 1805 upset Goethe for a time.

In 1806 was fought the great battle of Jena. Weimar was plundered. Goethe's friends lost everything. Goethe's property was saved by the firmness of his wife. Napoleon entered the town but Goethe did not go to see him. Then it was in 1808, that Napoleon, the military dictator, saw Goethe, the literary dictator of the time, at Erfurt, where the sovereigns and princes of Europe met in a Congress.

Napoleon's Estimate of Goethe:

In October, 1808, Goethe, at the express desire of Napoleon, had an interview with him, when he (Napoleon) went to Weimar to attend the conference of princes. When Goethe entered, Napoleon welcomed him with the words "Vous êtes un homme!" When he left, Napoleon said to his courtiers "Voilá un homme." Goethe was bold in the expression of his view, as in the case of his defence of Giordano Bruno. So, he liked Napoleon's appreciation of him. He speaks of his words as "the wonderful words with which the Emperor received me."[14] As his biographer says "Goethe could not ask anything more than the recognition contained in these words, coming from such a mouth. He declared, too, that 'Napoleon had put the dot above the i (of his life).'"[15] It is said of that cynic philosopher Dionysius, that at midday, he went about with a lamp. When somebody asked him, why he went out with a lamp during daylight,

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he said, he went out in search of a 'man', meaning thereby, that he found none whom he could really call a "man." When we remember this pretty anecdote, we see the full force and meaning of the words of Napoleon, calling Goethe a "man."

The growth of a habit of contemplation:

The year 1809 was an important one for Goethe, because, he then, as it were, began a new era. The troubled period--a period of nearly 10 years--of sorrow, owing to the wars and other circumstances, was over. Many were the causes of the sorrows of these ten years, the principal of which were the following:- 1. The death of his dear friend, Schiller, on hearing the news of which he is said to have wept bitterly; 2. the plunder of his town of Weimar; 3. the death of Duchess Amolia, a great admirer and friend of Goethe; 4. the death of his mother; and 5 His own illness.

He now wrote an autobiographical account of his early life under the title of "Dichtung und Wahrheit" (Poetry and Truth). His biographers think, that it is not a faithful account. The last part of it appeared in 1814. During this time, the Germans were uniting and rising to overthrow the power of Napoleon. Goethe took no part in the movement. The reason for this coldness was his "natural indifference to the details of human affairs",[18] as shown by the fact, that even in the midst of weighty affairs like war and court business, he flew to his studies. Again, he "was a man of thought rather than of action". He thought Napoleon to be "the greatest living depository of power."[19]

Now the habit of contemplation began to grow upon him more and more. So, in 1814, at the age of 65, he struck, as it were, a new line of poetical activity. In 1812, he first saw Hammer's translation of Hafiz. On the death, in June 1828, of the Grand Duke, Karl August, a life-long companion from the time of his youth, he is said to have uttered the words "Not it is all over". He died in 1832.

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III

A few Traits of his Character

Contemplative and meditative habit:

In the above short outline of his life, we have referred to the principal events of his life. But some of the traits of his character require to be specially referred to. It is said, that he began to grow up, as a boy of observing habits, which gave him a contemplative or meditative bent of mind. The great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 is reported to have killed about 60,000 men. This natural phenomenon and the Seven Years' War made him more contemplative in his boyhood. "From Nature to Nature's God", was the bent of his early life. He was, at first, a little inclined to mysticism, and his association, at an early age of about 20, with Klettenberg, a lady, who was a mystic, led him a little further towards mysticism. He was more inclined to pantheism in his belief.

Goethe's early tendency towards Nature-worship:

According to his biographer, G. H. Lewes,[3] Tacitus noticed, that a kind of Nature-worhsip was, as it were, a "natural tendency" of the ancient Germans. Goethe, was, from his early years inclined towards this natural tendency. As early as in 1770, Goethe defended M. Giordano Bruno, who was burnt in 1600 for declaring that the earth moved, a teaching which the Christian Church at the time had declared to be heretical. Giordano Bruno was a student of Nature, and this study had led him to a kind of pantheism--a monotheistic pantheism which one observes in the East. As said by Goethe's biographer Mr. G. H. Lewes, "Pantheism, which captivates poetical minds, has a poetical grandeur in the form given to it by Bruno which would have allured Goethe had his tendencies not already lain in that direction." Bayle criticised this pantheism of Bruno, and Goethe said against this criticism: "Je ne suis pas du sentiment de M. Bayle à

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l'égard de Jor. Brunus, et je ne trouve ni d'impiété ni d'absurdité dans les passages qu'il cite."[21]

Goethe's view of Pantheism:

In the above references to the views of Goethe, we saw, that he was pantheistic in his belief. However, it seems that his pantheism was not of any gross character. It was not a pantheism opposed to monotheism. As Dr. Ketkar has, while speaking of Hinduism, said, "Monotheism and pantheism should be regarded as synonyms, and pantheism is the only possible-form of any consistent monotheism."[22] This pantheism, taking it to be synonymous with monotheism, was the result of the mind soaring from Nature to Nature's God. Goethe himself thus presents his view on the subject: "To discuss God apart from Nature is both difficult and perilous; it is as if we separated the soul from the body. We know the soul only through the medium of the body, and God only through Nature. Hence the absurdity, as it appears to me, of accusing those of absurdity who philosophically have united God with the world. For everything which exists, necessarily pertains to the essence of God, because God is the one Being whose existence includes all things. Nor does the Holy Scripture contradict this, although we differently interpret its dogmas each according to his views. All antiquity thought it in the same way; an unanimity which to me has great significance. To me the judgment of so many men speaks highly for the rationality of the doctrine of emanation."[23]

This view of Nature corresponded to the view of the East, more especially of India. So, we see, that from an early age, he was, as it were, inclined to the philosophic views of life held by the East.

How he carried the mind from Nature to Nature's God:

In his Memoirs, written by himself, while describing his portraiture of Mahomet in a hymn which he had once composed, he gives us an idea of his views as how to rise from Nature to Nature's

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God. He says: "The scene is supposed to represent a bright and serene night. Mahomet salutes the multitude of stars as so many divinities. To the propitious planet Gad (our Jupiter), then rising above the horizon, he pays special homage as the king of all the stars. The moon next appears, and captivates for a while the eyes and the heart of the pious adorer of Nature. Presently the brilliant rising of the sun excites him to renewed homage. But the aspect of the heavenly bodies, notwithstanding the satisfaction with which they inspire him, leaves his heart a prey to desire. He feels that there is still something greater, and his soul is elevated to the contemplation of the only, eternal, and infinite God, to whom all things owe their existence. I had composed this hymn with the deepest enthusiasm."[24]

It was such a view of grand Nature that led him to look with reverence to the Sun.

IV

2. His West-Östliche Divan

Having given an outline of his life and having spoken of some of the traits of his mind, we now come to the subject of his West-Eastern Divan.

His attraction towards the East:

Goethe was drawn towards the East, as said above, long before he wrote the *Divan*. In his autobiography, while speaking of Mademoiselle von Klettenberg, he refers to the Missionaries, and says: "I happened to advocate the people whom they sought to convert, and to declare that I preferred the primitive state of those ignorant nations to that to which they had been brought."[25]

Goethe's view of the work of Prophets and great men:

Again, as referred to in our account of his life, he was drawn

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to the East by his study of the Koran for his book on Mahomet. He had studied the life of this great Mahomedan prophet. While speaking of him and while defending his character and personality, he thus speaks on the work of great prophets:

"I perfectly understood how a man of superior genius should desire to turn to the advantage of his fellow-creatures, the divine faculties which he is conscious he possesses. But, having to do with men of grosser intellects, he is compelled, in order to secure their friendship, to lower himself to their level; and this necessity degrades his eminent qualities by assimilating him to his inferiors. Thus the celestial powers of genius are depreciated by an amalgamation with worldly speculations; and views directed to eternity, lose their sublimity, and become narrowed by their application to ephemeral objects. . . . . I found that history presented situations completely similar. It was thus that I conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of those bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime."[26]

Goethe's views of Indian Mythology:

One of Goethe's biographers has said, that when Goethe turned to the East, for a kind of diversion and tranquillity or peace of mind, India did not appeal to him so much as Persia did, because he found it "too monstrous a jumble." Goethe, after referring to the Scandinavian Edda, which contains a reference to the story of Zoroaster laughing at his birth, as said by Pliny, thus gives his views of the Indian Mythology:

"A similar kind of interest attached me to the Indian fables, with which I began to get acquainted by means of Dapper's Voyage, and which I added to my mythological stores with pleasure. The altar of Ram became the ornament of my tales; and, notwithstanding the incredible multiplicity of the personages, of these fables, the ape

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Hamemian was the favourite of my auditory. But I found all these monstrous personages unfit to form part of my poetical furniture: the imagination being either unable to conceive them at all, or only able to comprehend them under absurd and ridiculous forms.

The Times and the Circumstances under which the West-Östliche Divan was written:

Goethe wrote his West-Östliche Divan during the sunset of his life, when he was in his 65th year. It was the political storm in Europe that drove him to the harbour of peace and tranquility in Asia. As his biographer[28] says:

"During the storms of war, Goethe had more and more withdrawn, in spirit, from the European world and taken refuge in the original abode of man in Asia, in order in those far-off regions to restore that serene harmony of his being which had been disturbed by the discordant notes of the restless age. It was only natural that the trend of events should turn the eyes of all to the Orient. . . . Goethe participated in this general movement . . . . China and India could not hold his attention; China was too barren, India too monstrous a jumble. Persia, on the other hand, tempted him to linger. He became acquainted with the culture of this country through its most congenial representative, Hafiz, the celebrated poet of the fourteenth century. Hammer's translation of Hafiz's collection of songs, the Divan, had appeared in 1812 and 1813, and Goethe needed but to read the introduction to this work to be most strongly attracted by the life and writings of his Oriental brother."

In one place in his Memoirs, he says:

"For some years past the events of my life having compelled me to call my own powers into action, I devoted myself with ardent zeal and unremitting activity to the cultivation of my mental faculties. . . . My mind was wholly directed to Nature, who appeared to me in all her magnificence. . . . I accordingly formed a religion after my own mind."[29]

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Why the Divan was named West-Östliche:

He named his *Divan* the West-Eastern Divan, because, taking the imagery from the East, he had planted therein his own Western views. "He made the first attempt to transplant Eastern poetry to a German soil."[30]

Just as the success of Firdausi in Persia in writing his Shah-nameh, an epic based on ancient historical tradition as of Persia, led many other Persian poets to write many *namehs* or books on the line of his Shah-nameh, Goethe's success in Germany in writing on Eastern subjects is said to have led other German writers like Rückert (1788-1866), Platen (1796-1835), and Heine (1799-1856), to write on Eastern subjects. Rückert, who was a Professor of Oriental languages, and is said to have known 30 languages and who was a translator of Oriental poems, had, following Goethe, named one of his poems, Östliche Rosen (1823), i.e., "Eastern Roses". His "Rostem and Suhrab, eine Heldengeschichte" (Rustam and Sohrab, an epic or heroic story) is based on a Persian episode. As said by another biographer, who calls Goethe "the German Hafiz",[31] it was not only the Oriental works of von Hammer, but works of other Oriental scholars also that had influenced Goethe. Mr. Lewes names (Silvestre) de Sacy.[31] I think that the name of that distinguished French traveller and scholar, Anquetil du Perron, who had visited India in 1755-61 and who had then published his translation of the Zend Avesta of the Parsees in 1771, may be added as the name of one who had very likely influenced Goethe in his work of the "Buch des Parsen." Dr. Thomas Hyde, the author of "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum" also seems to have influenced him.

Goethe and Hafiz:

Goethe, in his West-Eastern Divan, was chiefly inspired by Hafiz. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "At a time when North and South and West were splitting in sunder, when thrones were breaking up and empires trembling, he sought a willing refuge

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in the restoring fountain of the Eastern poet ". These two poets had as pointed out by his biographer, many traits in common. Dr Bielschowsky says:"

"The bard of Shiraz seemed the very image of himself. Had he himself, perchance, lived once before upon the earth in the form of the Persian? Here was the same joy of earth and love of heaven, the same simplicity and depth, truthfulness and straightforwardness, warmth and passionateness, and, finally, the same openness of heart towards everything human and the same receptive mind free from institutional limitations. Did not the same thing apply to him that the Persians said of their poet, when they called him 'the mystic tongue' and 'the interpreter of mysteries', and when they said of his poems that to outward appearance they were simple and unadorned, but that they had a deep, truth-fathoming significance and highest perfection of form? And had not Hafiz, like him, enjoyed the favour of the humble and the great? Had he not also conquered a conqueror, the mighty Timur? And had he not out of the destruction and ruin saved his own serenity, and continued to sing peacefully as before under the old accustomed conditions?"

"Thus Goethe found in Hafiz a beloved brother of a former age, and, gladly treading in the footsteps of his Oriental kinsman, produced, to compete with the Eastern Divan, one in the West, which had to be styled West-eastern, as the Western poet blended the ideas and forms of the East with those of the West, and boldly assumed the mask of the Persian singer without sacrificing an iota of his own profound personality."

The Twelve Books of the West-Östlicher Divan:

Goethe's West-Eastern Divan consists of the following twelve books, and of these, the Book of the Parsees forms the 11th book:

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1. Buch des Sängers, i.e., the Book of Singers.
2. Buch Hafis, i.e., the Book of Hafiz.
3. Buch der Liebe, i.e., the Book of Love.
4. Buch der Betrachtungen, i.e., the Book of Contemplation.
5. Buch des Unmuths, i.e., the Book of Sadness.
6. Buch der Spruche, i.e., the Book of Proverbs.
7. Buch des Timur, i.e., the Book of Timur.
8. Buch Suleika, i.e., the Book of Zuleikha.
9. Das Schenkenbuch, i.e., the Book of Cup-bearer.
10. Buch der Parabeln, i.e., the Book of Parables.
11. Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of Parsees.
12. Buch des Paradieses i.e., the Book of Paradise.

Oriental names of the 12 Books of the Divan:

Goethe has given Oriental names to all the above 12 books of his Divan. He has called the books "Nameh" which is the Persian word for a book. نامہ He has called the first book "Moganni-nameh" and have given "Buch des Sängers," i.e., the "Book of Singers," as its German equivalent. He has taken this name from a long ode[34] or rather a booklet of Hafiz, called Mughanni-nameh. مغنّی نامہ In fact, this booklet of Hafiz which gives its name to the first book of Goethe's Divan, gives some names and makes several allusions which remind us of the ancient Persians or Parsees. Therein, we find allusions to the Turanian King Afrasiab, his son Shideh and his minister Piran[35] , the hereditary enemies of Iran, and to Salim and Tur, the sons of the Iranian King Faridun. Therein, we also find a reference to the Zindehrud (couplet 22) زندہ رود referred to by Goethe.

The second book Hafis Nameh has Buch Hafiz, as its German name. The word Hafiz حافظ in Persian, means one who learns his Koran well by heart. This was the poetical name of the Persian poet.

The third book, "Buch der Liebe," i.e., the "Book of Love," must be Ishq or Ashq-nameh and not Ushk-nameh as Goethe has

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termed it. The Persian word for Love is Ishq. (عشق)

The fourth book, "Buch der Betrachtungen," i.e., the "Book of Contemplation," is named Tetkir-nameh. The word is Arabic Tafkir (تفکیر) meaning "reflection, consideration."

The fifth book, "Buch des Unmuths," or "Book of Sadness", is entitled Rendseh-nameh, which properly speaking is Ranj-nameh, رنج نامہ i.e., the "Book of Troubles."

The sixth book, "Buch der Spruche" or the "Book of Sayings or Proverbs" is named Hikmet-nameh حکمت نامہ i.e., the book of wise savings.

The seventh book, "Buch des Timur" or the "Book of Timur" has taken its name from Timur or Timurlane, who had, at one time devastated Asia. It is believed, that in the character of Timur, Goethe had, before his mind, Napoleon, the Timur of the West of his time.[36]

The eighth book, "Suleika-nameh" or the "Book of Zuleika", has taken its name from the well-known Eastern female character of Zulikha, who has been the subject of the song of several Eastern poets. The story of Yousaph and Zulikha is as much known in the East as that of Romeo and Juliet in the West. In Zulikha, he had in his mind Marianne von Willemer, the newly married wife of his old friend Willemer, under whose influence he had fallen in his old age.

The ninth book, "Das Schenkenbuch," i.e., the "Book of the Cup-bearer", is named Saki-nameh. Goethe has taken this name from a long ode or rather a booklet of verses of Hafiz himself. This booklet[37] is named Saki-nameh. ساقی نامہ Therein, every alternate couplet begins with the word Saki (i.e., O Cupbearer!). This poem of Hafiz has, in the very beginning, an allusion to Zardusht زردوشت or Zoroaster and his sacred fire. It has also several allusions to

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eminent kings and personages of ancient Iran, like King Jamshed, Tahamtan (Rustam) and his celebrated horse the Rakhsh, Minocheher, Buzurj Meher, Noshirwan, Kai Kaus, Kai Kobad, Dara and Kai Khusru.

The tenth book, "Buch der Parabeln" or the "Book of Parables" is entitled Mathal-nameh (Masal-nameh) مثل نامہ from the Arabic word *masal* which means, a fable, adage or parable.

The eleventh book, which is the subject proper of this Paper, is "Buch des Parsen" or the "Book of the Parsees." It is entitled Parsi-nameh. Lewes translates the words "Buch des Parsen", by "Book of the Persians."[38] But Prof. Dowden translates them by "Book of the Parsees."[39] There are several reasons why the latter rendering is preferable. Firstly, the proper German word for 'Persian' would be 'Perser' and not Parsi. The word 'Parsi' is rendered into German dictionaries by 'Parsee.' Secondly, the contents of the book shew, that Goethe does not speak in this poem of the modern Persians. Of course, as one would naturally be led to think from the fact of the Divan of the modern Persian poet Hafiz having led him to write his Divan, that Goethe speaks of the modern Persians or Persians in general. But that is not the case. He speaks of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Persians. And thirdly, Goethe heads his poem in the very beginning as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens, i.e., "the Last Will of the Old Persian Religion."

The twelfth or the last book, "Buch des Paradieses", i.e., the "Book of Paradise", is entitled "Chuld-nameh." It is Persian Khuld-nameh. (خلد نامہ) The first part of the name is Arabic (خلد) *khuld*, meaning eternity, paradise. The word 'paradiese' in the German name of the book (English paradyse, Fr. paradis) is *firdous* (فردوس) in Persian, meaning a garden, a vineyard, paradise.[40] It is originally an Avestan word pairi-daeza meaning lit. "an enclosed place." It is one

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of the four Avesta or old Iranian words that have entered into the old Hebrew of the Bible.

The feeling, breathing in the Divan:

Sarah Austin thus sums up the feeling, breathing through the *Divan*. "Through all the songs of the *Divan* breathes the untroubled feeling of an unexpected reconcilement with Life, and a cheerful acquiescence in the conditions of our being. The period of time within which this collection of lyrical matter had birth is shown in the opening song. It is the period in which all was wreck and confusion, thrones were overthrown, and nations panic-stricken. And now, when all seemed gloom and despair, the poet had fought through the fight with himself and the outer world; he had gained the power to penetrate with cheerful courage into the deep origin of things in which men still received heavenly wisdom from God in earthly language, and did not distract their heads. The poet, become one with himself and with the world, stands firm against all outward shocks, and is no wise disheartened by them . . . . The poet stands isolated and self-dependant. This, which had at first given Goethe such intense pain, has now lost its bitterness. He is become like one of those happy sages of the east, whose unclouded brightness and serenity of soul nothing temporal could disturb; who find their country everywhere, because peace and content reign in their own bosoms."[41]

Goethe's other biographer also says a similar thing: "The *West-Östliche Divan* was a refuge from the troubles of the time. Instead of making himself unhappy with the politics of Europe, he made himself happy studying the history and poetry of the East. He even began to study the Oriental languages, and was delighted to be able to copy the Arabic manuscripts in their peculiar characters . . . . This forms the peculiarity of the *Divan*--it is West-Eastern; the images are Eastern; the feeling is Western . . . . In this Eastern world we recognize the Western poet."[42]

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V.

3. His Parsi-nameh

The Contents of the Parsi-nameh:

Coming to the Parsi-nameh itself, before examining it a little in details, I will here briefly sum up its contents in the words of Prof. Dowden[43]: "The Book of the Parsees is mainly occupied with the noble 'Legacy of the old Persian faith,' uttered to his disciples by a poor and pious brother now about to depart from earth. The worship of the Sun and of fire, seemingly so abstracted, is regarded by Goethe as profoundly practical. The dying saint enthusiastically aspires towards the light, but his lesson for his brethren is wholly concerned with conduct;--'daily fulfilment of hard services'--such is his legacy in a word; their part it will be to keep pure, as far as human effort can, the soul, the air, the water of the canal, and their own hearts and lives through devoted service, in order that these may be worthy to receive the divine and vivifying rays of the Sun. And, as the Sun rises above the peaks of the Darnavend, the old man's spirit ascends from earth to be gathered from gyre to gyre of the heavens."

Goethe's Buch des Parsen or Parsi-nameh, to be properly understood, must be read with his *Noten und Abhandlungen* (Notes and Discussions). When we read both, together or side by side, we find that the subjects treated in the Parsi-nameh can be grouped under a few principal heads. These are:

1. Veneration for the Sun, of which fire-veneration is a part or substitute.
2. Purity or cleanliness, both physical and mental or moral.
3. Daily fulfilment of hard services.

Veneration for the Sun:

The first and the most important subject is the reverence paid

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to the Sun by the Parsees, of which the veneration for fire is, according to Goethe, a subsidiary part.

He says, at first, that the splendour of a king, decked with gold and adorned with gems, is nothing before the splendour of the rising Sun illuminating the many peaks of the Darnawend [44] One cannot help looking at and admiring the grand spectacle. One's thoughts on such a sight are led to God, the fountain of life, and to seek His ways in His light. The physical light leads him to thoughts of moral light.

Goethe's justification of the Veneration for the Sun:

In his "Notes and Discussions", Goethe thus justifies the Parsees' reverence for the Sun and the other luminaries. He says: "Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned toward the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw their God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child, the baptism of fire[45] was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long, the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire on the contrary walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike."

From Nature to Nature's God is a principle upon which

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Zoroastrian teachings about worship are principally based. Nature is the grand manifestation of God. If a Zoroastrian is asked about the evidences of the Existence of God, his reply should be that the principal evidence is, what is now spoken of as, the "Argument from Design." Chapter 44 of the Yacna serves as an instance. A Parsee's prayer, now named, *char disa ni namaj*, i.e., obeisance in all four directions, in reciting which four times, he turns each time to all the four directions, East, South, West and North beginning with the East and ending with the North, shews his faith, that he believes in the omnipresence of God, in his attractive presence in the great objects of Nature, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, & c.

A similar justification by a modern traveller:

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the great American millionaire when he was once in Bombay, on seeing a Parsee pray before the Sun and the great sea at Back Bay, thus spoke of what Goethe calls the "elevating worship of the Parsis": "Fire was there in its grandest form, the setting Sun, and water in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean outstretched before them. The earth was under their feet, and wafted across the sea; the air came laden with the perfumes of 'Araby the blest.' Surely no time or place could be more fitly chosen than this for lifting up the soul to the realms beyond sense. I could not but participate with these worshippers in what was so grandly beautiful. There was no music save the solemn moan of the waves as they broke into foam on the beach. But where shall we find so mighty an organ, or so grand an anthem?

"How inexpressibly sublime the scene appeared to me, and how insignificant and unworthy of the unknown seemed even our cathedrals 'made with human hands', when compared with this looking up through Nature unto Nature's God! I stood and drank in the serene happiness which seemed to fill the air."[46]

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A similar justification by Akbar:

Goethe's comparison of the splendour of a king with that of the great luminary reminds us of King Akbar's view, expressed by his great minister Abul Fazl in his 'Akbar-nameh' He says:

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surely, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of 'the select' is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munayri said: 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the Sun is down?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the Sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the Sun is the torch of God's sovereignty."[47]

The tone of justification for the veneration paid to the Sun, adopted here by Abul Fazl, in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc.," reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avesta in the Khurshed Nyaish and Khurshed Yasht (the Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "Should the Sun not rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all things, etc.,"[48]

With regard to the baptism of fire to the new-born child, referred to by Goethe, one may refer to the Persian custom described in the Persian Sad-dar. It says: "When the child becomes separate

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from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days, if they burn a fire it would be better."[49] Dr. Thomas Hyde, in his "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia", published in the middle of the 18th century, rests a good deal upon the Sad-dar for some parts or his version about the ancient Persians. It is possible that this work also was one of the books studied by Goethe for his materials about the ancient Persians.

Goethe's view about the Veneration for the Sun:

Before we proceed further, we would notice here, what Mr. G. H. Lewes, a biographer of Goethe, says of Goethe's views in 1813, about the practice of paying reverence to the Sun as a manifestation of God. Mr. Lewes says:[50]

"But against dogmatic teachings he opposed the fundamental rule, that all conceptions of the Deity must necessarily be *our* individual conceptions, valid for us, but not to the same extent for others. Each has his own religion; must have it as his individual possession; let each see that he be true to it, which is far more efficacious than trying to accommodate himself to another's. . . . .

"'I *believe* in God,' was, he said 'a beautiful and praiseworthy phrase; but to *recognize* God in all his manifestations, *that* is true holiness on earth' He looked upon the Four Gospels as genuine, 'for there is in them a reflection of a greatness which emanated from the person of Jesus, and which was of as divine a kind as was ever seen upon earth.' If I am asked whether it is in my nature to pay Him devout reverence I say--certainly! I bow before Him as the divine manifestation of the highest morality. If I am asked whether it is in my nature to reverence the Sun, I again say--certainly! For he is likewise a manifestation of highest Being. I adore in him the light and the productive power of God; by which we all live, move and have our being."

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Dignity of the Elements and the Idea of Purity or Cleanliness connected with it:

With the Persian reverence for the Sun and the fire is connected the idea of what Goethe calls, "Würde der sämtlichen Elemente", i.e., the "Dignity of all the Elements." Goethe thus speaks of this subject in his "Notes and Discussions":

"It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered."

What a modern writer, Mr. Samuel Lang, the author of "Modern Science and Modern Thought" says, in his "Modern Zoroastrian," is somewhat the same, as what Goethe says, about the "respect for all natural forces that surround man" leading "to every civic virtue." He says: "In this respect, however, what I have called the Zoroastrian theory of religion affords great advantages. It connects religion directly with all that is good and beautiful, not only in the higher realms of speculation and of emotion, but in the ordinary affairs of daily life. To feel the truth of what is true, the beauty of what is beautiful, is of itself a silent prayer or act of worship to the Spirit of Light; to make an honest, earnest, effort to attain this feeling is an offering or act of homage. Cleanliness of mind and body, order and propriety in conduct, civility in intercourse, and all the homely virtues of everyday life, thus acquire a higher significance, and any willful and persistent disregard of them becomes an act of mutiny against the Power whom we have elected to serve."[5]

"The Dignity of the Elements" associated with Purity:

The dignity associated with the elements is practical. It

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carries with it, and conveys the idea of, Purity and Cleanliness, Order and Harmony. A beautiful Avestan maxim illustrates all that Goethe says. The maxim is: Yaozdao mashyai aipi zanthem vahtshta"[52] i.e., Purity is the best thing for man, since his very birth.

Prof. Darmesteter says:

"L'axiome 'cleanliness is next to godliness' serait tout à fait Zoroastrien, avec cette différence que dans le Zoroastrisme 'Cleanliness' est une forme même de 'godliness'."[53]

The custom of the Disposal of the Dead, connected with the idea of the Purity of Elements:

In the advice of Goethe's testator in the Parsi-nameh, "Let the dead be given to the living," we find a reference to the Parsee mode of the disposal of the dead. One must bear in mind, that the Parsee custom enjoins both, exposure to the Sun and exposure to the flesh-devouring animals. Thus, this custom accords with what Goethe says of the Iranian view of the Sun and Purity. The custom is looked at from the point of view of sanitation and purity. Goethe himself thus speaks of the custom in his "Notes and Discussions":

"The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles: Cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion. . . . Owing to such living and practical worship it is likely, there should have been that incredible population to which history bears witness."

Another German scholar's view of the Iranian Idea of Purity:

The Iranian idea of purity entertained by the view of a German scholar, Dr. Rapp, who wrote about fifty years after Goethe, is worth noting here, as it supports the view of Goethe. Dr. Rapp[54]

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says:

"The Iranians had a cultivated sense for purity and decency, whatever has in the slightest degree anything impure, nauseous in itself, instils into them an unconquerable horror. This has a connection in part with the fact, that the impure is mostly even unhealthy and harmful, but in several cases the cause of the impurity does not allow of being traced back to that fact. The Iranians had in a certain measure a distinct sixth sense for the pure. All of that sort has, according to their view, their origin in darkness, in obscurity; in such substances, according to their conceptions, the evil spirits dwell, and when they let such sorts to approach near to them, they thereby offer to the evil spirits admission into, and domination over themselves."

Purity of Ground:

Goethe refers to the Iranians' solicitude to keep the ground, water, and air pure. He attributes the origin of their custom of the disposal of the dead to that solicitude for not soiling the ground. He makes his testator direct, that even fields be laid out on a neatly purified ground.

To keep all ground neat and pure is one of the oft-repeated *farmans* of the Avesta. In the Vendidad, such a ground is represented as feeling pleased and delighted. In reply to Zoroaster's questions, Ahura Mazda describes at some length the different kinds of ground which feel delighted. They are the following:

1. The piece of ground where the pious say their prayers. In other words, a place of worship is the first that feels delighted.

2. The place where righteous persons live with their families in peace, piety and plenty.

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3. The water-less ground when irrigated, and the moist ground when dried or reclaimed, feel delighted. The ground feels more delighted when cultivated.

4. The ground where cattle are bred.

5. The ground where cattle go for pasture and which they fertilize by their manure.

On the other hand, the following pieces of ground feel grieved:

1. The ground of volcanic crevices which are seats of unhealthiness and disease.

2. The ground where men are buried.

3. The ground which has graves or tombs-structures over it. According to the spirit of the teachings of the Avesta, pure and simple burial--though not good in itself--is far better than burial with structures, which delay quick decomposition and prevent the bodies from being soon reduced to dust. The structures make the burial-ground, seats of diseases.

4. Uneven ground, full of holes and crevices which engender sickness.

5. The ground, whereon people lead an unrighteous life.

The following classes of persons are spoken of as those who make ground feel delighted:

1. The man who disinters buried bodies and exposes them, and thus frees the ground from being impure and unclean.

2. The man who destroys tombs or structures over the graves

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and thus helps an early decomposition

Purity of Water:

Goethe makes his testator direct, that waters of canals, streams, and rivers must have "a free course and clearness. "A Senderud" comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite pure." He dilates a little on this subject in his "Notes and Discussions" and refers to the Iranians' "sacred dread to pollute water, the air and earth." He adds "on the one hand they would not soil a river, and on the other hand they were digging canals with careful economy of water and they kept them clean."

Both Herodotus and Strabo refer to the Iranians' scrupulous care for the cleanliness of water. Herodotus says: "They neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow any one else to do so, but they pay extreme veneration to all rivers."[56] Strabo says: "The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it."[57]

The Avesta enjoined, that an Iranian should never spoil the water of rivers. Not only that, but if he saw some decomposing matter in a stream or rivulet, he should stop at once, whether he be going on foot, driving, or riding, and go into the water as far as he can and remove the filth. This injunction was latterly stretched a little too far, and applied even to salt water; and we find from Tacitus,[58] that in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero, Tiridates, a Zoroastrain king of Armenia, refused to go to Rome when summoned to that court, on the ground, that he had to cross the sea, where he would be obliged to pollute the water against the dictates of his religion.

Purity of Fire:

Goethe speaks of the religion of the Parsees as based on "the dignity of all elements," and, while speaking of their "strange mode of disposing of their dead," says that is "due to excessive care of not

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soiling the pure elements."

Now, one can easily understand how air, earth and water can be kept pure, bot not so easily, how fire can be kept pure. Of course, a Parsee is asked to be careful to see, that he places dry, clean, and fragrant wood over his sacred fire. That is a kind of physical purity. But in a Pahlavi writing attached to the Pahlavi Shayast la Shayast,[59] fire, not only the sacred fire of the fire-temples but also the culinary fire burning in one's hearth at home, is required to be kept pure and clean. Here, it is the work of spiritual purity that is spoken off. Physical purity is here a symbol of moral purity. So, it is said, that if one cooks upon the fire of his house some food that he has purchased from money dishonestly acquired, he defiles the fire, he makes it impure. Similarly, if a worshipper offers to the sacred fire of the fire-temple odoriferous wood or incense that is bought from money acquired dishonestly, he displeases the fire.

Daily fulfillment of hard services, resulting from the Iranian view of Order:

With purity and cleanliness, go, to a certain extent, Order, Harmony, Discipline which help one in their daily fulfilment of duty and work. Goethe makes his testator direct: "When you plant trees let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered."

'Order' is one of the characteristic teachings of the Avesta. The word 'Asha' which is one of the few technical words of the Avesta that cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, significantly contains the idea of Order. The word Asha is Sanscrit *rita* and philologically corresponds to right. What is good, right or perfect in points of Order, Discipline, Purity, Harmony, Truth, Beauty, is Asha. It carries with it, the idea, not only of physical Order, but moral Order. Ahura Mazda, is the Ashoan Asho, the Most Orderly of the Orderlies.

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VI

Parsi-nameh, Book of the Parsees

Testament of the Old Persian Faith

(Translated by Father Noti from the German)

What testament, brethren, is to come to you from him who is departing, from him the poor and pious, whom you, juniors, have patiently nursed and whose last days you have honoured by your cares?

Often we have seen the king riding along, decked with gold and accompanied by gold on every side, gems being sown like dense hail-stones on him and on his nobles.

Did you ever envy him for this? and did you not more nobly feed your eyes, when the Sun on morning's pinions arose in his arched course over the innumerable peaks of Darnawend?

Who could keep his eyes from looking at that spectacle? I felt, I felt a thousand times, during so many days of my life, that I was carried along with him at his coming, to recognize God on his throne and to call him the Lord of life's fountain and to act (in a way) worthy of that sublime sight and to proceed on my way in His light.

But when the fiery circle ascended and was completed, I stood as if dazed in darkness, I struck my breast and threw my limbs, front forward down to the ground.

And now let me make a holy testament for your fraternal will and memory: the daily observance of heavy duties; no other revelation is required.

As soon as a new born child moves pious hands, let him forthwith be turned towards the Sun, let him be bathed, body and soul, in the fiery bath. He will feel every morning's grace.

Let the dead be given to the living; let even the animals be

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covered with rubbish and earth and let what seems to you impure, be concealed, as far as you have the power.

Let your field be laid out on a neatly purified ground, in order that the Sun may like to shine upon your industry. When you plant trees, let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered.

Also the water must never lack in its channels a free course and cleanness. As Senderud comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite pure.

That the soft fall of the water may not be weakened, take care, to dig out diligently the channels. Reeds and bulrushes, newts and salamanders, let them be destroyed, one and all.

When you have thus purified earth and water, the Sun will like to shine through airs where he is worthily received and where he produces life and salvation and welfare of life.

You, who are harassed from labour to labour, be consoled; now the universe is purified and now Man may venture, to strike the image of God out of the flint.

Take joyfully notice, where the flame is burning; clear is the night and lithe are the limbs.

On the active fires of the hearth, what is raw in the saps of plants and beasts, is made mature.

If you carry wood, do it joyfully: for you carry the seed of the earthly sun. If you pluck *Pambeh*,[60] you may confidently say: This will be made into a wick and bear the Holy.

If you piously recognize in the burning of every lamp the semblance of a higher light, no mishap shall ever prevent you from adoring the throne of God in the morning.

This is the imperial seal of our existence, this is the mirror of the Deity for us and the angels, and all that but stutter the praise of the Most High, are gathered there in circles round circles.

And wish to bid good-bye to the banks of Senderud and to soar

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up to Darnawend to meet him rejoicing, when he comes up at dawn and to bless you from there in all eternity.

If Man values the earth, because the Sun shines on it, if he delights in the vine, which weeps at the touch of the knife, as it feels, that its juices, well-matured and world-refreshing, will become incentive to many powers, but stifling to many more: he understands, that he has to thank for this that heat which makes all this prosper, he will, when drunk, stammer and totter; he will when moderate, sing and rejoice.

VII

The Ancient Parsees

(Translated by Father Hömel from the German)

Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike.

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Zoroaster seems to have been the first to transform this noble and pure religion of Nature into an intricate worship. Mental prayer, which includes and excludes all religions, and which penetrates the whole of life only with a few privileged minds, develops with most men only as an ardent, enrapturing feeling of the moment; but if this disappears, man is restored to himself, and being neither contended nor occupied any longer, he relapses into endless tedium.

To fill this tedium with consecrations and purifications, with walking to and fro, bowing and stooping, forms the duty and profit of the Priests; in the course of centuries, these carry their trade to endless triflings. He who is able to take a prompt survey from the primitive childlike worship of the rising Sun, to the silliness of the Guebers, as it is to be found even at the present day in India, the same will see in the former a fresh nation starting from sleep to salute the early dawn, and in the latter backward people who try to expel common tedium by pious tedium.

It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered. On this, culture of the soil was based: for, on the one hand, they would not soil a river, and, on the other hand, they were digging canals, with careful economy of water, and they kept them clean. The circulation of these canals gave rise to fertility of the soil, so that the cultivation of the realm was, at that time, ten times larger. Everything on which the Sun smiled was pursued with utmost zeal, and more than anything else they tended the vine, the Sun's favoured child.

The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles: cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion;

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and even at present, when the Guebers are expelled, banished, despised, and at most finding shelter in ill-famed slums of a suburb, it happens that a dying follower of that religion bequeathes a certain sum, in order that some street of the city may be cleansed forthwith and thoroughly. Owing to such living and practical worship, it is likely, there should have been possible that incredible population to which history bears witness.

So tender a religion, based on God's omnipresence in his visible works, cannot but have a special influence on morals. Look at its principal positive and negative commandments: Not to lie, not to make debts; not to be ungrateful! The fruitfulness of these doctrines will easily be understood by every moralist and ascetical teacher. In fact the first negative commandment implies the two next, and all others; for, they are, in fact, derived from untruthfulness and faithlessness. This is probably the reason why the devil is referred to in the East merely as the perpetual liar.

But, as this religion leads to musing, it is likely that it will lead to effeminacy, as there is indeed some trace of the womanish character in their long loose garments. There was, however, a powerful safe-guard in their manners and institutions. They used to carry arms even in times of peace and in familiar life, and they practised the use of arms in every manner possible. Most clever and fast racing was customary among them; their games too, like the one played with clubs and balls in large play-grounds, kept them vigorous, strong and nimble; and relentless levies of troops would transform each and every one into heroes at the beck and call of the king.

Let us turn back on their religious feelings. At first, public worship was limited to a few fires, and for this very reason it was more venerable; then a reverend priesthood multiplied more and more, and at the same rate fires became more numerous. It lies in the nature of perpetually incompatible relations, that the closely united spiritual power should, on a given occasion, rebel against temporal

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power. Omitting that the Pseudo-Smerdis, who seized the kingdom, had been a priest, that he had been raised, and for some time supported by his colleagues,--we find on several occasions that the priests were dangerous for the rulers.

Scattered by Alexander's invasion, not favoured under his Parthain successors, raised and gathered again by the Sassanides, the Parsees always struck to their doctrines, and opposed the ruler by whom these were infringed. Thus roused in every possible manner the utmost aversion in both parties, at the union of Kooshru with the fair Schireen, a Christian.

At last, the Parsees were expelled for good by the Arabs, and driven to India. What was left of them and their mental followers in Persia, is despised and insulted down to the present day; at times tolerated, and persecuted at other times according to the whim of rulers, this religion is still preserving here and there in its primitive purity, even in desolate nooks, as has been said by a poet in "The Old Parsee's Testament."

It can hardly be doubted that in the course of ages much good is due to this religion, and that it contained the possibility of the higher civilization which spread over the Western part of the East. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to convey some notion as to how and whence this civilization was spreading. Many towns were scattered throughout many districts like centres of life; but what appears most marvellous to me is, that the fatal neighbourhood of Indian idolatry could not influence this religion. It is striking that, while the towns of Balkh and Bamian were so close to each other, we see how in the latter the silliest idols of huge dimensions were made and adored, whilst in the former there remained temples of the pure fire, there sprang up large monasteries of this confession, and there flocked together numberless *mobeds*. How glorious was the organization of these institutes may be gathered from the extraordinary men who came from thence. Out of them came the family of the Barmekides, who were so long

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flourishing as influential State-Servants, until they were at last, like an almost similar house of this kind in our day,--rooted out and driven out.[14]

Notes and References

1. Vol. XCIV, pp. 23-42
2. Dr. Steingass's "Persian-English Dictionary"
3. It forms the 14th Volume of the Stuttgart Edition (1867) of Goethe's Works in our Library.
4. Goethe's Werke. Vierzehnter Band (14th Volume). Stuttgart Edition, 1867, pp. 138-41.
5. *Goethe: His Life and Writings*, by Oscar Browning (1892), pp. 136-37
6. The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfurt. During my two days' visit of Frankfurt, in 1889, I had the pleasure of visiting his house on 21st September 1889. I have put down in my note-book, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hirschgraben." There is also his statue in Frankfurt. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poecy--Tragedy and Comedy; on another, his Faust and Mephistocles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works. In the Museum of Antiquities, I saw, on a glass plate, the representation of the Persian winged Farohar with the flame of fire before it.
7. *Life and Works of Goethe* by Lewes, Vol. I, p. 183.
8. *Goethe: His Life and Writings*, by Oscar Browning, p. 56.
9. Ibid., p. 60.
10. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
11. Ibid., p. 71.
12. Ibid., p. 75.
13. Ibid., p. 78.
14. Ibid., p. 86.

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15. *The Life of Goethe* by A. Bielschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. II. p. 411. *Life and Works of Goethe* by Lewes, Vol. II. pp. 366-67.
16. Ibid., Bielschowsky, Vol. II. p. 453. note 77.
17. Ibid., p. 414.
18. *Goethe* by Oscar Browning, p. 124.
19. Ibid., p. 125.
20. *Life and Works of Goethe*, Vol. I., p. 100.
21. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
22. Dr. Shridhar v. Ketkar's "Essay on Hinduism, its foundation and future", quoted in the Academy of 15th June 1912, p. 749.
23. *Life and Works of Goethe* by Lewes, Vol. I, pp. 102-3. Bk. II.
24. "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II, pp. 113-14.
25. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 117-18.
26. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 112-13.
27. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 436-437.
28. Dr. Bielschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 1.
29. "Memoirs of Goethe", written by himself (1824), Vol. II, p. 121.
30. *Goethe: His Life and Writings*, by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.
31. *The Life and Works of Goethe* by Lewes, Vol. II, p. 398.
32. *Goethe: His Life and Writings*, p. 126.
33. *The Life of Goethe*, translated by W.A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 3.
34. Ode 687 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation of Hafiz. Vol. II p. 993.
35. Col. Clarke is wrong in saying that he was a great general of Iran (Ibid. p. 996 note). He was the great Minister and General of Turan.
36. *Goethe: His Life and Writings* by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.
37. It forms Ode No. 686 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation.
38. *Life and Works of Goethe* by G.H. Lewes, Vol. II, p. 399.
39. *Contemporary Review* of July 1908, Vol. XCIV, p. 4.
40. Firdausi, the Homer of the East, derives his name from this world, Firdaus.
41. *Characteristics of Goethe*, from the German of Falk, von Müller, & c. (Conversations-Lexicon, and Supplement) by Sarah Austin (1833), Vol. II, pp. 241-43.

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42. *Life and Works of Goethe* by G. H. Lewes, Vol. II., p. 398.

43. His article on "Goethe's West Eastern Divan" in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908, Vol. 94, p. 41.

44. Damawend is the mountain near modern Tehran, known as the Demavend. It is variously written in the Pahalvi books. In the grand Bundehi it is written Dubahvand.

    a. Dhabvand.

    b. Dumbahvand.

    c. Dubahvand.

    d. Ervard Tehmura's text, published by the Trustees of the Parsees Punchayet, p. 80, l. 2; p. 88, n. 5. S. B. E., Vol. V. Chap. XII. 29, 31.

    e. Ibid., p. 80, l. 6.

    f. Ibid., p. 198, l. 8.

45. Vide the Sad-dar which speaks of kindling a lamp or fire on the birth of a child.

46. As quoted by S. Lang in his *Modern Zoroastrian*, p. 220.

47. *The Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48.

48. Yt. vi. S. B. E. Vol., XXII. p. 86.

49. Chapter XVI. 2. S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., p. 277. Text, edited by Mr. B. N. Dhrabhar, p. 15.

50. *The Life and Works of Goethe* (1855), Vol. II. p. 392.

51. *A Modern Zoroastrian* by S. Lang, pp. 223-4.

52. (Vendidad X. 18; Yacna, XLVIII. 5).

53. L. Zend Avesta II. Introduction, p. X.

54. "Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen" (Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians, according to the Greek and Roman authors). German Oriental Society's Journal, [ZDMG] Vol. XVII. Leipzig, 1863, pp. 52-56. Translated from the German of Dr. Rapp by Mr. K. R. Cama, in his *The Zoroastrian Mod of Disposing of the Dead*, p. 19.

55. The Senderud of Goethe is the Zenderud زنده رود of Isphan, of which M.

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Barbier de Meynard, basing his work on the Modjem el-Bouldan of Yakout and other Arab and Persian writers, says: "C'est un des noms de la rivière célèbre qui passe à Ispahan et arrose plusieurs bourgs et campagnes de son territoire. C'est une grande rivière dont les eaux sont douces et fécondantes (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Litéraire de la Perse, p. 289).

56. Bk. I. 138. Cary's Translation (1889), p. 62.

57. Book XV, Chap. III 16. Hamilton and Falconer's translation, Vol. III, p. 137.

58. Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Book XV, p. 24. The Oxford Translation.

59. S. B. E. Vol. V., p. 375. Shayast la Shayast, Appendix, Chap. XV. 12.

60. Pambeh پنبه is Persian meaning cotton or twist.

61. I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interestting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany (1901)". It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here.

(In: *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay), vol. XXIV (1914-15), pp. 66-101: also in: J. J. Modi: *Asiatic Papers*, part II, pp. 119-148)

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Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi

Hafiz and Goethe

(Summary)

Introduction

Goethe (1749-1832) the great German poet is spoken of as "the German Hafiz," because he was fond of the poetry of Hafiz, and had, like the Persian poet, composed a poem which is called *West-Östlicher Divan*, i.e. "The West-Eastern Divan." The object of this paper is to present a few traits which are common to these two great poets and to their *Divans*.

Something common among the ancient Germans and the Indo-Iranians,

they being chips of the same Aryan block.

Some of the German poets and philosophers of the 19th century have been greatly influenced by the ancient Indian and Persian thought. Their ancestors, the ancient Germans, being chips of the same block, the old Aryan stock, had many things in common with the Indo-Iranians. For example, (a) like the ancient Indians, they disliked widow-marriages and inter-marriages, and liked the custom of *Sati*. (b) Like the Indo-Iranians, they worshipped gods presiding over the grand objects of nature, like the Sun, Moon, Fire and Earth. Their chief god Wotan, who gave his name to *Wotentag* or Wed-nes-day, had a mark on his forehead like an Indian Brahmana. Nature-worship, which led from Nature to Nature's God, was, as one could gather from the writings of Tacitus, their natural tendency. (c) Like

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the Indo-Iranians, they measured time by nights not by days. (d) As pointed out by Sir H. Maine, their Teutonic Townships resembled Indian Village-Councils or Village *Panchayats*. A group of families, united by the assumption of common kinship exercised joint ownership over land.

They do not seem to have been indigenous to Germany but seem to have gone there from the East. Later on also, through their connection with Rome, they had come into some contact with the East, with Egypt and Persia. The Huns, with whom they later on came into contact, were from the East, and some of them were ancient Mazdayasnans or Zoroastrians. Such being the case, there is no wonder, that some of the later German philosophers and poets, the descendants of these ancient Germans, had some tendencies to give willing ears to the teachings and the poetry of the East. The philosophy of Spinoza (1622-77) was pantheistic. His pantheism was of the same type as the monotheistic pantheism of the Indians. Schopenhauer (1788-1860) was so much enamoured of the *Upanishads*, that he said: "It has been the solace of my life. It will be the solace of my death."

The Oriental Movement

With such, as it were, inherited tendencies, some of the philosophers and poets of Germany of the last century gave willing ear to some of the teachings and writings of India and Persia. There was, what Dr. Remy in his excellent book, *The Influence of India and Persia on the German Poetry*, calls "the Oriental Movement" in Germany, a movement "which manifested itself so strikingly in German literature during the nineteenth century."

Calcutta starting the Oriental Movement

The city of Calcutta, where I have the pleasure of reading this paper, may fairly claim the credit of starting the Oriental movement.

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The Asiatic Society of Bengal can claim a great share in that credit, and as a Parsi, I take some pleasure in thinking, that the study of the *Zend Avesta* of the Parsis was, as it were, the cause of the conception of that movement. Anquetil du Perron, who had come to India for studying Parsi religion and who happened to come to Calcutta, studied and translated at Surat the *Zend Avesta* with Dastur Darab, a learned Parsi Divine of that ancient city. In one of the volumes of his French translation of the *Zend Avesta*, he attacked the literary attainments of Dr. Hyde and some Oxford scholars who had written upon the religion of Persia. His attack wounded the feelings of a young fiery-tempered Oxford scholar, William Jones, who, in his turn, wrote very strongly against Anquetil. This controversy led this young man, when he came to Calcutta, to study Oriental languages and to found for their further study, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was his and his brother scholars' work in this city that drew the attention of European scholars towards Oriental subjects and thus led to the founding of the "Oriental movement" in Germany.

Persia appealed more to German Writers

Sanskrit and Persian both appealed to the Germans, but Persian more. As said by Dr. Remy, "the Persian tendency found a greater number of followers than the Indian. It was far more easy to sing of wine, women and roses, in the manner of Hafiz...than to assimilate and reproduce the philosophy and often involved poetry of India." Even Martin Luther, sang of wine, music and woman, and that was before this Oriental movement.

The following two short lines of Martin Luther sum up, as it were, a few of the *ghazals* of Hafiz.

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang."

"He who does not like wine, woman, and song, remains a fool for the whole of his life."

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Compare with this the following lines of Hafiz:-

"ishkbazi, wa jawani, wa sharab-i-lal fam
majlis-i-uns, wa harif-i-hamdam, wa sharb-i-modam
har ke in majlis bejuyad khush deli bar wai halal
wa an ke in ashrat ne khahad zindagi bar wai haram."....

"Love, youth and ruby coloured wine,

A friendly meeting, a congenial companion and constant drinking

He who is desirous of this number of pleasures is deserving of cheerfulness.

He who does not like these pleasures, may curse be on his life."

The German poets who were influenced by the Oriental movement

Among the great German poets who, as pointed out by Mr. Remy, are said to have been influenced by the Oriental movement we find the names of Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Friederich Schlegel, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Platen, Rückert, Heine and Bodenstedt. The time of the Schlegel brothers is said to be the time of "the foundation of Sanskrit philology in Germany. English statesmanship had completed the material conquest of India. German scholarship now began to join in the spiritual conquest of that country" (Remy). Most of the above poets who were affected by and who further influenced, the Oriental movement, were attracted by Persian poets. Herder was attracted by Sadi and Goethe by Hafiz.

Goethe began his love for Oriental literature with Sanskrit but ended with Persian

The Orient attracted Goethe. The principal cause which endeared to him the study of Oriental literature, was the depression of mind

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brought about by the invasion of Germany and the resulting tumult, strife and loss of lives. He turned to the East for solace and he found that solace. He began with Sanskrit. He read and related before his literary friends the stories of Rama and Hanuman. The prologue of his well-known *Faust* is said to have been inspired by the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa. Some of his poetical writings had Indian materials for their topics. But his liking for Indian literature soon ended. He found something like "monstrosities" in some of the Indian gods, like Hanuman, who, as Remy says, "shocked his aesthetic sense." The dislike for India's mythology led to a dislike for India's philosophy which he found to be too abstruse.

He now turned to Persia and found in its poetry, and even in its old teaching, some solace during the above referred to times of mental depression, brought about by the political degradation of Germany and its results. It was Hammer's translation of Hafiz, published in 1814, that principally drew him towards Persian poetry. He learnt a little Persian and Arabic and the *Divan* of Hafiz inspired him to write a *Divan* in German. Goethe was, as it were, prepared beforehand to admire Hafiz. Let us have a short look into the lives of Hafiz and Goethe to properly understand the influence of Hafiz on Goethe.

Lives of Hafiz and Goethe : Common traits

(a) Hafiz, who was born in the beginning of the 14th century (died in 1385) revelled like Goethe, in poetry from his very early age.

(b) Goethe's early life was not pure from a moral point of view. At the age of 39, in 1785, he entered into a kind of half-marriage with a healthy looking young girl who came to him with a petition for her brother. It was after living with her for 15 years that he married her. This was a slur upon the conduct of Goethe. In the case of Hafiz, though there was nothing like this in his case, his young days were passed in youthful conviviality, and it was afterwards that he took to

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religious thoughts.

(c) Again, both were mystics from their young age. Sadi is said to have given to Hafiz the title of *Lisan-ul-Ghaib*, i.e., the tongue (*lisan*) of hidden (*ghaib*) things or the mystic tongue. Goethe was first drawn to the mystical writings of saints by Mrs. Klettenberg. Later on a young lady friend Lotte (Charlotte), often talking to him about the other world, led him further to mysticism. It is said, that both had arranged between them, that the one who "died first, should, if he (or she) could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life."[1] Later on, his appointment in the Court of Weimar, which kept him away from his favourite studies for ten years owing to the boisterous and luxurious life of the Court, also drove him to possess his soul more and more in peace. While in the case of Goethe, an experience of the Court life drove him away from much of pleasures, in the case of Hafiz, he from the very beginning kept aloof from the courts of kings and their courtiers, though his presence was often sought for by them, even by kings of distant India.

(d) Like Goethe, Hafiz also had in his mind's eye in his ghazals a damsel whom he loved. He spoke of her as (*shakh-i-nabat*), i.e. the branch of sugar-cane. There is a difference of opinion as to the real meaning of his love-ghazals. But the general opinion is, that it was mystic love. In one of such mystic ghazals (ghazal 158 as numbered by Mr. W. Clarke) he refers to the story of a king of Bengal.

Traits common to their Divans

There are a number of traits common to the writings of both the poets in the matter of their Oriental imagery. References to the *Saqi* or the cup-bearer, messages through the breeze (*saba*) or wind, thoughts of humility like that of *khak* (dust), the feasting of soul over the beauty of Nature and Man are common.

Goethe has divided his *Divan* into twelve *Namehs* or books, e.g.

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Das Buch des Sängers, i.e. the book of the singers, *Das Schenkenbuch*, i.e. the book of the cup-bearer. In the use of the word *Nameh* for his twelve books of the *Divan*, he has followed Hafiz. The above two of his books have their very names borrowed from the *Divan* of Hafiz where we find them as *Mughanni-Nameh*, i.e. the book of the minstrel and *Saqi-Nameh*, i.e. the book of the cup bearer. It is the 11th book, the *Parsi-Nameh* (*Buch des Parsen*) which interests me much as a Parsi. It is the testament of a dying Persian, who in place of the legacy of money, gives the legacy of the old Parsi religion. Goethe explains in another writing some elements of this religion.

[The paper ends with extracts from the *Divans* of Hafiz and Goethe showing how similar are the ideas and how Goethe was influenced by Hafiz.]

(In: *Proceedings, Second All India Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922 pp. 601-606)

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Syed Vahiduddin

The Mystic Dimensions of Goethe's Thought

'Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth.'
(Qur'an 24:35)

'Were not the eye itself sun-like, how could we ever see the light? If God's own power had not dwelt in us, how could the divine fascinate us? (Goethe)[1]

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) is often considered a universal man who found himself at home in different worlds, as much on Iranian soil as on the soil of his own country or that of Italy. It was hence surprising to find a critic and poet like T. S. Eliot thinking of Goethe as "limited by his age, by his language and by his culture". To us, on the contrary, he seems to have succeeded in breaking through these limitations and to have crossed his cultural threshold in no small measure. The poet who could partake freely of oriental culture who had drunk deep from the fountain of Islam, and had sung the praises of the Prophet at a time when the memories of the Crusades were still fresh, cannot be called parochial by any stretch of the imagination. National hatred was alien to him. He said: "You will find it always most violent and strong on the lowest levels of culture. But there is a level where it disappears altogether and where one stands to a certain extent above nations and

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feels the happiness and misery of the neighbouring people as if it has befallen himself. This level of culture corresponds to my own nature and it took firm roots in me before I had reached the 60th year." He gave expression to these wise words before Eckermann, who wrote: "The poet loves his country as a human being and citizen but the real country of his poetical talents and his political influence is the Good, the Noble and the Beautiful which cannot be tied down to any particular province or any particular country, and which he takes hold of and moulds wherever he can find."[3] He remained receptive and it can be said of him that he died young in the evening of his life. He matured with age but did not outgrow the interests of his youth. Today Goethe is considered of little relevance although we would arrive at a different conclusion if we sifted his writings, bearing in mind that everything he wrote cannot be of equal significance. To borrow a phrase from Benedetto Croce we can also try to find out in Hegel what is living and what is dead in his thought, specially in his scientific works. But what is living in him far surpasses what is dead.

We shall here confine ourselves to only one aspect of Goethe's thought, an aspect to which not much attention has been given. This is what we call the mystic dimension. Goethe was no doubt a man of action, a man who assigned to action as much a metaphysical role as did his elder contemporary, the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). But it is not rare to find that the urge to act and the urge to contemplate do not exlude each other. The law of polarity which Goethe discovered in nature and in man is fully at work here. This enabled Goethe to stand unshaken at a time when his own nation was passing through critical times. We are, however, using the term 'mystical' in a specific sense. We consider it as the recognition of the suprarational in life, and more broadly, as awareness of the unknown, and its infiltration into the known. He spoke really of his feeling for the unknown when he put his own ideas in the mouth of the sage:

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'Die Geisterwelt ist nicht verschlossen;
Dein Sinn ist zu, Dein Herz ist tot.'

(*Faust*--Erster Teil)

(The world of spirit is not closed, it is only your heart and your senses which veil it from your view, and it is closed because it is your heart which is dead.)

It is our attention to the world that makes us inattentive to what lies beyond. We find in Goethe not a mystical theory, but living experience, most eloquently illustrated in the account of his own life in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. No wonder that Rudolf Otto has exploited it to the full in the development of his own theory about religion. In his famous book *The Idea of the Holy*, Otto refers to Goethe's concept of the Daemonic as he described it in his autobiography and it is worthwhile to see what Otto has to say.[4] Goethe was haunted by his consciousness of the unknown dark forces at work in life and which seem to defy conceptualization, and yet he could not properly place them in his vision of reality.

Otto mentions Goethe's reference to the Daemonic both in his autobiography and his conversations with Eckermann. According to Goethe its main characteristic is that it goes beyond all conceiving, and surpasses reason and understanding.

> The Daemonic is that which cannot be accounted for by understanding and reason. It chooses for itself obscure times of darkness. . . . In a plain, prosaic town like Berlin it would hardly find an opportunity to manifest itself. . . In poetry there is from first to last something daemonic and especially in its unconscious appeal, for which all intellect and reason is insufficient, and which, therefore, has an efficacy beyond all concepts. Such is the effect in music in the highest degree, for music stands too high for any understanding to

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reach, and an all-mastering efficacy goes forth from it, of which, however, no man is able to give an account.`

In other words it is clear that Goethe here becomes aware of a mystery which cannot be rationalized, of irrational factors which are at work both at the subjective and objective level in nature as well as in historical events and in persons. It is worthwhile to give another quotation from Goethe which is more explicit: "Although this daemonic thing can be manifested in everything corporeal and incorporeal, finding indeed most notable expression among animals, still it is preeminently with men that it stands in closest and most wonderful connexion, and there fashions a power which, if not opposed to the moral world order, yet intersects it in such a way that the one might be taken for the warp and the other for the woof."[6]

When Eckermann asked him whether Mephisto could be considered daemonic, Goethe denied this because he was of an all too negative character. This means that the Daemonic should have a positive character as well. Hence, Otto rightly thinks that "Goethe did not understand how to adjust this divination of the daemonic to his own higher conception of the divine."[7]

However, Goethe's concept of the Daemonic had nothing to do with the evil force that works to man's detriment, symbolized in religion by Satan. Rather, it is neutral in its working, a suprarational factor which is not apprehensible and yet cannot be left out of account. Goethe naturally made no definite formulation of the divine, as he, no less than St. Thomas, was fully aware that we can only say about God what he is not what he is. Hence when Eckermann asked Goethe about the relationship of the Divine to the Daemonic, and the incompatibility of the one with the other he answered: "Dear boy, what do we know of the idea of the divine, and what can our narrow conceptions presume to tell of the Supreme Being? If I called him by a hundred names, like a Turk, I should yet fall short and have said

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nothing in comparison to the boundlessness of his attributes."[8]

This reply might have seemed "evasive" to Otto, but Goethe has said on many occasions that words do not adequately express the inexpressible. And when Gretschen is disturbed at Faust's silence about God, Faust replies that he who is All-embracing and All-preserving cannot be named.

> Call it Bliss! Heart! Love! God!
> I have no name thereof; feeling is everything;
> The name is sound and smoke, only to obscure celestial fire.
>
> (*Faust*--Erster Teil)

The conviction that language was inadequate to express the experience of the transcendent, was deeply rooted in Goethe's mind. Josef Pieper has given a penetrating analysis of this phenomenon in a small book entitled *The Silence of Goethe (Das Schweigen Goethes)*.[9] After referring to the saying of the Chinese sage Laotse that he who knows does not say, Pieper draws attention to a letter Goethe wrote a week before he died and in which he said "the best in our convictions cannot be caught in words."

This silence has only a superficial affinity with the silence of the Buddha when he was confronted with the question of God's existence. It is not unreserved silence but a silence which allows words to play their role and at the same time lets them reveal more through what they do not utter than through what they say. This is also in full harmony with the Sufi tradition in which God is beyond thought, beyond any surmise, beyond any suspicion and beyond any phantasy. It seems, night serves as a better vehicle for the incursion of the eternal into the temporal order than day. As he tells us in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*: The feeling of the sublime is produced easily in twilight and night when the forms unite, whereas it is frightened away in the day which separates and isolates everything.

Another remarkable feature of Goethe's thought is assigning to

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the feminine element a cosmic significance, and in this he might be said to be in the company of Ibn 'Arabi. The idea was not new to the Sufis. Henri Corbin's interpretation of Ibn 'Arabi may be disputed on several points but he has made us aware of some significant aspects of the great Islamic mystic. Corbin observes that the spirituality of "our Islamic mystics is led esoterically to the apparition of the 'Eternal Womanly' as an image of the Godhead because in her it contemplates the secret of the compassionate God, whose creative act is a liberation of beings."[11] Again, he rightly emphasizes that the Feminine here does not stand in opposition to the Masculine but "encompasses and combines the two aspects, receptive and active, whereas the Masculine possesses only one of the two."[11] Goethe's life, as we know, was rich in experiences of love even in old age, and of what Otto calls *mysterium fascinans* in the image of the 'Eternal Womanly' which works out salvation for man and delivers him from the anguish of his earthly days (*gham-i-ayyam*). It is also to be noted that Ibn 'Arabi's assigning of the highest role to woman owes much to his own experience of love which he expresses in his *Tarjuman al-ashwaq*. Jalaluddin Rumi's appreciation of the epiphany of 'Eternal Beauty' speaks the same mystic spirit. He says: "Woman is a ray of God: She is not the earthly beloved. She is creative: You might say she is not created."[12]

Apart from his concept of the daemonic Goethe's whole approach to reality seems to point to factors which are inapprehensible. In *Faust*, for example, he has taken recourse to an old legend to describe his attitude to the mysteries of life. The conflict of good and evil is illustrated first on a subjective plane and then at the cosmic level. In the first part we find Faust completely disenchanted with pretensions of knowledge. He holds in contempt all those values which man cherishes, no matter whether it is the ecstasy of love or hope or faith. And it is patience which is to be cursed above all! As a result of his frustration he seeks satisfaction in the occult. The appearance of

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Mephisto is a response to his own craving and the events that follow in the first part take us to the problem of desire and sin, of love, innocence and suffering.

Mephisto's role is not that of a devil as commonly understood--a force which tempts man and which, on a trans-historical plane, made possible his Fall. In the biblical narrative it was the snake that tempted man to eat from the tree of knowledge and be like God, knowing good and evil. Knowledge brings about the loss of innocence, and strangely enough, with this loss is associated an immense gain, the ability to choose between good and evil, and with it suffering as the inevitable consequence. Goethe's Mephisto is more in consonance with the Quranic vision because he represents the principle of negation, or the spirit of revolt which dares to confront God with an emphatic No. It is the spirit of revolt and challenge which in its ethical dimension expresses itself through pride in one's own worth and contempt of man's uniqueness as God's creation. Goethe's Mephisto represents *la, negation*.

On the empirical plane man is able, of course through knowledge, to distinguish between good and evil but only inadequately, though in his metahistorical existence he has tasted the fruit of knowledge. His knowledge is not able to take him far. Here, another principle suddenly comes into its own, the principle of love, be it on the subjective level between the sexes, or as a force which works out the salvation of man. The alienation from his source which his knowledge has brought about, is now overcome and man is ultimately reconciled to God. But he has still a long way to go. Faust is driven to a course of action which brings disaster, and the first part ends in tragedy, sin, and suffering without our knowing its metaphysical culmination.

Goethe's concept of the divine has also elements which, irreconcilable as they are on the theoretical plane, reflect the polarity of his thought and being. On the one hand he was attracted to the so-called pantheistic philosophy of Spinoza and abhorred the idea of a

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transcendent God who moves and gives a push to the world from outside. Rather, God indwells in nature and nature is permeated by him.

Ihm ziemt's, die Welt im Innern zu bewegen,
Natur in Sich, Sich in Natur zu hegen,
So dass, was in ihm lebt und webt und ist,
Nie Seine Kraft, nie Seinen Geist vermisst.

(It befits him to move the world from within,
To foster Nature in himself and to foster himself in Nature.
So that what lives, weaves and exists,
Never can miss his Power nor his spirit.)

Unlike Spinoza, however, his idea of nature itself is of a living, moving, and pulsating force. And we know that his experience of God was not merely theory, which he considered colourless (*grau*) in contrast to life which is always green. Hence if at this stage we may call him a pantheist it is not a pantheism of a naturalistic pattern as Spinoza's which procedes *more geometrica* but a vitalistic pantheism developed through poetic imagination.

At a different level Goethe moves to an idea of divine which comes close to religious piety. In the famous lines of the *Divan* he says:

Wenn Islam Gott-ergeben heisst
In Islam leben und sterben wir alle.

(If Islam means surrender to God,
we all live and die in Islam.)

And in his beautiful poem 'Das Göttliche' he hails the higher unknown power which we only divine.

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Heil den unbekannten
Höheren Wesen,
Die wir ahnen.

(Hail the unknown
Higher Powers
Whom we divine.).[15]

Goethe has given the feeling of the unknown and the unknowable in his *Marienbader Elegie* where he says:

In unseres Busens Reine wogt ein Streben,
Sich einem Höhern, Reinern, Unbekannten
Aus Dankbarkeit freiwillig hinzugeben,
Enträtselnd sich den ewign Ungenannten--
Wir heissen's fromm sein.

(Two souls, alas! reside within my breast,
And each withdraws from, and repels the other;
One with tenacius organs holds in love
And clinging lust the world in its embraces;
The other strongly sweeps this dust above,
Into the high ancestral spaces.)[16]

Goethe was a man of action, as his whole life shows, involved as he was in the court of Weimar or outside. And he sought a justification for his conviction of immortality in an ever active life. He could not envisage any form of life, whether this-worldly or other-worldly, where action was excluded. Iqbal's own concept of immortality also owes much to Goethe, though Iqbal's field of action was much more limited and restricted. But it is another question what action would really mean on another plane of being. We can at the

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most say, invoking the thomistic doctrine of analogy, that action 'here' and action 'there' would not stand in any univocal relationship but only in analogical relationship. However, Goethe was a poet after all. He lived in a world of creative imagination and this did not exclude contemplative moments. In a charming poem, *Trost in Tränen* (Consolation in Tears) he describes how a man sitting in a moonlit night cries looking at the moon. Friends come and console him wanting to know the cause of his distress, to which he replies that day is meant for work and requests them to leave him alone so that he may cry at night.

Verweinen lasst die Nächte mich
So lang'ich winen mag.

(Leave me the nights to weep
As long as I can).

In his autobiography he says that longing (*Sehnsucht*) is always directed to the unattainable, and in this he only re-echoes Rumi:

"He said: What you are searching for cannot be found." I said:
"What cannot be found is precisely what I am searching for."

We have seen what action means to Goethe, when he was bold enough to place Deed (*Tat*) in lieu of Logos in St. John's Gospel. It assumes no les metaphysical significance than in Fichte's thought, although action now is not understood in a narrow ethical sense with a Kantian accent, but as activity directed either to the fulfilment of duties or in a sphere beyond the ethical. And it is in the fitness of things that with so much emphasis on action the poet should seek the justification for his conviction of immortality in man's capacity for unceasing activity.

"Man," he says, "has to believe in immortality, he has a craving

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for it, it is in consonance with his nature. Because I work incessantly to the end, Nature is obliged to lead me to another form of existence when the present one I cannot put up with (*aushalten*) any longer." He, therefore, regards the posthumous plane of existence as a continuation of his activity. "I cannot find any meaning in eternal bliss, if it did not afford me new problems and new difficulties to overcome."[17] Immortality, according to Goethe was not something everyone could claim, but depended on the value of one's actions.

"We are not immortal in the same way and in order to manifest oneself as an entelechy, one should appear as one."Here one is reminded of Iqbal's views that man is only an aspirant for immortality. And no doubt he is much influenced in his views by the old sage of the West (*pir-i-maghrib*). Iqbal writes: "It is the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for a future career. The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others. Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it."[18]

Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915) rightly points out, discussing Goethe's concept of immortality, that for him the preservation of personality depends not only on action but also on intent (*Gesinnung*): "Nicht nur Verdienst auch Treue wahrt uns die Person."[19] (It is not only merit but also loyalty that preserves the person beyond the grave).

Nevertheless, in his last days Goethe talked of his conviction of immortality without any reservations: "When one is seventy-five years old, one cannot help feeling about death. But this thought leaves me fully in peace, because I am convinced that our spirit is of a completely indestructible nature, working incessantly from eternity. It is like the sun which sets only before our earthly eyes but which really never sets."[20]

It is characteristic of Goethe and illustrates his view of polarity

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that he goes from one to another, from glorification of action to the need for rest. At the close of his life he wrote *Wanderers' Nachtlied*

Ach, ich bin des Treibens müde!
Was soll all der Schmerz und Lust!
Süsser Friede, komm, ach, komm in meine Brust!

(Oh, I am weary of exertion
What should all pain and pleasure mean,
Sweet peace come, oh, come in my breast.)[21]

What Goethe owed to the study of Spinoza was not so much his vision of the universe as his ethics of resignation and disinterested love for the divine. It is for man to love God without demanding or expecting any response--*amor intellectualis dei*. When find in *Faust* the call to forgo and forsake all that we are after: Forgo, forgo you must!

Entbehren sollst du! Sollst entbehren!
Das ist der ewige Gesang,
Der, jedem an die Ohren klingt,
Den, unser ganzes Leben lang,
Uns heiser jede Stunde singt.

(*Faust*--Erster Teil)

(Thou shalt abstain--renounce--refrain!
Such is the everlasting song
That in the ears of all men rings,--
That unrelieved, our whole life long,
Each hour, in passing, hoarsely sings.)[22]

It is in the sixteenth chapter of his autobiography that his idea of

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resignation has been developed with great clarity. As we meet with privations at every step of life we cannot but respond to the situation with resignation. What generally happens is that we relinquish one passion to surrender to another and "probe different occupations, inclinations, hobbies only to cry out at last that all is Vanity."[23] But there are people, though few in number, whose resignation is not partial but total, and these few, Goethe thinks, have in mind only what is ultimate and what is not subject to change. This, indeed, is the core of the ethics cherished by the Sufis. They are called upon to renounce this world as well as That and they have nothing but God in view.

Sin, suffering and salvation have been the important constituents of religious consciousness, and in *Faust* these accents dominate creating the framework upon which the dramatic action unfolds. Here, as in Kant, what ought not to be appears as the characteristic of life. However, the prevalence and triumph of evil, and the hopelessness and inadequacy of man's efforts are only apparently so, for evil prepares the way for its own defeat, and suffering leads to deliverance. What seems completely lost in the first part of *Faust* is regained and compensated in the second, and the very moment when man seems to have lost his game with satanic forces, he is saved. Or if we like to use a very remarkable Quranic term, often misunderstood, it is *makr* or the strategy of God through which he brings to nought the devices of the evil-doer by his own stratagem. Man has to pass through suffering to go beyond; the way to heaven goes through hell, and hell assumes a value of its own as a sort of cleansing house.

Here again what is called sin is not absolute disobedience, or a revolt against the divine order of the kind that brought about the Fall of man. It is human passion which, though perfectly valuable in itself, has not been allowed to play its part legitimately and has been entangled so much in social conventions and taboos that it assumes a

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very sinister role and leads to deeds which are now really in conflict with moral imperatives and have tragic consequences. What is tragic is not death but the fact that death leaves many questions unanswered and provokes resentment against the course of events. And what could not have been seems now to be inevitable. Hence what seems to be contradiction in the first part, is resolved in the second part, not on the plane of human calculation and efforts but through divine involvement and grace. Faust is saved because he constantly aspires and is quickened with divine love and as such is not beyond redemption:

Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen.
Und hat an ihm die Liebe gar
Von Oben teilgenommen,
Begegnet ihm die selige Schar
Mit herzlichem Willkommen.

(*Faust*--Zweiter Teil)

(Whoe'er aspires unweariedly
Is not beyond redeeming.
And if he feels the grace of Love
That from On High is given,
The Blessed Hosts, that wait above,
Shall welcome him to Heaven!)

This is how divine love responds to man's agony and transforms the human tragedy into a Divine Comedy. Goethe declared to Eckermann that the idea of redemption through celestial love "is quite in consonance with religious ideas whereby we attain bliss not merely through our own powers but through divine grace which comes to our aid."[24]

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The mystic consciousness seeks the eternal in the temporal. Goethe saw eternity in the moment, permanence in change, and to him consciousness and unconsciousness were not exclusive states of being but denoted aspects which can easily merge and thus he even spoke of unconscious consciousness. Here we are interested in his view of the moment (*Augenblick*) in which he saw eternity. The moment as a part of serial time or as an instant passes away, but the significance of the moment, if it has any, cannot suffer loss. Every instant may not have significance yet the moment which is significant is not momentary but momentous. Thus Goethe's Suleika says:

Der Spiegel sagt mir: ich bin schon!
Ihr sagt: Zu altern, sei auch mein Geschick.
Vor Gott muss alles ewig stehn,
In mir liebt ihn, für diesen Augenblick.

(The mirror tells me, I am beautiful!
You say: to age I am destined.
In God must all endure forever,
In me love him, at this moment.)[25]

Again, in his poem *Vermächtnis* he says beautifully:

Dann ist Vergangenheit beständig,
Das Künftige voraus beständig,
Der Augenblick ist Ewigkeit.

(The past is permanent, the future alive in anticipation, the moment is eternity.)[26]

Hence the Past and the Present seem to be imbued with a character which does not pass away.

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This continued vascillation between the seen and unseen which is so characteristic of Hafiz and in which Friedrich Rücken saw the secret of his charm, is not just poetic fancy but is rooted in the conviction that the visible world is embedded in the invisible. And the relationship of the one with the other is best expressed in the language of human passion. The great *Mathnawi* of Jalaluddin Rumi begins with a cry of separation and a longing for the union which was once a reality. The Sufi believes that by losing oneself in love one discovers one's true self, and it is this feeling to which Goethe gives expression, using the imagery of Iranian Sufis--of the moth irresistibly driven towards the flame. It is only through death that death is overcome.

Sagt es niemand, nur den Weisen,
Weil die Menge gleich verhöhnet.

(Tell to no one, only the sage,
For the crowd derides such learning.)[27]

And taking a clue from the life and death of the moth, Goethe concludes that only by dying can one attain the higher life.

Und so lang' du das nicht hast,
Dieses: Stirb und werde!
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast
Auf der dunklen Erde.

(Till by this you be possessed,
Die and have new birth!
You are just a sombre guest
Of the darkened earth.)[28]

It is really Goethe's vision of the underlying unity of life which

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has found its most eloquent expression in the *Divan* and which vibrates with mystical resonance. I quote two stanzas as illustration, one in a prose translation the other in verse.

In tausend F ormen magst du dich verstecken,
Doch, Allerliebste, gleich erkenn' ich dich:
Du magst mit Zauberschleiern dich bedecken,
Allgegenwärt'ge, gleich erkenn ich dich.

(In a thousand forms you may hide yourself
Yet Most beloved, I recognize you all the same;
You may cover yourself with magic veils
All-present, I recognize you all the same.)[29]

Was ich mit äusserm Sinn, mit innerm kenne,
Du Allbelehrende, kenn' ich durch dich:
Und wenn ich Allah's Namen hundert nenne,
Mit jedem klingt ein Name nach für dich.[30]

(From outward sense, and inner, all my knowledge,
You All-instructing, I know all through you;
The hundred names of Allah I acknowledge,
With every name there echoes one for you.)[31]

This is fully in the spirit of Hafiz who said: The companion, the singer and *saqi* one is He, earthly determinations are but a pretext.

Goethe fully imbibed the Eastern style, even in the composition of his poems which lie outside the scope of his *Divan*. One of those is a beautiful poem entitled *Nähe des Geliebten*. (The Nearness of the Beloved). Had it been that of Hafiz or of any other Iranian poet, its interpretation in mystical terms would have seemed quite natural. The poem speaks of how the different phenomena of nature remind him of

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the one he loves. It says: "I think of thee when the rays of the sun are reflected in the sea; I think of thee when the moon shimmers in the fountains. I hear thee when the dust is raised on the far off way and I think of thee when the wanderer quivers on the narrow bridge. I hear thee when the waves roll and roar, I go off to the woods to listen to your voice when the whole world is enveloped in silence. I am with thee however far you may be. The sun is about to go down and the stars are soon to appear. If you were only here!"

In conclusion we can only remark that Goethe's vision of life cannot be forced into a closed system and cannot be expressed through the dichotomy of traditional categories of thought. If any of his poetic creations smacks of *Naturmystik* or pantheistic ecstasy, there are others no less significant which speak of an activistic view of life in which personality is glorified as the highest bliss of the children of the earth and still others which hail a transcendent and unknown power remaining eternally anonymous. Nowhere has the Sufic vision of reality found such unsurpassable expression as in the closing words of *Faust*:

Alles Vergangliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis.
(All that passes away is only a similitude.)

Let us conclude our probe into the mystic dimension of Goethe's insights with the hope that the Eternal Womanly which came to the rescue of the penitent soul of Gretschen will also lift us above in the end.

Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.
(The Eternal Feminine
Carries us upwards.)

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Notes

1. J. W. Goethe, *Entwurf einer Farbenlehre* in: *Goethes Werke*, hrsg. Eduard Engel, Vols. 16-18 (Leipzig: Hesse und Becker Verlag, n.d) p. 235. The translation of texts by Goethe in this essay are by the author when in prose and by J. Whaley when in vese. Cf. J. W. Goethe, *West-Östlicher Divan*, rendered into English by J. Whaley (London: 1974).
2. Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, hrsg. H. H. Houben (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1959), p. 555.
3. Ibid., p. 386.
4. Cf. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. John W. Harvey (New York: OUP, 1958) (A Galaxy Book).
5. Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 150-51. For Goethe's detailed analysis see *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Zwanzigstes Buch), *Goethes Werke*, hrsg. Engel, Bd. 16, p. 278
6. J.W. Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, quoted in R. Otto, op. cit., p. 153.
7. Ibid., p. 153.
8. Goethe, quoted in Otto, p. 154.
9. J. Pieper, *Das Schweigen Goethes* (München: Koesel Verlag, 1962), Einleitung.
10. Henri Coribn, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 159.
11. Ibid., p. 160.
12. R. Nicholson, *Rumi* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956), p. 44.
13. J. P. Eckermann, op. cit., p. 381.
14. J. W. Goethe *West-östlicher Divan* (Leipzig: Der Tempel Verlag, n.d.) p. 57.
15. Quoted in Wilhelm Windelband, *Praeludien*, Band I (Tübingen: J.C.R. Mohr, 1921), p. 174.
16. *Faust*, translated by Bayard Taylor (London, Oxford University Press, New York, Toronto).

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17. As quoted in W. Windelband, op. cit., pp. 187-88.

18. M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (London, OUP, 1934), p. 113.

19. Cf. Goethe as quoted in Windelband, op. cit., p. 188.

20. J. P. Eckermann, op. cit., p. 89.

21. Most of the poems referred to here are included in J. W. Goethe, *Selected Poems*, ed. Barker Fairley (London, Heinemann, 1959). The text is given there in the original German.

22. *Goethe's Faust*, tr. Bayard Taylor (London, Oxford University Press, 1965).

23. Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Sechzehntes Buch), hrsg. Engel, op. cit., p. 192.

24. Eckermann, op. cit., p. 382.

25. Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan*, p. 41.

26. Goethe, *Selected Poems*, ed. Barker Fairley, p. 196.

27. 'Selige Sehnsucht' in *West-östlicher Divan*, p. 15-16.

28. Ibid.

29. Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan*, p. 89.

30. Ibid.

31. Taken from *West-östlicher Divan*, rendered in English by J. Whaley (London, 1974).

(In: *Islam in India. Studies and Commentaries*, Vol. III, Islamic Experience in Contemporary Thought, by Syed Vahiduddin. Edited by Christian W. Troll. Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1986, pp. 187-203, article 16)

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S. Vahiduddin

GOETHE, ISLAM AND THE WESTERN BIAS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF GOETHE AND THE ARAB WORLD*

Goethe's name evokes among the Muslim intellectuals a very sympathetic response. The great Muslim poet of the subcontinent Mohammad Iqbal was greatly influenced by him and his beautiful Persian collection of poems called the *Payam-i-Mashriq* is presented as a response to the German poet's *West-oestlicher Divan*. It is worthwhile to highlight some curious features of this East-West encounter. While Goethe was inspired by the lyrical genius of Hafiz's immortal love poetry and his Diosynian pathos, Iqbal distanced himself from the ecstatic effusion of the Iranian bard and warned Muslims to be on guard against the pernicious influence of his poetry. It is no secret that from the beginning there has been a lively debate about the real intention of Hafiz and the critics were divided as much in the past as now in its understanding. Do his verses sing only of profane passion and pleasures or are they imhued with a mystic pathos and a transcendental vision? The charm of Hafiz's poetry lies in its ability to move between two worlds, the human and the divine, with equal ease and the reader does not really know where he stands at a

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*. Katharina Mommsen, *Goethe und die Arabische Welt* (Insel), Frankfurt, 1988.

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given moment. Friedrich Rueckert's observation in this regard is hardly to be excelled. To quote: "When Hafiz speaks of the super sensible, it seems he is speaking really of the sensible and when he speaks of the sensible, it seems what he means is super sensible. In other words, the sensible and the super sensible are so closely intertwined in his poetry that we can take one for the other.

Dr. Mommsen's work is not confined to the Arab world in its particularity but with Islam as a universal phenomenon. It should be stated at the outset without mincing words that her careful study has evoked in us mixed feeling. While her knowledge of Persian and Arabic poetry is highly creditable and her knowledge of Goethe no less, her understanding of crucial Islamic perceptions moves into the traditional framework of Western scholarship. She has convincingly shown how the great German poet had felt affinity with the Prophet and with Islam from the very beginning and how his poetic effusion embodied in the *Divan* gave a new direction to German literature. Goethe's was a time when prejudices against Islam ran high and Goethe's approach to Islam and his appropriation of Islamic perceptions with unusual zest could not but change the whole atmosphere vis-à-vis Islam, and this helped the literary world to see Islam in a different light. Mommsen tries to mark the features which drew Goethe to Islam and is of the view that it is his belief in predestination (*Vorsehung*) which led Goethe to an enthusiastic appreciation of Islam. She makes much of the fact that Goethe's enthusiasm for Islam coincided with the time when the poet was deeply involved with the study of Spinoza. It seems difficult to see how this fact could have facilitated his liking for Islam. It may not be out of place here to warn against a grave mistake to which one may easily succumb. The Islamic idea of *mashi'ah* has nothing in common with Spinoza's idea of pre-determinism. There is no place for a personal God in Spinoza's system which is concerned only with the impersonal necessity of causal determinism. God in Islam, on the

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contrary, is projected with His beautiful names as a person on His manifest aspect, though unrestrained by any finite limitations. In Spinoza a man is called upon to love God without expecting any response. This is what *amor intellectualis dei* amounts to.

Now it is not difficult to see why the Jewish orthodoxy detected in his thought a serious deviation from the vision of the personal God as found in the Old Testament and excommunicated him as an atheist. Interestingly enough, the German romantic movement saw in him a God-intoxicated man by a superficial reading of his thought. However there are strong mystical undercurrents in Spinoza, specially in the view that extension and thought are only two of the infinite attributes known to us. There are also some features of his thought which he shares with negative theology. But the view that God should be attributed extension is something which orthodoxy, be it Muslim or Jewish, can hardly swallow. Spinoza has not played any significant role in the development of German idealism except for his influence on Schelling. Indeed the question is sometimes raised whether Goethe had understood Spinoza's thought in all its implications. Goethe's ambivalent attitude to philosophy also cannot be left out of account. In the very beginning of *Faust* philosophy finds mention wit not a little irony.

Not the least likeable feature of this scholarly study on the impact of Islam on Goethe is the way the poet is projected as in concurrence with the Prophet of Islam. The Qur'an has nothing to do with poetic creation, and, rightly enough, it has constantly distanced itself from poets and poetry. Hence, it does not make much sense to say that the great German poet consciously attempted to outstrip the revealed Book and aspired to be as productive as the Qur'an. Hafiz and a host of Muslim poets have been inspired by the Qur'an and no one, least of all Hafiz, would consider it anything short of impiety to think of his poetry as being on a par with the Book to which he owed his inspiration. Hafiz, who bears the proud title of the bearer of the

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Qur'an in his breast confessed in no uncertain terms that whatever knowledge he had, he had drawn from the Qur'an. He says: "Be it the cell of indigence or the loneliness of lightless nights, no sorrow will come near one while one engages oneself with the Qur'an and its prayer." Hence nothing can be farther from truth than to bring Hafiz in support of the thesis of the superiority of poetry over prophethood. Nevertheless Goethe's enthusiasm for Islam is well brought out in the statements which the writer quotes extensively. They show the poet's unqualified appreciation of the Qur'an which he could not withhold from expressing without any ambiguity. "Often as we go through it," says Goethe, "it repels us, then attracts us by turn and ultimately leaves us in wonder and forces our amazement."

But the high point of Goethe's enthusiasm is "The astonishing statement" that if he is suspected to be a Muslim, he will not gainsay it. No less surprising was the poet's wish "celebrate the Night in which the Qur'an was revealed in full."

We should indeed be thankful to the writer for giving us little known facts of Goethe's relation of Islam and yet we cannot but regret her attempt to play it down. She finds much ambivalence in his attitude and in her support she cites Goethe's one time reference to the Qur'an as authored by the Prophet. It is possible that his enthusiasm for Islam did not develop into a commitment and was subject to his varying moods. It must, however, be declared in no uncertain terms that neither can Goethe's antipathy to the cross affect its decisive significance as a symbol of Christian piety nor can his ascription of the Qur'an as due to human agency can strip it of its divine inspiration in the mind of the faithful. The basic failure of the traditional Western scholar is his inability to understand what prophethood means in the context of Islam and not to be swayed by what it means in the tradition to which he has been exposed. Prophethood in Islam is not a virtue which every man carries within himself. It is a favour which God gratuitously accords to whomsoever

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He wills. Nor is it a faculty which one can develop by one's own efforts. Seen in this context it is rather odd to hear that Goethe, aware though he was of his prophetic disposition, kept it as a well guarded secret which no one knew except Marianne, the Zuleika of his *Divan*. When she addresses him as a prophet it cannot be assumed that she had in mind the prophethood in the Islamic sense. Rather it is more likely that she entertained the familiar significance of the prophet as one who prophesies the future, or as an interpreter of dreams as Joseph was. It must be emphasized, nonetheless, that Joseph's ability to interpret dreams was not a necessary corollary to his prophethood but a side effect of his prophetic mission.

Another serious error to which Goethe and with him many a sympathiser of Islam easily succumbs is to invest the Prophet with the dubious distinction of being a hero. The Prophet was first given prominence as a hero in Thomas Carlyle's famous book, *Heroes and Hero Worship*. Goethe's poetic fantasy does not hesitate to include among his heroes mythic figures like Prometheus side by side with historical personalities like Napoleon. Whilst Napoleon has played a dubious role in history and can utmost be called a National Hero, the Prophet's place in history remains unshaken by the ravages of time.

Western scholarship is distinguished for its acumen. It has however not always been able to strip itself of its long cultivated prejudices and bias. It has found in Islam a fertile field for the exercise of its critical potential. Clearly Dr. Mommsen's painstaking study is sedulously concerned to save the poet on all counts. It is not to be wondered as if Goethe's enthusiasm for Islam was qualified. But what is surprising is that no attempt is made to see how far his reservations hold good. We are told that Islam is against excesses of all kinds and, as a result, the most laudable pre-Islamic virtue of excessive generosity has suffered. And as this exuberant generosity found its fullest expression in the legendary pre-Islamic hero, Hatim, Goethe assumed his name to show how he cherishes this virtue. What

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Islam decries, however, is not the generosity which Hatim embodied but dimless display of riches and pomp. How else Hatim could have figured in Islamic literature and folklore with so much attention and wonder. The generous are the friends of God, the Qur'an teaches us and the hoarders are condemned without any reservation. Man is asked to seek shelter in God from the greed of his soul. In order to know how Islam transferred pre-Islamic virtues and stripped them of the evil that lurked therein, we should go beyond the confines of Western scholarship. The Japanese scholar Prof. I. Izutsu has studied this amazing phenomenon with great care. He writes: "Acts of generosity were held as a proof of genuine nobility. And the more extravagant and impulsive an act of generosity was, the more it tended to attract admiration. For the pagan Arab, charity was not simply a natural manifestation of his feeling of tribal solidarity, for very often it extended beyond the members of his own tribe to strangers, who happened to be there. Nor was it always dictated by the motive of benevolence and kindness. A man who could make a royal display of his generosity was a true dandy of the desert. Generosity in this sense was a master passion of the Arab, it was not so much a virtue as a blind irresistible impulse that was deeply rooted in the Arab heart."[3]

Of all the so-called reservations with which Goethe's admiration of Islam was hedged, the most frivolous is the one against the prohibition of wine. The prohibition of alcoholic drinks is not something which is peculiar to Islam. Many religious movements outside Islam, perhaps even within the parameters of Christianity, have considered abstention necessary for spiritual purification and social welfare. The great Swedish scholar and theologian Soederblum who cannot be considered as specially friendly to Islam or the Prophet is worth quoting here: "The strong proof of the determination and action of Muhammed is his prohibition of the intoxicants. No people were more subject to them than the Arabs and no poets have sung such ecstatic praise of wine as the Arabs. Muhammed however

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perceived that wine was the enemy of a serious religion and that it would bring to nought good intention."[3]

Goethe was all praise for the pre-Islamic (*Jahiliyyah*) poetry and thought, perhaps not without reasons, that with the emergence of Islam early primitive spontaneity was lost. The moral dynamism of Islam could not of course allow violence to moral values in the name of poetic license. This is the price one has to pay to remain human. In order to show that with the emergence of Islam the original Arab ethos with all its cherished values was destroyed Dr. Mommsen calls in support Prof. Grunebaum. The learned orientalist was also of the view that the rise of Islam dealt a death blow to the poetic creativity of the Arabs. We have seen earlier that Islam did not abolish old values but sublimated them with a new accent and quickened them with a new pathos. The much maligned antagonism of Islam to poetry equally stands to scrutiny. If there was one man who decried the poets for their fables and irresponsible fantasies it was the great Plato, who is seldom seriously brought in the controversy. Islam has never been hostile to poetry as such. No doubt the Qur'an considers poetry as unbecoming the Prophet, and the reason is not far to seek. Prof. Grunebaum rightly says that it was not so much against poets as the liability to confusion with soothsayers that the Qur'an was taking precautions. The direct reference to poets occurs in *Surah* XXVI. It is not directed against poetry as such but against the poets as they presented themselves in the immediate surrounding. The poets are accused of not practising what they preach, but excepted "are the ones who do good and remember God of and vindicate themselves after being wronged."[4] Every discerning reader of the Qur'an knows what significant role *istithna'* (exception) plays in the varying context of the Book.

While considering the poets and prophets in their comparative role, it is difficult to understand the remarks which Goethe offers. The function of the poet in his view is to give pleasure

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unrestricted by any purpose, the prophet works with a definite end and tries to convert people to his aims. However both are inspired by God. But how qualitatively different their inspiration can be is seen from the pernicious influence that they exercised on the socio-moral fabric of their times. Goethe was so enamoured of the *Jahiliyyah* poetry that he could fancy Arabs producing by themselves a higher form of culture and a purer form of language without the mediation of Islam and the Qur'an. In fact, the *Jahiliyyah* spirit as he understood it with its free display of passion without any moral restraint accorded with his own life and temperament. The two souls which plagued Faust were no less at war in his own. It is above all the misunderstanding about *jahl* and *jahiliyyah* that has warped many a scholarly study. It was the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher who first cleared the confusion by pointing out that *jahl* in this context is not opposed to knowledge (*'ilm*) but to *hilm* (self-control). Prof. Izutsu maintains that *jahiliyyah* has nothing to do with ignorance but the keenest sense of tribal honour, the unyielding spirit of rivalry and arrogance and all the rude and rough practices coming from an extremely passionate temper. In short, *jahiliyyah* was not ignorance in any intellectual understanding but "a temper and a demeanour which Islam had to fight against."[5] It is not something which has gone for good but something which can crop up in any age and community, among believers as among non-believers.

It is now time to consider the charge that is made in the name of Goethe, to which our scholar fully subscribes, that in the Islamic perspective women do not fare well. Fortunately, our author has learnt from Prof. Schimmel that contrary to the Christian version of the fall which makes women solely responsible for it, Islam makes both equally culpable, and they as a result seek forgiveness together. All mankind is created from the single soul, declares the Qur'an.[6] What can be more clear than the assurance: "I waste not the labours of any that labours among you, be you male or female, the one of you is

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as the other."[7]

Goethe knew that the Quranic description of heaven and hell are conditioned by the intellectual and cultural levels of the contemporary audience and has to be qualified by what the Qur'an explicitly says, "No soul knows what comfort is laid for them in secret, a recompense for that they were doing."[8] Again, it is to non-Western scholarship that we have to take recourse to find a balanced and judicious account of the place of women in Islam. The Japanese scholar Dr. Sachita Murata's comprehensive study of the gender relations in Islam[9] serves as an eye-opener. Western scholarship has not much advanced from the days when Islam was accused of denying a soul to women. Dr. Murata justly remarks: "If only people can put aside their prejudices for a while and deal with gender relations on a supramundane level can they begin to grasp the principles that infuse a world-view such as the Chinese or Islamic."[10] If we care to consider the place of Islam not only from a juristic and legislative plane, but extend our assessment to include mystical and literary perceptions, we will enter into quite a different climate. The Prophetic tradition that three things of the world were made lovable to him, woman, perfume and ritual prayer, stimulated the Sufis and gave them much to ponder upon. While Rumi spoke of woman as the radiance of God, Ibn 'Arabi thought that God's disclosure was nowhere more transparent than in woman. But the built-in prejudices against Islam persist nowhere with so much obstinacy as with regard to women and, as a consequence, the period of *Jahiliyyah*, when the news of the birth of the female child was far from welcome, is hailed as a period when women enjoyed most freedom, the period when women were looked upon as objects of sensuality and romance. We do not in any way grudge the writer for celebrating Goethe as a pleader for women who are pre-eminent as central figures in his great works. But, sadly enough, Goethe is to be reckoned among the poets, who did not practise what they preached. The poet was not capable of lasting

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attachments and fidelity in love had no meaning for him. Bettina was the girl who was most passionately devoted to him, and by writing a highly controversial book, *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child* she alienated her own brother. The poet brought much anguish to the women he was supposed to love and who loved him in return. His crass indifference to the passionate love of Bettina led Rilke, perhaps a more sensitive soul, to see in this sorry episode the limits of Goethe's greatness. No wonder if he appeared to some as "loveless *diebloss*".

Our unsavoury comment on the vagaries of Goethe's life are not by any means intended to cast aspersions on his person but only to call attention to his gross misunderstanding about the place of women in Islam. Who can deny the inspiration that the poet's genius received through his romantic encounters without which indeed we could not have received such precious pieces of world literature as *Werther* born of his youthful passion, the *West-oestlicher Divan* of his mature years, and lastly, the superb expression of his lyrical genius which the world knows as *Marienbader Elegie*, which owes its origin to the shattering experience of his fascination for a teenage girl in the evening of his life. In the end, we need to gratefully acknowledge the poet's positive response to the Islamic East, readily ignoring the limitations to which every mortal is subject.

The difference in Mommsen's understanding of Goethe's attitude to Christianity and Islam is very revealing. While she minces no words in describing her reservations with regard to Islam, the poet's seemingly stronger exception to some features of the historical Christianity are passed in silence or explained away. Goethe's position on Christian beliefs is free from the ambiguity which the writer finds in his relation to Islam. In his conversation with Eckermann he observed that in things religious he always hated hypocrisy and spoke out what he thought. He said: "I believed in God and Nature and in the victory of the noble over the wicked but that

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was not enough for the pious souls. I was also required to believe that three is one and one is three."

Now in the end Mommsen does not withhold her own critique of Islam. What ails Islam, according to her, is the fact that it has not been exposed to any rationalist attack as was Christianity through thinkers like Marx, Nietzsche and others. Nor did it experience any reform movement or develop a critique as that of Kant or Fichte. One easily forgets that what we boast of as Western Science was not born in a vacuum and the Renaissance which augered the modern way of thinking owes not a little to Muslims and their inductive approach. The critique of rationality which Kant promoted and the re-assessment of the notion of causality which was undertaken by Hume and Kant, was, we find, foreshadowed by Ghazali. It is no less striking to see that the idea of the contingency of the laws of nature with which the name of Leibnitz is associated figures in the Muslim theological thinking. And the way Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) subjected the historical process to a sociological evaluation is something which the West took a long time to take into account.

In conclusion, we ungrudgingly recognize Dr. Mommsen's contribution to a better understanding of Goethe's relation to Islam by bringing to light hitherto unknown aspects of his perceptions. No doubt, it is a great tribute to the poet's genius that in spite of the paucity of knowledge at his time and in defiance of a prevalent hostility, he could respond positively and creatively to a religion which his contemporaries did not. We only regret that in the end she has not been able to rise above the stereotypes which orientalism harboured in the centuries gone by and which are as much alive today as before.

Notes

1. Al-Qur'an, LXIV: 16.

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2 I. Izutsu *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an* McGill University Press, p. 4

3 Soederblom *Die Religionen der Erde* p. 44

4 Al-Qur'an XXXI 22b

5 Izutsu *op. cit.* p. 28

6 Al-Qur'an IV 1

7 *Ibid.* III 195

8 *Ibid.* XXXII 7

9 Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam* State University of New York p.

10 *Ibid.* Intd. p. 2

11 For a full account of the debate that her book provoked see Izutsu *Creation and Will in Buddhist and Western Philosophy* 1978 Muenchen.

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Part III

How Iqbal Composed "the Message of the East"	Prof. Hamid Ahmad Khan	441-454
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Prof. Hamid Ahmad Khan

HOW IQBAL COMPOSED 'THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST'

This year's Iqbal functions should celebrate at the same time the first half-century of the life of *The Message of the East*. Iqbal published this Persian book in 1923, and it is fit that Lahore, which witnessed the first appearance of the great work in print, should now try to pay back its debt of gratitude in full measure.

Payam-i-Mashriq, as the author himself observes in the Preface, was inspired by Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. The *Divan* was first published in 1819, about a hundred years before Iqbal turned to the composition of his famous East-Western response. The story of how Goethe's cosmopolitan soul set upon its eastward journey is briefly told by Dr. Arthur Remy:[2]

'The first time that Goethe's attention was turned seriously to Eastern literature was in 1791, when, through Herder's efforts, he made the acquaintance of Kalidasa's dramatic masterpiece *Sakuntala*....For India's mythology, its religion and its abstrusest of philosophies he felt nothing but aversion. Especially hateful to him

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1 This paper was read at a meeting held in Lahore on 9 April 1973 in the course of the Iqbal Week celebrations organised by the Goethe Institute and the Pakistan-German Forum, Lahore.

2. *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany* (repr. New York, 1966), pp. 20-21, 23.

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were the mythological monstrosities.....

'After all, Goethe's Orient did not extend beyond the Indus. It was confined mainly to Persia and Arabia, with an occasional excursion into Turkey.

'To this Orient he turned at the time of Germany's deepest political degradation, when the best part of its soil was overrun by a foreign invader, and when the whole nation nerved itself for the life and death struggle that was to break its chains.'

Goethe divided his *Divan* into twelve books and, imitating Hafiz of Shiraz, gave them Persian names, like "Mughanni Nama" or "Timur Nama". Notwithstanding the Persian setting of these German poems, they are not translations or adaptations. They are original compositions, created by a European imagination capable of extraordinary sympathy and understanding. 'A great many of the poems do not owe their inspiration to the Orient, and many were completely unoriental.'[3] It may be remembered that Goethe composed the greater part of the *Divan* during the fateful years between 1814 and 1819.

The Message of the East is the fruit of Iqbal's profound meditations during the years following the First World War. What was the occasion for Iqbal, one might ask, to come to Goethe with an offering of the treasures of his thought and feeling? Iqbal's comparatively brief contact with Heidelberg and Munich could hardly be suggested as the reason; for the British connexion certainly provided the more solid base for overseas contacts, and Iqbal's admiration for Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Byron, and others, is manifest in many known texts. What has to be properly understood in this connexion is Iqbal's profound admiration for the genius of Germany. Before ever he set foot on the soil of Europe, his reverence for Goethe had already blossomed in the well-known tribute to Mirza Ghalib. While extolling Ghalib's clear vision and supreme

3. Ibid., p. 26.

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imagination, Iqbal went straight to Goethe for a comparison an unexpected comparison seventy years ago--when he chose to address Ghalib as follows:

'Alas! thou restest among the ruins of Delhi
In the garden of Weimar sleeps thy mate-in-song!'

It is, perhaps, generally known that the Indian Muslim of colonial days had a habit of idolising the contemporary citizen of Germany. The German was believed to be a great fighter and, in spite of Germany's defeat in two World Wars, that stubborn belief persisted, and Germany's resilience after each defeat was watched with proud satisfaction. Similarly, Germany was regarded to be the home of modern science and philosophy, and this peculiar quality proved irresistible for an incurably philosophising and moralising Muslim community. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Iqbal grew up in a social tradition which tended to view things German in a favourable light. And, in any case, Goethe's towering greatness needed no special lens to see. Iqbal must have discovered Goethe in his youth, and the second title of *The Message of the East*--'In response to Goethe, the Poet of Germany'--must have revolved in his mind for years.

There is a certain breadth of vision in Goethe which must instantly appeal to any foreign reader. He was the first European man of letters who sought on a universal scale to reconcile the deep diversities of the West and the East. For Iqbal there was a truly Islamic and truly human note in this cosmopolitan outlook. He has significantly inscribed on top of the title-page of *The Message of the East* the Quranic verse 'For God are the East and the West.' The essential humanity of this theme partook of the nature of a sacred mystery for the ardent Iqbal. Thus, it would be seen that the transparent West-Eastern equation of Goethe's mind reveals a new world of meaning to the Muslim imagination. Goethe's inherent

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aversion to racial and regional prejudice and to territorial nationalism made him a citizen of the world. The Qur'an has stressed the unity of the East and the West time and again. A well-known passage describes the nature of God's Light:

'Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West' (xxiv. 35).

The emphasis in this passage is on the fact that God's Being is not circumscribed by the East or the West. This may be a universal truth, but it is also the principle of universal love. He who realises this comes near to realising all the basic facts of life. The positive force that works in life is comprehensive and all-embracing love--not pin-pricking and divisive reason. Iqbal and Goethe are united in their active love and in their aspiration for the infinite. Both reject passivity. Both have a common spiritual longing. Both live in a perpetual resuscitation of desire, and the eyes of both are on the look-out for fresh horizons.

Iqbal, who was himself destined to become the Poet of Man *par excellence*, could not but be gripped by the charm of the German poet's magnificent humanity. Goethe's wisdom and balance of mind and spiritual good health, his extraordinarily expansive sympathy and catholicity, his deep understanding of human nature in all ages and climes, and his incredible freedom from prejudice, endeared him to the heart of Iqbal. Twenty years earlier, Iqbal had compared the great Ghalib with Goethe. Now in *The Message of the East* he dared institute a comparison between himself and the German genius who had lived more than a hundred years before his time. For purposes of this comparison, he first refers to Goethe's *Divan* and then calls his own book a 'gleam of moonlight in the Eastern sky':

'That Western sage, that bard of Germany,

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That ardent lover of things Pahlavi,
Saluted the East with his great *Divan*,
That tribute to the poets of Iran
And veritable picture-gallery
Of vignettes, all in Persian imagery,
To that salute this book is a reply,
This gleam of moonlight in the Eastern sky.'

Then we come to the comparison proper:

'Without deluding myself, I will dare
To tell you how the two of us compare.
His was the vital spark of the young West;
Mine has been wrung from the East's aged breast.
A flourishing spring garden gave him birth;
I am a product of a long-dead earth.
He was a nightingale that filled with song
An orchard; I am but a desert gong,
A signal for the caravan to start.'

Iqbal goes on to underline his own community of purpose with Goethe, but sadly notes the difference in his own environment:

'We both have delved into the inmost heart
Of being; both of us are messages
Of life in the midst of death's ravages;
Two daggers, morning-lustred, mirror-bright;
He naked; I still sheathed, concealed from sight.
Two pearls, both precious, both unmatched are we,
Both from the depths of an unfathomed sea.
He burst out of the mother-of-pearl's womb,
For he could rest no longer in that tomb.
But I, who still am lying shell-enshrined,
Have yet to be astir in the sea's mind.'

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And now he speaks of the pathos of his own situation:

'No one around me knows me properly:
They go away with empty cups from my
Wine-fount. I offer them a royal state,
With Chosroe's throne for use as their footmat.
But they want fairy tales of love from me,
The gaudy trappings of mere poesy.
They are so purblind that they only see
My outside, not the fervid soul in me.
I have made Love my very being's law:
In me can live together fire and straw.
The truths of statecraft and religion both
God has revealed to me; so I am loth
To turn to any other guide. From my
Imagination do the flowers come by
Their hues. Each line of verse that I compose
Is a drop of my rich heart's-blood that flows
From my pen's point. Do not think poetry
Is merely madness; if this madness be
Complete, then wisdom is its name. Alas!
Vouchsafed this gift, I am condemned to pass
My days in exile in this joyless land,
This India, where no one can understand
The things I sing of like a nightingale
With not a tulip, not a rose to hail
Its song--a nightingale singing alone
In some deserted place, sad and forlorn.'[4]

This was Iqbal in a very unusual mood, but the mood came on because he was doing a very unusual thing: weighing himself with

4. Tr. M. Hadi Husain.

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Goethe. When he speaks for himself alone, he speaks thus:

'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.
O thou by vain imaginings befooled,
Get thee a Reason which the Heart hath schooled!'

And again:

'Know'st thou Life's secret? Neither seek nor take
A heart unwounded by the thorn, Desire.
Live as the mountain, self-secure and strong,
Not as the sticks and straws that dance along;
For fierce is wind and merciless is fire.'[5]

Like the *West-Eastern Divan*, *The Message of the East* falls into sections. But, unlike the twelve books of the *Divan*, the *Message* comprises only six sections. There is the 'Dedicatory Poem,' and then follow 'The Tulip of Sinai,' 'Reflections,' 'The Wine Remaining,' 'The Picture of Europe,' and 'Trifles,' Apart from these six sections, there is a very interesting fourteen-page (prose) Preface by the author. I would quote just one significant passage from this Preface:

'I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the *Western Diwan*. The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral, and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities. There is a certain amount of similarity between the East of today and the Germany of a hundred years ago. The fact, however, is that the inner turmoil which the nations of the world are going through today, and which we are unable to regard

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5. Tr. by R. A. Nicholson.
6. Ibid.

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objectively inasmuch as we ourselves are affected by it, is the forerunner of a social and spiritual revolution of very great magnitude. The Great War of Europe was a catastrophe which has almost wholly destroyed the old world order. Out of the ashes of civilisation and culture nature is now building up a new humanity and a new world order in the works of Professor Einstein and Bergson. Europe has seen with its own eyes the dreadful consequences of its scientific, moral, and economic pursuits and has also heard from Signor Nitti (a former Prime Minister of Italy) the heartrending story of the decadence of the West. It is a matter for regret, however, that the intelligent but conservative statesmen of Europe have not been able to comprehend the real significance of the revolution that has taken place in the human spirit. From the purely literary point of view, the weakening of the life potentialities of Europe after the painful happenings of the World War is detrimental to the development of a sound and mature literary ideal. There is, indeed, a danger that the minds of nations may not be subjugated by that time-worn and devitalising escapist mentality which cannot differentiate between the thoughts of the head and the feelings of the heart. America, however, appears to be a sound element in Western civilisation, probably because this country is unfettered by the traditions of the past and its collective conscience can accept new thoughts and influences more easily.

'The East, and particularly the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after having slumbered for centuries. The Eastern people have, however, realised that life cannot effect a revolution in its environment before it has had, in the first instance, a revolution in the inner depths of its own being, nor can a new world assume external form until its existence takes shape in the hearts of men. That immutable law of the Universe which the Quran has enunciated in the simple but comprehensive verse: "God does not change the destiny of a people unless they change themselves," holds good for the

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individual as well as the collective aspects of life. In my Persian works I have tried to keep this truth in mind."

'The Tulip of Sinai' is the largest of the six sections of the book, and comprises a collection of four-line pieces of trenchant poetry totalling more than a hundred and sixty. In his informal conversation Iqbal used to refer to these four-line pieces as "quatrains". It is obvious, however, that he has deliberately passed by the conventional metre of the Persian quatrain, but has stuck to the incisive four-line mould:

'A stranger to yourself, the Vision yonder
You sought, to Sinai ran.
Nay, 'tis in search of Man your feet must wander:
God too is seeking Man.'[8]

'Feast not on the shore, for there
Softly breathes the tune of Life.
Grapple with the waves and dare!
Immortality is strife.'[9]

'Build thyself a frame from a handful of dust,
A frame stronger than a fortified rampart.
Within thy frame a feeling heart,
Like a gushing stream beside a rocky mountain.'

The section entitled 'Reflections' (70 pages) follows 'The Tulip of Sinai'. We have in 'Reflections' several well-remembered poems like 'The Conquest of Nature,' 'The Spring Season,' 'Everlasting Life,' and 'Democracy'. This section also contains some famous pieces which hark back to Goethe--'The Song of Time,' 'Argument

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7. Tr. by Mumtaz Hasan.
8. Tr. by R. A. Nicholson.
9. Ibid.

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between God and Man,' and 'The Stream'. Iqbal adds a footnote to 'The Stream' which runs as follows:

'"The Stream" is a very free rendering of Goethe's well-known poem entitled "Mahomet's Gesang". In this poem, which was composed much earlier than the Western Divan, the German poet has most beautifully depicted the Islamic conception of life. In fact the poem was part of a projected Islamic drama, which Goethe was unable to complete. This translation is designed only to bring out Goethe's point of view.'

The Islamic conception of life to which Iqbal refers is symbolically represented in the journey of the stream to the Ocean of Eternity.

'Behold the stream! How merrily it flows
Right through the meadow, like the Milky Way!'

Each of the six-line stanzas of the Iqbal poem is followed by the refrain--

'Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows,
Linked with itself, unlinked with all, it flows.'[10]

The section entitled 'The Wine Remaining' covers almost sixty pages of exquisite *ghazals* in the true Iqbalian style, but the next section, 'The Picture of Europe' has an especial interest (both in form and matter) for a modern audience. The first poem in this section is called 'Message' and begins as follows:

'From me, O breeze, bear this to the sage of Europe:
Reason is the more enmeshed as it spreads its wings!'

This message, sent by the breeze, runs into eight pages, and ends

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10. *The Message of the East* has not, except for selected pieces, been translated into English. Thus an English rendering of 'The Stream' does not appear to be available. I enclose as appendix a literal translation of this remarkable poem.

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at last on a note of comfort and hope:

'Life is a flowing stream, and it will flow,
This ancient world is young, and young will grow.
What was, and should not be, will vanish here,
What should have been, and is not, will appear.
Love, from delight of seeing, is all eyes;
Beauty would fain be seen and forth will rise.
The land where I wept blood--when I depart,
My tears will turn to rubies in its heart.'[11]

And he follows up these assurances with a famous verse from Ghalib:

'In this, the darkest hour, they brought me tidings of morn;
They snuffed the candle out, and gave me a sign from the sun.'

By a strange chance of a German friend called to see Iqbal in the afternoon of the last day of the poet's mortal life. This must have been the 20th of April 1938. Baron von Veltheim has given us a record of this meeting:

'In the afternoon I visited the famous poet and philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He received me in bed since he had been ill for some months. He suffered from asthma and angina pectoris and was nearly blind as a result of cataract. He thanked me most heartily for the congratulations which I had sent him on his 60th birthday in January and was extremely interested in my recent travels. For hours we discussed philosophy and art and spoke of the political situation in the world. As a good friend of Germany, which he knew well from his travels, and as an admirer and one who knew Goethe extremely well, he had agreed with me already for some years previously that closer spiritual bonds between Indians and Germans would now be an even more important demand of the times. Although I spoke to my

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11. Tr. by R. A. Nicholson.

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friends in Lahore about my impression of Iqbal as one who was nearing his end I had no idea that I was to have been his last visitor. The next morning special editions of the papers of India brought the news of his death on Thursday, 21st April, early in the morning at 5-30, only a few hours after my visit.'

Iqbal died as he had lived--in pain, with a smile on his lips. Goethe's attempt to comprehend the East, and to seek harmony with it, was fitly responded to in *The Message of the East*. In this book Iqbal has tried to pay back to the West his debt of gratitude to Goethe. Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge, Iqbal's friend and interpreter, has beautifully remarked:

'It is good to see ourselves as others see us, and better still if we take to heart the eloquent message (*payam*) in which Iqbal bids us throw off the fetters of an arid intellectualism and emerge into our inner world of Life and Love.'

Perhaps, it would be best to close this talk with Iqbal's exposition of the meaning of life. The following poem from *The Message of the East* was translated by Dr. Nicholson:

'I asked a lofty sage what Life might be.
"The wine whose bitterest cup is best," said he.
Said I, "A vile worm rearing head from mire."
Said he, "A salamander born of fire."
"Its nature steeped in evil," I pursued.
Said he, "'Tis just this evil makes it good."
"It wins not to the goal, though it aspire."
"The goal", said he, "lies hid in that desire."
Said I, "Of earth it comes, to earth it goes."
Said he, "The seed bursts earth, and is the rose."'

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Appendix

THE STREAM

(from *The Message of the East*)

Behold the stream! How merrily it flows
Right through the meadow, like the Milky Way!
'Twas sound asleep in the cradle of the clouds;
Opened its wondering eye in the lap of the mountains.
From the pebbles its graceful motion music strikes;
Its brow chaste and unsullied like the mirror!
Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows;
Linked with itself, unlinked with all, it flows.
Around its track Spring fashioned a fairyland:
Narcissus bloomed, and tulip, and jessamine.
The rose said temptingly: Stay with us here awhile:
The rose-bud laughed and pulled the hem of its skirt.
Unmindful of these green-robed beauty-vendors,
It cleft the desert and rent the breast of hill and dale.
Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows;
Linked with itself, unlinked with all, it flows.
A hundred books from woods and meadows, from vales
and gardens and villas cried:
'O thou with whom accords the earth's expanse!
Stricken with drought, we have fallen by the way;
Protect us from the pillage of the sandy waste!'
It opened its breast to the winds of the East and the West,
Clasping its weak and wailing fellow travellers.
Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows;
With a hundred thousand pearls it flows.
The surging river went over dam and dyke,

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Went over the narrow gorge of valley hill and glen,
Made one, like a torrent, each hollow and eminence,
Went over the king's palace and rampart and field and orchard.

Passionate and fierce and sharp, restless and heart-inflaming,
Each time it arrived at the New and went beyond the Old.

Towards the shoreless ocean how merrily it flows;
Linked with itself, unlinked with all, it flows.

(in: *Iqbal* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal), vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1974, pp. 1-12)

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Reynold A. Nicholson

Iqbal's "Message of the East"

(*Payam-i-Mashriq*)

Amongst Indian Moslem poets of today Iqbal stands on a hill by himself. In him there are two voices of power. One speaks in Urdu and appeals to Indian patriotism, though Iqbal is not a nationalist in politics; the other, which uses the beautiful and melodious language of Persia, sings to a Moslem audience--and it is indeed a new and inspiring song, a fiery incantation scattering ashes and sparks and bidding fair to be 'the trumpet of a prophecy'.

Born in the Punjab, Iqbal completed his education in England and Germany. East and West met; it would be too much to say that they were united. No one, however gifted, can hope to partake on equal terms and in full measure of two civilizations which have sprung from different roots. While Iqbal has been profoundly influenced by Western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron and Shelley; he is as familiar with *Also Sprach Zarathustra* and *L'évolution créatrice* as he is with the *Qur'an* and the *Mathnawi*. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth.

The leading ideas of his philosophy, which is indicated rather than expounded in the *Asrar-i-Khudi*[2] and the *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, may

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be briefly stated here, as without some knowledge of them it is not easy to understand his poetry.

He regards Reality as a process of becoming, not as an eternal state. The *templa serena* of the Absolute find no place in his scheme of things: all is in flux. His universe is an association of individuals' headed by the most unique Individual, i.e., God. Their life consists in the formation and cultivation of personality. The perfect man "not only absorbs the world of matter by mastering it; he absorbs God himself into his Ego by assimilating Divine attributes". Hence the essence of life is Love, which in its highest form is "the creation of desires and ideals, and the endeavour to realise them." Desires are good or bad according as they strengthen or weaken personality, and all values must be determined by this standard.

The affinities with Nietzsche and Bergson need not be emphasised. It is less clear, however, why Iqbal identifies his ideal society with Mohammed's conception of Islam, or why membership of that society should be a privilege reserved for Moslems. Here the religious enthusiast seems to have knocked out the philosopher--a result which is logically wrong but poetically right. Iqbal, the poet, has a proper contempt for intellectualism. He contrasts Ibn Sina with Jalaluddin Rumi:

> This one plunged deep and to the Pearl attained;
> The other floating like a weed remained.
> Truth, flameless, is Philosophy, which turns
> To Poesy when from the heart it burns.[3]

The *Payam-i-Mashriq* was written as a response to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. In the dedicatory poem, addressed to the Amir of Afghanistan, Iqbal says:

> "The Sage of the West, the German poet who was fascinated by

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the charms of Persia,

Depicted those coy and winsome beauties and gave the East a greeting from Europe.

In reply to him I have composed the *Payam-i-Mashriq*.

I have shed moonbeams o'er the evening of the East "[1]

Although the *Payam* resembles the *Divan* in form, since both contain short poems arranged in sections which bear separate titles,[2] and also in its general motive, there is no correspondence as regards the subject-matter. "Mädchen und Dichter" and "Mahomets Gesang" are the only poems of Goethe (and these do not belong to the *Divan*) which are directly imitated.[3] In the piece entitled "Jalal and Goethe", Iqbal imagines Jalaluddin Rumi, for whom he has the greatest admiration, meeting Goethe in Paradise.[4] After hearing him read *Faust*, Rumi speaks as follows:

"Your thought into your heart's deep shrine withdrew,
And there created this old world anew.
You saw the spirit in the bosom swell,
You saw the pearl still forming in the shell.
Love's mystery not every one can read,
This holy threshold few are fit to tread.
The blest initiates know and need not prove--
From Satan logic, and from Adam love."[5]

Much in the *Payam* is hard to comprehend and harder to translate. Subtle emotions and abstruse philosophical ideas, often couched in the conventional imagery of Persian poetry, yet expressed originally, make large demands on our intelligence--and even more on our sympathy. The following extract from a letter written to the poet by a Mohammedan friend, evidently a man of high culture and sensibility, goes to the root of the matter: "One must have read much, pondered much, doubted much, to be able to soar in thought to the

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heights to which you, in your easy manner, wish to take your readers. The work is only for those who are deeply conversant with the game of getting one's self willfully entangled, for those who make it an article of faith to go on from one trap to another. You, it seems, have explored the whole world of human emotions from the highest ecstasy to the darkest doubts. In your case it may be said with perfect truth:

We others, who have neither felt
as much nor seen as much, have not the courage or qualifications to abide in this super-spiritual world. Still, occasionally we peer in."

All I can attempt here is to give glimpses of the poet's thought, in the hope that some who read my translations may be induced to study this remarkable volume as a whole. It is worth while to become acquainted with Iqbal's rich and forceful personality. Granted that the difficulties are great, so is the reward; and Lucretius said long ago: *Ardua dum metuunt amittunt vera viai.*

For Iqbal, self-consciousness, individuality, is all in all. He never tires of preaching the gospel of self-knowledge, self-affirmation, and self-development. The pith of life is action, its end is the spiritual and moral power which grows from obedience and self-control. By conquering matter we become free, by living intensely and losing the spatial conception of time we gain immortality.

(1)

I asked a lofty sage what Life might be.
"The wine whose bitterest cup is best", said he.
Said I, "A vile worm rearing head from mire".
Said he, "A salamander born of fire".
"Its nature steeped in evil", I pursued.
Said he, "'Tis just this evil makes it good".
"It wins not to the goal, though it aspire".
"The goal", said he, "lies hid in that desire".
Said I, "Of earth it comes, to earth it goes".

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Said he, "The seed bursts earth, and is the rose".

(2)

A stranger to yourself, the Vision yonder
You sought, to Sinai ran.
Nay, 'tis in search of Man your feet must wander:
God too is seeking Man.[10]

(3)

Feast not on the shore, for there
Softly breathes the tune of Life.
Grapple with the waves and dare!
Immortality is strife.[11]

(4)

Think not I grieve to die:
The riddle of body and soul I have read plain.
What care though one world vanish from mine eye,
When hundreds in my consciousness remain.[12]

(5)

Our infinite world--of old
Time's ocean swallows it up.
Look once in thy heart, and behold
Time's ocean sunk in a cup![13]

(6)

Of Life, O brother, I give thee a token to hold and keep:
Sleep is a lighter death, and Death is a heavier sleep.[14]

(7)

Agony in every atom of our being,

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Every breath of us a rising from the dead.
To Sikandar lost amidst the Land of Darkness,
"Hard is Death, but Life is harder", Khadir said. [15]

(8)

EVERLASTING LIFE

Know'st thou Life's secret? Neither seek nor take
A heart unwounded by the thorn, Desire.
Live as the mountain, self-secure and strong,
Not as the sticks and straws that dance along;
For fierce is wind, and merciless is fire.[16]

(9)

Sad moaned the cloud of Spring,
"This life's a long weeping".
Cried the lightning, flashing and leaping,
"'Tis a laugh on the wing".[17]

(10)

LIFE AND ACTION

"I have lived a long, long while", said the fallen shore;
"What I am I know as ill as I knew of yore".
Then swiftly advanced a wave from the Sea upshot:
"If I roll, I am", it said; if I rest, I am not".[18]

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(II)

THE SONG OF TIME

Sun and stars in my bosom I hold;
By me, who am nothing, thou art ensouled.
In light and in darkness, in city and wold,
I am pain, I am balm, I am life manifold.
Destroyer and Quickener I from of old.

Chingiz, Timur--specks of *my* dust they came,
And Europe's turmoil is a spark of *my* flame.
Man and his world I fashion and frame,
Blood of his heart my spring flowers claim.
Hell-fire and Paradise I, be it told.

I rest still, I move--wondrous sight for thine eyes!
In the glass of To-day see To-morrow arise,
See a thousand fair worlds where my thought deep lies,
See a thousand swift stars, a thousand blue skies!
Man's garment am I, God I enfold.

Fate is *my* spell, freewill is *thy* chant.
O lover of Laila, thy frenzy I haunt;
As the spirit pure, I transcend thy vaunt.
Thou and I are each other's innermost want:
Thou showest me forth, hid'st me too in thy mould.

Thou my journey's end, thou my harvest-grain,
The assembly's glow and the music's strain,
O wanderer, home to thy heart again!
Behold in a cup the shoreless main!
From thy lofty wave my ocean rolled.[20]

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(12)

THE SONG OF THE STARS

Our being is our Law,
Our rapture is our Bond;
Our ceaseless revolution
Is our everlasting life.
The Heavens roll on: rejoicing
We behold and go our ways.

The theatre of Manifestation,
The pagoda of Appearance,
The war of Being and Not-being,
The struggle of Existence,
The world of Fast and Slow
We behold, and go our ways.

The heat of battle,
The folly of ripest plans,
Crowns, thrones, and palaces,
The fall of kings,
The game of Fortune
We behold, and go our ways.
The prince hath passed from power,
The slave from servitude.
Past are subjugation and empire,
Past is the day of Caesarism,
Past is the fashion of idolatry:
We behold, and go our ways.

The silent dust that weepeth so loud,

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The frail dust that striveth so hard,
Now feasting with music and revelry,
Now borne aloft on the bier--
Him, lord of the world and bondslave,
We behold, and go our ways.

Thou art sealed with questionings,
Thy mind is set on problem and solution.
Like a noosed deer
Thou art wretched and sorrowful.
We, in our high abode,
We behold, and go our ways.

Wherefore the Veil? What is Appearance?
What is the source of darkness and light?
What are eye and mind and consciousness?
What is unquiet Nature?
What is all this Near and Far?--
We behold, and go our ways.

To us thy much is but little,
To us thy years are but moments.
O thou that hast a Sea in thy bosom,
Thou art content with a dewdrop.
We, in quest of a Universe,
We behold, and go our ways.[21]

The concluding section, entitled "A Picture of Europe" (*Naqsh-i-Farang*), is intended to give the Oriental reader a notion of some of the more important aspects of European thought as these are viewed by the poet. It is good to see ourselves as others see us, and better still if we take to heart the eloquent message (*Payam*) in which Iqbal bids

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us throw off the fetters of an arid intellectualism and emerge into our inner world of Life and Love.

(13)

Amassing lore, thou hast lost thy heart to-day.
Ah, what a precious boon thou hast given away!

Philosophy's an endless maze: the rule
Of Love was ne'er admitted to her school.
Her eye, with every fascination armed,
Robs of their hearts the sages whom she charmed.
Pointed with every charm her glances dart,
But hold no hidden joy: they cannot thrill the heart.
Never a deer on hill or plain she found,
Not one rose gathered all the garden round.

Then let us beg of Love to make us whole,
Bow down in prayer to Love and seek a goal![22]

Open thine eyes, if thou hast eyes to see!
Life is the building of the world to be.[23]

Life is a flowing stream, and it will flow;
This ancient world is young, and young will grow.
What was and should not be will vanish here,
What should have been and is not will appear.
Love, from delight of seeing, is all eyes;
Beauty would fain be shown and forth will rise.
The land where I wept blood--when I depart,
My tears will turn to rubies in its heart.

In this dark night I hear the news of Dawn;

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Lamps out, now come the signs of Sunrise on![24]

Iqbal does not believe in political short cuts to the Millennium His lines on the League of Nations are characteristic of him.

(14)

To the end that wars may cease on this old planet, the suffering peoples of the world have founded a new institution.

So far as I see, it amounts to this: a number of undertakers have formed a company to allot the graves.[25]

(15)

Philosopher with statesman weigh not thou:
Those are sun-blinded, these are tearless eyes
One shapes a feeble argument for his truth,
The other a block of logic for his lies.[26]

But the philosophers themselves get some stinging blows--particularly Hegel, whose soaring mind is called
"a hen that by dint of enthusiasm lays eggs without assistance from the cock."[27] As an example of the author's method of introducing his Moslem readers to European philosophy, I translate his verses on Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

(16)

A bird flew from its nest and ranged about the garden; its soft breast was pierced by a rose-thorn.
It reviled the nature of Time's garden; it throbbed with its own pain and the pain of others.
It thought the tulip was branded with the blood of innocents; in the closed bud it saw the guile of Spring.

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From its cries of burning woe a hoopoe's heart caught fire.
The hoopoe with his beak drew forth the thorn from its body,
Saying, "Get thee profit out of loss: the rose has created pure gold by rending her breast.
If thou art wounded, make the pain thy remedy. Accustom thyself to thorns, that thou mayst become entirely one with the garden."[28]

While Iqbal cordially agrees with Nietzsche's "will to power" (meaning "the fullest possible realisation of a complete, self-reliant personality"), his view that Islam, considered as the ideal community, is a theocracy and democracy,[29] brings him into conflict with "the madman in the European china-shop",[30] whom he takes--unwarrantably, perhaps--to be an atheist.

(17)

If song thou crave, flee from him! Thunder roars in the reed of his pen.
He plunged a lancet into Europe's heart; his hand is red with the blood of the Cross.
He reared a pagoda on the ruins of the Temple: his heart is a true believer, but his brain is an infidel.[31]
Burn thyself in the fire of that Nimrod, for the garden of Abraham is produced from fire.[32]

It would be fair, I think, to describe the author of the *Payam* as a Mohammedan Vitalist. Certainly there is no modern philosopher with whom he is so much in sympathy as with Bergson, whose teaching he interprets in these lines:

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(18)

BERGSON'S MESSAGE

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.
O thou by vain imaginings befooled,
Get thee a Reason which the Heart hat schooled!"

Appreciators of witty and pungent criticism will find plenty of entertainment: Einstein, for instance, "the hierophant of Light, the descendant of Moses and Aaron who has revived the religion of Zoroaster",[34] or Lenin proclaiming the triumph of Communism to Kaiser Wilhelm, who retorts that the people have only exchanged one master for another: "Shirin never lacks a lover; if it be not King Khusrau, then it is Farhad (Kuhkan)"[35]. "The Dialogue between Comte and the Workman",[36] "The Qismat-nama of the Capitalist and the Wage-earner",[37] and "The Workman's Song",[38] show, as might be expected, that Iqbal is whole-heartedly on the side of Labour. Here are three couplets of the "Workman's Song":

(19)

Clad in cotton rags I toil as a slave for hire
To earn for an idle master his silk attire.
The Governor's ruby seal 'tis my sweat that buys,
His horse is gemmed with tears from my children's eyes.
How long must we lead this moth's life, fluttering round the candle,
Pass how many days in exile, strangers to ourselves.[39]

It has been said that "the current which in philosophy sets against intellectualism, in the political realm sets against the State".[40] Extreme

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nationalists and Panislamists can quote Iqbal for their purpose, just as the Syndicalists quote Bergson. But the creative action of Life need not be based on irrational impulse. Iqbal expressly declares that self-control is "the highest form of self-consciousness", and that in the Ideal Man "reason and instinct become one".[41] This, to be sure, will not satisfy his critics who see clearly enough the uses to which his doctrines may be put. Let them read, then, his *Apologia pro Vitalitate sua*:

(20)

TO ENGLAND

An Eastern tasted once — the wine in Europe's glass;
No wonder if he broke — old vows in reckless glee.
The blood came surging up — in the veins of his new-born thought:
Predestination's bondslave, — he learned that Man is free.

Let not thy soul be vexed — with the drunkard's noise and rout!
O *Saqi*, tell me fairly, — who was't that broached this jar?
The scent of the Rose showed first the way into the Garden;
Else, how should the Nightingale have known that roses are?[42]

Notes and References

1. First published at Lahore in 1923. The second edition (1924) includes a number of new poems, and the author has expanded some of the old ones. The references in this article are to the second edition.

2. An English version by the present writer appeared in 1920 under the title of *The Secrets of the Self*. The introduction includes an account of the philosophical basis of the poem, contributed by the author.

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3. *Payam*, p. 122.

4. *Ibid*., p. 2.

5. The poems in the *Payam* are grouped under the following heads: *Lala-i-Tur* (163 rubā'is), *Afkar* (miscellaneous pieces), *May-i-Baqi* (ghazals), *Nazd-i-Farang* (a criticism of European life and thought), *Khurda* (fragments).

6. The counterpart to "Mädchen und Dichter" is "*Hur-o-Shā'ir*" (p. 14) while "*Juy-i-ab*" (p. 151) is a fine, though very free rendering of "Mahomets Gesang".

7. *Payam*, p. 246.

8. The final couplet, which sums up the lesson of *Faust*, is a quotation from the *Mathnawi*.

9. *Payam*, p. 145.

10. *Ibid*., p. 34.

11. *Ibid*., p. 41.

12. *Ibid*., p. 67.

13. *Ibid*., p. 45.

14. *Ibid*., p. 261.

15. *Ibid*., p. 259.

16. *Ibid*., p. 108.

17. *Ibid*., p. 110.

18. *Ibid*., p. 150. A reply to Heine's poem, "Fragen", which begins: "Am Meer, am wüsten, nächtlichen Meer Steht ein Jüngling-Mann".

19. Iqbal uses "Time" in the sense of Bergson's *la durée*, "the very stuff of which life and consciousness are made". Cf. *Asrar-i-Khudi*, translation, p. 134 and foll.

20. *Payam*, p. 102.

21. *Ibid*., p. 112.

22. *Ibid*., p. 226.

23. *Ibid*., p. 231.

24. *Ibid*., p. 232.

25. *Ibid*., p. 233.

26. *Ibid*., p. 235.

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27. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

29. Cf. *The Secrets of the Self*. Introduction, p. X and p. XXIX.

30. *Payam*, p. 238, last line.

31. Suggested by the words which the Prophet is said to have used concerning Umayya ibn Abi 'l-Salt :

32. *Payam*, p. 241. The commentators on *Qur'an*, XXI, 69 relate that the burning pyre on which Abraham was cast by order of Nimrod was miraculously transformed into a rose-garden.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 249 seq.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

39. J.A. Gunn, *Bergson and his philosophy*, p. 110.

40. *The Secrets of the Self*, Introduction, p. XXVII.

41. *Payam*, p. 254.

(In: *Islamica* (Leipzig), vol. I (1925), pp. 112-124. Also in: *The Crescent*, The Magazine of the Islamia College, Lahore, vol. XX, No. 81 (March-April, 1926), pp. 9-18; *The Sword and the Sceptre*, A Collection of Writings on Iqbal, dealing mainly with life and poetical works, Collected and edited by Riffat Hassan, Lahore: Iqbal Academy 1977, pp. 301-320; *Iqbal Review*, XIII (October 1972), pp. 6-16).

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PREFACE

to the

Payam-i-Mashriq

by Muhammad Iqbal

The *Payam-i-Mashriq* owes its inspiration to the *Western Diwan* of Goethe, the German "Philosopher of Life," about which Heine, the Israelite poet of Germany, says:

"This is a bouquet presented by the West to the East as a token of high regard..... This Diwan bears testimony to the fact that the West, being dissatisfied with its own spiritual life, is turning to the bosom of the East in search of spiritual warmth."

What were the circumstances and the influences that produced this poetical work of Goethe, which is one of his best and to which he himself has given the name of Diwan? To answer this question, it is necessary to give a brief account of the literary movement which is known as the "Oriental Movement" in the history of German literature. It was my intention to deal with this movement in some detail, but I regret that a great deal of the material that was necessary for the purpose is not available in India. Paul Horn, the author of *Persian Literature* has, in one of his articles, discussed the question of how far Goethe is indebted to the poets of Iran. The issue of the magazine *Nord und Süd* in which this article was published could not be obtained from any library in India or Germany. In the

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circumstances. I have had to rely partly on my memory of earlier studies and partly on the brief but extremely useful and informative treatise written by Charles [Arthur] Remy on the subject.

Goethe's versatile temperament inclined him towards Eastern ways of thought even from his early youth. In Strassburg, where he was engaged in legal studies, he met Herder, the well-known and highly respected literary figure of Germany, whose influence has been acknowledged by Goethe in his autobiography. Herder did not know Persian, but as he had didactic inclinations, he was deeply interested in the works of Sa'di. He has, in fact, rendered some parts of the *Gulistan* into German. He was not much attracted towards the poetic school of Hafiz. In drawing the attention of his contemporaries to Sa'di he writes:

"We have followed the poetic style of Hafiz long enough; now we have to learn from Sa'di."

But in spite of Herder's interest in Oriental literature, his poetical and other works did not bear any trace of its influence. Similarly, Goethe's other contemporary, Schiller, who died before the beginning of the "Oriental Movement", is free from Oriental influence, although we should not forget that the plot of his drama *Turandot* is derived from Nizami's story of the *Daughter of the King of the Fourth Kingdom* from the *Haft Paikar*, which opens with the following couplet:

"In Russia", said he, "among all the cities
There was one as beautiful as a bride."

In 1812, von Hammer published a complete translation of the *Diwan* of Hafiz and it is this translation which marks the beginning of the "Oriental Movement" in German literature. Goethe was sixty-five at that time, and this was the period when the political decadence of the German people had reached its lowest limit in every way. Goethe was not temperamentally suited for active participation in the political movements of the country. He was sick of the widespread conflict and

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strife in Europe and his lofty and restless soul found a refuge in the peaceful atmosphere of the East. His imagination was deeply stirred by the melodious rhythm of Hafiz and this bore lasting fruit in the form of the *Western Diwan*. Von Hammer's translation not only stimulated Goethe's imagination, but served at the same time as the source of some of his remarkable poetic ideas. Indeed, his verse appears now and again to be a free translation of Hafiz. And, occasionally, his imagination is led, in the light of a particular line of Hafiz, to illumine the deepest and most intricate mysteries of life.

"In the melodious notes of the Nightingale of Shiraz", says his well-known biographer Bielschowsky, "Goethe saw his own image. He sometimes even felt as though it was his own soul which had had its being in the corporeal frame of Hafiz and had lived in the East in an earlier incarnation. There is the same earthly joy, the same heavenly love, the same simplicity, the same depth, the same warmth and fervour, the same catholicity of outlook, the human sympathy and the same freedom from form and same breadth of ceremony. Indeed, we find him a compeer of Hafiz in every way. Like Hafiz, Goethe is the unraveller of mysteries and the spokesman of the Unknown. And just as there is a whole world of meaning in the seemingly simple words of Hafiz, the vision of truth and reality finds expression in the spontaneity of Goethe's style. Both Hafiz and Goethe received tributes from rich and poor alike; both impressed the great conquerors of their time (Timur in the case of Hafiz and Napoleon in that of Goethe) with the force of their personality. And both succeeded in preserving the calm and composure of their spirits and continued to sing in a time of wide-spread destruction and devastation."

Apart from Hafiz, Goethe is indebted for his imagery to 'Attar, Sa'di, Firdausi and Muslim literature in general. Here and there he has composed "ghazals" with all the formalities and limitations of the "radif" and the "qafia". He freely uses Persian metaphors such as "the pearl of poesy", "the arrows of eyelashes", "the curled ringlet";

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indeed, in his enthusiasm for his Persian models he does not hesitate to refer even to homosexual love. The various parts of his *Diwan* also bear Persian titles such as the "Moghanni Nameh", the "Saqinameh", the "Ishqnameh", the "Timurnameh" and the "Hikmetnameh", etc. In spite, however, of all these features of the *Diwan*, Goethe is not an imitator of any particular Persian poet, and his poetic genius owes allegiance to none. His warblings in the tulip gardens of the East are only a transient affair. He never gives up his Western identity and he is attracted only by such Eastern ideas as his Western temperament is also to assimilate. He was in no way interested in Persian mysticism. And although he knew that in the East the poetry of Hafiz is interpreted in mystical terms he enjoyed the sheer lyricism of it and had no sympathy with its mystical interpretation. The philosophic concepts and ideas of Rumi seemed to him to be obscure. It appears, however, that he had not studied the works of Rumi with any profundity, for it is hardly conceivable that a man who admired Spinoza (a Dutch philosopher, who believed in pantheism) and who took up his pen in support of Bruno (a pantheistic philosopher of Italy) should not acknowledge the greatness of Rumi.

In short, Goethe with his *Western Diwan* tried to instil the Persian spirit into German literature. The "Oriental Movement" which began with Goethe's *Divan* was carried to its fulfilment by the later poets, Platen, Rückert and Bodenstedt. Platen learnt the Persian language for literary purposes. He wrote "ghazals" with all the formalities of the "qafia" and the "radif" and the Persian metre. He wrote quatrains, and also a "qasidah" to Napoleon. Like Goethe, he also uses Persian metaphors freely, such as "the rose bride", "the musk scented ringlet", and the "tulip cheek", and loves pure lyricism. Rückert was a scholar of all the three great Oriental languages, namely, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He held the philosophy of Rumi in high esteem, and most of his "ghazals" are in the Rumi tradition. As an Oriental scholar, he had a greater variety of sources

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at his disposal as the inspiration for his Oriental compositions Whether it is the *Makhzan-i-Asrar* of Nizami, the *Baharistan* of Jami, the *Kulliyat* of Amir Khusrau, the *Gulistan* of Sa'di, the *Manaqib ul Arifeen*, the *Ayar-i-Danish*, the *Mantiq-ut-Tair*, or the *Haft Qulzum*, he gathers up the pearls of wisdom wherever he finds them. He has even embellished his poetry with the pre-Islamic myth and legend of Iran. He has also rendered into verse some of the well-known episodes of Muslim history such as the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, Mahmud's invasion of Somnath, the Sultana Razia, etc.

The best known poet of the Oriental school after Goethe is Bodenstedt who published his poems under the pseudonym of "Mirza Schaffy". This small collection became so popular that it went through 140 editions in a short time. This poet has identified himself so well with the Persian spirit that for a long time the poems of "Mirza Schaffy" were regarded in Germany as translations from Persian poetry. Bodenstedt has also drawn on Amir Muizzi and Anwari.

In this connection I have deliberately refrained from mentioning Goethe's famous contemporary, Heine. Although Persian influence is traceable in his poetical collection entitled *New Verses* and he has also rendered the story of Mahmud and Firdausi into verse with great success, yet he has, on the whole, no real connection with the "Oriental Movement". In his opinion, the Oriental poetry of German poets has no great importance with the exception of Goethe's *Western Diwan*. Even the free thinking spirit of Heine, however, could not escape the magic influence of Iran. For instance, in one of his poems, he imagines himself to be a Persian poet exiled in Germany and cries out:

> "O Firdausi! O Jami! O Sa'di!
> Your brother in spirit, confined in the prison walls of anguish, is dying for the flowers of Shiraz".

Among the lesser known poets, Daumer, the follower of Hafiz,

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Hermann Stahl, Löschke, Stieglitz, Leuthold and von Schack are also worthy of mention. The last mentioned occupied a prominent position in the academic sphere. His poems about the story of "The Justice of Mahmud of Ghazna" and the story of "Haroot and Maroot" are well known. On the whole, the influence of Omar Khayyam is more conspicuous in his poetry.

In order, however, to be able to write the complete history of the "Oriental Movement" and to assess the true magnitude of Persian influence by a detailed comparison between German and Persian poets, it is necessary to undertake a prolonged and detailed study of the subject, for which I have neither time nor material. It is possible that this brief sketch might evoke some enthusiasm in a younger man for further research.

I need hardly say anything about the *Payam-i-Mashriq* which has been written a hundred years after the *Western Diwan*. The reader will himself see that its main object is to bring out those social, moral, and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities. There is a certain amount of similarity between the East of today and the Germany of a hundred years ago. The fact, however, is that the inner turmoil which the nations of the world are going through today, and which we are unable to regard objectively inasmuch as we ourselves are affected by it, is the fore-runner of a social and spiritual revolution of very great magnitude. The Great War of Europe was a catastrophe which has almost wholly destroyed the old world order. Out of the ashes of civilisation and culture nature is now building up a new humanity and a new world for that humanity to live in. We can catch a glimpse of the new world order in the works of Professor Einstein and Bergson. Europe has seen with its own eyes the dreadful consequences of its scientific, moral, and economic pursuits and has also heard from Signor Nitti (a former Prime Minister of Italy) the heartrending story of the decadence of the West. It is a matter for regret, however, that the

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intelligent but conservative statesmen of Europe have not been able to comprehend the real significance of the revolution that has taken place in the human spirit. From the purely literary point of view, the weakening of the life potentialities of Europe after the painful happenings of the World War is detrimental to the development of a sound and mature literary ideal. There is, indeed, a danger that the minds of nations may not be subjugated by that time-worn and devitalising escapist mentality which cannot differentiate between the thoughts of the head and the feelings of the heart. America, however, appears to be a sound element in Western civilization, probably because this country is unfettered by the traditions of the past and its collective conscience can accept new thoughts and influences more easily.

The East, and particularly the Muslim East, has opened its eyes after having slumbered for centuries. The Eastern people have, however, realised that life cannot effect a revolution in its environment before it has had, in the first instance, a revolution in the inner depths of its own being, nor can a new world assume external form until its existence takes shape in the hearts of men. That immutable law of the Universe which the Quran has enunciated in the simple but comprehensive verse:

> "God does not change the destiny of people unless they change themselves",

holds good for the individual as well as the collective aspects of life. In my Persian works I have tried to keep this truth in mind.

In the world today and particularly in the Eastern countries, every effort which is directed towards the development of an outlook among men and nations which transcends geographical limitations and helps to create among them a sound and strong sense of humanity deserves our respect. It is for this reason that I have dedicated these few pages to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, who, with his inborn intelligence and insight, appears to appreciate this point fully.

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He is particularly solicitous about the welfare of the Afghans. May God help him in this great task.

In the end I wish to thank my friend Choudhury Muhammad Husain, M.A., who prepared the manuscript of the *Payam-i-Mashriq* for publication. If he had not taken this trouble, this book might have been considerably delayed.

(Translation by Mumtaz Hasan)

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Die Botschaft des Ostens

(Vorwort)

Die Anregung zum Verfassen der "Botschaft des Ostens" gab der West-Ösliche Divan des deutschen Lebensphilosophen Goethe, über welchen der jüdische Dichter Deutschlands, Heine, geschrieben hat:

"Es ist eine Gabe der Verehrung, die der Westen dem Orient gesandt hat. . . Aus diesem Divan kann man erkennen, dass der Okzident seiner eigenen schwachen, kalten Geistigkeit überdrüssig geworden ist und Wärme aus der Brust des Orients erwartet."

Das Ergebnis welcher Einfl-sse war diese Gedichtsammlung Goethes, die zu seinen besten Werken gehört und von ihm selbst "Divan" benannt worden ist? Und unter welchen Umständen ist sie geschrieben worden? Um diese Frage zu beantworten, muss man ganz kurz jene Bewegung erwähnen, die in der Geschichte der deutschen Literatur als orientalische Strömung bezeichnet wird. Es war meine Absicht, in diesem Vorwort von der genannten Strömung einigermassen im einzelnen zu sprechen. Aber bedauerlicherweise ist vieles Material, das dafür nötig wäre, in Indien nicht erreichbar. Paul Horn, der Verfasser der Geschichte der persischen Literatur, hat in einem Artikel über das problem gesprochen, bis zu welchem Grade Goethe den persischen Dichtern verpflichtet ist. Aber die Nummer der Zeitschrift "Nord und süd", in welcher der genannte Artikel

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veröffentlicht worden ist, war weder in Indien aus irgendeiner Bibliothek zu erlangen noch aus Deutschland.[1] Gezwungenermssen stütze ich mich nun in diesem Vorwort teils auf die Erinnerung früherer Studien und teils auf Dr. Charles [Arthur] Remys zusammenfassende, aber höchst nützliche und praktische Schrift, welche er über dieses Thema verfasst hat.[2]

Von früher Jugend an war Goethes allumfassende Natur orientalischen Vorstellungen zugeneigt. In Strassburg, wo er Jura studierte, traf er Herder, eine in der deutschen Literatur berühmte und verehrungswurdige Persönlichkeit; die Wirkungen seiner Gesellschaft hat Goethe selbst in seinen Erinnerungen zugegeben. Herder hatte kein Persisch verstanden; aber da in seiner Natur das ethische Moment vorherrschte, zogen ihn Saadis Werke ausserordentlich an, so dass er einige Erzählungen aus dem *Gulistan* sogar ins Deutsche übertrug? Der Ton des Hafiz zog ihn weniger an. Da er seine Zeitgenossen zu Saadi hinwenden möchte, schreibt er: "Wir haben genug in der Art des Hafiz gesungen; jetzt ist es notwendig, Schüler Saadis zu sein."[3] Aber trotz dieses Interesses, das Herder für die orientalische Literatur fühlte, ist überhaupt kein Einfluss der orientalischen Dichtung auf seine eigenen Gedichte oder andere Werke zu bemerken. Goethes anderer Zeitgenosse, Schiller, der vor dem Beginn der "Orientalischen Strömung" gestorben war, ist gleichfalls frei von orientalischen Einfluüssen. Doch sollte nicht vergessen werden, dass der Plan eines Dramas, "Turandot", aus der Erzählung Maulana Nizamis von der Tochter des Königs des Vierten Klimas (in den *Haft Paikar*) entnommen ist, dessen Anfang bei Maulana Nizami dieser Vers ist:

Er sprach: Irgendwo im Lande der Russen
War seine Stadt mit einer Schönen wie eine Braut...

1812 wurde durch von Hammer die vollständige

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übersetzung des Divans des Hafiz veröffentlicht, und durch die Veröffentlichung dieser übersetzung begann die orientalische Strömung in der deutschen Literatur. Goethe war damals 65 Jahre alt, und es war jene Zeit, da der Niedergang des deutschen Volkes in jeder Hinsicht bis zum äussersten gelangt war. Goethes Naturell war nicht geeignet, an den politischen Bewegungen des Landes praktischen Anteil zu nehmen, und da er der Streitsuchenden in ganz Europa überdrüssig war, erhoffte sein rastloser, hochfliegender Geist in der Sicherheit und Ruhe der orientalischen Weite ein Nest für sich. Der Gesang des Hafiz hatte in seiner Phantasie gewaltige Erregung verursacht, welche zuletzt die feste und selbständige Form des West-Östlichen Divans wählte. Jedoch war Hammers übersetzung für Goethe nicht nur eine Anregung, sondern auch der Sammelplatz seiner seltsamen und fremdartigen Vorstellungen. An manchen Stellen ist seine Poesie als freie übersetzung von Gedichten des Khodscha Hafiz erkennbar, und an manchen Stellen ist seine Einbildungskraft durch die Wirkung irgendeiner speziellen Zeile auf einen neuen Weg gelangt und hat auf die zartesten und tiefsten Probleme des Lebens Licht gegossen. Goethes berühmter Biograph Bielschowsky schreibt:

"Der Sänger von Schiraz erschien wie sein leibhaftiges Ebenbild. Ob er vielleicht in des Persers Gestalt schon einmal auf Erden gewandelt? Dieselbe Erdenfreudigkeit und Himmelsliebe, Einfachheit und Tiefe, Wahrheit und Gradheit, Glut und Leidenschaftlichkeit, und endlich dieselbe Offenheit und durch keinerlei Satzung eingeschr+nkte Empfänglichkeit für alles Menschliche. Passte es nicht auch auf ihn, wenn die Perser ihren Dichter zugleich die Mystische Zunge und den Dolmetsch der Geheimnisse nannten, wenn sie von seinen Gedichten sagten, sie wären dem äusseren nach einfach und ungeschmückt, hätten aber Tiefe, und die Wahrheit ergründende Bedeutung und höchste Vollendung? Und genoss nicht Hafiz wie er die Gunst der Niederen und Grossen? Ja, eroberte er nicht auch den Eroberer, den gewaltigen

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Timur (d. h. Hafiz den Timur, Goethe den Napoleon)? Und retete er sich nicht aus allem Umsturz den Drang seiner Heiterkeit und sang weiter wie vordem im Frieden, in den alten gewohnten Verhältnissen?. . . "

Abgesehen von Khadscha Hafiz ist Goethe in seinen Phantasien auch Scheich Attar, Saadi, Firdausi und ganz allgemein der islamischen Literatur zu Dank verpflichtet. Hier und da hat er sogar ein Ghasel mit überreim und Reim geschrieben. In seiner Sprache hat er auch ohne Schwierigkeit persische Redewendungen verwendet (z.b. die"Juwelen der Verse", der "Pfeil der Wimpern", die "gekrümmte Locke"); ja in der Begeisterung für das Persische scheut er sich noch nicht einmal vor Hindeutungen auf die "Neigung zu den Unbärtigen". Auch die Namen der verschiedenen Kapitel des Divans sind persisch, z.B. Mughanni Nameh, Saqi Nameh, Aschk Nameh, Timur Nameh, Hikmet Nameh u. a. Trotz all dieser Tatsachen ist Goethe kein Nachahmer irgendeines persischen Dichters, und seine dichterische Anlage ist absolut frei. Sein Liedersingen in den Tulpenfeldern des Orients ist rein zuf+llig. Er hat seine Westlichkeit nie aufgegeben, und sein Blick ist nur auf diejenigen Östlichen Wahrheiten gefallen, welche seine westliche Natur haben anziehen k%nnen. Die persische Mystik hat ihn absolut nicht interessiert; doch es war ihm bekannt, dass im Orient die Gedichte des Hafiz vom mystischen Standpunkt ausgelegt werden. Er selbst war nur an der reinen Dichtung interessiert; und an der mystischen Auslegung der Worte des Hafiz lag ihm nichts. Die philosophischen Wahrheiten und Weisheiten Maulana Rumis waren für ihn undurchsichtig; doch ist es klar, dass er auf Rumis Worte keinen eindringenden Blick geworfen hat; denn wer Spinoza (einen holländischen Philosophen, der vom essentiellen Monismus überzeugt war) gepriesen und für Giordano Brunos (eines pantheistischen italienischen Philosophen) Schutz die Feder erhoben hat, der kann unm%glich Rumi nicht anerkennen.

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Durch den West-Östlichen Divan hat Goethe sich bemüht, in der deutschen Literatur den persischen Geist zu offenbaren. Später haben dann die Dichter, Platen, Rückert, Bodenstedt die orientalische Strömung, die durch Goethes Divan eingeleitet worden war, bis zur Vollendung gebracht. Platen hat für literarische Zwecke Persisch gelernt und hat Ghaselen mit Reim und Überreim, sogar entsprechend dem persischen quantitierenden Metrum, geschrieben, hat Vierzeiler, ja auch eine Kasside auf Napoleon verfasst. Wie Goethe hat auch er persische Wendungen wie Rosenblatt "Moschuslocke", "Tulpenwange" ungezwungen verwendet und ist ebenfalls nur an der reinen Poesie interessiert. Rückert war der drei orientalischen Sprachen Arabisch, Persisch, Sanskrit mächtig. Auf ihn hatte die Philosophie Rumis tiefen Eindruck gemacht, und seine Ghaselen sind meist in Nachahmung Maulana Rumis geschrieben. Da er ein gelehrter Orientalist war, konnte er auch die orientalische Poesie in weiterem Masse übernehmen: Nizamis *Makhzan al-asrar*, Dschamis *Baharistan*, Amir Khosraus gesammelte Werke, Saadis *Gulistan*, die *Manaqib al-arifin* (Wunder der Weisen), den *Ayar-i danish* (Prüfstein des Wissens), das *Mantiq ut-tair* (Vogelgespräche, von Fariduddin Attar), die *Haft Qulzum* (das "Siebenmeer", persische Poetik)--aus diesen und anderen hat er von hier und dort die Perlen der Weisheit gefunden und aufgereiht. Selbst aus vorislamischer persischer Überlieferung und Erzählung hat er seine Rede geschmückt. Auch manche Ereignisse der islamischen Geschichte hat er schön bedichtet, so den Tod des Mahmud von Ghazna, Mahmuds Angriff auf Somnath, Sultana Raziye u.a.

Nach Goethe ist der Dichter, der am meisten die orientalische Färbung angenommen hat, Bodenstedt, welcher seine eigenen Gedichte unter dem Pseudonym Mirza Schaffy veröffentlicht hat. Diese ziemlich kleine Sammlung ist so beliebt geworden, dass in ganz kurzer Zeit 140 Auflagen erschienen sind. Dieser Dichter hat den persischen Geist sich so schön angeeignet, dass in Deutschland die

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Leute die "Lieder des Mirza Schaffy" lange für eine übersetzung persischer Poesie gehalten haben. Bodenstedt hat auch Amir Muizzi und Anwari benutzt.

In dieser Kette habe ich Goethes berühmten Zeitgenossen Heine absichtlich nicht erwähnt, wenn er auch in seiner Gedichtsammlung "Neue Lieder" persischen Einfluss zeigt und auch die Geschichte von Mahmud und Firdausi überaus schön besungen hat. Aber in seinem ganzen Wesen hat er keinen Zusammenhang mit der orientalischen Strömung, und nach seiner Meinung hat, abgesehen von Goethes *West-Östlicher Divan*, die orientalische Redeweise deutsche Dichter keine grosse Bedeutung. Aber auch das Herz dieses freisinnigen deutschen Dichters hat sich vor dem Zugriff der persischen Zauberin nicht retten k%nnen, so dass er an einer Stelle sich selbst in einer Welt der Phantasie als persischer Dichter vorstellt, der nach Deutschland verbannt ist, und er schreibt: "O Firdausi, o Dschami! O Saadi! Euer Bruder ist im Gefängnis des Kummers gefangen. . . Ach, wie sehne ich mich nach den Rosen von Schiraz!"

Unter den unbedeutenderen Dichtern sind als Nachahmer von Hafiz Daumer, Hermann Stahl, Löschke, Stieglitz, Leuthold und von Schack erwähnenswert. Der letztere hat in der wissenschaftlichen Welt tief Fuss gefasst; seine gereimten Geschichten "Die Gerechtigkeit des Mahmud von Ghazna" und "Harut und Marut" sind berühmt; und im ganzen gesehen ist in seiner Rede der Einfluss Omar Khayyams stärker zu sehen. Aber um die vollständige Geschichte der orientalischen Strömung zu schreiben oder eine detaillierte Gegenüberstellung deutscher und persischer Dichter zu machen und die wirkliche Weite des persischen Einflusses zu erkennen, ist ein langes Studium notwendig, für welches weder die Zeit jetzt günstig ist noch das Material: MÖglich, dass diese ganz kurze Zusammenfassung im Herzen eines jungen Menschen Begeisterung für die Untersuchung und Erforschung erweckt!

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Hinsichtlich der "Botschaft des Ostens", die hundert Jahre nach dem *West-Östlicher Divan* geschrieben worden ist, brauche ich nichts weiter darzulegen: denn die Betrachter werden selbst ermessen, dass ihre Absicht eher ist, jene ethischen, religiösen und nationalen Wahrheiten aufzuzeigen, welche zur inneren Erziehung der Individuen und Völker beitragen. Zwischen den deutschen Zuständen vor hundert Jahren und den orientalischen Zuständen von heute sind manche ähnlichkeiten vorhanden. Aber die Wahrheit ist, dass der innere Zwang der Völker der Welt, dessen wahres Mass an Wichtigkeit wir nur deshalb nicht ermessen k%nnen, weil wir selbst unter diesem Zwang stehen, der Vorläufer einer sehr grossen, geistigen und zivilisatorischen Umwälzung ist. Der Krieg in Europa war ein gewaltiges Jüngstes Gericht, welches die Ordnung der Alten Welt fast von allen Seiten vernichtet hat, und jetzt, aus dem Staube der Kultur und Zivilisation, baut die Natur aus den Tiefen des Lebens einen neuen Menschen und für dessen Bleiben eine neue Welt auf, von der ein nebelhaftes Stäubchen in den Werken unserer Philosophen Einstein und Bergson zu finden ist. Europa hat die furchtbaren Ergebnisse seiner wissenschaftlichen, moralischen und wirtschaftlichen Ideale mit eigenen Augen gesehen und von Nitti (dem früheren Ministerpr+sidenten Italiens) auch die herzzerreissende Geschichte vom Niedergang der Europäer gehört. Aber es ist bedauerlich, dass seine klugen, wenn auch konservativen Führer den erstaunlichen Umbruch nicht richtig haben messen können, welcher damals im menschlichen Inneren geschehen ist. Sie haben nur vom literarischen Standpunkt aus gesehen, dass nach dem Zermalmen des gewaltigen Krieges der Niedergang der Lebenskräfte Europas für das Entstehen und Wachsen eines gesunden und reifen literarischen Ideals nicht günstig ist. Man befürchtet, dass die speziell orientalische Art des Gehenlassens und des Hinweglaufens vor den Schwierigkeiten des Lebens die Moral der Nationen beeinflussen könnte, welche die Gedanken des Hirns nicht von den Entzückungen des Herzens

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unterscheiden kann. Gewiss ist Amerika als gesundes Element unter den Elementen der westlichen Kultur bekannt, und sein Vorteil dürfte es sein, dass dieses Reich frei ist von den Ketten alter überlieferungen und sein soziales Gewissen neue Einflüsse und Gedanken leichter aufnehmen kann.

Der Orient, und speziell der islamische orient, hat nach dem jahrhundertelangen Schlaf die Augen geöffnet. Doch den Völkern des Orients dürfte es fühlbar geworden sein, dass das Leben in ihren Ländern nicht irgendeinen Umsturz offenbaren kann, bevor nicht in ihren eigenen Tiefen ein Umsturz geschehen ist, und dass eine neue Welt nicht eher ins äussere Dasein treten kann, solange nicht ihre Existenz im Inneren des Menschen vorgeformt ist. Dieses unwandelbare Gesetz der Natur, das der Koran in den einfachen, beredten Worten ausgedrückt hat: "Nicht ändert sich der Zustand eines Volkes, wenn es sich nicht selbst ändert",[4] betrifft sowohl die individuelle als auch die sozlale Seite des Lebens, und ich habe in meinen persischen Werken gestrebt, eben auf diese Wahrheit den Blick zu richten.

Zu dieser Zeit ist in der Welt, und speziell in den orientalischen Ländern, jedes Streben verehrungswürdig, dessen Ziel es ist, den Blick der Individuen und Völker über die geographischen Grenzen hin auszudehnen und in ihnen einen gesunden und starken menschlichen Lebenswandel zu erneuern und zu erzeugen. Darauf mich stützend, habe ich diese wenigen Blätter dem Namen des hocherhabenen Herrschers von Afghanistan zugeeignet, welcher durch seine angeborene Klugheit und seinen Scharfsinn dieses Problem aufs beste verstanden hat und die Erziehung der Afghanen auf besondere Art im Auge hat. In diesem hohen Streben möge Gott der Erhabene ihm Schutz und Helfer sein.

Zum Schluss möchte ich meinen Freund Chaudry Muhammad Husain, der das Manuskript der "Botschaft des Ostens" zum Druck vorbereitet hat, meinen Dank aussprechen. Wenn er sich

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dieser Mühe nicht unterzogen hätte, wäre die Arbeit wahrscheinlich schwieriger gewesen.

(Deutsch von Prof. Annemarie Schimmel)

Notes

1 Paul Horn, "Was verdanken wir Persien?", *Vorderasiatische Studien*, [illegible]

2 A. F. I. Remy, *The influence of India and Persia on Goethe*, *Germanica*, Columbia Univ. Diss., New York 1906.

3 Bei Herder, Adrastea XI, lautet die Stelle: "An Hafyz Gesängen, Lobeserhebungen, fast genug, Sadi ist uns lehrreicher gewesen."

4 Sure 13,12: "Wahrlich Gott ändert nicht sein Verhalten zu einem Volk, solange dieses nicht sich selbst ändert", ein Lieblingswort der fortschrittlichen Modernisten.

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Goethe

Mahomets Gesang

Seht den Felsenquell,
Freudehell,
Wie ein Sternenblick;
Über Wolken
Nährten seine Jugend
Gute Geister
Zwischen Klippen im Gebüsch.

Jünglingfrisch
Tanzt er aus der Wolke
Auf die Marmorfelsen nieder,
Jauchzet wieder
Nach dem Himmel.

Durch die Gipfelgänge
Jagt er bunten Kieseln nach,
Und mit frühem Führertritt
Reisst er seine Bruderquellen
Mit sich fort.

Drunten werden in dem Tal
Unter seinem Fusstritt Blumen,

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Und die Wiese
Lebt von seinem Hauch.

Doch ihn hält kein Schattental,
Keine Blumen,
Die ihm seine Knie umschlingen,
Ihm mit Liebes-Augen schmeicheln:
Nach der Ebne dringt sein Lauf
Schlangenwandelnd.

B+che schmiegen
Sich gesellig an. Nun tritt er
In die Ebne silberprangend,
Und die Ebne prangt mit ihm,
Und die Flüsse von der Ebne
Und die Bäche von den Bergen
Jauchzen ihm und rufen: Bruder!
Bruder, nimm die Brüder mit,
Mit zu deinem alten Vater,
Zu dem ewgen Ozean,
Der mit ausgespannten Armen
Unser wartet,
Die sich, ach! vergebens Öffnen
Seine Sehnenden zu fassen;
Denn uns frisst in Öder Wüste
Gierger Sand; die Sonne droben
Saugt an unserm Blut; ein Hügel
Hemmet uns zum Teiche! Bruder,
Nimm die Brüder von der Ebne,
Nimm die Brüder von den Bergen
Mit, zu deinem Vater mit!

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Kommt ihr alle!-
Und nun schwillt er
Herrlicher; ein ganz Geschlechte
Trägt den Fürsten hoch empor!
Und im rollenden Triumphe
Gibt er Ländern Namen, Städte
Werden unter seinem Fuss.

Unaufhaltsam rauscht er weiter,
Lässt der Türme Flammengipfel,
Marmorhäuser, eine Schöpfung
Seiner Fülle, hinter sich.

Zedernhäuser trägt der Atlas
Auf den Riesenschultern; sausend
Wehen über seinem Haupte
Tausend Flaggen durch die Lüfte,
Zeugen seiner Herrlichkeit.

Und so trägt er seine Brüder,
Seine Schätze, seine Kinder
Dem erwartenden Erzeuger
Freudebrausend an das Herz.

(In: Goethe. *Selected Poems*. Edited by Barker Fairley. London: Heinemann. 1981 (1954). Paperback. pp. 9-11: also in: Iqbal: *Essays and Studies*. Edited by Asloob Ahmad Ansari. New Delhi: Ghalib Academy. 1978. pp. VIII-XII)

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Der Strom

Schau dir den Strom an, wie er wallt, berauscht,
Milchstrassengleich, am grünen Wiesenrand,
In einer Wolkenwiege schlief er süss,
Der Sehnsucht Aug' hat er zum Berg gewandt;
Aus Kieseln liess sein Lauf ein Lied erklingen,
Sein Antlitz: reinstem Spiegelglas verwandt!
Sieh, wie zum Ozean er trunken wandert!
Der Welt ganz fremd, in sich versunken wandert!
Der Lenz schuf Feenschlösser ihm am Wege,
Narzisse, Tulpe sprosst, Jasmin am Baum.
Kokett sprach Rose: "Vor mir geht ein andrer!"
Die Knospe öffnet lachend ihren Saum.
Er aber, fremd den grüngewandet Holden,
Liess Steppen und zerriss der Berge Zaum.
Sieh, wie zum Ozean er trunken wandert,
Der Welt ganz fremd, in sich versunken wandert!
In Berg und Hag und Wüste hundert Bäche,
Sie riefen: "Du, dem leicht die Erde wich:
Wir können, wasserlos, den Weg nicht gehen:
Vorm Sieg des Wüstensandes hüte dich!"
Dem West- und Ostwind öffnend seinen Busen,
Die trüben Wanderer trug er mit sich.
Sieh, wie zum Ozean er trunken wandert!
In Einem Tausende versunken, wandert!

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Der Strom braust, liess die Windungen, den Strand,
Liess Tales Enge, liess den Berg, den Sand;
Dem Wildbach gleich macht Hoch und Tief er eben,
Liess Fürstenschloss und Hof und Gartenland,
Unruhig, flink und herzverbrennend rastlos,
Lässt stets das Alte, Neuem zugewandt:
Sieh, wie zum Ozean er trunken wandert,
Der Welt ganz fremd, in sich versunken wandert!

Anmerkung

1. Es ist eine äusserst freie übersetzung von Goethes berühmtem "Mahomets Gssang". In diesem Gedicht, das sehr lange vor dem *West-Östlicher Divan* geschrieben ist, hat der deutsche Dichter die islamische Vorstellung vom Leben ausserordentlich schön dargelegt. Ursprünglich war es ein Teil eines geplanten islamischen Drama, das er aber nicht hat vollenden können. Die Absicht dieser übersetzung ist lediglich, Goethes Gesichtspunkt zu zeigen (Muhammad Iqbal).

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Goethe

Mahomet's Song

See the rock-born stream!
Like the gleam
Of a star so bright!
Kindly spirits
High above the clouds
Nourished him while youthful
In the copse between the cliffs.

Young and fresh,
From the clouds he danceth
Down upon the marble rocks,
Then tow'rd heaven
Leaps exulting.

Through the mountain-passes
Claseth he the colour'd pebbles,
And, advancing like a chief,
Tears his brother streamlets with him
In his course.

In the valley down below
Neath his footsteps spring the flowers,

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And the meadow
In his breath finds life.

Yet no shady vale can stay him,
Nor can flowers,
Round his knees all softy twining,
With their loving eyes detain him,
To the plain his course he taketh,
Serpent-winding.

Social streamlets
Join his waters. And now moves he
O'er the plain in silv'ry glory,
And the plain in him exults,
And the rivers from the plain,
And the streamlets from the mountains,
Shout with joy, exclaiming: "Brother,
Brother, take thy brethren with thee,
With thee to thine aged father,
To the everlasting ocean,
Who, with arms outstretching far,
Waiteth for us,
Ah, in vain those arms lie open
To embrace this yearning children,
For the thirsty sand consumes us
In the desert waste, the sunbeams
drink our life-blood, hills around us
Into lakes would dam us! Brother,
Take thy brethren of the plain,
Take thy brethren of the mountain
With thee, to they father's arms!"

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Let all come, then!
And now swells he
Lordlier still; yea, e'en a people
Bears his regal flood on high!
And in triumph onward rolling,
Names to countries gives he,--cities
Spring to light beneath his foot.

Ever, ever on he rushes,
Leaves the tower's flame-tipp'd summits,
Marble palaces, the offspring
Of his fulness, far behind.

Cedar-houses bears the Atlas
On his giant shoulder, flutt'ring
In the breeze far, far above him
Thousand flags are gaily floating,
Bearing witness to his might.

And so beareth he his brethren,
All his treasures, all his children,
Wildly shouting, to the bosom
Of his long-expectant sire.

Note

1 This song was intended to be introduced in a dramatic poem entitled *Mahomet*, the plan of which was not carried out by Goethe. He mentions that it was to have been sung by Ali towards the end of the piece in honour of his master Mahomet, shortly before his death, and when at the height of his glory, of which it is typical.

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The English rendering is by Edger Alfred Bowring and is taken from *The Poems of Goethe* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1904).

(Reproduced in an article entitled "Iqbal in West Germany", in: *In Memoriam*-III (Iqbal Day Speeches and Articles. Karachi: Iqbal Academy, 1969, pp. 18-19)

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جوئے آب

(Iqbal's free Persian rendering of Goethe's 'Mahomets Gesang')

بنگر کہ جوئے آب چہ مستانہ می رود
مانند کہکشاں بگریبان مرغزار
در خواب ناز بود بہ گہوارۂ سحاب
وا کرد چشم شوق بہ آغوش کہسار
از سنگریزہ نغمہ کشاید خرام او
سیمائے او چو آئینہ بے رنگ و بے غبار
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود
در راہ او بہار پری خانہ آفرید
نرگس دمید و لالہ دمید و سمن دمید
گل عشوہ داد و گفت یکے پیش ما بایست
خندید غنچہ و سر دامان او کشید
تا آشنائے جلوہ فروشان سبزہ پوش
صحرا برید و سینہ کوہ و کمر درید
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود
صد جوئے دشت و مرغ و کہستان و باغ و راغ
گفتند اے بسیط زماں با تو سازگار
مارا کہ راہ از تنک آبی نہ بردہ ایم
از دستبرد ریگ بیاباں نگاہ دار
وا کردہ سینہ را بہ ہوا ہائے شرق و غرب
در بر گرفتہ ہم سفران زبون و زار
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
با صد ہزار گوہر یک دانہ می رود

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دریائے پرخروش ز بند و شکن گذشت
از تنگنائے وادی و کوہ و دمن گذشت
یکساں چو سیل کردہ نشیب و فراز را
از کاخ شاہ و بارہ و کشت و چمن گذشت
بیتاب و تند و تیز و جگر سوز و بیقرار
در ہر زماں تازہ رسید از کہن گذشت
زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود

"جوئے آب" گوئٹے کی مشہور نظم موسوم بہ "نغمہ محمد" کا ایک نہایت آزاد ترجمہ ہے۔ اس نظم میں جو دیوان مغربی سے بہت پہلے لکھی گئی تھی المانی شاعر نے زندگی کے اسلامی تخیل کو نہایت خوبی سے بیان کیا ہے۔ اصل میں یہ ایک مجوزہ اسلامی ڈرامے کا جزو تھی جس کی تکمیل اس سے نہ ہو سکی۔ اس ترجمہ سے گوئٹے کا نقطۂ نگاہ دکھانا مقصود ہے۔ (اقبال)

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نغمہ محمدؐ

جوئے کہسار ہے منزل کو رواں
زادۂ کوہ و کمر
نجم تاباں کی طرح ضو افگن
سبزہ و خس میں چٹانوں کے میاں
مہرباں روحوں نے پالا ہے جوانی میں اسے
مسکن ابر سے بالا ہے نشیمن جن کا
تازہ دم اور جواں
حجلہ ابر سے باہر آ کر
سنگ مرمر کی چٹانوں پہ ہوئی رقص کناں
اور پھر رفعت گردوں کی طرف پرافشاں
شاداں فرحاں

اور دروں سے گزرتے ہوئے
ٹکراتے ہوئے
سنگریزوں کا تعاقب کرتے
آگے بڑھتے ہوئے مثل رہبر
ندی نالوں کو جلو میں لے کر
اپنے رستے پہ بہے جاتی ہے

اس کے ہر لحظہ دواں قدموں کے تلے
پھول کھلتے ہیں حسیں وادی میں
اور اس کے دم جاں افزا سے
مرغ زاروں کو بقا ملتی ہے
وادی سایہ فگن پھر بھی، اسے

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پا بہ زنجیر نہیں کر سکتی
اور بکھرے ہوئے پھولوں کی نگاہ الفت
روک سکتی ہیں رستہ اس کا
جادہ پیما ہے وہ میداں کی طرف
صورت مار گراں بل کھاتے
ندیاں نالے تمام
اس کے سینے میں ملے ہیں آکر
اور اب بہتی ہے وہ میداں پر
اک نئی سطوت رفتار کے ساتھ
مایہ فخر ہے میداں کے لئے
ندیاں نالے کہستانوں کے' میدانوں کے
مل کے کہتے ہیں خوشی سے
"ساتھی
تو رفیقوں کو' وفا کیشوں کو
اپنے ہمراہ لئے جا ساتھی!
اس کہن سال پدر کی جانب
دائمی بحر کے پاس
منتظر ہے جو ہمارے لئے اک مدت سے
دور کھولے ہوئے بانہیں اپنی
آہ! بے کار وہ بانہیں وا ہیں
اپنے بچوں کے لئے
جو ہیں مشتاق بہت
تشنہ لب ریت بیابانوں کی
جذب کرتی ہے ہمیں
مہر کی کرنیں مٹاتی ہیں ہماری ہستی
حلقہ کوہ گراتا ہے ہمیں جھیلوں میں
اپنے میدان و کہستان کے رفیقوں کو' وفا کیشوں کو
ساتھ تو اپنے لئے جا ساتھی!

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اس کہن سال پدر کی جانب
جو ہمارے لئے ہے چشم براہ"

ہم کناری کا شرف سب کو دیا
اور اب بڑھ کے کہیں پہلے سے
شور انگیز ہے وہ تمکنت شاہی سے
خیر مقدم کے لئے آتی ہیں قومیں اس کے
اور منزل کو رواں ہے وہ ظفر مندی سے
وہ ممالک کو عطا کرتی ہے اک ناموری
اس کے قدموں تلے آباد ہوئے جاتے ہیں شہر
وہ ہے ہر لحظہ دواں
چھوڑتے پیچھے اپنے
چوٹیاں شعلے کے مانند دمکتے ہوئے ایوانوں کی
سنگ مرمر کے محل
اور صنوبر کے مکاں
(اس کی ثروت کے ثمر)
اس کے شانوں پہ نئی سج دھج سے
پھڑپھڑاتی ہے ردائے اطلس

صبح کی باد معطر کے نمیں جھونکوں میں
رفعت چرخ پہ' اس کے اوپر
محو پرواز ہزاروں پرچم
اس کی سطوت کا پتہ دیتے ہیں
اور پھر اپنے رفیقوں کو لئے
ساتھ لپٹائے خزینے اپنے
اپنے بچوں کو جلو میں لے کر
شور کرتے ہوئے جا ملتی ہے
وہ کہن سال پدر سے اپنے

ثاقب رزمی

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Muhammad Iqbal

Goethe

Since I was taught the secret of life
A fire was kindled in my being.
I have brought the world a soul-stirring melody,
And have restored Love to its youth.
That sage of the West, the poet of Allemagne,
Who lost his heart to the winning ways of Iran
Who painted a picture full of the beauty of sweethearts young and saucy
And sent the salutations of the West to the East:
The Message of the East is my response to his greeting.
I have illumined the Eastern evening with moonlight.
For that I am self-knowing but not vain,
I tell thee who he was and who I am:
He was one of Europe's youthful ones, with the quality of lightning;
While my love-flame is born of the breath of the wise men of the East.
He was born and nurtured in a garden,
While I sprang from barren soil.
His melody was a paradise to the ear, as the song of the nightingale in the garden,
While I am like caravan bells ringing tumultuously in the desert.
The mysteries of the Universe have been revealed to both,
Both are messengers of life in death.
Both are like daggers, bright as the mirror and smiling as the dawn.
He is unsheathed, but I am yet in the scabbard.

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Both are pearls of great price and lustre,
Born of the shoreless sea.
His insistent urge made him restless in the depths of the ocean
Till he burst forth from his shell;
While I am still striving in my shell's confines,
Undiscovered yet in the ocean's abyss.
He who was my friend knew me not and went away
With an empty goblet from my wine cellar.
I offer him the grandeur of the Chosroes,
And would place the throne of Cyrus under his feet.
But he asks of me love stories
And the glitter of poetic phrases.
The undiscerning one knew not the restlessness that fills my soul,
He saw my outer being, but not the inner one.
My soul took love to its bosom
And accomplished a union of straw and fire.
God revealed to me the secrets of the faith and of worldly power,
And effaced all trace of godlessness from my view.
My thought fills the rose-petal with colour.
Every line I write is a drop of my own blood.
Lest thou hold poetry to be madness,
Know that the perfection of madness is the fulness of wisdom.
I am made rich with talent,
But in the land of Ind I am disgraced.
The luckless rose and tulip hear not my song;
I, a song-bird, am a stranger in my own rose-garden.
Since fate must favour the ignoble and the base,
Woe to the man who is a man of merit!

(Translation by Mumtaz Hasan)

(In: *Mohammed Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher.* A Collection of Translations, Essays and other Articles. Presented by the Pakistan-German Forum. Karachi 1960, pp. 21-22)

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Muhammad Iqbal

Goethe

Als ich aus des Dunkels Tiefe bin zum Lichte aufgewacht,
Wurde eine helle Flamme mir im Innersten entfacht.
Dumpfes Stöhnen in der Stimme mir von jeher eigen war,
Und die Liebe ist gewachsen mir im Herzen Jahr für Jahr.
Er, der grosse deutsche Dichter, der des Westens Meister hiess,
War von Persiens Kunst begeistert, unsern Stil er ruhmend pries.
Der Geliebten holde Bilder zeichnet seine Künstlerhand.
Aus dem Westen an den Osten hat er einen Gruss gesandt.
Ihm antwortend hab ich Botschaft aus dem Osten nun gebracht.
Einen Mondschein ausgegossen hab'ich auf des Ostens Nacht.
Mich erkennend darf ich sagen: Nicht zum Hochmut neigt mein Sinn,
Und so will ich denn verkünden, was er war und was ich bin.
Aus des Westens Jugend stieg er glänzend auf in Blitzesschein,
Ich kann aus dem Hauche alter Meister nur ein Funke sein.
Er entstand und ist erwachsen auf der schönsten Blütenflur,
In dem duerren Wüstensande bin ich aufgewachsen nur.
Er singt wie im Paradiese eine süsse Nachtigall,
Wie die Schelle auf der Eb'ne tönet meiner Stimme Schall.
Aufgeschlagen vor uns beiden lag der Schöpfung ew'ges Buch,
Beide gleichen wir zwei Dolchen, spiegelnd hell in Farbenglut.
Seiner ist gezückt und funkelt, meiner in der Scheide ruht.
Alle beide sind wir schönen, glänzend hellen Perlen gleich,

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Die geboren in des Meeres weitem, uferlosem Reich.
Er bewegte und erregte kühn das Meer, das ihn umspannt,
Bis durch seine Kraft zerrissen ward der Perlenmuschel Rand
Aber ich, in der Umarmung meiner Muschel tief versteckt,
Bleibe in des Meeres Herzen unbekannt und unentdeckt.
Der Geliebte ist geschieden von mir ohne Wiederkehr,
Und vom Wein, den ich verschenke, blieb der Becher immer leer.
Meinem Freunde, dem Erhab'nen, Königlichen gilt mein Gruss,
Und bewundernd leg ich eine Krone unter seinen Fuss.
Aber was wird er verlangen, eh'er selbst mir reicht den Kranz?
Dichterische Reize fordern wird er, Glut und Farbenglanz.
Ach er kennt ja nicht die Ruhelosigkeit, die mich erfüllt,
Denn er sieht, was offenbar ist, und nicht sieht er was verhüllt.
Eine hohe, reine Liebe, immer mehr durchdrang sie mich,
Und das Reisig hat an ihrem Feuer dann entzndet sich.
Denn seit -her Volk und Glauben ich die Wahrheit klar erkannt,
Habe von den andern Bildern ich mein Auge aübgewandt.
Die Gedanken färbten mir der Rose Blatt, dass ihr es wisst!
Meine Strophe nur ein Tropfen meiness eignen Blutes ist.
Glaubet nicht, ihr meine Lesser, was ich rede sei ein Wahn,
In dem ganz vollkommen Wahne liegt Vernunft, o denket dran!
Kapital herauszuschlagen aus der Kunst warf man mir vor,
Und es hat geschmaht in Indien mich des Volkes lauter Chor.
Nicht den Tulpen, nicht den Rosen tönt mein Sang und klingt mein Reim
Bin ein Vogel, der im eignen Rosengarten nicht daheim.
Da der Himmel die Gemeinen und die Niedrigen beschützt,
Weh'dem Manne, der Begabung, diesen Edelstein, besitzt.

(Deutsch von Otto von Glasenapp)

(In: *Mohammed Iqbal. Poet and Philosopher.* A Collection of Translations, Essays and other Articles. Presented by The Pakistan-German Forum. Karachi 1960, pp. 23-24)

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تا مرا رمز حیات آموختند — آتشے در پیکرم افروختند
یک نوائے سینہ تاب آوردہ ام — عشق را عہد شباب آوردہ ام
پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی — آں قتیل شیوہ ہائے پہلوی
بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ — داد مشرق را سلامے از فرنگ
در جوابش گفتہ ام پیغام شرق — ماہ تابے ریختم بر شام شرق
تاشناسائے خودم' خود بیں نیم — با تو گویم او کہ بود و من کیم
او ز افرنگی جواناں مثل برق — شعلہ من از دم پیران شرق
او چمن زادے' چمن پروردۂ — من دمیدم از زمین مردۂ
او چو بلبل در چمن "فردوس گوش" — من بصحرا چوں جرس گرم خروش
ہر دو دانائے ضمیر کائنات — ہر دو پیغام حیات اندر ممات
ہر دو خنجر صبح خند' آئینہ فام — او برہنہ من ہنوز اندر نیام
ہر دو گوہر ارجمند و تاب دار — زادۂ دریائے ناپیدا کنار
او ز شوخی در تہ قلزم تپید — تا گریبان صدف را بر درید
من بہ آغوش صدف تابم ہنوز — در ضمیر بحر نایابم ہنوز
آشنائے من زمن بے گانہ رفت — از خمستانم تہی پیمانہ رفت
من شکوہ خسروی او را دہم — تخت کسریٰ زیر پائے او نہم
او حدیث دلبری خواہد زمن — رنگ و آب شاعری خواہد زمن
کم نظر بے تابی جانم نہ دید — آشکارم دید و پنہانم نہ دید
فطرت من عشق را در برگرفت — صحبت خاشاک و آتش در گرفت
حق رموز ملک و دیں برمن کشود — نقش غیر از پردۂ چشم ربود
برگ گل رنگیں زمضمون من است — مصرعہ من قطرۂ خون من است
تا نہ پنداری سخن دیوانگیست — در کمال ایں جنوں فرزانگیست
از ہنر سرمایہ دارم کردہ اند — در دیار ہند خوارم کردہ اند
لالہ و گل از نوایم بے نصیب — طائرم در گلستان خود غریب
بسکہ گردوں سفلہ و دوں پرور است — وائے برمردے کہ صاحب جوہر است

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Muhammad Iqbal

Jalal and Goethe

In Paradise the German seer
Met his Iranian compeer,
Who, though without prophetic fame,
Has an inspired book to his name.
To that connoisseur of the real
He read out his tale of the deal
The doctor and the Devil made.
When he had heard it, Rumi said:
"Portrayer of the inmost soul
Of poetry, whose effort's goal
Is capturing the seraphim
And God himself, yes even Him,
Your thought, consorting with your heart
Remade the world by means of art.
O you have seen the spirit's flame
Ablaze in its corporeal frame,
And you from observation know
How in their shells pearls form and grow.
All this you know, but there is more.
Not all can learn Love's secret lore,
Not all can enter its high shrine.
'One only knows by grace divine

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That wisdom is the Devil's own,
While Love belongs to man alone.'

(Translated by M. Hadi Hussain)

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Muhammad Iqbal

Dschelal und Goethe

Der kluge Deutsche fand im Paradeis
Gesellschaft an dem weisen Persergreis.
Auch er - wie jener Hohe Üein Poet,
Der wohl ein Buch hat, doch ist kein Prophet.
Er las ihm, der uralter Weisheit kund,
Die Mär von Satans und des Weisen Bund.
Sprach Rumi: "Du, der Wortes Geist erfasst,
Die Engel jagst und Gott als Beute hast-
Dein Denken sich im Herz verborgen hält,
Erschafft aufs neue dann die alte Welt!
Im Bild hast du der Seele Drang geschaut,
Die Perle in der Muschel neu gebaut,
Der Lieb' Symbolik kennt nicht jedermann,
Nicht jeden nimmt man hier im Kloster an.
Der Kluge und Vertraute weiss, was bliebe:
Vom Teufel Intellekt, von Adam Liebe!"[2]

(Deutsch von Prof. Annemarie Schimmel)

Notes

1. Dschelal und Goethe: Mit dem deutschen Weisen ist Goethe gemeint,

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dessen Drama "Faust" berühmt und bekannt ist. In diesem Drama hat der Dichter, unter dem Gewande der alten Erzählung vom Pakt des Dr. Faustus mit dem Teufel, sämtliche Stufen der menschlichen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten so schön dargestellt, dass eine darüber hinaus gehende Vollendung der Kunst nicht vorstellbar ist (Anm. Iqbals).

2. Zitat aus Rumis *Mathnawi*. Buch IV, Vers 1402

جلال و گوئٹے

نکتہ دان المنی را در ارم — صحبتے افتاد با پیر عجم
شاعرے کو ہمچو آں عالی جناب — نیست پیغمبر ولے دارد کتاب
خواند بر دانائے اسرار قدیم — قصہ پیمان ابلیس و حکیم
گفت رومی اے سخن را جاں نگار — تو ملک صید استی و یزداں شکار
فکر تو در کنج دل خلوت گزید — ایں جہان کہنہ را باز آفرید
سوز و ساز جاں بہ پیکر دیدۂ — در صدف تعمیر گوہر دیدۂ
ہر کسے از رمز عشق آگاہ نیست — ہر کسے شایان ایں درگاہ نیست
"داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است — زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق آدم است"

رومی

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Houri and Poet

(In reply to a poem of Goethe)

HOURI

The red wine you leave untasted, and your eyes do not come near me;
It is strange you know so little of love's fashions and love's biddings!
In each breath you draw the fever of some endless quest is burning,
In each song you sing the fire of some long passion's hope is
glowing;
With these songs you have created such a world of bliss, that round
me
As if called by incantation I see paradise unfolding.

POET

You beguile the wanderer's fancy with these words that prick the
senses,
But the thorn-pricks of the desert are the joy that he exults in.
Can I help it if my nature love no dwelling, if my spirit
Be as fitful as the dawn-breeze when it flutters through the tulips?
While a mistress stands before me and her loveliness enchants me,
Even then my thoughts are pining for a mistress yet more lovely;
In a spark I crave a star, and in a star a sun: my journey
Has no bourn, no place of halting: it is death to me to linger

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When I lift the winecup brimming with the nectar of one springtime,
A desire of unborn springtides comes awake to change my music,
And with eyes full of unrest, with inextinguishable longing,
I go seeking the fultilment of whata cannot know fulfilment.
For the hearts of lovers wither in interminable heavens
With no pain for them for sharing, neither hheartache nor heart-comfort.

(Poems from Iqbal. Translated by V. G. Kiernan. London: John Murray. 1955. pp. 96-97)

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Huri und Dichter

Huri :

Bist dem Wein nicht zugeneigt,
blickst mich heute gar nicht an!
Kennst du diese Wege nicht
der Vertrautheit, ihren Bann?
Ewges Suchen bist du nur,
und du bist des Wunsches Glut-
Schmilzt du einen Augenblick-
und Ghaselen singst du dann.
Was für herzbetÖrende
Welten schuf dein süsser Sang!
Eden tritt mir vor den Blick
wie ein Silbertalisman!

Dichter :

Deiner spitzen Rede Zauber
eines Wandrers Herz umspinnt,
Ob wohl ähnliche Genüsse
in den scharfen Dornen sind?
Ach, was tun? Denn keinem Standort
fügt sich doch mein Wesen ein,
Denn mein Herz ist ungeduldig
wie im Tulpenbeet der Wind.
Wenn mein Blick auch Ruhe fänd auf
einem schÖnen Angesicht,
Würde gleich mein Herz doch beben,
was es SchÖnres noch gewinnt.

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Von den Funken such ich Sterne,
von den Sternen Sonnen ich;
Da ich sterbe, wenn ich ruhe,
ich an keinen Ort mich bind!
Wenn ich einen Becher trinke
von dem Lenzwein, steh ich auf,
Sing ein neues Lied und preise
neuen Lenz, der erst beginnt.
All mein Suchen gilt dem Ende
dessen, das kein Ende hat.
Mit dem niegestillten Auge,
mit dem Herz, das hofft und minnt.
In dem ewgen Paradiese
stirbt das Herz des Liebenden-
Keine schmerzensvollen Weisen,
und kein Gram, kein Tröster lind!

(Deutsch von Prof. Annemarie Schimmel)

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حور و شاعر

حور:

نہ بہ بادہ میل داری نہ بہ من نظر کشائی
عجب ایں کہ تو ندانی رہ و رسم آشنائی
ہمہ ساز جستجوئے ہمہ سوز آرزوئے
نفسے کہ می گدازی، غزلے کہ می سرائی
بہ نوائے آفریدی چہ جہان دل کشائے
کہ ارم بچشم آید چو طلسم سیمیائی

شاعر:

دل رہرواں فریبی بہ کلام نیش دارے
مگر ایں کہ لذت او نرسد بہ نوک خارے
چہ کنم کہ فطرت من بہ مقام در نسازد
دل ناصبور دارم چو صبا بہ لالہ زارے
چو نظر قرار گیرد بہ نگار خوبروے
تپد آں زماں دل من پئے خوبتر نگارے
ز شرر ستازہ جویم، ز ستارہ آفتابے
سر منزلے ندارم کہ بہ میرم از قرارے
چو ز بادۂ بہارے، قدمے کشیدہ خیزم
غزلے دگر سرائم بہ ہوائے نو بہارے
طلسم نہایت آں کہ نہایتے ندارد
بہ نگاہ ناشکیبے بہ دل امیدوارے
دل عاشقاں بہ میرد بہ بہشت جاودانے
نہ نوائے دردمندے، نہ غمے، نہ غمگسارے

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آہ! تو اجڑی ہوئی دلی میں آرامیدہ ہے
گلشن ویمر میں تیرا ہم نوا خوابیدہ ہے
(بانگ درا: نظم "مرزا غالب")

Ah! You are resting in the midst of Delhi's ruins
Your counterpart is resting in the Weimar's garden.
(Translation by Dr. M. A. K. Khalil)

O weh! Du ruhst im verrotteten Delhi,
während dein Mitsänger im lieblichen Weimar schläft.
(Translation by J. C. Bürgel)

(In: *Muhammad Iqbal. Persischer Psalter*. Ausgewahlt und übersetzt von Annemarie Schimmel. Koln: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1968, S. 78-79)

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Iqbal, Sir Muhammad: **Botschaft des Ostens** (als Antwort auf Goethes West-Östlichen Divan). Aus dem Persischen übertragen u. eingeleit. von A. Schimmel. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1963. XXX, 108 S. gr. 8°. Lw. DM 18.-. Bespr. von Johann Fück, Halle Sale.

Frau Professor A. Schimmel, die bereits durch eine Reihe von Arbeiten ihre Vertrautheit mit der Dedankenwelt des indo-muslimischen Dichter-philosophen M. Iqbal (1877-1938) erwiesen hat, gibt in der vorliegenden übersetzung eine neue Probe sowohl ihres Einfühlungsvermögens wie auch ihrer Gabe, die mit allen Stilmitteln persischer Kunstdichtung ausgestattete, Botschaft des Ostens" (*Payam-i-Masriq*) in deutschen Versen nachzubilden. Diese Sammlung von Vierzeilern, Ghaselen und anderen Gedichtformen soll nach Iqbals Worten die Antwort des Ostens auf Goethes West-Östlichen Diwan sein. Freilich wird in ihr nicht die irdische Liebe besungen; Iqbal will viel-mehr darin seinen Lesern in poetischem Gewande ''Östliche Lebensweisheit'', genauer gesagt, seine eigene tiefreligiöse Lebensphilosophie nahebringen. Denn Iqbal, der seine Studien in England und Deutschland abgeschlossen hatte, wurde zwar von abendländischem Denken stark beeinflusst; aber alle Anregungen, die er vor allem von Bergsons Philosophie und Einsteins Relativitätstheorie empfing, stellte er in den Dienst einer ,,Erneuerung des religiösen Denkens im Islam!''. Für ihn bleibt Allah die letzte Wirklichkeit; den Sinn des Lebens findet er in dem

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Streben des Individums, auf dem Wege der Selbsterkentnis und Selbsterziehung zu immer höheren Stufen des Bewusstseins und der Vollkommenheit aufzsteigen. Die Liebe, von der die Botschaft des Ostens spricht, ist rein giestiger Art; sie bezeichnet das Streben des Menschen, die höchsten Werte zu verwirklichen. Demgemmä! ist auch die ideale Gesellschaft für Iqbal mit der idealen muslimischen Gemeinde identisch. Es ist daher kein Zufall, dass Iqbal seine 1923 veröffentlichte ,,Botschaft des OStens'' dem damaligen Emir von Afghanistan Amanullah gewidment hat, der 1919 von England die Unabhängigkeit seines Landes erreicht hatte und dessen 1929 durch innere Wirren herbeigeführten Sturz Iqbal ebensowenig voraussehen konnte wie die Politik Atatürks, dessen Siege den Dichter mit grossen Hoffnungen erfüllt hatten. Diese islamische Grundhaltung bringt es mit sich, dass die Östliche Lebensweisheit des Dichters nicht nur zur inneren Erziehung des Einzelnen, sondern auch zur sittlichen, religiösen und nationalen Erneuerung der Völker beitragen soll. Iqbal hat daher in seine Botschaft auch 24 Gedichte sehr unterschiedlicher Länge aufgenommen, die sein ,,Bild Europas'' wiedergeben: teils versucht Iqbal in einem Zewizeiler einen europäischen Dichter order Denker zu charakterisieren, teils übt er an dem Intellektualismus und Rationalismus Kritik oder äussert sich zu politischen und sozialen Fragen. Als subjektive Meinungen eines islamischen Reformers sind sie auch für europäische Leser nicht ohne Interesse.

Die Übersetzerin hat dem Werk eine Einleitung vorausgeschickt, in der sie zunächst einen knappen überblick über die west-Östlichen Beziehungen im literarischen Bereich ghibt und dann den Lebensgang Iqbals schildert. Besonder dankenswert ist die darauffolgende Charakterisierung der ,,Botschaft des Ostens'', wobei die Lebensphilosophie des Dichters knapp umrisssen und seine Symbolsprache erläutert wird, ohne deren Kenntnis dem Leser viele Verse unverständlich bleiben müssten.

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Sir Muhammad Iqbal, *Botschaft des Ostens als Antwort auf Goethes West-Östlichen Divan*. Aus dem Persischen übertragen und eingeleitet von Annemarie Schimmel. -- Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1963. XXX, 107 p.

Annemarie Schimmels Übertragung von Sir Muhammad Iqbals *Botschaft des Ostens* wendet sich sichtlich an eine möglichst breite intellektuelle Leserwelt. Erscheint in solchen Fällen eine Einleitung stets als Erfordernis, so ist dies in vorliegendem Buche eine unabweisbare Notwendigkeit. Gewiss ist der berühmte indische Dichter eine allbekannte Gestalt auch im Westen, die Bibliographie der übertragungen seiner Werke in mannigfache Sprachen tut dies schlagend dar und ebenso die zahlreichen Aufsätze, welche sich mit dieser proteusartigen Erscheinung näher befassen. Aber selbst damit kann es kein Bewenden haben. Zumindest vermag ich mir nicht vorzustellen, was ein Leser täte, wenn die übersetzerin ihn nicht in die geheimnisvolle Welt der verschlungenen und schwer zugänglichen Vorstellungen des Dichters einführte, dessen Ansichten dem steten Fluss äusserer und wechselvoller Anregungen unterworfen waren. Frau Prof. Schimmels Anleitung (S. IX-XXX) ist nicht nur ausführlich, sondern ebenso auch tiefschürfend. Die Verfasserin ist freilich kein Neuling auf diesem Gebiete (dies beweisen ihre Aufsätze, Bücher und Übersetzungen), wir können daher ihren Darlegungen getrost folgen, zumal eine innige, doch keineswegs

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kritiklose Zuneigung ihre Feder zu philosophischen Betrachtungen überhaupt und denen Iqbals insbesondere führt.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass innerhalb des wachsenden Interesses des Abendlandes für orientalistische Studien aller Art, namentlich des für die schönen Redekünste, gerade jenes Gebiet, dem der Verfasser des vorliegenden dichterischen Werkes entsstammt, verhaltnismassig wenig Beachtung gefunden hat: mehr als zu der Literatur und Geschichte des islamischen Indien fühlten sich die Orientalisten zu der hinduistischen Seite der indischen Kultur herangezogen. Obwohl die indopersische Dichtkunst ein ganz ungeheueres Ausmass aufzuweisen hat, galt sie der Orientalistik als etwas Peripheres, das obendrein nicht leicht zu bewältigende Eigenheiten besass, ja selbst für Iran fremdartig erschien, so dass die indopersischen Dichter mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen in Iran unbekannt waren. Darin dürfte m.E. der Schlüssel unserer Vernachlässigung dieses Teils des Islam liegen, woran die Tatsache der emmen inuslimischen Bevolkerungsmarsen in Indien nichts zu ändern vermochte. Freilich hielten sich die muslimischen Inder lange Zeit hindurch vom europäischen, d. h. englischen Kontakt fern.

Im letzten Drittel des 19. Jh. tritt ein Umschwung in der indoislamischen Gesellschaft ein zugunsten einer weiteren Verbeitung europäischer Bildung, natürlich nicht ohne Gegenströmungen. An diesem kritischen Wendepunkt steht Iqbal, der es als erster unternommen hat, seiner Begegnung mit dem westlichen Geistesgut einen synthetischen Ausdruck zu geben. Dazu befähigte ihn seine Erziehung vorzüglich. Er hatte das Gluck, bei seinem Studium in Lahore den bekannten englischen Orientalisten Sir Thomas Arnold zum Lehrer zu haben, der ihm die islamische wie die europäische Kultur gleichermassen nahebrachte. Seine weiteren Studien in Cambridge, München und Heidelberg (1905-8) vertieften seine Kenntnisse in europäischer Philosophie und Jurisprudenz noch weiter. Er lernte namentlich die Anschauungen Kants und Hegels

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kennen. Einflüssen nach wie vor äusserst zugänglich, sagt er unter dem Einfluss Nietzsches und Bergsons in seinem ersten persischen Mathnawi *Asrar-i-Khudi* (ich folge überall der Translitteration der Verfasserin) „den Geheimnissen des Selbst", der bisherigen mystizisierenden Poesie, „dem Traum vom Entwerden, der dahinschmelzenden Liebe", ab, um nun mit einer Philosophie des Ego die Öffentlichkeit zu überraschen. Sein darauffolgendes persisches Mathnawi *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* „Mysterien der Selbstlosigkeit" (1917) behandelt „die Aufgaben des Menschen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft und die Pflichten der islamischen Idealnation". Es folgt die Gedichtsammlung *Payam-i-Mashriq* „Botschaft des Ostens" (1923), der eigentliche Gegenstand von Frau Prof. Schimmels Betrachtung und Übersetzung, und später noch andere poetische und prosaische Werke, persisch, englisch und in Urdu, die den Weg seiner gedanklichen Entwicklung zeichnen. Ohne starke Schwankungen, charakteristisch für den Sprecher einer grundsätzlichen übergangsperiode seines Volkes, konnte es nicht abgehen. Es lag offenbar stets etwas Unfertiges, Erwartungsbedürftiges, Unentschiedenes darin. Am deutlichsten scheint mir dies in Iqbals wankelmütigem Verhalten am Konferenztisch zu London hervorgetreten zu sein, wo Teilnehmer ihm geradezu ratlos gegenüberstanden. Ohne den weiteren Lebensweg Iqbals schildern zu wollen (er starb 1938), bleibe ich in meiner Besprechung bei der *Botschaft des Ostens* stehen, zumal die Gedichtsammlung in sich vieles vorgebildet trägt, was in den späteren Werken weiter ausgeführt ist. Der Dichter dachte damit ein Gegenstück zu Goethes *West-Östlichem Divan* zu schaffen, um in dieser Form sich mit westlicher Geistigkeit auseinanderzusetzen. Auf ein wichtiges Moment aber macht die Verfasserin ganz besonders aufmerksam: unter den Anregungen, denen Iqbal seine Inspiration verdankt, fehlt diejenige, die dem Goetheschen *Divan* ihren ganz besonderen Reiz gibt: die irdische Liebe, wie denn überhaupt die

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ganze lyrische Produktion unseres Dichters deren bar ist und nur die Höhen geistiger Liebe im weitesten Sinne des Wortes besingt.

Ich folge den Hauptgedanken der eingehenden Analyse der Verfasserin.

Um Iqbals Verhalten zu dem von ihm so überaus hoch eingeschätzten Dschalaluddin Rumi zu zeichnen, muss man sich vor Augen halten, dass unser Dichter nach dem Beispiel aller anderen Verehrer des Meisters von Konya in dessen Versen das gefunden hat, was ihm am nächsten lag. Hatte er anfangs die pantheistischen und neuplatonischen Gedanken Rumis in den Vordergrund gerückt, so wandte er sich später mehr dem Gedanken der psersonalistischen Mystik zu: ,,die rastlose sehnsüchtige Liebe des grossen Dichters, seine unvergesslichen Verse über die Wanderungen des Herzens, uber die lauternde Krkaft des Pfades, uber den niemals endenden Weg in Gott ----- all dieses rührte Iqbal verwandt an''. Nur Goethe mit seinem *Faust* ist im Westen dem Maulawi in Iqbals Augen ebenbürtig. Man braucht daher nicht erstaunt zu sein, wenn in einer Konfrontierung Maulawis mit Goethe, nach Ansicht der Verfasserin dem Schlüsselgedicht der ganzen Sammlung, Goethe ,,Engel gejagt und Gott als Beute gefunden'', was Maulawi mit der Zeile ,,vom Teufel der Verstand, von Adam Liebe'' wiedergibt. Der damit ausgedrückte Gegensatz von Wissenschaft und Liebe bildet das Hauptthema der *Botschaft* sowie des gesamten Werkes unseres Dichters, soll aber nicht eine Absage an intellektuelle Kräfte als solche bedeuten, wohl aber eine Einschränkung der Macht des Verstandes, der sich verselbständigt und von seinem göttlichen Ursprung getrennt hat.

Das Leben ist für Iqbal nur ein stetes Streben. Hieraus wird man ohne weiteres die Zickzacklinie seiner Anschauungen verstehen. ,,In jedem Augenblick eine neue Entwicklung zu erleben, in jedem Hauch neue Lebenskräfte zu gewinnen, die Welt von einem anderen Standpunkt aus zu sehen und auch im Jenseits nicht zu rasten, sondern

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tiefer und tiefer in die innergöttlichen Geheimnisse einzudringen das ist das Ideal des glühenden Pilgers, wie man Iqbal genannt hat" Liebe und rastloses Streben, das sind die wichtigsten Faktoren, um die menschliche Persönlichkeit zu stärken. Weil Iqbal die Nachahmung verabscheut, wendet er sich gegen den althergebrachten Grundsatz des consensus omnium der Sunna, die dadurch zum Verknöchern verurteilt war; derselbe Stoßrut geht auch gegen die mystischen Führer. Erst wenn der Mensch „seine Persönlichkeit durch Streben und Liebe, durch Sehnsucht und Schaffen gestärkt hat, wird er fähig, im Gespräch mit Gott zu stehen, ohne seine Persönlichkeit einzubüssen". Man sieht -- und das ist ein hervorstechendes Merkmal Iqbals überhaupt --, dass seine Denkkraft alte Werte gründlich umzuwerten versteht. Gewiss hat Nietzsches Originalität ihn geradezu bannen müssen, dennoch ist Iqbals Konzeption verschieden vom Gedanken des Übermenschen, da sein idealer Mensch sich eher dem islamischen Vollkommenen Menschen nähert.

„Iqbals Neigung zum Denken in polaren Begriffspaaren wird unterstützt durch die seit altersher gebräuchlichen Wortspiele der persischen Poesie", so z.B. das Geheimnis von Offenbarung und Verhüllung: *chalvat* und *dschalvat*, beides notwendig für das Dasein, ähnlich das polare Binom *kuh* „Berg" und *kah* „Stroh", um den Gegensatz des Kleinsten und Grössten u. dgl. zu zeigen. Zu Antithesen gehören natürlich auch Ka'ba und Tempel (oder Kloster), um Liebe und Verstand zu symbolisieren. In dieser Polarität spielt der Satan eine wichtige Rolle (vgl. auch H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Index!). Zu seiner im Tasawwuf nebeneinander hergehenden doppelten Interpretation als des wahren liebenden gehorsamen Anbeters einerseits und des stolzen Vertreters des Verstandes andrerseits gesellt sich bei Iqbal noch die Auffassung des Satans als des dynamischen Prinzips im Leben, eine so anziehende Gedankenfolge, dass A.-M. Schimmel ihr einen ungemein

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lesenswerten Aufsatz *Die Gestalt Satans in Muhammad Iqbals Werk*, Kairos (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) 1963, S. 124-37, gewidmet hat.

Frau Prof. Schimmel schenkte auch dem Zeitbegriff Iqbals ihre Aufmerksamkeit und bemerkt, dass der muslimische Denker zu den grossen Bewunderern Einsteins gehört, zumal ihm die Relativitätstheorie im vollen Einklang mit den koranischen Wahrheiten zu stehen schien.

Trotz des eminenten Einflusses der westlichen Gedanken auf seine ideelle Ausformung zieht Iqbal gegen den Westen häufig und heftig ins Feld. Die Anklagen gegen das herzlose und lieblose, ausbeuterische Europa nehmen einen ganzen Teil des Raumes im letzten Abschnitt der *Botschaft* ein, und selbst Marx und Lenin werden zitiert, um gegen die ausbeuterischen Methoden des Westens aufzutreten.

Iqbal zeigt sich in der englischen Literatur sehr belesen. Da er die formelle Grundlage der persischen Poesie nicht aufgegeben hat, findet sich in seinen Versen das traditionelle Inventar von Sachen und Personen, Motiven und Metaphern reichlich vor, nur weiss er ihnen neue, originelle Gesichtspunkte abzugewinnen. Er macht sich seine Poesie gar nicht leicht, indem er sich nicht in alten Bahnen bewegt; aus den Rosengärten Persiens sehnt er sich in die Weite der arabischen Wüste. Es ist selbstverständlich, dass ein Mann wie Iqbal ununterbrochen gegen und für die Zeitgeschichte Stellung nimmt. So hatte er sich an der neuen Türkei sehr begeistert, fühlte sich aber enttäuscht, als die erhoffte Reislamisierung ausblieb. Die ideale Kultur bestand ja für ihn nur in einer Verwirklichung der islamischen Grundlehren.

Ich habe versucht, im vorstehenden einige der wichtigsten Gedanken aus der sinnigen Einleitung der Verfasserin wiederzugeben, ohne die der Leser inmitten der eigentlichen Übersetzung vielfach ratlos dastünde. Ist doch Iqbal ein vermöge seiner verhüllten

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Schreibweise sehr unzugänglicher Dichter, der deswegen kaum auf die Massen wirken konnte. Anders sein posthumes Andenken als das des ideellen Gründers Pakistans. Als Gedankenträger der muslimischen Mittelklassen und der Intelligenz, die er zum Teil ermahnte, bildet er ein wichtiges Glied zur wirtschaftlichen Hebung seines Landes. Als Denker war er ein typischer Eklektiker an der Scheide der feudalen und kapitalistischen Gesellschaft. Seine Aufnahmefähigkeit für westliche Ideen gestattete ihm nicht die apperzipierte Mannigfaltigkeit einheitlicher zu gestalten, ein getreues Spiegelbild des Herumtappens seiner Umgebung.

Iqbal war nicht nur Philosoph, sondern gleichzeitig auch Dichter u.zw. ein hervorragender. Frau Professor Schimmel bietet uns die *Botschaft des Ostens* in vollständiger Übersetzung. Ihre Verse sind glatt und wohlklingend. Ab und zu wird man vielleicht stolpern (z.B., soweit ich das persische Original zur Hand nahm, S. 87 der zweite Vers), aber solche Fälle sind entschieden Ausnahmeerscheinungen, wenn man die stete Abstraktion und dunkle, gleichsam nur von fern aus den Grundgedanken andeutende Ausdrucksweise mit in Rechnung zieht. Ich kann nicht umhin, der feinfühligen, meisterhaften Interpretations- und -bersetzungskunst A.-M. Schimmels meine Bewunderung zu zollen. Nur würde ich ihrer Überlegung anheimstellen, ob der orientalistisch nicht vorgebildete Leser so gut wie gänzlich ohne erklärende Anmerkungen dem Sinne schwierigerer Gedankengänge Iqbals beikommt.

Eine gut ausgewählte Bibliographie beschliesst das schöne Buch, das würdig ist, in der Iqbal-Literatur in den vordersten Reihen zu stehen.

J. Rypka

(In: *Oriens* (Leiden), 18-19 (1965-66), 1967, pp. 400-403)

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Mohammad Iqbal : *Botschaft des Ostens. Ausgewählte Werke.* Herausgegeben von Annemarie Schimmel, Tübingen/Basel 1977. 368 S. (Literarischünstlerische Reihe des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, Band 21).

Pünktlich zum 100. Geburtstag des Dichter-Philosophen, der in einer fast schon atemberaubenden Weise so ziemlich in der gesamten zivilisierten Welt gefeiert wurde, hat A. Schimmel eine überarbeitete und erweiterte Neuauflage ihrer frheren übertragungen Iqbals, nun in einem Bande vereint, herausgebracht. Wenn es auf dem Titelblatt schlicht ,,herausgegeben von A.S. ``heisst,, so ist das eine allzu grosse Bescheidenheit. Tatsächlich liegt eine eminente Leistung vor, die beim Namen genannt zu werden verdient.

In der Anthologie sind sämtliche Werke Iqbals, einschliesslich seiner Münchner Dissertation ,,The Development of Metaphysics in Persia`` und seiner gesammelten Notizen ,,Stray Reflections`` vertreten. Allerdings ist nicht jedes Werk in gleichem Mass berücksichtigt. Vollständig erscheint nur das ,,Buch der Ewigkeit``, während die wichtigen ,,Geheimnisse des Selbst`` und ,,Mysterien der Selbstlosigkeit`` am knapesten -- nur auf wenigen Seiten -- repräsentiert sind. Die Urdu-Dichtung erscheint ebenfalls nur auf wenigen Blättern, obwohl besonders die früheste Anthologie ,,Klang der Karawanenglocke`` manches Stück von grosser poetischer Schönheit enthält.

Stichproben zeigen, dass die übertragung in der Regel erstaunlich genau ist, wobei naturgemäss da grössere Freiheit waltet, wo die schwierigen Formen der Originale, Ghasel oder kunstvoller Strophenbau wie im ,,Kameltreiberlied`` (S. 160) oder der

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„Frühlingsweise" (S. 150) im Deutschen nachgeahmt sind.

Nicht alles ist gleich gut gelungen und mitunter wirkt ein des Reimes wegen gewähltes Wort eher störend als beglückend. Aber ähnliche Unzulänglichkeiten lassen sich auch beim grossen Übersetzer orientalischer Poesie, dem wortgewaltigen Friedrich Rückert gelegentlich finden. Und wer im Glashaus sitzt ... Auf jeden Fall verblassen solcherlei kleine Schönheitsfehler angesichts des Gesamteindruckes. Als reifste, gelungenste Leistung erscheint dem Rezensenten die Übertragung des „Ewigkeitsbuches", das ja auch unter den literarischen Schöpfungen Iqbals zweifellos den obersten Rang einnimmt. Diese Übertragungen bilden eine willkommene Ergänzung zu „Gabriel's Wing", Frau Schimmel's grundgelehrtem Standardwerk über Iqbal. Mit beiden hat sie dem bedeutenden Denker des Ostens ein würdiges Monument gesetzt. Pakistanis und muslimische Inder taten recht daran, die Verdienste der grossen Gelehrten in den letzten Jahren durch eine Reihe von Ehrungen und Auszeichnungen zu würdigen.

Johann Christoph Bürgel

(In: *Der Islam*, 56 i, 1979, pp. 183-184)

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Verstruete Gedanken

(Stray Reflections)

Unsere Seele endeckt sich selbst, wenn wir mit einem grossen Geist in Berührung komme. Erst als ich die Unendlichkeit von Goethes Phantasiekraft begriffen hatte, entdeckte ich die Enge meiner eigenen.

Our soul discovers itself when we come into contact with a great mind. It is not until I had realised the infinitude of Goethe's imagination that I discovered the narrow breadth of my own.

Es ist Goethes Faust--nicht die Bücher, die von den galiläischen Fischern geschrieben sein sollen -, der die geistigen Ideale der deutschen Nation enthült. Und die Deutschen sind sich dessen voll bewusst.

It is Goethe's Faust--not the books supposed to have been written by the Galilean Fishermen--which reveals the spiritual ideals of the German nation. And the Germans are fully conscious of it.

Goethe nahm eine gewöhnliche Legende und erfüllte sie mit der ganzen erfahrung des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, nein, der gesamten Erfahrung der menschlichen Rasse. Die Transformierung einer gewöhnlichen Legende in einen systematischen Ausdruck des letzten Ideals des Menschun ist kaum geringer als ein göttliches erk. Es ist ebensougt wie die Schöpfung eines schönun Universums aus dem Chaos formloser Materie.

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Goethe picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the nineteenth century - nay the entire experience of the human race. This transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing short of Divine workmanship. It is as good as the creation of a beautiful universe out of the chaos of formless matter

Kein religiöses System kann den moralischen Wert des Leidens ignorieren. Der Irrtum der Erbauer des Christentums war, dass sie ihre Religion auf die Tatsache des Leidens allein bauten und den moralischen Wert anderer Faktoren übersahen. Doch war ein solches religiöses System eine Notwendigkeit für den europäischen Geist, um das schöne, aber einseitige hellenische Ideal zu ergänzen. Der griechische Lebenstraum war sicherlich der beste, wie Goethe sagt, aber ihm fehlte das Farbelement Leiden, das vom Christentum beigebracht wurde.

No religious system can ignore the moral value of suffering The error of the builders of Christianity was that they based their religion on the fact of suffering alone, and ignored the moral value of other factors. Yet such a religious system was a necessity to the European mind in order to supplement the beautiful but one-sided Hellenic ideal. The Greek dream of life was certainly the best as Goethe says: but it was wanting in the colour element of suffering which was supplied by Christianity.

Die Natur war nicht ganz entschlossen, was sie aus Plato machen sollte--einen Dichter oder einen Philosophen. Dieselbe Unsicherheit scheint sie im Falle Goethes gefühlt zu haben.

Ich gestehe, ich verdanke viel Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil und Wordsworth. Die beiden ersten führten mich in das "Innere" der Dinge, der dritte und vierte lehrten mich, wie ich orientalisch in Geist und Ausdruck bleiben konnte, nachdem ich fremde dichterische Ideale assimiliert hatte, und der letzte rettete mich in meinen Studententagen vor dem Atheismus.

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I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth. The first two led me into the "inside" of things; the third and fourth taught me how to remain oriental in spirit and expression after having assimilated foreign ideals of poetry, and the last saved me from atheism in my student days.

Wenn du die Anatomie des menschlichen Geistes studieren mÖchtest, magst du zu Wundt, Ward, James oder Stout gehen. Aber eine wirkliche Einsicht in die menschliche Natur kannst du allein von Goethe erhalten.

If you wish to study the anatomy of the human mind, you may go to Wund, Ward, James or Stout. But a real insight into human nature you can get from Goethe alone.

Shakespeare und Goethe denken noch einmal den gÖttlichen Gedanken der Schöpfung. Es besteht jedoch ein wichtiger Unterschied zwischen ihnen? Der realistische EnglÖnder denkt das Individuum nach, der Idealist Goethe das Universelle. Sein Faust ist nur scheinbar individuell. In Wirklichkeit ist er individualisierte Menschheit.

Both Shakespeare and Goethe re-think the Divine thought of creation. There is, however, one important difference between them. The realist Englishman re-thinks the individual-the idealist German, the universal. His *Faust* is a seeming individual only. In reality, he is humanity individualised.

Keine Nation war so glücklich wie die Deutschen. Sie brachten Heine hervor, als Goethe noch aus voller Kehle sang. Zwei ununterbrochene Lenze!

No nation was so fortunate as the Germans. They gave birth to Heine at the time when Goethe was singing in full-throated ease. Two uninterrupted springs!

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Goethe's Life and Works

(in chronological order)

1749 28 August: Born in the house of his parents on Grosser Hirschgraben in Frankfurt on the Main. Father: Johann Caspar Goethe; Mother: Catharina Elisabeth née Textor.

1750 7 December: Goethe's sister Cornelia was born.

1752-55 Attended the game school.

1755 Rebuilding of the parents' house on Grosser Hirschgraben. Beginning of the private instruction under the supervision of the father.

1759 January to February 1763: French army occupied Frankfurt. Count Thorane took accommodation in Goethe's parental house.

1764 3 April: Coronation of Joseph II as the German-Roman emperor. Goethe, the spectator of the solemnities.

1765 October to August 1768: Law studies at the University of Leipzig. Acquaintance with Käthchen Schönkopf. Behrisch. Oeser.

1) *Poetische Gedanken über die Höllenfahrt Jesu Christi.* (W = Written 1765. P = First Published 1766)

2) *Das Buch Annette* (W 1767. P 1897)

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1768 July: Severe illness. 28 August: Departure from Leipzig. September to March 1770: Illness and recovery in Frankfurt. Company with Susanna Katharina of Klettenberg.

3) *Die Laune des Verliebten. Ein Schäferspiel* (W 1767-68, P 1806)

4) *Neue Lieder in Melodien gesetzt* (W 1767-69, P 1769)

5) *Die Mitschuldigen. Ein Lustspiel* (W 1768-69, P 1787)

6) *Sesenheimer Lieder* and *Volkslieder* (W 1770-71, P 1775-89 and later)

1770 April to August 1771: Studies in the University of Strassburg. September to April 1771: Herder in Strassburg.» October: First visit in Sesenheim. Acquaintance with Friederike Brion, daughter of the Vicar of Sesenheim.

1771 6 August: Graduation of law. Middle of August: Return to Frankfurt. End of August: Conferral of "Licentiatus Juris".

7) *Zum Schäkespears Tag*. (W 1771, P 1854)

8) *Geschichte Gottfriedens von Berlichingen dramatisirt*. (W 1771-72, P 1833)

1772 January-February: Acquaintance with Merck and the Darmstadt circle of sensitivities. May-September: Advanced legal studies at Imperial Court of Appeals in Wetzlar. Friendship with Charlotte Buff.

9) *Von deutscher Baukunst* (W 1772, P 1772)

10) *Briefe des Pastors zu***: Zwo wichtige biblische Fragen* (W 1772, P 1773)

1773 11) Contributions to the *Frankfurther Gelehrte Anzeigen* (W 1772-73, P 1772-73)

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12) *Götz von Berlichingen.* Ein Schauspiel (W 1773, P 1774)

13) *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern.* Ein *Schönbartspiel.* (W 1773, P 1774)

14) *Ein Fastnachtsspiel vom Pater Brey* (W 1773, P 1774)

15) *Satyros, oder der vergötterte Waldteufel.* Drama (W 1773, P 1817)

16) *Prometheus.* Drama (fragment) (W 1773, P 1830)

17) *Des Künstlers Erdewallen.* Drama (W 1773, P 1774)

18) *Götter, Helden und Wieland.* Eine Farce. (W 1773, P 1774)

1773-1775 19) *Faust,* in its earliest form (*Urfaust*) (W 1773-75, P 1887)

20) *Mahomet*

1774 July-August: Lahn and Rhine journey with J. K. Lavater and Basedow.

1774 Visit of the brother F. G. Jacobi in Dusseldorf. December: First meeting with heir-prince Karl August von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach in Frankfurt.

21) *Der ewige Jude* (fragment of an epic) (W 1774, P 1836)

22) *Des Künstlers Apotheose.* Drama (W 1774, P 1879)

23) *Clavigo. Ein Trauerspiel.* (W 1774, P 1774)

24) *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers.* (W 1773-74, P 1774)

25) *Erwin und Elmire. Ein Schauspiel mit Gesang.* (W 1773-74, P 1775)

1775 April: Engagement to Lili Schönemann, May-July: First trip to Switzerland with the Counts of

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Stolberg. September and October: Duke Karl August invites Goethe to Weimar. Breaks engagement after return. 30 October: Departure from Frankfurt. 7 November: Arrival in Weimar. Residence in the Gartenhaus am Stern in Weimar. November: First meeting with Charlotte von Stein.

26) *Gedichte an Lili Schönemann* (W 1775, P 1775 and later)

27) *Stella. Ein Schauspiel für Liebende* (W 1775, P 1776)

28) *Claudine von Villa Bella. Ein Schauspiel mit Gesang.* (W 1774-75, P 1776)

29) *Hanswursts Hochzeit, oder der Lauf der Welt.* Drama (W 1775, P 1836)

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[Publications from 1765 to 1775 belong to Goethe's youth.]

1776 January-February: Decided to stay in Weimar longer. March-April: Journey to Leipzig. April: Goethe moves to the garden house of the Ilmwiesen where he lives upto June 1782. 11 June: Entering the state service of Weimar. Appointment as Privy Legation Councillor with seat and vote in the Privy Council, the higher authority in the duchy. October: J. G. Herder comes to Weimar as the general superintendent. November: Goethe is entrusted with the preparations for the resumption of mining in Ilmenau. December: Journey to Leipzig and Wörlitz. Friendship with Charlotte von Stein (to 1788).

30) *Hans Sachsens Poetische Sendung* (W 1776, P

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1776)

31) *Die Geschwister. Ein Schauspiel* (W 1776, P 1787)

32) *Gedichte für Frau von Stein*

1776 and following year: Goethe takes part in the performances of the Weimar Theatre.

1777 8 June: Death of the sister. September–October: In Eisenach and Wartburg. December: Harz journey.

33) *Lila. Ein Schauspiel mit Gesang* (W 1777, P 1790)

34) *Harzreise im Winter.* (W 1777, P 1789)

35) *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* (including *Prosperina*). *Eine dramatische Grille.* (W 1777–78, P 1787)

1778 May: Journey with Duke Karl August to Berlin and Potsdam.

36) *An den Mond.* (W 1778, P 1789)

37) *Grenzen der Menschheit.*

1779 January: Establishment of a mineralogical collection. Since frequent tours through the duchy. September: Appointment as Privy Councillor. September to January 1780: Second trip to Switzerland with Duke Karl August.

38) *Briefe aus der Schweiz* (W 1779, P 1796)

39) *Gesang der Geister über den Wassern* (W 1779, P 1789)

40) *Iphigenie auf Tauris. Ein Schauspiel* (in prose). (W 1779, P 1854)

1780 Goethe begins his mineralogical studies.

41) *Jery und Bätely. Ein Singspiel.* (W 1780, P 1780)

1781 Summer and the following year: Goethe takes part in the Weimarer Hofgesellschaft in Tiefurt.

42) *Die Vögel. Nach Aristophanes.* (W 1781, P 1787)

43) *Das Neueste von Plundersweilern* (W 1781, P 1817)

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44) *Elpenor. Ein Trauerspiel* (fragment) (W 1781, P 1806)

1781 November to January 1782: Lectures on anatomy in the Weimarer Freien Zeicheninstitut.

1782 March-April, May: Diplomatic journeys to the court of Thuringia. 25 May: Death of Goethe's father. 2 June: Goethe moves into the house at Frauenplan. 3 June: Ennobled by Kaiser Joseph II. 11 June: Goethe raised to the peerage. December to January: 1783: Journey to Dessau and Leipzig.

45) *Auf Miedings Tod.* (W 1782, P 1782)

46) *Die Fischerin. Ein Singspiel.* (W 1782, P 1782)

1783 September-October: Second journey in Harz, and also to Göttingen and Kassel.

47) *Ilmenau.* (W 1783, P 1815)

48) *Das Göttliche*

1784 24 February: Goethe opens the mining complex in Ilmenau. March: Discovery of the middle intermaxillary bone. August-September: Journey to Braunschweig with Duke Karl August. Third visit of Harz with Georg Melchior Kraus.

49) *Über den Granit.* (W 1784, P 1877)

50) *Die Geheimnisse.* (fragment of an epic) (W 1784-85, P 1789)

1785 Goethe begins his botanical studies. June to August: First visit to health resort in Karlsbad. November to early 1786: Frequent visits of Ilmenau and Jena.

51) *Scherz, List und Rache. Ein Singspiel* (W 1785, P 1790)

52) *Wilhelm Meisters theatralischer Sendung* (W 1777-85, P 1911)

1786 July-August: In Karlsbad. 3 September: Secret

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departure from Karlsbad to Italy. 28 September to 14 October: In Venice. 29 October: Arrival in Rome.

1787 February-June: Journey to Naples and Sicily. April: In the botanical garden of Palermo Goethe recognizes the principle of primary plant (Urpflanze).

53) *Iphigenie auf Tauris. Schauspiel* (final form) (W 1787, P 1787)

54) *Nausikaa. Ein Trauerspiel* (fragment) (W 1786-87, P 1827)

55) *Egmont. Ein Trauerspiel.* (W 1775-87, P 1788)

56) *Faust.* Ein fragment. (W 1775, 1787, P 1790)

1788 23 April: Leaves Rome. 18 June: Return to Weimar. June: Dispensation of all administrative responsibilities with the exception of Ilmenau Commissions. In the following years successive undertakings of administrative work relating to the scientific and artistic institutions of the Duke regime. July: Goethe takes Christiane Vulpius into his home. 7 September: First meeting with Friedrich Schiller in Rudolstadt.

57) *Torquato Tasso. Schauspiel* (W 1776, 1788-89, P 1790)

58) *Das römische Carneval.* (W 1788, P 1808)

59) *Römische Elegien* (W 1788-89, P 1795)

1789 September-October: Journey to Aschersleben and in Harz. 25 December: Birth of Goethe's son August.

1790 March-June: Journey to Venice. April: Discovery of the whirl theory of the skull. July-October: Journey to Schlesieu in the Prussian area, also to Krakau and Czenstochau. Studies and experiments in chromatics

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(continued up to 1810.)

60) *Versuch, die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären.* (W 1785-86, 1790, P 1790)

61) *Venezianische Epigramme.* (W 1790, P 1796)

62) *Schriften* (in eight volumes) (P 1787-1790)

1791 January: Goethe assumes management of court theatre (until 1817).

63) *Beiträge zur Optik* (W 1791, P 1791-92)

64) *Der Gross-Cophta. Ein Lustspiel* (W 1791, P 1792)

1792 August-October: Goethe takes part in the retinue of Duke Karl August of his campaign in France. 20 September: The cannonade of Valmy. November-December: Meetings with Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi in Düsseldorf and Princess Gallitzin in Münster; Goethe declines senatorship offered in Frankfurt.

64) *Reise dur Söhne Megaprazons* (fragment) (W 1792, P 1837)

65) *Der Bürgergeneral. Ein Lustspiel.* (W 1792, P 1793)

1793 May-July: Observer of the Siege of Mainz.

66) *Reineke Fuchs, in zwölf Gesängen* (W 1792-93, P 1794)

67) *Die Aufgeregten. Ein politisches Drama* (unfinished) (W 1793, P 1817)

68) *Das Mädchen von Oberkirch. Ein Trauerspiel* (fragment) (W 1793, P 1895)

1794 End of July: Conversation with Schiller about the primary plants (Urpflanze) in a conference of the Society of Naturalists in Jena. Friendship with Schiller. July-August: Journey to Wörlitz and Dresden with Duke Karl August.

69) *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (W 1794-95, P 1795-

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96)

70) *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* (W 1794-95, P 1795)

1794 and the following year: Goethe stops frequently in Jena, associates there with professors, busy with the studies of natural science, especially with metamorphosis and concept of colours.

1795 July-August: Trip to Karlsbad. Goethe's mother sells the house on Grossen Hirschgraben in Frankfurt.

71) *Das Märchen* (W 1795, P 1795)

72) *Der Zauberflöte zweiter Teil. Dramatisches Märchen* (fragment) (W 1795, P 1802)

1796 F. and W. von Schlegel.

73) *Entwurf einer allgemeinen Einleitung in die vergleichende Anatomie* (W 1795-96, P 1820)

74) *Xenien* (with Schiller) (W 1795-96, P 1797)

75) *Vier Jahreszeiten* (W 1796, P 1797)

76) *Benvenuto Cellini*. Nach dem Italienischen (W 1796-97, P 1796-97)

1797 August-November: Third Swiss journey. August: In Frankfurt. Goethe meets his mother for the last time. December: Entrusted to supervise the library and the coins cabinet in Weimar.

77) *Ballads* (Alexis und Dora; Der neue Pausias; Der Zauberlehrling; Der Schatzgräber; Die Braut von Korinth; Der Gott und die Bajadere) (W 1796-97, P 1797)

78) *Hermann und Dorothea* (W 1796-97, P 1797)

79) *Achilleis*. (fragment) (W 1797-99, P 1808)

1798 March: Acquisition of the property in Oberrossla near Weimar. 12 October: Opening of the

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reconstructed State Theatre in Weimar with "Wallensteins Lager."

80) *Euphrosyne; Das Blümlein Wunderschön.* (W 1798, P 1797)

81) *Neue Schriften* (in seven volumes) (P 1792-1800)

82) *Weissagungen des Bakis* (W 1798, P 1800)

83) *Propyläen. Eine periodische Schrift* (P 1798-1800)

84) *Der-Sammler und die Seinen* (W 1798-99, P 1799)

1799 September: First art exhibition in Weimar. December: Removal of Schiller from Jena to Weimar.

85) *Mahomet. Ein Trauerspiel nach Voltaire* (W 1799, P 1802)

86) *Die natürliche Tochter. Trauerspiel* (W 1799-1803, P 1803)

1800 April-May: Journey to Leipzig and Dessau with Duke Karl August.

87) *Tancred. Ein Trauerspiel nach Voltaire.* (W 1800, P 1802)

88) *Paläophron und Neoterpe. Ein Festspiel* (W 1800, P 1802)

89) *Die guten Frauen. (Die Guten Weiber)* (W 1800, P 1802)

1801 January: Face illness. June-August: Journey to Pyrmont, Göttingen and Kassel.

1802 January-June: Stay in Jena. February: First visit of C. F. Zelter in Weimar. 20 June: Opening of the new theatre in Lauchstädt, Goethe stops often in this sommer in Lauchstädt.

90) *Was wir bringen. Vorpiel* (W 1802, P 1802)

1803 May: Journey to Lauchstädt, Halle, Merseberg, Naumberg. September: Riemer, the house serrvant

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of Goethe's son November Goethe is commissioned to supervise the Institute of Natural Sciences of the University of Jena.

1804 August-September: In Lauchstädt and Halle. 1 September: Appointment as Acting Privy Councillor (title of Excellency).

91) *Rameaus Neffe. Ein Dialog von Diderot* (W 1804, P 1805)

92) *Winkelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (W 1804-05, P 1805)

1805 January-February: Severe kidney pains. 9 May: Death of Schiller. July-September: Revisited Lauchstdt. August: Journey to Magdeburg and Halberstadt.

93) *Epilog zu Schillers Glocke* (W 1805, P 1805)

1806 June-August: In Karlsbad. 14 October: Battle of Jena. 19 October: Marriage to Christiane Vulpius in the Weimar royal chapel.

94) *Metamorphose der Tiere*

95) *Faust* (first part). (W 1797-1806, P 1808)

1807 10 April: Death of the mother of Duke Karl August (Anna Amalia). May-September: In Karlsbad. November-December: Acquaintance with Minchen Herzlieb.

96) *Vorspiel zur Eröffnung des Weimarischen Theaters*. (W 1807, P 1816)

97) *Pandora. Ein Festspiel* (W 1807-08, P 1808)

98) *Sonette*. (W 1807-08, P 1815)

[Here ends Goethe's period of maturity]

1808 May-September: In Karlsbad and Franzenbad. 13

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September: Death of Goethe's mother. 2 October: Conversation with Napoleon in Erfurt and further talks with Napoleon on 6 and 10 October in Weimar.

99) *Pandora. Ein Festspiel* (W 1807-08, P 1808)

1809 100) *Die Wahlverwandtschaften. Ein Roman* (W 1809, P 1809)

1810 May-September: In Karlsbad, Teplitz, Dresden. Sulpiz Boisserée.

101) *Zur Farbenlehre* (W 1801-1810, P 1810)

102) *Goethes Werke* (published by Cotta, Tübingen) thirteen volumes (P 1806-10)

1811 May-June: In Karlsbad with Christiane and Riemer.

103) *Philipp Hackert* (W 1807-11, P 1811)

104) *Shakespeares Romeo und Julia*. (adaptation) (W 1811, P 1841)

1812 May-September: In Karlsbad and Teplitz. Meetings with Ludwig van Beethoven and Empress Maria Ludovica of Austria.

105 *Die Wette Lustspiel* (W 1812, P 1837)

1813 20 January: Death of Wieland. April-August: In Teplitz. 16-19 October: Battle of Leipzig.

106) *Die wandelnde Glocke*. (W 1813, P 1815)

1814 May-June: In Bad Berka near Weimar. July-October: First journey on the Rhine and Main. Friendship with Marianne von Willemer. Visits of Boisserée's brothers in Heidelberg. 16 August: Participation in Sankt Rochus-Fest in Bingen. Starts writing *West-Östlicher Divan*.

107) *Des Epimenides Erwachen*. (W 1814, P 1814)

108) *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit*, three volumes (W 1808-14, P 1811-14)

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1815 February: By the decision of Vienna Congress becomes Sachsen-Weimar Eisenach Grossherzogtum. May-October: Second journey to the Rhine and Main. End of July: Nassau's trip to Köln with Freiherr vom Stein. 26 September: Last meeting with Marianne von Willemer in Heidelberg. 12 December: All cultural institutions of the Great Herzog regime were united under Goethe's headship in the "Oberaufsicht über die unmittelbaren Anstalten für Wissenschaft und Kunst in Weimar und Jena." *West-Östlicher Divan* continues. Goethe's appointment as State Minister.

109) *Shakespeare und kein Ende.* (W 1815, P 1826)

1816 6 June: Christiane dies. July-September: In Bad Tennstedt. *West-Östlicher Divan* continues.

110) *Zeitschrift über Kunst und Altertum* (upto 1832)

1817 March-August, November-December: In Jena. 13 April: Dispensation from the headship of the State Theatre. 17 June: Marriage of Goethe with Ottilie von Pogwisch. October: Goethe is entrusted for supervising the Association of Libraries in Jena.

111) *Italienische Reise.* (W 1786-88, 1813-17, P 1816-17)

112) *Urworte.*

113) *Osphisch.*

114) *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums*

115) *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, besonders zur Morphologie.* (Journal, upto 1824)

1818 9 April: Goethe's grandson Walther born. July-September: In Karlsbad.

1819 August-September: In Karlsbad.

116) *West-Östlicher Divan* (W 1813-16, P 1819)

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1820 April-May: In Karlsbad. Summer and Autumn: In Jena. 18 September: Goethe's grandson Wolfgang born.

1821 July-September: In Marienbad and Eger. First meeting with Ulrike von Levetzow.

117) *Prolog zur Eröffnung des Berliner Theaters* (W 1821, P 1821)

118) *Kampagne in Frankreich* (W 1792, 1820-21, P 1822)

1822 June-August: In Marienbad and Eger.

119) *Belagerung von Mainz* (W 1793, 1821-22, P 1822)

120) *Tag-und Jahreshefte* (W 1819-22, P 1830)

1823 February-March: Inflammation of heart. 10 June: Eckermann's first meeting with Goethe. July-September:, In Marienbad, Eger and Karlsbad. November: Severe illness of cramp-cough.

121) *Marienbader Elegie*

1824 Preparations for the publication of *Briefwechsel mit Schiller*.

122) *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* (W 1823-24, P 1827)

1825 February: Resume the work on *Faust* (2nd part). 23 March: Burning of Weimar Theater. 7 November: Ceremony of the 50th anniversary of Goethe's arrival in Weimar.

1826 End of *Helena-Akt* (of *Faust*).

1827 6 January: Death of Charlotte von Stein. 29 October: Goethe's grand daughter Alma born.

123) *Zahme Xenien* (P 1820-21, 1827)

124) *Gedichte* (collected in the Ausgabe letzter Hand) (1827)

1828 24 June: Death of Grand Duke Karl August. July-September: Goethe returns from Dornburg.

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	125)	*Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, vol. II (W 1827-28, P 1833)
1829	126)	*Zweiter römischer Aufenthalt* (W 1787-88, 1817-29, P 1829)
	127)	*Briefwechsel mit Schiller* (1794-1805) (P 1828-29)
1830		14 February: Death of Duchess Luise. 16 November: Goethe gets the news of his son's death in Rome on 26 October, end of November suffers the haemorrhage.
	128)	*Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand* (published by Cotta, Tübingen) Forty volumes (P 1827-30)
1831		28 August: Last birthday of Goethe in Ilmenau
	129)	*Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit* (W 1824-31, P 1833)
1832		16 March: Goethe's last sickness. 22 March: Death of Goethe.
	130)	*Faust*. Second part (W 1830-32, P 1833)
	131)	*Maximen und Reflexionen* (P 1833)
	132)	*Nachgelassene Werke* (published by Cotta, Tübingen) Twenty volumes (P 1833-41)

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(includes *Divan*)]

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Illustrations

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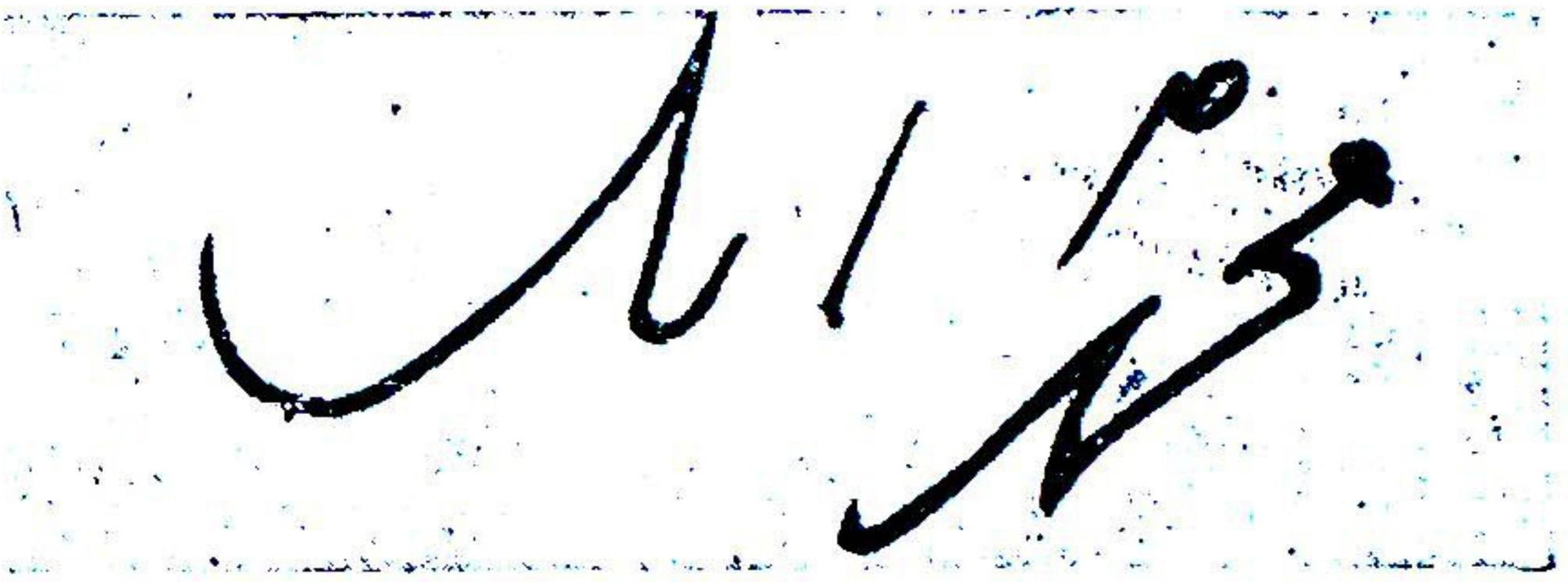
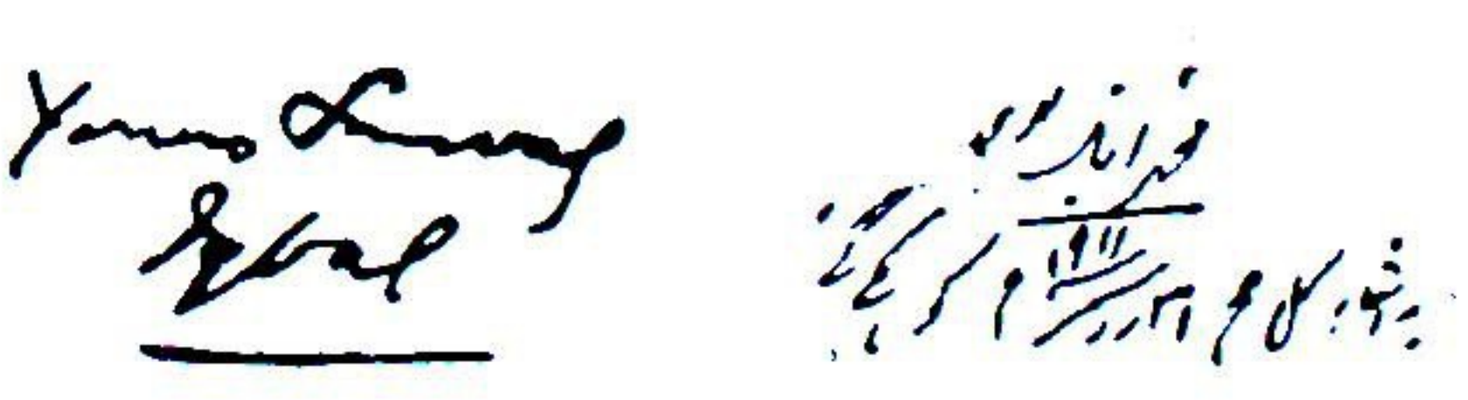
IQBAL





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لِلّٰہِ الْمَشْرِقُ وَالْمَغْرِبُ

پیامِ مشرق

(در جواب دیوانِ شاعرِ المانوی گوئٹے)

اقبال

i) *Payam-i-Mashriq*. 1st ed. 1923, 2nd rev. ed. 1924. Title-page. On its top, a Quranic verse is written, that reminds us of the main title of Hammer-Purgstall's *Fundgruben des Orients* (6 vols., Vienna, 1809-1818), the first Oriental journal of Europe, containing the same verse and also Goethe's following lines from the *Divan*:

Gottes ist der Orient
Gottes ist der Okzident.

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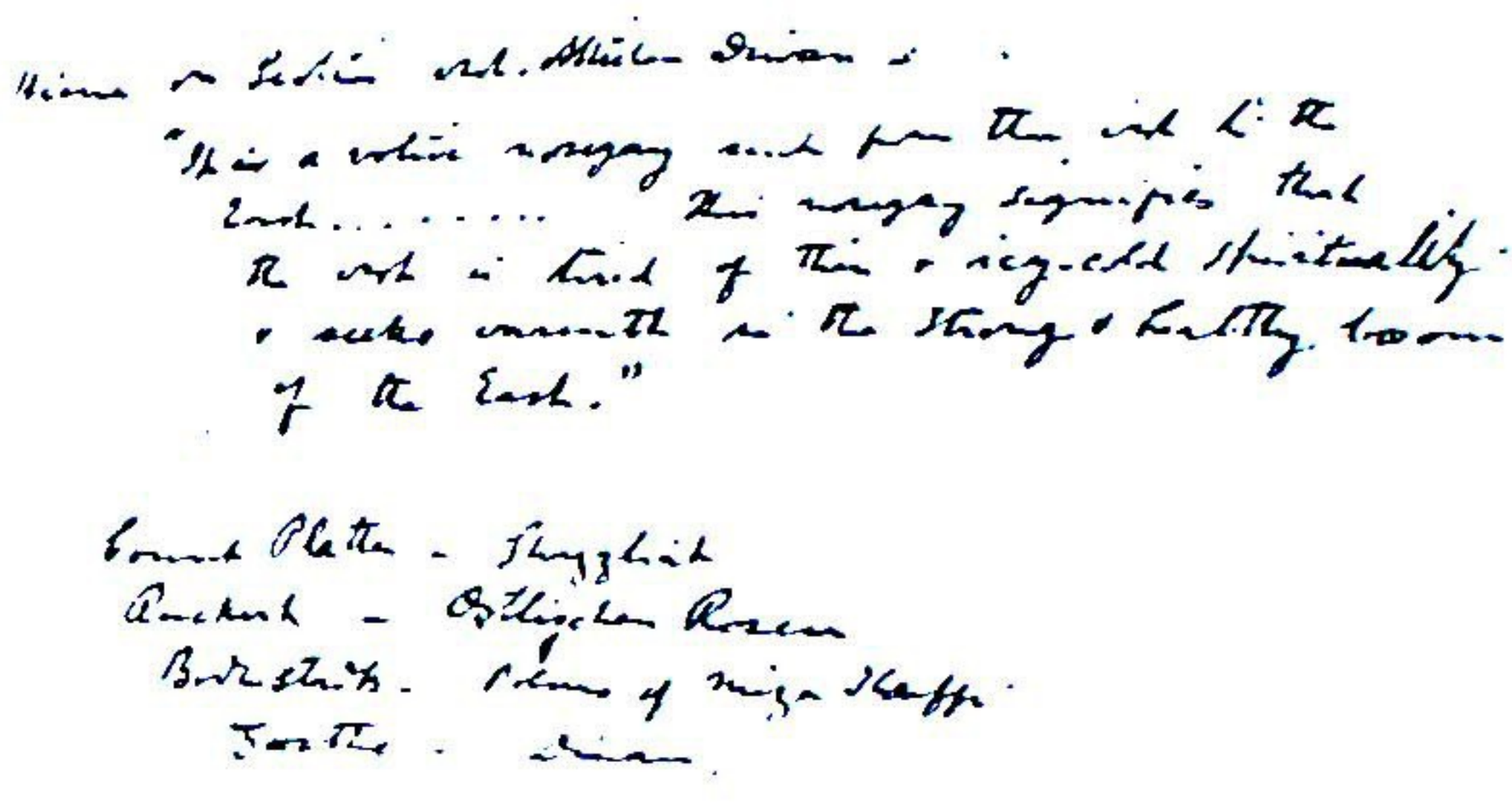

2) The first page of the hand-written script (*Biyaz*) of *Payam-i-Mashriq* by Iqbal himself, preserved in the Iqbal Museum (Lahore, No. AIM/1977/213).

"Heine on Goethe's *West-östlichen Divan*

"It is a votive nosegay sent from the West to the East . . . . . This nosegay signifies that the West is tired of thin and icy-cold spirituality and seeks warmth in the strong and healthy bosom of the East".

Count Platen [not Platten, as written here] - Ghazzliat [Rückert [Not without Umlaut] Ostliche [not Östlichen] Rosen.

Bodenstedt -- Poems of Mirza Shaffi,
Geothe [not Geothe]. Divan"

In the beginning of the introduction of *Payam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal has given the Urdu translation of this passage of Heinrich Heine.

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دیباچہ

"پیام مشرق" کی تصنیف کا محرک جرمن حکیم حیات "گوئٹے" کا "مغربی دیوان" ہے جس کی نسبت جرمنی کا اسرائیلی شاعر ہائنا لکھتا ہے۔

"یہ ایک گلدستۂ عقیدت ہے جو مغرب نے مشرق کو بھیجا ہے۔ ..... اس دیوان سے اس امر کی شہادت ملتی ہے کہ مغرب اپنی کمزوری اور سرد روحانیت سے بیزار ہو کر مشرق کے سینے سے حرارت کا متلاشی ہے۔"

گوئٹے کا یہ مجموعہ اشعار جو اس کی بہترین تصانیف سے ہے اور جس کو اس نے خود "دیوان" کے نام سے موسوم کیا ہے کن اثرات کا نتیجہ تھا اور کن حالات میں لکھا گیا؟ اس سوال کا جواب دینے کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ مختصر طور پر اس تحریک کا ذکر کیا جائے جس کو المانوی ادبیات کی تاریخ میں "تحریک مشرقی" کے نام سے یاد کرتے ہیں۔ میرا قصد تھا کہ اس دیباچے میں تحریک مذکور پر کسی قدر تفصیل سے بحث کروں گا مگر افسوس ہے کہ بہت سا مواد جو اس کے لئے ضروری تھا ہندوستان میں دستیاب نہ ہو سکا۔ پال ہورن۔ تاریخ ادبیاتِ ایران کے مصنف نے اپنے ایک مضمون میں اس امر پر بحث کی ہے کہ گوئٹے کس حد تک شعرائے فارس کا ممنون ہے لیکن رسالہ نارداونڈسود کا وہ نمبر جس میں مضمون مذکور شائع ہوا تھا نہ ہندوستان کے کسی کتب خانے سے مل سکا نہ جرمنی سے مجبوراً اس دیباچے کی تالیف میں کچھ تو گذشتہ مطالعہ کی یادداشت پر بھروسہ کرتا ہوں اور کچھ مسٹر چارلس ریمی کے مختصر مگر نہایت مفید اور کارآمد رسالے پر جو انہوں نے اس

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ب

موضوع پر لکھا ہے۔

ابتدائے شباب ہی سے گوئٹے کی ہمہ گیر طبیعت مشرقی تخیلات کی طرف مائل تھی۔ سٹراس برگ میں جہاں وہ قانون کے مطالعہ میں مصروف تھا۔ اس کی ملاقات جرمن لٹریچر کی مشہور اور قابلِ احترام شخصیت ہرڈر سے ہوئی جس کی صحبت کے اثرات کو گوئٹے نے خود اپنے سوانح میں تسلیم کیا ہے۔ ہرڈر فارسی نہ جانتا تھا۔ لیکن چونکہ اخلاقی رنگ اس کی طبیعت پر غالب تھا اس واسطے سعدی کی تصانیف سے اُسے نہایت گہری دلچسپی تھی۔ چنانچہ گلستاں کے بعض حصوں کا اس نے جرمن زبان میں ترجمہ بھی کیا ہے۔ خواجہ حافظ کے رنگ سے اُسے چنداں لگاؤ نہ تھا۔ اپنے معاصرین کو سعدی کی طرف توجہ دلاتے ہوئے لکھتا ہے "حافظ کے رنگ میں ہم بہت کچھ نغمہ سرائی کر چکے۔ اس وقت سعدی کے تلمذ کی ضرورت ہے" لیکن باوجود اس دلچسپی کے جو ہرڈر کو مشرقی لٹریچر سے تھی اس کے اپنے اشعار اور دیگر تصانیف پر مشرقی لٹریچر کا کوئی اثر معلوم نہیں ہوتا علیٰ ہذا القیاس گوئٹے کا دوسرا معاصر شلر بھی جو مشرقی تحریک کے آغاز سے پہلے ہی مر چکا تھا مشرقی اثرات سے آزاد ہے۔ گو اس بات کو فراموش نہ کرنا چاہیئے کہ اس کے ڈراما "توران دخت" کا پلاٹ مولنا نظامی کے افسانۂ دخترِ پادشاہ اقلیم چہارم (ہفت پیکر) سے لیا گیا ہے جس کا آغاز مولنا نے اس شعر سے کیا ہے ؎

"گفت کز جملۂ ولایتِ روس
بود شہرے بہ نیکوئی چو عروس"

۱۸۱۲ء میں فان ہیمر نے خواجہ حافظ کے دیوان کا پورا ترجمہ شائع کیا اور اسی ترجمے کی اشاعت سے جرمن ادبیات میں مشرقی تحریک کا آغاز ہوا۔ گوئٹے کی عمر اس وقت ۶۵ سال کی تھی اور یہ وہ زمانہ تھا جب کہ جرمن قوم کا انبساط ہر پہلو سے انتہا تک پہنچ چکا تھا۔ ملک کی سیاسی تحریکوں میں عملی حصہ لینے کے لئے گوئٹے کی فطرت موزوں نہ تھی

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اور یورپ کی عام ہنگامہ آرائیوں سے بیزار ہوکر اس کی بے تاب اور بلند پرواز رُوح نے مشرقی فضا کے امن وسکون میں اپنے لئے ایک نشیمن تلاش کر لیا۔ حافظ کے ترنم نے اس کے تخیلات میں ایک ہیجانِ عظیم برپا کر دیا۔ جس نے آخر کار "مغربی دیوان" کی ایک پائدار اور مستقل صورت اختیار کر لی۔ مگر فان ہیمر کا ترجمہ گوئٹے کے لئے محض ایک محرک ہی نہ تھا بلکہ اس کے عجیب و غریب تخیلات کا ماخذ بھی تھا۔ بعض بعض جگہ اس کی نظم خواجہ کے اشعار کا آزاد ترجمہ معلوم ہوتی ہے اور بعض جگہ اس کی قوت تخیل کسی خاص مصرع کے اثر سے ایک نئی شاہراہ پر پڑ کر زندگی کے نہائت دقیق اور گہرے مسائل پر روشنی ڈالتی ہے۔ گوئٹے کا مشہور سوانح نگار ہیل شوسکی لکھتا ہے:۔

"بلبلِ شیراز کی نغمہ پردازیوں میں گوئٹے کو اپنی ہی تصویر نظر آتی تھی۔ اس کو کبھی کبھی یہ احساس بھی ہوتا تھا۔ کہ شاید میری روح ہی حافظ کے پیکر میں رہ کر مشرق کی سرزمین میں زندگی بسر کر چکی ہے۔ وہی زمینی مسرت، وہی آسمانی محبت، وہی سادگی، وہی عمق، وہی جوش و حرارت، وہی وسعتِ مشرب، وہی کشادہ دلی اور وہی قیود و رسوم سے آزادی! غرضکہ ہر بات میں ہم اُسے حافظ کا مثیل پاتے ہیں۔ جس طرح حافظ لسان الغیب و ترجمانِ اسرار ہے اسی طرح گوئٹے بھی ہے اور جس طرح حافظ کے بظاہر سادہ الفاظ میں ایک جہانِ معنی آباد ہے اسی طرح گوئٹے کے بیساختہ پن میں بھی حقائق و اسرار جلوہ افروز ہیں۔ دونوں نے امیر و غریب سے خراجِ تحسین وصول کیا۔ دونوں نے اپنے اپنے وقت کے عظیم الشان فاتحوں کو اپنی شخصیت سے متاثر کیا (یعنی حافظ نے تیمور[1] کو اور گوئٹے نے نپولین کو) اور دونوں عام تباہی اور بربادی کے زمانے میں طبیعت کے اندرونی اطمینان و سکون کو محفوظ رکھ کر اپنی قدیم ترنم ریزی جاری رکھنے میں کامیاب رہے۔"

[1] خواجہ حافظ اور تیمور کی ملاقات کی روائت صحیح نہیں معلوم ہوتی کیونکہ خواجہ کا انتقال تیموری فتح شیراز سے پہلے ہو چکا تھا۔

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د

خواجہ حافظ کے علاوہ گوئٹے اپنے تخیلات میں شیخ عطار۔ سعدی فردوسی اور عام اسلامی لٹریچر کا بھی ممنونِ احسان ہے۔ ایک آدھ جگہ ردیف و قافیہ کی قید سے غزل بھی لکھی ہے۔ اپنی زبان میں فارسی استعارات بھی (مثلاً "گوہرِ اشعار" "تیرِ مژگاں" "زلفِ گرہ گیر") بے تکلف استعمال کرتا ہے بلکہ فارسیت کے جوش میں امرد پرستی کی طرف اشارات کرنے سے بھی احتراز نہیں کرتا۔ دیوان کے مختلف حصوں کے نام بھی فارسی ہیں۔ مثلاً مغنی نامہ۔ ساقی نامہ۔ عشق نامہ۔ تیمور نامہ۔ حکمت نامہ وغیرہ۔ باوجود ان سب باتوں کے گوئٹے کسی فارسی شاعر کا مقلد نہیں۔ اور اس کی شاعرانہ فطرت قطعاً آزاد ہے۔ مشرق کے لالہ زاروں میں اس کی نوا پیرائی محض عارضی ہے۔ وہ اپنی مغربیت کو کبھی ہاتھ سے نہیں دیتا اور اس کی نگاہ صرف انہیں مشرقی حقائق پر پڑتی ہے۔ جن کو اس کی مغربی فطرت جذب کر سکتی ہے۔ عجمی تصوف سے اسے مطلق دلچسپی نہ تھی اور گو اسے یہ بات معلوم تھی کہ مشرق میں خواجہ حافظ کے اشعار کی تفسیر تصوف کے نقطۂ نگاہ سے کی جاتی ہے۔ وہ خود تغزلِ محض کا دلدادہ تھا اور کلام حافظ کی صوفی تعبیر سے اسے کوئی ہمدردی نہ تھی۔ مولینا روم کے فلسفیانہ حقایق و معارف اس کے نزدیک مبہم تھے۔ لیکن معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس نے رومی کے کلام پر غائر نگاہ نہیں ڈالی کیونکہ جو شخص سپونوزا (ہالینڈ کا ایک فلسفی جو مسئلہ وحدت الوجود کا قائل تھا) کا مداح ہو اور جس نے برونو (اٹلی کا ایک وجودی فلسفی) کی حمائت میں قلم اٹھایا ہو اس سے ممکن نہیں کہ رومی کا معترف نہ ہو۔

غرضکہ "مغربی دیوان" کی وساطت سے گوئٹے نے جرمن ادبیات میں عجمی روح پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کی۔ بعد کے شعرا پلاٹن، روکرٹ اور بودن سٹاٹ نے اس مشرقی تحریک کو جس کا آغاز گوئٹے کے دیوان سے ہوا۔ تکمیل تک پہنچایا۔ پلاٹن نے ادبی اغراض کے لئے فارسی زبان سیکھی۔ قافیہ ردیف بلکہ ایرانی عروض کے قواعد کی

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پابندی سے غزلیں لکھیں۔ رباعیاں لکھیں اور نپولین پر ایک قصیدہ بھی لکھا۔ گوئٹے کی طرح فارسی استعارات مثلاً "عروسِ گل"۔ "زلفِ مشکیں"۔ "لالہ عذار" کو یہ بھی بے تکلف استعمال کرتا ہے۔ اور تغزلِ محض کا دلدادہ ہے۔ روکرٹ عربی۔ فارسی سنسکرت تینوں مشرقی زبانوں کا ماہر تھا۔ اس کی نگاہ میں فلسفہ رومی کی بڑی وقعت تھی اور اس کی "غزلیات" زیادہ تر مولٰنا روم ہی کی تقلید میں لکھی گئی ہیں چونکہ السنۂ مشرقیہ کا عالم تھا اس لئے اس کی مشرقی نظم کے مواخذ بھی وسیع تر تھے۔ مخزن الاسرار نظامی بہارستانِ جامی۔ کلیاتِ امیر خسرو۔ گلستانِ سعدی۔ مناقب العارفین عیار دانش منطق الطیر۔ ہفت قلزم وغیرہ جہاں جہاں سے حکمت کے موتی ملتے ہیں رول لیتا ہے۔ بلکہ اسلام سے پہلے کی ایرانی روایات وحکایات سے بھی اپنے کلام کو زینت دیتا ہے۔ اسلامی تاریخ کے بعض واقعات بھی اس نے خوب نظم کئے ہیں۔ مثلاً محمود غزنوی کی موت۔ محمود کا حملہ سومنات۔ سلطانہ رضیہ وغیرہ۔ گوئٹے کے بعد ~~سب~~ ~~زیادہ مقبول~~ مشرقی رنگ کا سب سے زیادہ مقبول شاعر بوڈن سٹاٹ ہے جس نے اپنی نظموں کو مرزا شفیع کے فرضی نام سے شائع کیا۔ یہ چھوٹا سا مجموعہ اس قدر مقبول ہوا کہ تھوڑی ہی مدت میں ۱۴۰ دفعہ شائع ہوا۔ اس شاعر نے عجمی روح کو اس خوبی سے جذب کیا ہے کہ جرمنی میں مرزا شفیع کے اشعار کو لوگ دیر تک فارسی نظم کا ترجمہ تصور کرتے رہے۔ بوڈن سٹاٹ نے امیر معزی اور انوری سے بھی استفادہ کیا ہے۔

اس سلسلے میں میں نے گوئٹے کے مشہور معاصر ہائنا کا ذکر ارادۃً نہیں کیا۔ اگرچہ اس کے مجموعۂ اشعار موسوم بہ "اشعار تازہ" میں عجمی اثر نمایاں ہے اور محمود و فردوسی کے قصے کو بھی اس نے نہایت خوبی سے نظم کیا ہے تاہم بحیثیت مجموعی مشرقی تحریک سے اس کا کوئی تعلق نہیں اور اس کی رائے میں گوئٹے کے "مغربی دیوان" کے سوائے جرمن شعرا کا مشرقی کلام کوئی بڑی وقعت نہیں رکھتا۔ لیکن عجمی جادو کی گرفت سے

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جرمنی کے اس آزادہ رو شاعر کا دل بھی بچ نہ سکا۔ چنانچہ ایک مقام پر اپنے آپ کو عالمِ خیال میں ایک ایرانی شاعر تصور کرتے ہوئے جس کو جرمنی میں جلا وطن کر دیا گیا ہو۔ لکھتا ہے:۔

"اے فردوسی! اے جامی! اے سعدی! تمہارا بھائی زندانِ غم میں اسیر شیراز کے پھولوں کے لئے تڑپ رہا ہے"۔

کم درجے کے شعرا میں خواجہ حافظ کا مقلد ڈومر۔ ہرمن سٹال۔ لوشکے۔ شائگ لٹز لنٹ ہولڈ اور فان شاک بھی قابلِ ذکر ہیں۔ موخر الذکر علمی دنیا میں اونچا پایہ رکھتا تھا۔ اس کی نظمیں قصہ انصاف محمود غزنوی اور قصۂ ہاروت و ماروت مشہور ہیں۔ اور بحیثیت مجموعی اس کے کلام میں عمر خیام کا اثر زیادہ نمایاں ہے۔ لیکن مشرقی تحریک کی پوری تاریخ لکھنے اور جرمن اور ایرانی شعرا کا تفصیلی مقابلہ کر کے عجمی اثرات کی صحیح وسعت معلوم کرنے کے لئے ایک طویل مطالعہ کی ضرورت ہے جس کے لئے نہ وقت میسر ہے نہ سامان۔ ممکن ہے کہ یہ مختصر سا خاکہ کسی نوجوان کے دل میں تحقیق و تدقیق کا جوش پیدا کر دے۔

"پیامِ مشرق" کے متعلق جو "مغربی دیوان" سے سو سال بعد لکھا گیا ہے مجھے کچھ عرض کرنے کی ضرورت نہیں۔ ناظرین خود اندازہ کر لیں گے۔ کہ اس کا مدعا زیادہ تر ان اخلاقی مذہبی اور ملی حقائق کو پیشِ نظر لانا ہے جن کا تعلق افراد و اقوام کی باطنی تربیت سے ہے۔ اس سے سو سال پیشتر کی جرمنی اور مشرق کی موجودہ حالت میں کچھ نہ کچھ مماثلت ضرور ہے لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اقوامِ عالم کا باطنی اضطراب جس کی اہمیت کا صحیح اندازہ ہم محض اس واسطے نہیں لگا سکتے کہ خود اس اضطراب سے متاثر ہیں ایک بہت بڑے روحانی اور تمدنی انقلاب کا پیش خیمہ ہے۔ یورپ کی جنگ عظیم ایک قیامت تھی جس نے پرانی دنیا کے نظام کو قریباً ہر پہلو سے فنا کر دیا ہے۔ اور

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نمبر ۱

اب تہذیب وتمدن کے مفکر سے فطرت زندگی کی گہرائیوں میں ایک نیا آدم اور اس کے بسنے کے لئے ایک نئی دنیا تعمیر کر رہی ہے جس کا ایک دھندلا سا خاکہ ہمیں حکیم آئن سٹائن اور برگساں کی تصانیف میں ملتا ہے۔ یورپ نے اپنے علمی اخلاقی اور اقتصادی نصب العین کے خوفناک نتائج اپنی آنکھوں سے دیکھ لئے ہیں اور سائمز مینٹی (سابق وزیر اعظم الحالیہ) سے "انحطاطِ فرنگ" کی دلخراش داستان بھی سن لی ہے۔ لیکن افسوس ہے کہ اس کے نکتہ رس مگر قدامت پرست مدبرین اس حیرت انگیز انقلاب کا صحیح اندازہ نہیں کر سکے جو انسانی ضمیر میں اس وقت واقع ہو رہا ہے۔ خالص ادبی اعتبار سے دیکھیں تو جنگ عظیم کی کوفت کے بعد یورپ کے قوائے حیات کا اضمحلال ایک صحیح اور پختہ ادبی نصب العین کی نشوونما کے لئے نامساعد ہے۔ بلکہ اندیشہ ہے کہ اقوام کے طبائع پر وہ فرسودہ سست رگ اور زندگی کی دشواریوں سے گریز کرنے والی عجمیت غالب نہ آجائے جو جذباتِ قلب کو افکارِ دماغ سے متمیز نہیں کر سکتی۔ البتہ امریکہ مغربی تہذیب کے عناصر میں ایک صحیح عنصر معلوم ہوتا ہے اور اس کی وجہ شاید یہ ہے کہ یہ ملک قدیم روایات کی زنجیروں سے آزاد ہے اور اس کا اجتماعی وجدان نئے اثرات وافکار کو آسانی سے قبول کر سکتا ہے۔

مشرق اور بالخصوص اسلامی مشرق نے صدیوں کی مسلسل نیند کے بعد آنکھ کھولی ہے مگر اقوام مشرق کو یہ محسوس کر لینا چاہئے کہ زندگی اپنے حوالی میں کسی قسم کا انقلاب پیدا نہیں کر سکتی جب تک کہ پہلے اس کی اندرونی گہرائیوں میں انقلاب نہ ہو اور کوئی نئی دنیا خارجی وجود اختیار نہیں کر سکتی جب تک کہ اس کا وجود پہلے انسانوں کے ضمیر میں متشکل نہ ہو۔ فطرت کا یہ اٹل قانون جس کو قرآن نے اِنَّ اللّٰہَ لَا یُغَیِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتّٰی یُغَیِّرُوا مَا بِاَنْفُسِھِمْ کے سادہ اور بلیغ الفاظ میں بیان کیا ہے زندگی کے فردی اور اجتماعی دونوں پہلوؤں پر حاوی ہے اور میں نے اپنے فارسی

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ح

تصانیف میں اسی صداقت کو مدنظر رکھنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔

اس وقت دنیا میں اور بالخصوص ممالک مشرق میں ہر ایسی کوشش جس کا مقصد افراد و اقوام کی نگاہ کو جغرافی حدود سے بالاتر کر کے ان میں ایک صحیح اور قوی انسانی سیرت کی تجدید یا تولید ہو۔ قابلِ احترام ہے۔ اسی بنا پر میں نے ان چند اوراق کو اعلیٰحضرت فرمانروائے افغانستان کے نام نامی سے منسوب کیا ہے کہ وہ اپنی فطری ذہانت و فطانت سے اس نکتے سے بخوبی آگاہ معلوم ہوتے ہیں۔ اور افغانوں کی تربیت انہیں خاص طور پر مدِّ نظر ہے۔ اس عظیم الشان کام میں خدا تعالےٰ اُن کا حامی و ناصر ہو۔

آخر میں میں اپنے دوست چوہدری محمد حسینؒ صاحب ایم۔ اے کا سپاس گذار ہوں کہ انہوں نے "پیامِ مشرق" کے مسوّدات کو اشاعت کے لئے مرتب کیا۔ اگر وہ یہ زحمت گوارا نہ کرتے تو غالباً اس مجموعے کی اشاعت میں بہت تعویق ہوتی۔

اقبال

اشاعت دوم

دوسری اشاعت میں متعدد نظموں غزلوں اور رباعیات کا اضافہ ہے بعض بعض جگہ لفظی ترمیم بھی ہے۔ کی بنا ترتیب بحث مجموعی وہی ہے جو پہلے تھی۔

اقبال

3) Urdu Preface of *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923) with some textual alterations, made for the 2nd ed. (published in 1924) by Iqbal.

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Herder. spirit [illegible] Persian, [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
portion of fabliau in the Persian Bloom
of Paradise. But his earlier poetry
seriously influenced by original Persian, while
his contemporary Goethe received two
impulses from the East which [illegible]
his [illegible] productive [illegible] period —
produced him inspired to Hafiz, and
his brilliant satire as a model worthy
of imitation. It was Hafiz & first
call of Goethe & inspired him to emu-
late Orient.

("An Hafiz Gesängen haben wir fast Jung;
Sadi ist uns lehrreicher geworden")

Herder

Goethe. find Hafiz & emb. the Orient; he introd.
the spirit of Persian poetry into German
lit. & introduced what is called the
Oriental movement in Ger. lit.

(Goethe's Faust - prologue inspired by Kalidasa).

2 the Orient (i.e. Persia & India - this was
Goethe's Orient.) he turned at the time of
Germany's deepest political degradation.
when she was overrun by foreign invaders
(Napoleon). the shock from the turmoil
& Turk refugees from in the East. The
[illegible] opening lines of the Orient
clearly show the spirit of the
[illegible]

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In the drama however he presents the poetical
individuality of Goethe in the form
of Persian poetry (especially as the
outside form of Shiyal). He remains
a citizen of the west though he dwells in
the East for a time. He takes only what
the finds congenial to his own
nature. But his attitude towards
mysticism. He had no use for it. He
felt was incompatible with his own habit
of thinking. He says of Rumi —
"I doubt if this poet could give
a clear account of his own
doctrine (But his admiration for
Persian!). He knew that Hafez was
mystically interpreted — the East had
to look upon Hafez as a Greek
looked upon Homer.

This Goethe taught — the Spirit of Persian
poetry; it was reserved for Rückert & Platen
to bring in the form also. The oriental
movement started by Goethe was carried to
perfection by Rückert, Platen, Bodenstedt.

The Schiller. He died before the oriental
movement in Germany had begun. He
has time for no Oriental influence
except that his drama
goes back to Persian times (Xerxes)
But Schiller does not seem to
be aware of the source. The scene is
laid in China names are Persian

X: افسانه دختر پادشاه
ارمنی نیست
گفتگو جلو دولت اردکان
بودن شعر بیگانه چه عیب دارد

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Complete

An Persian translation of Kafiya
effaced in 1872 a little record the influence
to which the Persian grammarians
the influence only, it was the practical
force from which the Arab and Persian
inspiration. A single work of Persian origin
a while Rum, sometimes known more
could be a translation, sometimes free
paraphrase

Also books about formulated material (e.g.
Sa'di, Attar, Firdausi, Qaani,
Region Sayagis, anecdote etc chosen from
various sources.

Persian metaphors & similes especially and
in the diwan (باغ و بهار ; خاکریز ; گل و بلبل ;
گوهر یکتا ; تیرگان ; آبزلال گریه ...)

Aspects of Persian Love Tales

یوسف زلیخا - لیلی مجنون

A whole book devoted to غزل (ghazal or
love lyric) is quite rare and
should prim allowing to the subject
of love-lyric.

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Platen (غزلیات) the most notable (even medieval poets) Persian lyric after (خواجه حافظ). He showed Persian for this purpose. He broke from four his imitation—

1. Hammers' translation of 1812
2. Gothic drama
3. Rückert's version of a part of 1821.

In 1821 appeared his ديوان حافظ, but real poems inspired by the reading of Hafiz. Persian religious and ذوق غزل سرائی, like Goethe he ignores the mystic side of Hafiz.

It not much of Platen or Rückert's efforts — introduction of a new poetic form. Besides (ج) Platen wrote only a few or Napoleon.

Rückert

He knew Persian, Arabic & Sanskrit. He is a devotee of the mystic poetry of Rumi & the joyous strain of Hafiz (ديوان حافظ) His غزلیات are mostly imitations of Persian mystics خرابات و شرح روح و آتش عشق غزل سرائی.

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Rückert's Influence -

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Jet Hemi cannot be called a follow
of the Oriental movement influential
by Sufism as Shiism or
orientalising both.

Bordas Tok -
Poems of Ziya Gök - Mystical
themes, with spiritual and religious
support to the Turkish
Ran 140 Editions in Germany. Tete he
published [illegible] but this was
not much success.

Sources — Schimmel, Bombaci, Gunn & Friemuth
Weiss, Hon, Yaman, Sadri;
Behramdagli, [illegible]

Minor Poets:

Löschke, Levitschnigg, Kühl,
Steiglitz; Hermanstahl.

Daumer — "Hafis" — a collection of
original poems in the manner
of Hafis.

Leuthold [illegible] like Platen & Rückert
Von Schack (Scholar & poet like Rückert)
Influenced by [illegible] Hafiz & Firdausi
Hafiz & Barbarossa. But the Hafizian

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4) Notes prepared for the Preface of *Payam-i-Mashriq*

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"Herder, did not know Persian, but his didactic tendency made him interested in Sa'di . He translated portions of 'Gulistan' in his *Blumen des Paradieses*. But his eastern studies scarcely influenced his original poems. Unlike his contemporary Geothe [Goethe] he received no impulse from the East which would stimulate him to production. His didactic interest is (one- sided) rendered him indifferent to Hafiz and caused him to proclaim Sa'di as a model worthy of imitation. It was Hafiz who fired the soul of Geothe [Goethe] and inspired him to write the Diwan [Divan].

("An Hafiz Gesängen haben wir fast genug
Sa'di ist uns lehrleicher gewesen").

Geothe [Goethe], fired by Hafiz and wrote the Diwan [Divan]; he introduced the spirit of Persian poetry into German lit[erature] and introduced what is called the Oriental movement in Ger [man] Lit[erature].

(Geothes [Goethes] Faust - prologue inspired by Kalidas). To the Orient (i.e. Persia and India - this was Geothes [Goethe's] Orient) he turned at the time of Germany's deepest political degradation when she was overrun by foreign invaders (the French). He shrank from the tumult and took refuge in the East. The opening lines of the Diwan [Divan] clearly show the object of this poetical ہجرت (Hegire].

In the Diwan [Divan] however he preserves his poetical independence and does not imitate the form of Persian poetry (except twice when he imitates the form of Ghazl [Ghazal]).He remains a citizen of the West though he dwells in the East for a time. He takes only what he finds congenial to his own nature. As to his attitude towards mysticism, he had no love for it. It was incompatible with his own habits of clear thinking. He says of Rumi -----

"I doubt if this poet could give a clear account of his own doctrine" (But his admiration for Spinoza!). He knew that Hafiz was mystically interpreted in the East but he looked upon Hafiz as a lyric poet only.

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Thus Geothe [Goethe] brought in the spirit of Persian poetry; it was reserved for Rückert and Platen to bring in the form also. The Oriental movement started by Geothe [Goethe] was carried to perfection by Rückert, Platen, Bodenstedt.

Schiller. He died before the Oriental movement in Germany had begun. On him there is no Oriental influence except that in drama (تورانِ دخت) goes back to Persian source

۱ ہفت پیکر مولانا نظامی ۔ افسانہ دختر پادشاہ اقلیم چہارم گفت کز جملہ ولایت روس بود شہرے
بینکونی چو مروس)

Von Hammer's complete translation of Hafiz appeared in 1812 [published in 1814]. Geothe [Goethe] received the impulse to write the *Diwan* [Divan] from this. It was not the impulse only, it was also the principal source from which the poet drew his inspiration. A single verse of Hafiz often furnished a whole theme: sometimes his own poem could be a translation, sometimes from paraphrase.

Other poets also furnished material e.g. Sa'di, Attar, Firdausi, Rumi, Persian sayings, anecdotes etc. chosen from various sources.

Persian metaphors and similes copiously used in the *Diwan* [Divan]

(تیرِ مژگاں ، اسیرِ زلف گرہ گیر، گوہرِ اشعار ، گل و بلبل ، خاک دریار ، شمع و پروانہ)

References to Persian love tales (یوسف زلیخا - لیلیٰ مجنوں)

and a whole part devoted to ساقی (called the book of *Saqi*):
and Rückert's sources -

بہارستان جامی ۔ مخزن الاسرار جامی ۔ امیر خسرو ۔ ہفت قلزم ۔ گلستانِ سعدی ۔ عیار دانش ۔ منطق الطیر وغیرہ ۔

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and مناقب العارفین from which he takes several legends about Rumi.

Also stories from Pre-Islamic Persian یزدجرد ۔ بہرام چوبیں ۔ شاپور

and poems about Post - Islamic Persian Kings.

الپ ارسلان ۔ نظام الملک ۔ حملہ محمود بر سومنات ۔ اپتگین ۔ یعقوب ۔ قابوس ۔

سلطانہ رضیہ (ہندوستان) ۔ محمد خوارزم شاہ اور اس کا بیٹا جلال الدین ۔ مرگ محمود غزنوی ۔

Whatever defect his poetry may have Rückert's work is very important. He brought in new spirit and new form.

Heine. His earlier poems show no Persian influence: but his later poems (Neue Gedichte) show it unmistakably called Sa'adi - Persian Geothe [Goethe]. Imagined himself a Persian poet in exile among the Germans - says - "O Firdausi, O Jami, O Sa'adi, how miserable is your brother; how I yearn after the roses of Shiraz."

But he held a poor opinion of German work of Eastern poetry (except Geothe's Diwan [Goethe's Divan]). He never imitated this poetry. But his, Der Dichter Firdausi (محمود و فردوسی کا قصہ)(one of his best poems). Yet Heine cannot he called a follower of the Oriental movement originated by Geothe [Goethe] and others. He is no sense an outstanding poet.

Geothe [Goethe] does not shrink from alluding to the subject of by - love.

Platen (غزلیات). He imitated form of Persian poetry also (قافیہ و ردیف) even metrical rules. He studied Persian for this purpose. The book that gave him impulse.

1) Hammer's translation of حافظ
2) Geothe's Diwan [Goethe's Divan]
3) Rückert's version of a portion of رومی

In 1821 appeared his غزلیات and later آئینہ حافظ ، تازہ غزلیات etc.

These are not translations but original poems inspired by the reading of Hafiz. Persian metaphors used

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... عندلیب گل ، در عدن ، زلف مشکین ، لاله عذار ، ابروئے ہم چو ہلال .

Like Geothe [Goethe] he ignores the mystic side of Hafiz

The net result of Platen and Rückert's efforts introduction of a new poetic form. Besides غزل Platen wrote رباعی and قصیدہ. Napoleon.

Rückert

He knew Persian, Arabic and Samskrit. He is a devotee to the mystic poetry of Rumi and the joyous strain of Hafiz.

His غزلیات and مشرقی پھول (imitation of حافظ) are mostly imitations of Rumi. Persian metaphors

خرابات و مرغ روح ، آتش موسی ، نمود گل

Bodenstedt - Poems of Mirza شفیع . Original poems, at first published anonymously and supposed to be translation. Ran 140 editions in Germany, but this was not such success.

Sources - *Gulistan*, *Bustan*, Jami and Firdausi's

یوسف زلیخا, Ibn Yamin, Sa'adi, رومی ، انوری ، امیر معزی ، بہارستان

Minor Poets Löschka, Levitschnigg, Dihl (Wöhl?) Steiglitz, Hermanstahl. Daumer - "Hafiz" - a collection of original poems in the manner of Hafiz.

Leuthold غزلیات like Platen and Rückert.

Von Schack (scholar and poet like Rückert).

Influenced by عمر خیام story of انصاف محمود غزنوی

Story of ہاروت ماروت . But the Hafizian movement did not excite his enthusiasm; even for Bodensted's poems of Mirza Shafi he had no great admiration.

(It is a pity that غالب ، خان خاناں ، فغانی ، عرفی ، نظیری ، طالب آملی ، etc. never reached these poets).

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5) On the top of the page: "In reply to Geothe's [Goethe's] West

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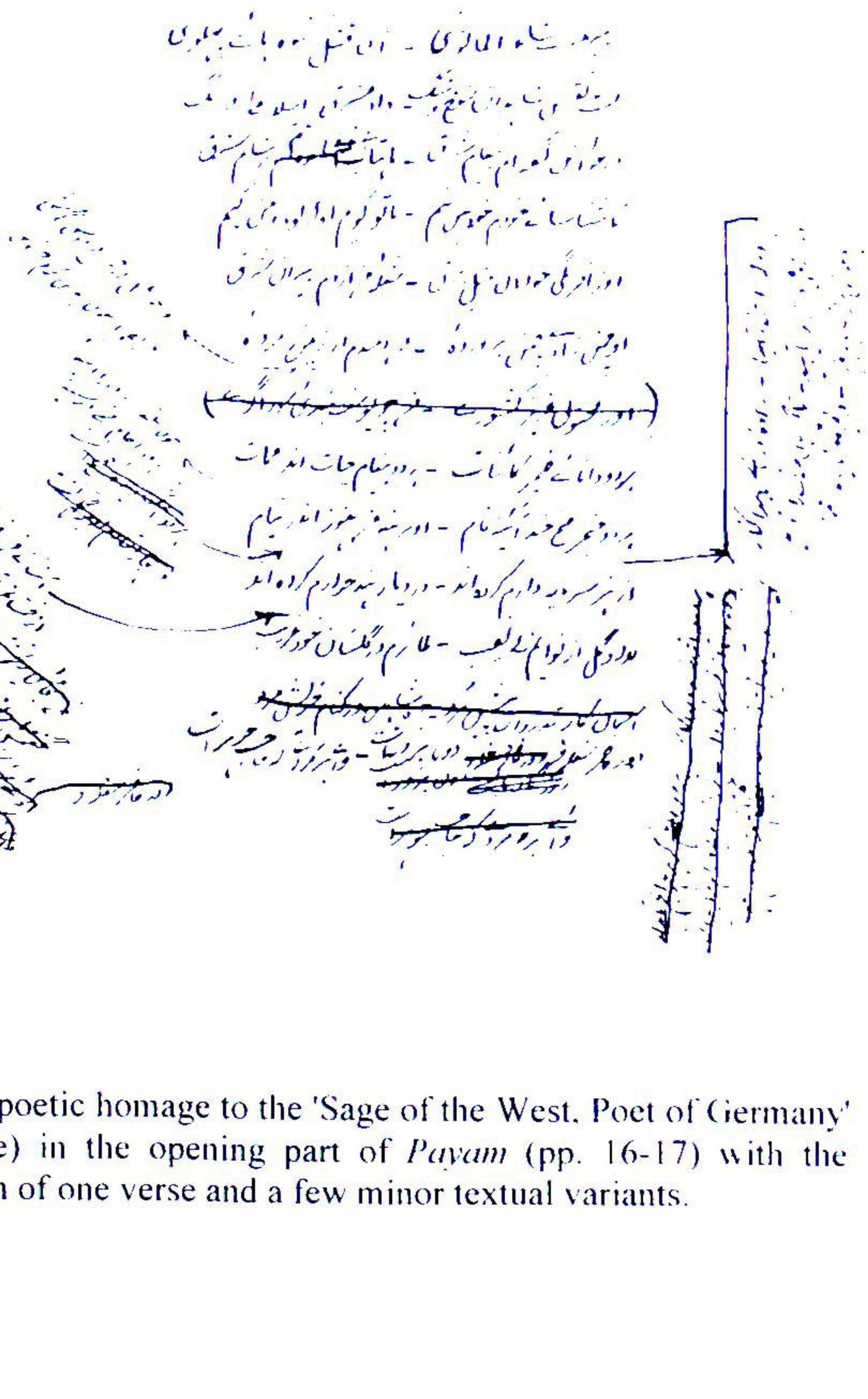
östlichen Diwan [Divan]". One Ghazal

Payam, pp. 156-157 and a poem "Buey Gul" (*Payam*, p. 89) are dated (July 1918 and 1918 respectively) Iqbal crossed off three verses and did not include the bracketed verse in the printed text



5) Iqbal's poetic homage to the 'Sage of the West, Poet of Germany' (Goethe) in the opening part of *Payam* (pp. 16-17) with the deletion of one verse and a few minor textual variants.

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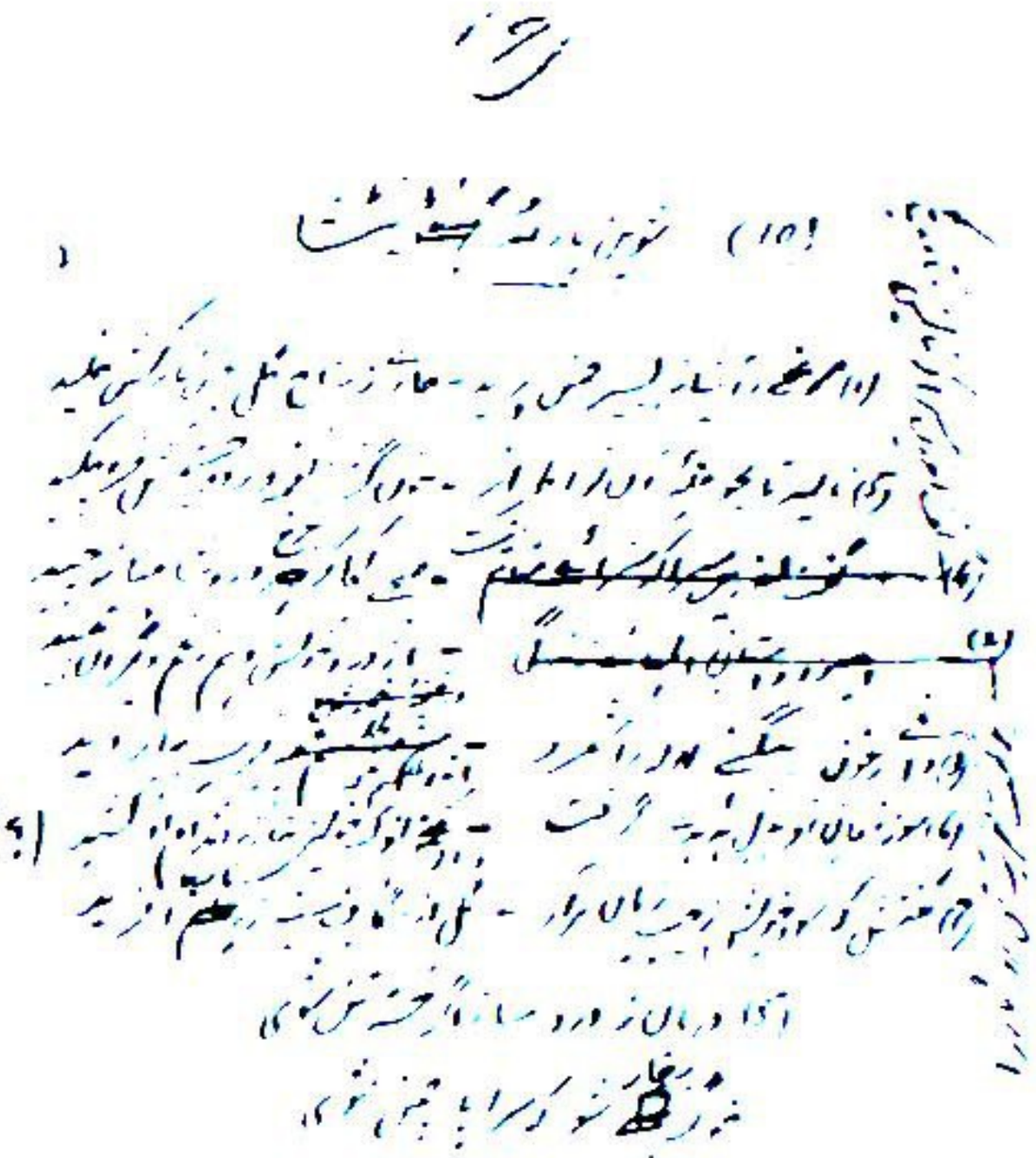
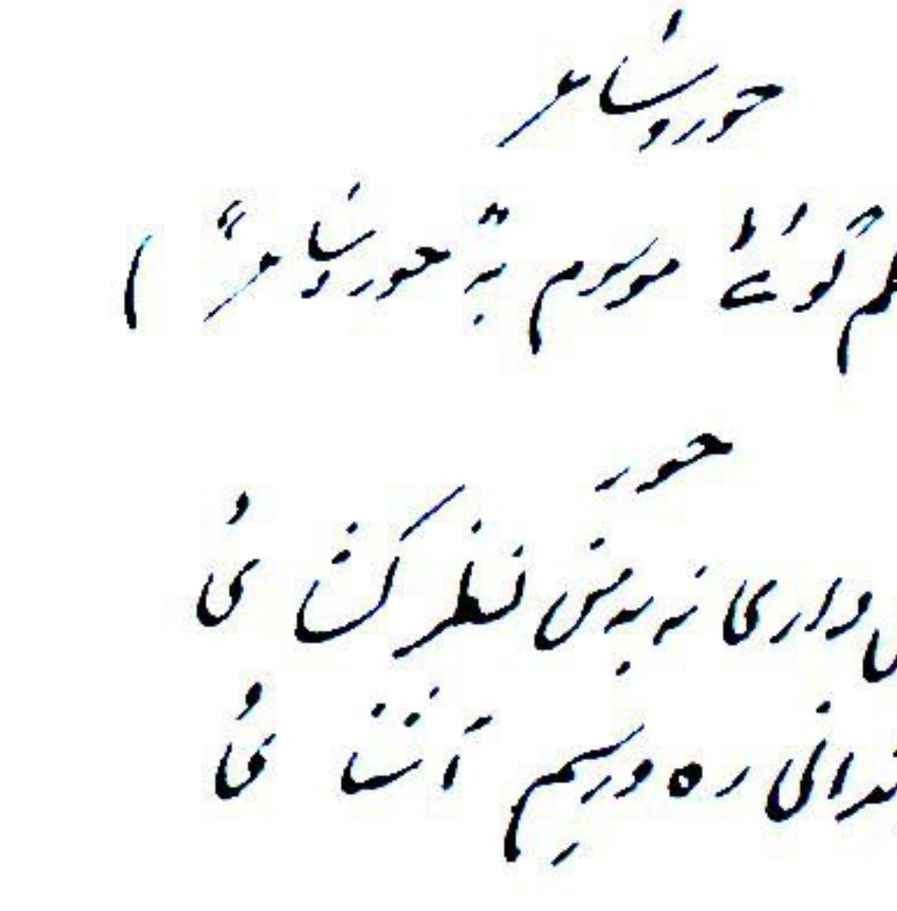


7) A poem under the heading "Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (*Payam*, pp. 194-195) but the original title was "Schopenhauer and Goethe" and Iqbal, later on, changed the name of Goethe by Nietzsche.



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همه ساز جستجوئے همه سوز آرزوئے
نفسے که می گدازی غزلے که می سرائی
بنوائے آفریدی همه جهان دلکشائے
که دارم بچشم آید چو طلسم سیمیائی!

شاعر

دل رهروان فریبی به کلام نیش دارے
مگر آنکه لذت او نرسد بنوک خارے
چه کنم که فطرت من به مقام در نسازد
دل ناصبور دارم چو جا به لاله زارے
چو نظر قرار گیرد به نگار خوبروئے
تپد آن زمان دل من پئے خوب تر نگارے
ز شرر ستاره جویم ز ستاره آفتابے
سر منزلے ندارم که بمیرم از قرارے
چو ز باده بهارے قدحے کشیده خیزم
غزلے دگر سرایم بهوائے نوبهارے
طلبم نهایت آن که نهایتے ندارد
نگاه ناشکیبے بدل امیدوارے
دل عاشقان بمیرد به بهشت جاودانے
نه نوائے دردمندے نه غمے نه غمگسارے!

3) "Houri and Poet" (in response to Goethe's poem 'Houri und Dichter').

(*Payam*, pp. 126-128).

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9) A brief poem entitled "Ghalib and Goethe" in the form of a dialogue, not included in the early printed editions of *Payam* (1923, 1924). Another deleted poem "Taqseem-i-Azal" with a brief note of Iqbal: "Suggested by Schiller's 'Die Teilung der Erde' (?)".

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جوئے آب

شد از جوئے کہ آب چہ مستانہ می رود — مانند کہکشاں بگریبان مرغزار
در خواب ناز بود بگہوارۂ سحاب — وا کرد چشم شوق ناخوش کوہسار
از سنگ ریزہ نغمہ کشاید خرام او — سیمائے او چو آئینہ بے رنگ و بے غبار

زی بحر بے کرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود

در راہ او بہار پریخانہ آفرید — نرگس دمید و لالہ دمید و سمن دمید
گل عشوہ داد و گفت یکے پیش پا بایست — خندید غنچہ و سر دامان او کشید
تا آشنائے جلوہ فروشان سبز پوش — صحرا برید و سینۂ کوہ و کمر درید

زی بحر بے کرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ رود

نوٹ: "جوئے آب" گوئٹے کی مشہور نظم موسوم بہ "نغمۂ محمد" کا ایک نہایت آزاد ترجمہ ہے
اس نظم میں المانی شاعر نے زندگی کے اسلامی تخیل کو نہایت خوبی سے بیان کیا ہے۔ اصل میں یہ ایک مجوزہ اسلامی
ڈرامے کا نغمہ تھی جس کی تکمیل اس سے نہ ہو سکی۔ اس ترجمے سے کوئی ادبی غرض مدنظر نہیں
صرف گوئٹے کا نقطۂ نگاہ دکھانا مقصود ہے۔

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صد جوئے دشت و مرغ و کہستان و باغ و راغ — گفتند "اے بسیط زمین پا تو ساز خار
ما را کہ راہ از تنک آبی نبردہ ایم — از دستبرد ریگ بیابان نگاہ دار"
وا کردہ سینہ را بہواہائے شرق و غرب — در بر گرفتہ ہمسفران زلون و زار

زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
با صد ہزار گوہر یکدانہ می رود

دریائے پر خروش! ز بند و شکن گذشت — از تنگنائے وادی و کوہ و دمن گذشت
یکساں چو سیل کردہ نشیب و فراز را — از کاخ شاہ و بارہ و کشت و چمن گذشت
بیتاب و تند و تیز و جگر سوز و بیقرار — در ہر زماں بتازہ رسید از کہن گذشت

زی بحر بیکرانہ چہ مستانہ می رود
در خود یگانہ از ہمہ بیگانہ می رود

---

10) "Juay Aab" (*Payam*, pp. (129-30), not included in the first edition of *Payam* ((1923). According to the footnote, it is a free translation of Goethe's "Mahomets Gesang".

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صبا بہ گلشنِ ویمر[1] سلامِ ما برساں
کہ چشمِ نکتہ وراں خاکِ آں دیار افروخت

بیار بادہ کہ گردوں بکامِ ما گردید
مثالِ غنچہ نواہا ز شاخسار دمید
خورم بیادِ تنک نوشیٔ امامِ حرم
کہ جز بہ صحبتِ یارانِ راز داں نچشید
فزوں قبیلۂ آں پختہ کار باد کہ گفت
چراغِ راہِ حیات است جلوۂ امید
نواز حوصلۂ دوستاں بلند تر است
غزل سرا شدم آنجا کہ ہیچکس نشنید

---

[1] جرمنی میں ایک شہر ہے جہاں گوئٹے نے اپنی زندگی کا بہت سا حصہ بسر کیا اور بعد انتقال وہیں دفن ہوا

1) Last line of Ghazal (*Payam*, ed. 1923, p. 144, other editions, p. 155) in which Iqbal mentions the name of Weimar, as in his

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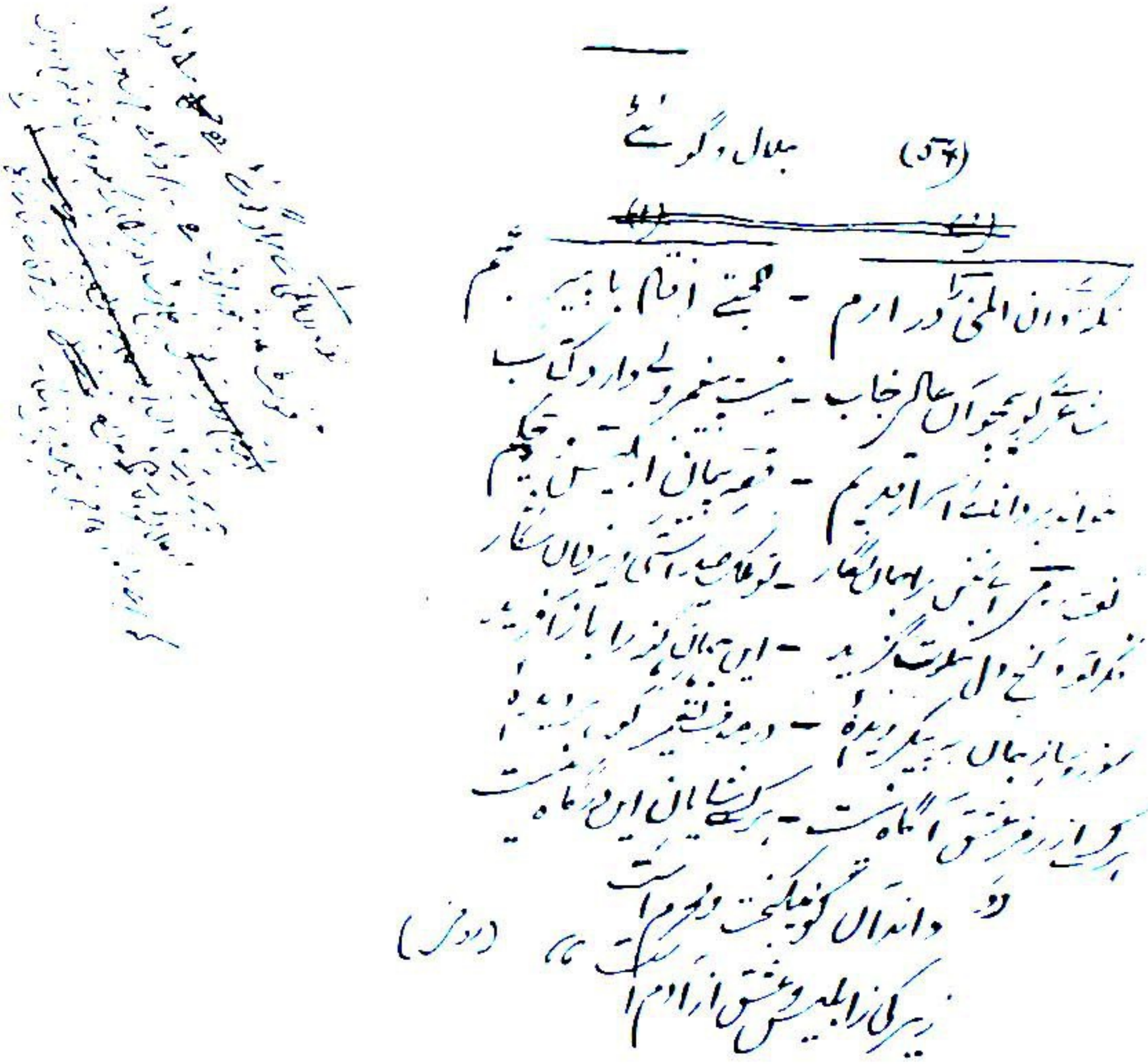
early Urdu poem on Ghalib (in *Bang*,p. 26), with a brief note on this city where Goethe died.



12) "Jalal and Goethe" (*Payam*, pp. 206-207) with a footnote on Goethe and his *Faust*. Though brief, but this comment reveals that how deeply and attentatively Iqbal read this book.

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جلالؒ و گوئٹے

نکتہ دانِ المنی را دارم — صحبتے افتاد با پیرِ عجم
شاعرے کو ہمچو آں عالی جناب — نیست پیغمبر ولے دارد کتاب
خواند بر دانائے اسرارِ قدیم — قصّۂ پیمانِ ابلیس و حکیم
گفت رومی سے سخن را جان نگار — تو ملک صیدستی و یزداں شکار
فکرِ تو در کنجِ دل خلوت گزید — ایں جہانِ کہنہ را باز آفرید
سوز و سازِ جاں بہ پیکر دیدۂ — در صدف تعمیرِ گوہر دیدۂ

---

۱۳ نکتہ دانِ المنی سے مراد گوئٹے ہے۔ جس کا ڈراما "فوسٹ" مشہور و معروف ہے۔ اِس ڈرامے میں شاعر نے حکیم فوسٹ اور شیطان کے عہد و پیمان کی قدیم روایت کے پیرائے میں انسان کے امکانی نشو و نما کے تمام مدارج اِس خوبی سے بتائے ہیں کہ اس سے بڑھ کر کمالِ فن خیال میں نہیں آسکتا۔

13) Above-mentioned poem from the first ed. of *Payam* (1923, pp. 182-183), having some deletions only in the footnote for the second ed. (1924).

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1. Prince Said Halim Pasha
2. Mustafa Kamal Pasha
3. Reza Shah
4. Amanullah Khan (Afghan)
5. Jamaluddin Afghani
6. Ataturk Pasha
7. Nadir Shah (Shia o Sunni)
8. Ahmad Shah Abdali
9. Mirza Muhammad Ali Bab (Qajar)
10. Nadir of Dacca
11. Lord Kitchener
12. Mussolini
13. ~~Goethe~~ Gandhi
14. Karl Marx o Lenin
15. Syed Ahmad Khan
16. Tagore
17. Yakub Beg } China o Russia. ?
18. Shamil }
19. Roosevelt } America o England
20. Lloyd George }
21. Abdul Karim of Rif
22. England
23. Kashmir
24. (Germany — Goethe, Hafiz, Dante
25. Shakespeare, Rumi & Mirabeau (Luther)
26. اقبال, Nur Jehan, etc

1. Tabban (Afghan)
2. Jamaluddin Afghani
3. Nadir Shah
4. Amanullah
5. Shah Wali Ullah
6. Najeeb Ud Setara
7. Kamil Khan (Zaid)
8. Abdul Rahman Afghanistan.

27. Iraq & the League of Nations

Iraq & League of Nations

14) *Javid-Nameh* (Ms., Iqbal Museum, Nr. AIM-1977-202). In the beginning, Iqbal has listed the names of those notable personalities belonging to the different domains of life who were included in the book (1st ed. 1932). No. 24 of the list shows that Goethe was also present in his preliminary outline of the book, but was dropped later on from the galaxy of these celebrities.

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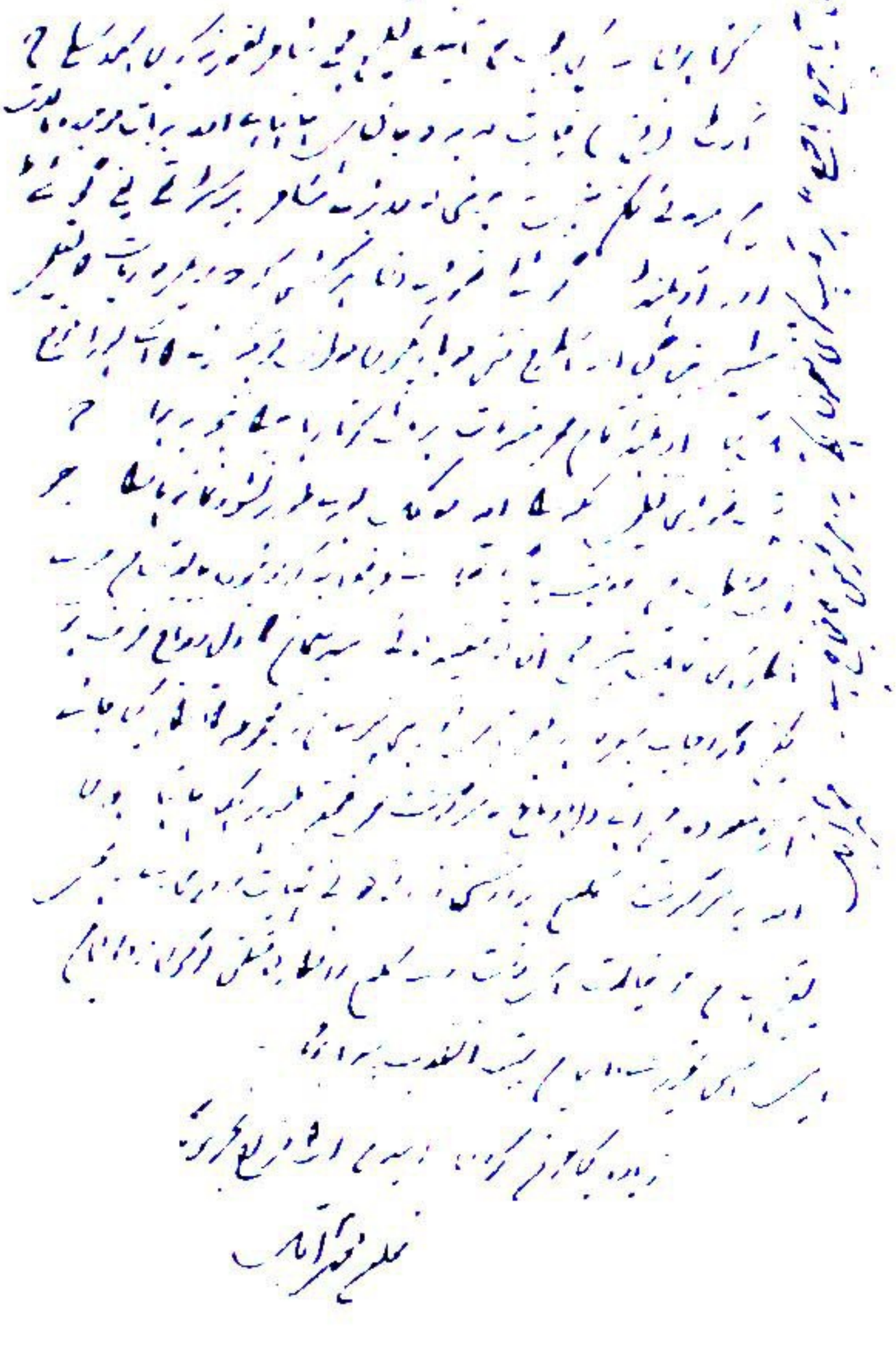

5) Iqbal's letter to Sayyid Salaiman Nadvi (dated 10 October, 1919). Iqbal refers Goethe in these words: "Two great poets of Germany were lawyers, e.g. Goethe and Uhland. After practicing law for a short time, Goethe was appointed as the Educational Adviser to the State of Weimar and, thus, got an opportunity to pay more attention to the minutiae of the art."

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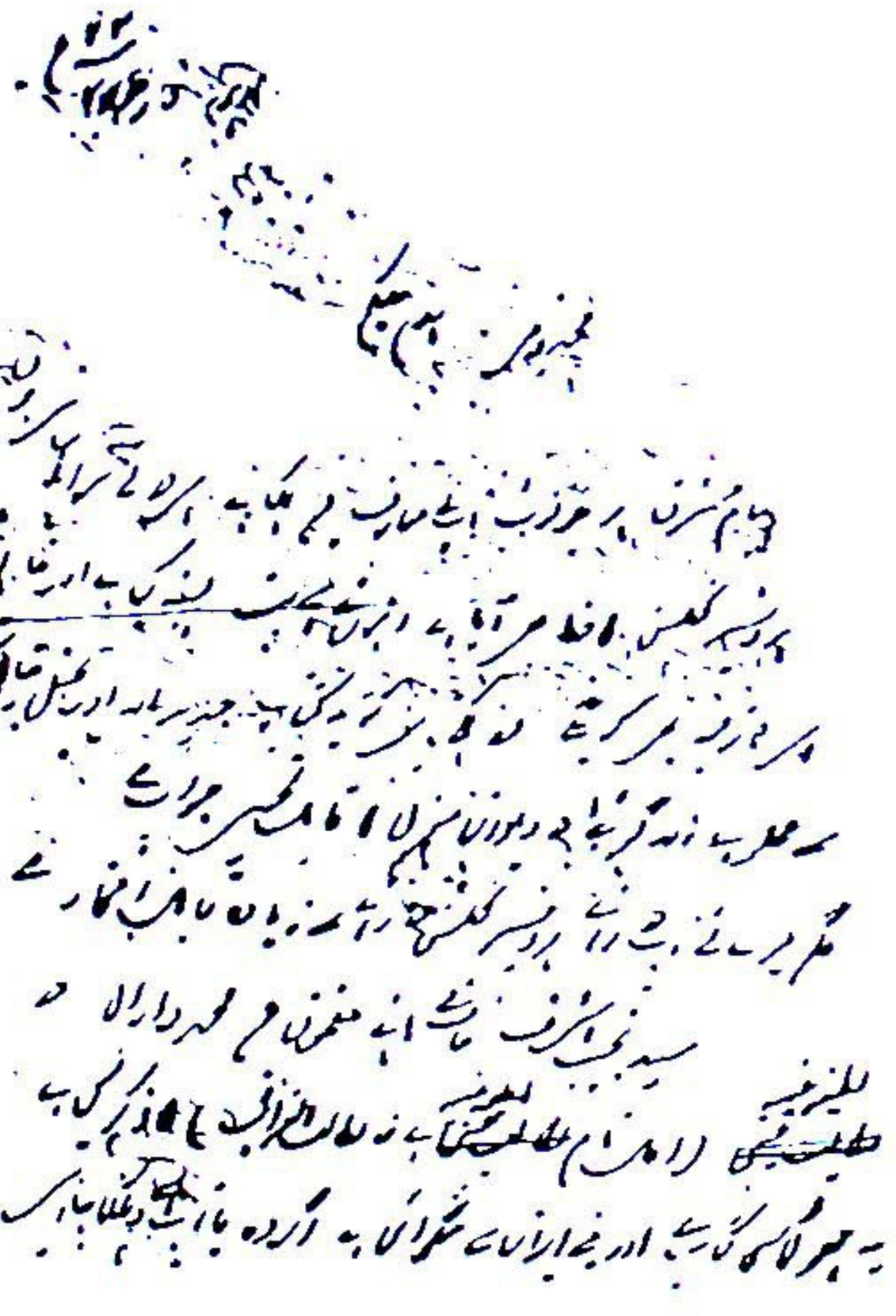
"The famous prophetic poet of Germany, Goethe, examined deeply the spiritual unrest of the contemporary youth and gave them message.

Art still has truth

Take refuge there.

At present the situation in the Islamic world is very similar to that of Germany's in Napoleon's time and my message for the Muslim youngmen is the same as of his (Goethe's), having only an alteration that I have replaced art for religion and its reason is obvious. Art provides satisfaction but lacks power. Religion has both satisfaction and power."



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17) Letter of Iqbal to Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi (dated 5 July 1923). Iqbal sent a copy of *Payam* to R.A. Nicholson who acknowledged it.

"I have received a letter of Prof. Nicholson. He has liked it [*Payam*] very much and perhaps he would like to translate it. He writes that this book is full of modern and original thoughts and a commendable response to Goethe's West - Eastern Divan".

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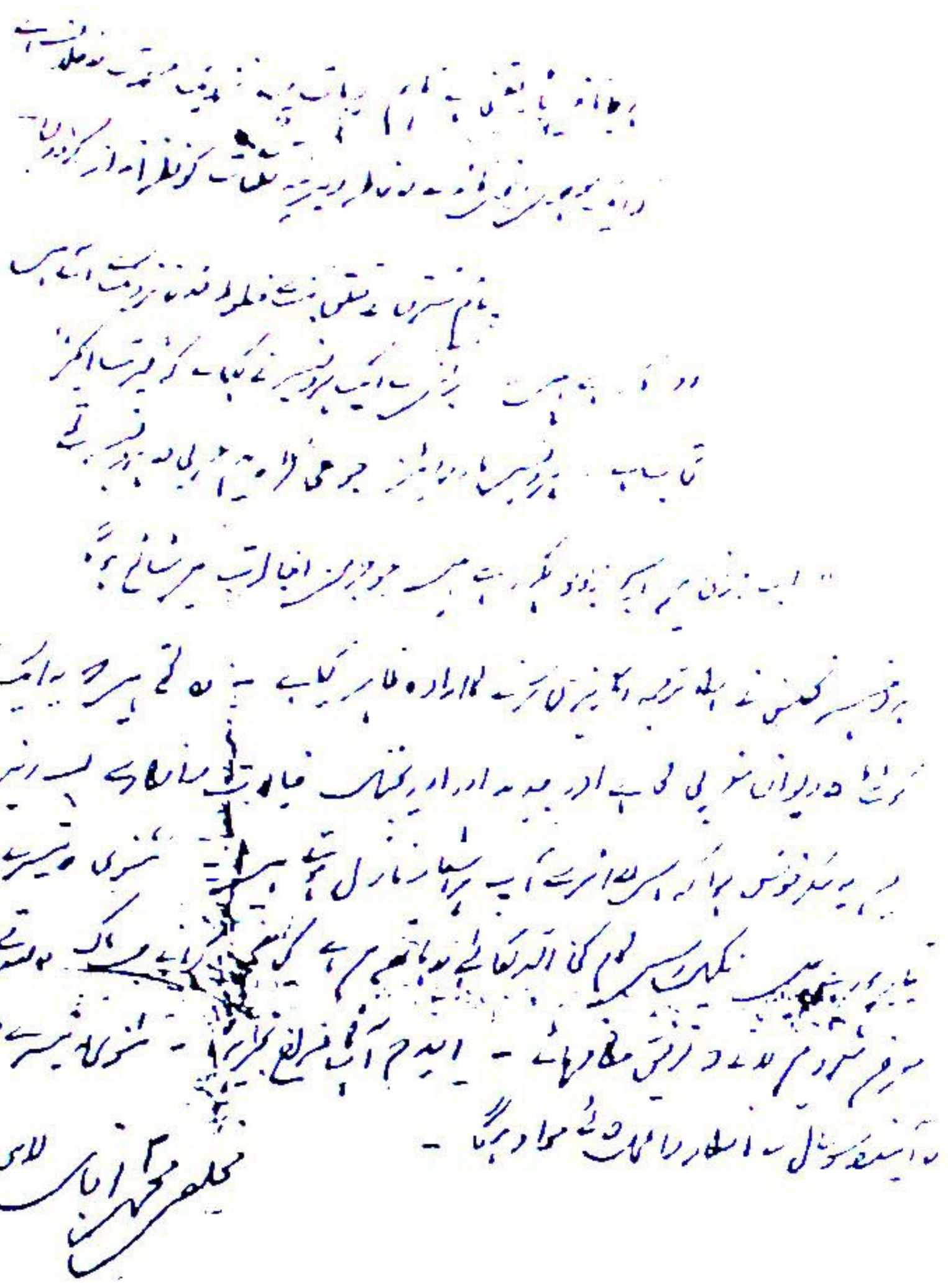

18) Iqbal's letter to Muhammad Niyaz-ud-Din Khan (dated 20 July 1920):

"Many letters have come and still are coming from the distant places about *Payam-i-Mashriq*. A professor from Berlin has said that it is a 'strange book.' Professor Horovitz, who was a professor of Arabic in Aligarh University, is now writing a review on it and that will be published in German newspapers.

Professor Nicholson intends to translate it in English. He says that it is a commendable response to Goeth's *West-östliche Divan* and it is full of modern and original thoughts."

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DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
LAHORE.

16th July 1930

My dear Lady Arnold,

No sympathetic words can console you in the terrible shock which came to us all when the news of the untimely death of Sir Thomas Arnold arrived in India. He is now loved by his pupils and all those who came in contact with him. Your words expressing sympathy can bring but little consolation to you, but I assure you that your grief is shared by people in England, India and all Eastern countries where his work as a great Orientalist was known. Indeed his death is a great loss to British Scholarship as well as to the world of Islam whose English literature he served with unrivalled zeal. The last moments of his earthly life is one his love & devotion, for it was his contact that formed my soul & fed it as the sun feeds the earth from our point of view that Immortal flame of life is not extinguished, but it is only for convenience that we, like him, say 'more light' I earnestly pray that God may grant eternal peace to his loving soul & may give you & your family patience enough to bear with fortitude the loss caused by his untimely death.

Yours sincerely
M Iqbal

19) Iqbal's letter to Lady Arnold, wife of Sir Thomas Arnold, (16 July 1930).

Iqbal refers the last two words 'more light' uttered by Goethe before he died, without mentioning the name of Goethe.

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Stray Reflections

Muhammad Iqbal
27th April 10.

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A

Our soul discovers itself when
we come into contact with
a great mind. It can't rest
until I had realised the
Infinitude of Goethe's imagination
That I discovered the narrow
breadth of my own.

I confess I owe a great deal to
Angel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza
Mirza Abdul Qader Bedil and
Wordsworth. The first two led
me into the "inside" of things;
the 3rd & 4th taught me how to
remain oriental in spirit and
expression after having assimilated
foreign ideals of poetry, and the
last saved me from Atheism
in my Student days.

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It is Jesus' Faith — and it would likelihood have been written by the Galilean Fishermen — which reveals the spiritual ideals of the Incarnation. And the Sermon are fully conscious of it.

Secker picked up any an ordinary legend and filled it with the whole experience of the 19th Century — eg the entire experience of the human race. His transformation of an ordinary legend into a systematic expression of man's ultimate ideal is nothing of short of Divine-Human-ness. It is as good an exertion of a spiritual Eminence out of the chaos of formless matter.

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No religious System can ignore the moral Value of Suffering. He X error of the Builders of Christianity was that they based their religion ~~on the moral Value~~ of Suffering alone, and ignored the moral Value of the factors. Yet such a religious System was a necessity to the European mind in order to supplement the triumphant but one sided Hellenic Ideal. The Greek dream of life was certainly a test, as Goethe says, but it was resting on the color-element of Suffering which was supplied by Christianity.

Nature was not quite decided what to make of Plato — poet or Philosopher. The same indecision she appears to have felt in the case of Goethe.

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If you will study the working of the human mind you will go to Windsor, and, James or Sloan. But a real insight into human nature

& M. Shakespeare and Goethe reflect the Divine thought of Creation. There is, however, one important difference between them. The reader or Englishman Reflects the universal, the Educated German, the Unusual.

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No nation was so fortunate as
the Germans. They gave birth to
Goethe at the time when Faust
was bringing in pathetical cries
"Two souls unintermingled strungs!

Thus Faust is a symbol of
our's. In reality he is humanity -
understood

You can get from Goethe alone.

20) Iqbal's personal dairy entitled "Stray Reflections", posthumously published under the editorship of his son, Dr. Javid Iqbal. Iqbal has frequently referred Goethe that shows his utmost reverence for him.

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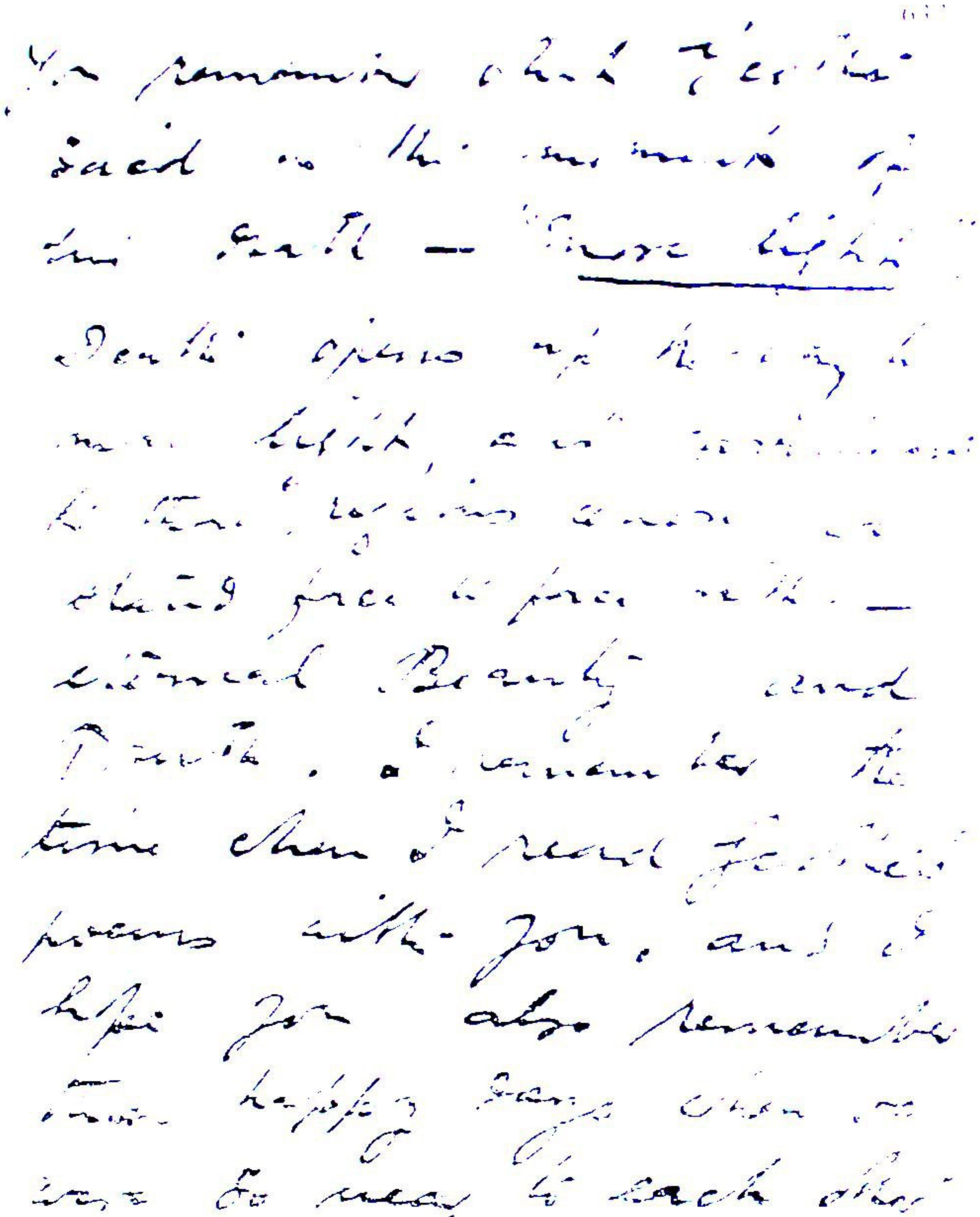

21) Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast (Lahore, 30th July, 1913).

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Now, and start a
new plan if any
of many come to
Europe next year
But we do not
know, at present
or [illegible]
and all depends
on circumstances
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
and as soon
more or
or [illegible]
we shall to the
make a pilgrimage
to the sacred [illegible]
of the great

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22) Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast (Lahore, 7th June 1914)

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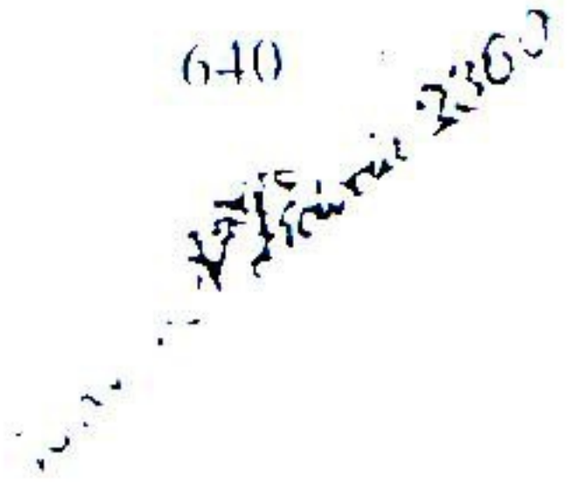

23) Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast (London, 20th October 1931)

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24) Iqbal's letter to Emma Wegenast (Lahore, 17th January 1932)

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I love a straightforward honest life; my heart is in perfect unison with my tongue. People respect and admire hypocrisy. If hypocrisy brings me fame & respect and admiration I would rather die unknown & unlamented. Let the many-headed monster of public give their decrees of respect to others who act and live in accordance with. their false ideals of religion & morality - I cannot stoop to pay respect to their conventions & sh. Suppress the female freedom of man's mind. Byron, Goethe and Shelly are not respected by their contemporaries — although I am far superior to them as poets how I am beyond their comprehension & in their esteem.

How I wish you were here! You were also fond of music. I remember I introduced you to Plato — but there it ended. We read so little of it that

25) Iqbal's letter to Atiyta Begum (Lahore, 17th July 1909)

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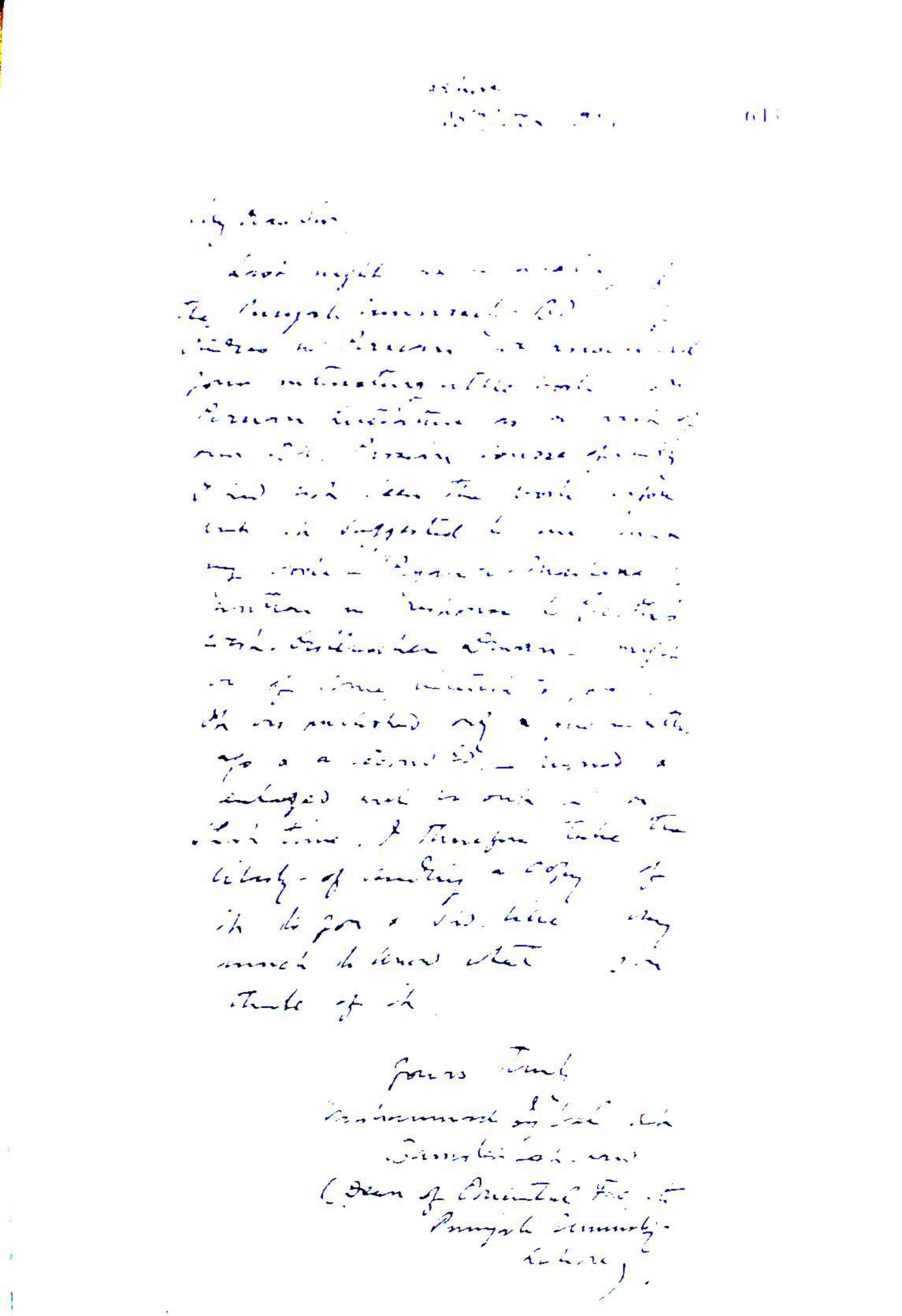

26) Iqbal's letter to Reuben Levy (dated 30th October, 1930) in which he mentions *Payam* as a reference to Goethe's *Divan*.

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برسر تربت ما چون گذری همت خواه
که زیارتگه رندان جهان خواهد بود

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شجاع الدین شفا

با مقدمه وشرح وحواشی وتطبیق متن با اشعار شعرای ایران و سایر منابع شرقی

چاپ اول ــ آذرماه ۱۳۲۸

نشریه کتابخانه سقراط ، ناشر آثار جاویدان

حق چاپ برای مترجم محفوظ

27) Persian translation of the *Divan* by Shuja-ud-Din Shafa (Teheran, 1328 sh.)

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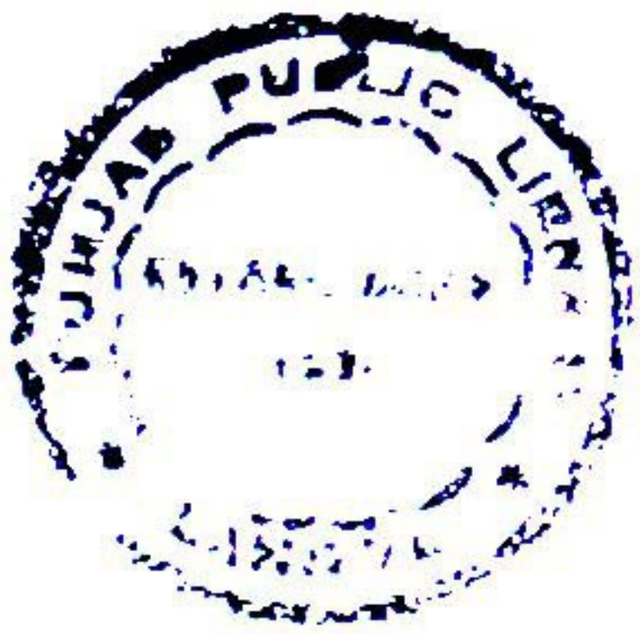
જર્મન જગતકવિ

ગિટેનું

પશ્ચિમી દીવાન

ભાષા-તરજમાર

સય્યિદ અઝીમુદ્દીન 'મુનાદી'



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KARACHI

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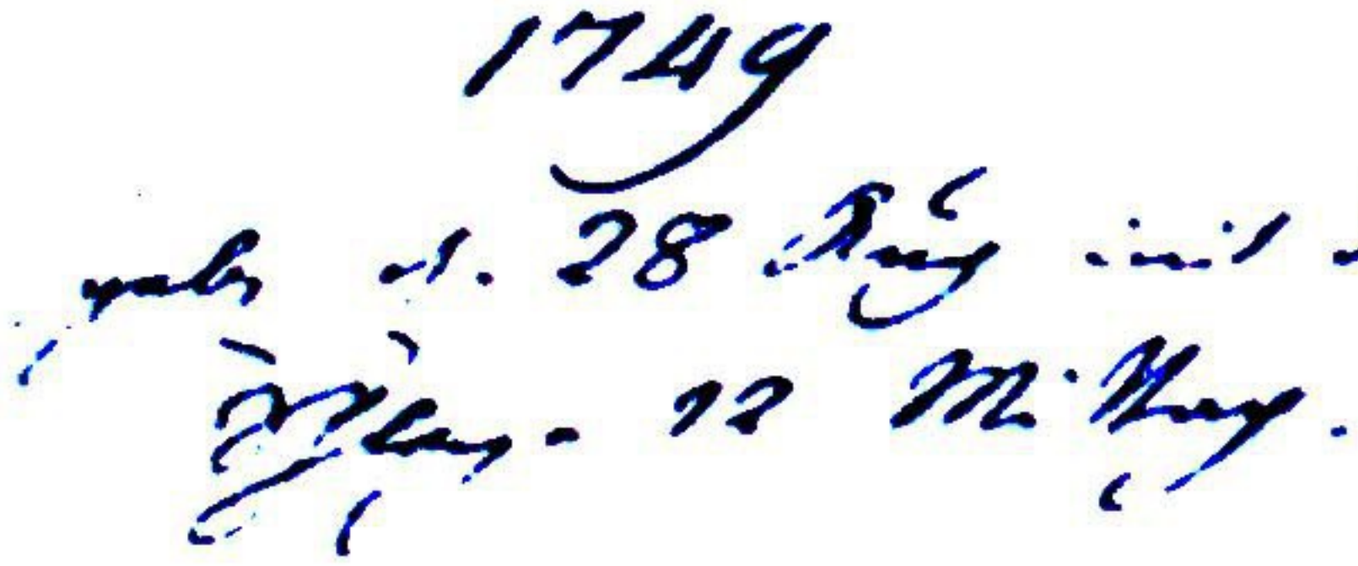
28) Gujarati translation of Goethe's *Diwan*, by Sayyid Azeemuddin Munadi of Surat and published from Karachi (Mujahid Printery) in 1960, with an English foreword by Dr. H. von Truetschler, German Ambassador in Pakistan.

GOETHE



1) Goethe's date of birth. From the first script of his autobiography "Dichtung und Wahrheit", written in October 1809.

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2) His father, Joh. Caspar Goethe. Imperial Councillor. Goethe himself describes his father as an affectionate and serious man. The father's ancestors were craftsmen and peasants of Central Germany. Towards the end of his life, his mental faculties weakened, and he died in 1782.

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3) His mother, Kath. Elisabeth née Textor. In her mature age. At marriage she was seventeen and after one year Goethe was born. She died in 1808. The delightful "Letters of Frau Councilor Goethe" are the mother's first monument.

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4) The house of his birth in Frankfurt a. M. When Goethe was five years old, his father had his two very old houses on Grosser Hirschgraben, rebuilt into one house for modern requirements. The building was destroyed during the Second World War in 1944, but has been restored to its original condition.

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5) Goethe at the age of 16 years .Oil painting by A.J. Kern (1765).

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6) Goethe. Oil painting by anonymous; without date (about 1765). From the personal collection of Goethe's young friend, Charitas Mexiner (1750 to 1777).

Marfat.com

7) Charlotte Buff (1753-1828), his friend's fiancée. She was engaged to Kestner with whom Goethe had a cordial friendship. He had no intention of concealing his strong attraction to the dainty blonde girl than he had of contesting his highly respectable friend's claim to her. But, ultimately, the passion grew overwhelming and threatened to plunge him into a catastrophe. The poet saw no way out but to tear himself away in time. The pure, deep relationship among the three was preserved: it continued through a lively correspondence for years, and did not even dissolve after *Werther* appeared and subjected it to public discussion and misinterpretation.

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8) Lili Schönemann, Goethe's fiancé. At the beginning of 1775, Goethe met at a house concert the sixteen year-old banker's daughter Lili Schönemann, who was a graceful and lovely girl. Soon he could not be without her, nor she without him. They became engaged, but despite their deep love, difficulties arose between the families. In songs full of pain and beauty Goethe gave words to his feelings.

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9) Goethe, a silhouette, by anonymous (approximately between 1765-1770). At the age of about 22 years.

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10) Goethe at the age of 24 years. Oil miniature by Johann Daniel Bager.

Marfat.com

11) Goethe, 25 years old. This portrait he gave to Lotte. The silhouette does not show a number of essential details of his face; but it gives all the more striking impression of the contours of the profile.

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12) Charlotte von Stein, his closest friend. A contemporary source described her as having very red cheeks and very black hair. Goethe felt powerfully attracted to this woman seven years older than himself, the wife of the Weimar Court's Master of the Horses. His letters and poems show the depths of his heart to this "only woman". Until his trip to Italy she exerted a profound influence on the poet's human development.

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13) Goethe, 27 years old: Drawing by G. M. Kraus. The Weimar artist Kraus, a native of Goethe's home town, caught more speakingly than other artists of that time the great fiery eye, the flashing vitality of the features, along with a certain self-control.

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14) Goethe at the age of 30 years. Pastel portrait by George Oswald May.

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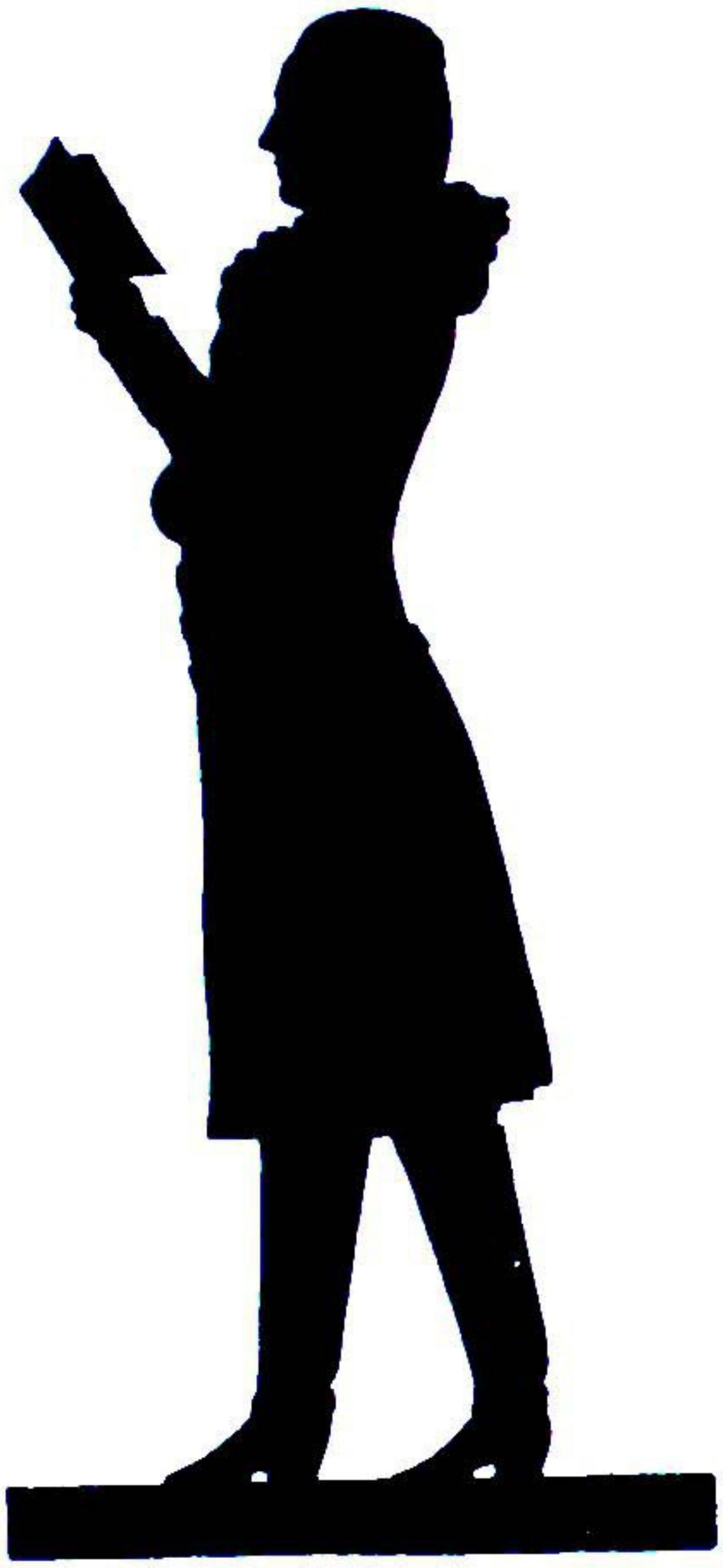

15) Goethe at about 31 years. Goethe was above medium height. and slim. This silhouette shows the markedly straight carriage which continued impressive even when he had grown old.

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16) Goethe in the Compagna. Painting by Tischbein. In this colossal painting, the artist presents him as a dignified figure sitting amidst the remains of some ancient edifice. against a landscape of buildings, ruins and distant mountain ranges. The conception of the picture is classicistic in the style of the period.

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17) Goethe about 1790: clay bust by Klauer. This fragment captures the vitality of Goethe's countenance. The artist, to whom we owe six busts of Goethe and other Weimar personalities, gives us a unique portrait of the classical Goethe.

Marfat.com

18) Goethe at 42: Copper engraving by Lips. The artist gives us the practical statesman Goethe here, the Goethe of the optical and anatomical studies.

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19) Christiane Vulpius: a drawing by Goethe. Shortly after his return from Italy, Goethe took into his home a young girl of humble origin, 23 years old; and treated her as his wife. She was pretty, but uneducated woman. Christiane loved Goethe with all her heart, and he loved her in her naturalness and devotion.

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20) Goethe at the age of 51: Chalk drawing by Bury.

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21) Goethe at the age of 58. Mask by C.G. Weisser, a court sculptor.

Marfat.com

22) At the age of sixty-five Goethe met the only woman who was intellectually congenial to him: Marianne Jung, thirty years old, of Austrian origin, a highly talented actress and the wife of the Frankfurt banker von Willemer. Goethe, who had just found new poetic revelations in the Persian poetry of Hafiz, was the "Hatem" whose verses were answered by a living "Suleika" in songs. As usual, Goethe renounced Marianne and never saw her again. He included her poems in the *Divan* as his own. When he sent back her own letters a month before his death, he spoke of the most beautiful days of his life.

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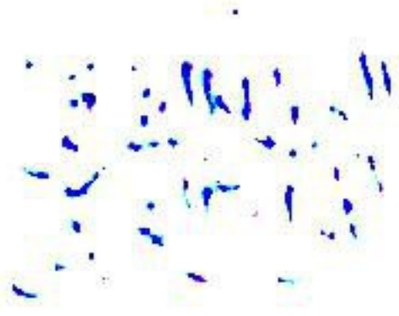

23) Through a German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* by Joseph von Hammer - Purgstall (1814), Goethe became absorbed in the Persian poetry. He took motifs and forms of this poetry which enabled him to impart to his contemporaries, through comparisons that were both exotic and homely, something of his own broad view of the world. He said to Zelter in 1820, one year after the publication of the *Diwan*: "This Mohammedan religion, mythology, morality give my poetry a scope befitting my years. Unconditional surrender to the unfathomable will of God; a serene view of the movement of life on earth with its circling, spiralling repetitions; love, the attraction having between two worlds, everything tangible itself symbolically dissolving."

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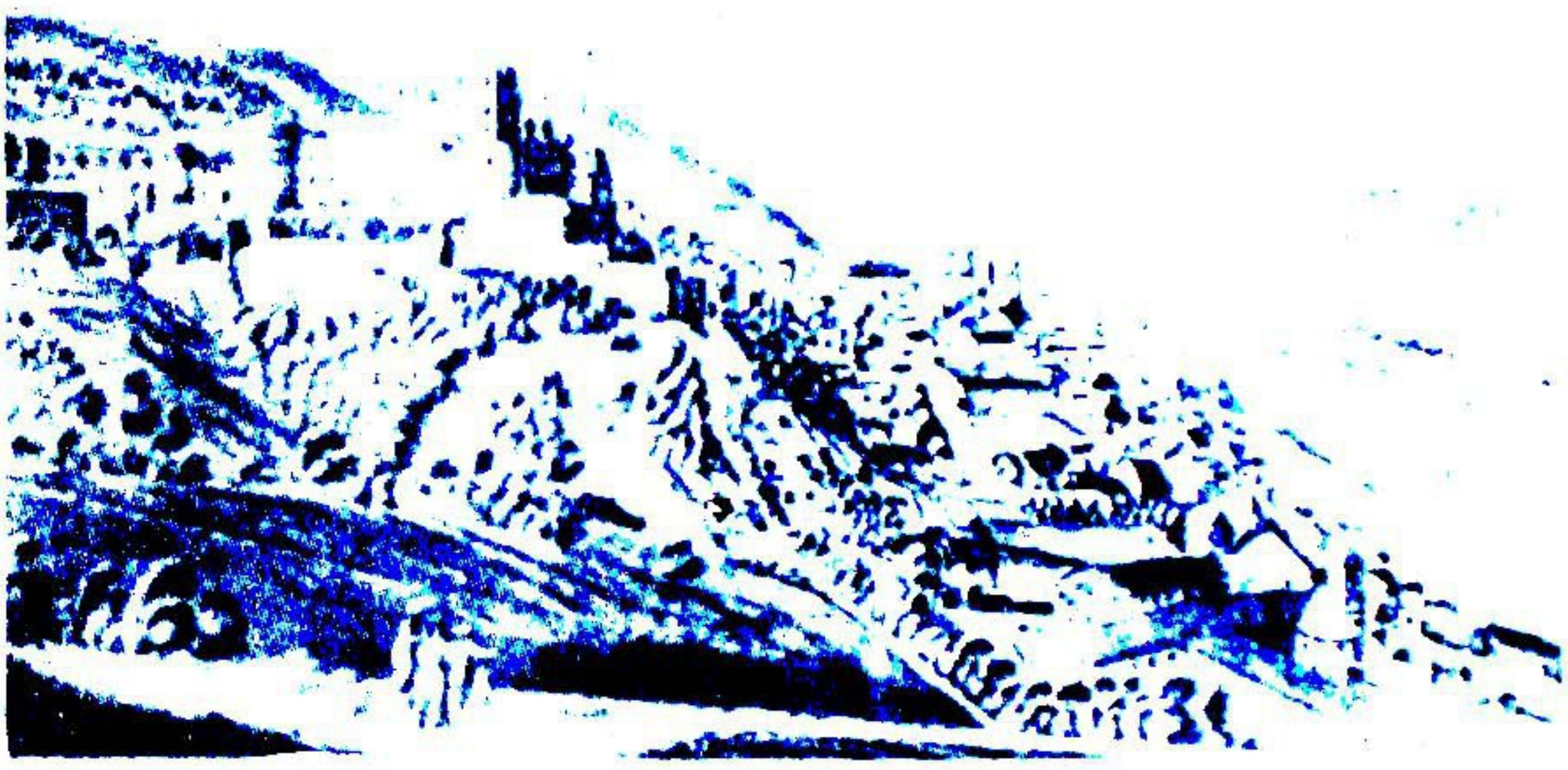

24) City and Castle of Heidelberg. Both Goethe and Iqbal spent a memorable time in this city where the hearts are usually lost.

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Der

Diwan

von

Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis.

Aus dem Persischen

zum

erstenmal ganz übersetzt

von

Joseph v. Hammer,

K. K. Rath und Hof-Dollmetsch, Mitglied der Academie von Göttingen, Korrespondent des Instituts von Holland.

Erster Theil.

Kes tschn Hafis nekesched es ruchi endische nikab
Ta seri sulf arusani suchan schane sedend.

Keiner hat noch Gedanken,
Wie Hafis, entschleiert,
Seit die Locken der Wortbraut
Sind gekräuselt worden.

CIX. Buch. Dal.

Stuttgart und Tübingen,
in der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung.
1812.

25) German translation of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. 1st volume (Stuttgart and Tübingen. 1812).

Marfat.com

(26) Goethe at the age of 68. This picture of Jagemann agrees completely with the description given us by Grüner in 1820: "Goethe was well - built, tall, strong and robust, the brownish hair somewhat faded, with a high, vaulted brow, the eye still clear and fiery, the face white and reddish. His features were strong, the chin rather prominent."

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West-Oestlicher Divan.

Versammelt
von
Goethe.

In den Jahren 1814 und 1815.

27) Goethe's *West - Oestlicher Diwan* (1814-15). (in: *Taschenbuch für Damen auf das Jahr 1817*). Citta. Turban by L. Hess).

Marfat.com

28) First edition of *Divan* (Stuttgart, 1819).

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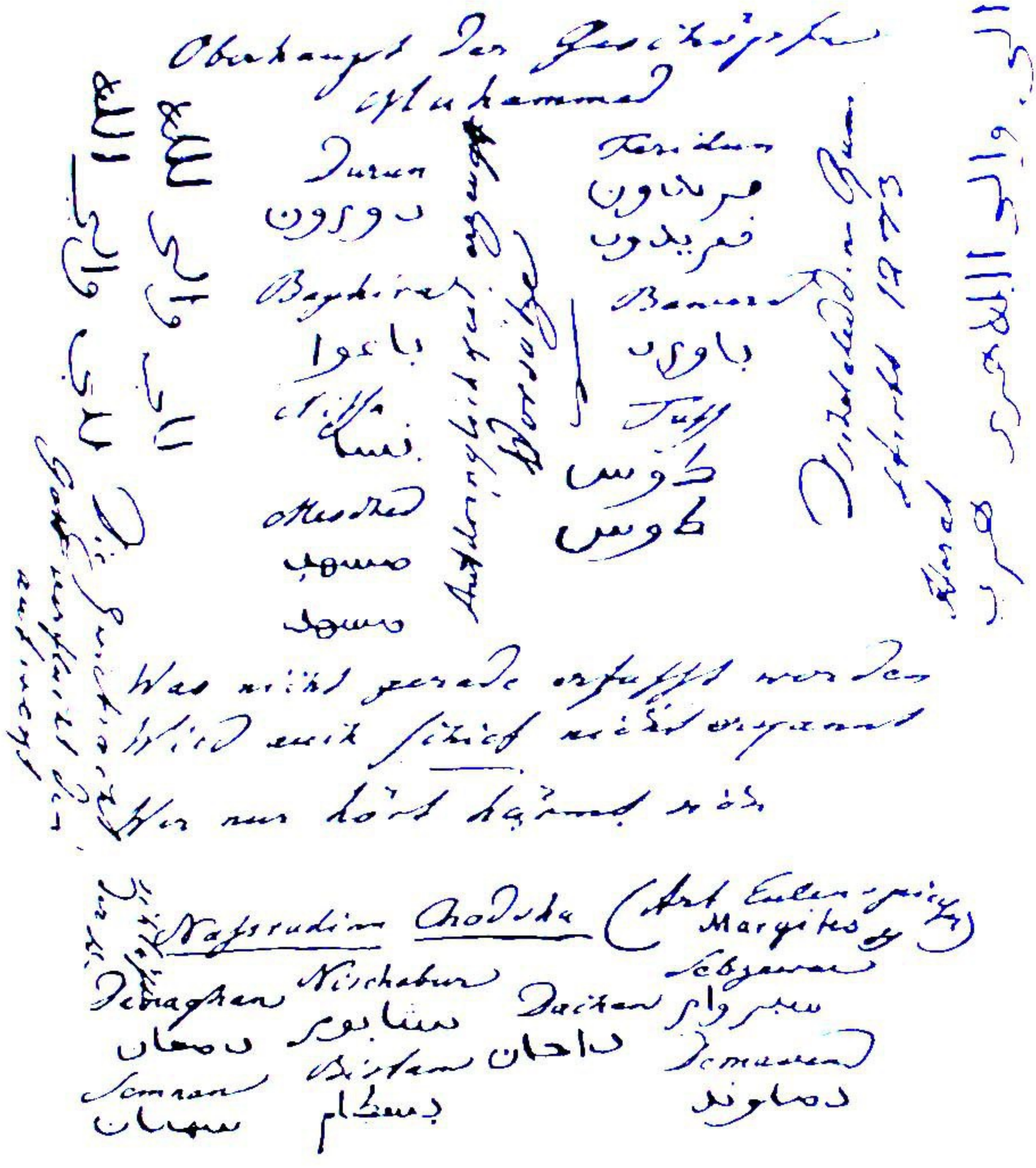

29) Specimen of Goethe's Arabic calligraphy. A few names of persons (like Rumi) and the places have been written in Roman and Arabic characters. (Manuscript in "Goethe und Schiller Archive." Weimar).

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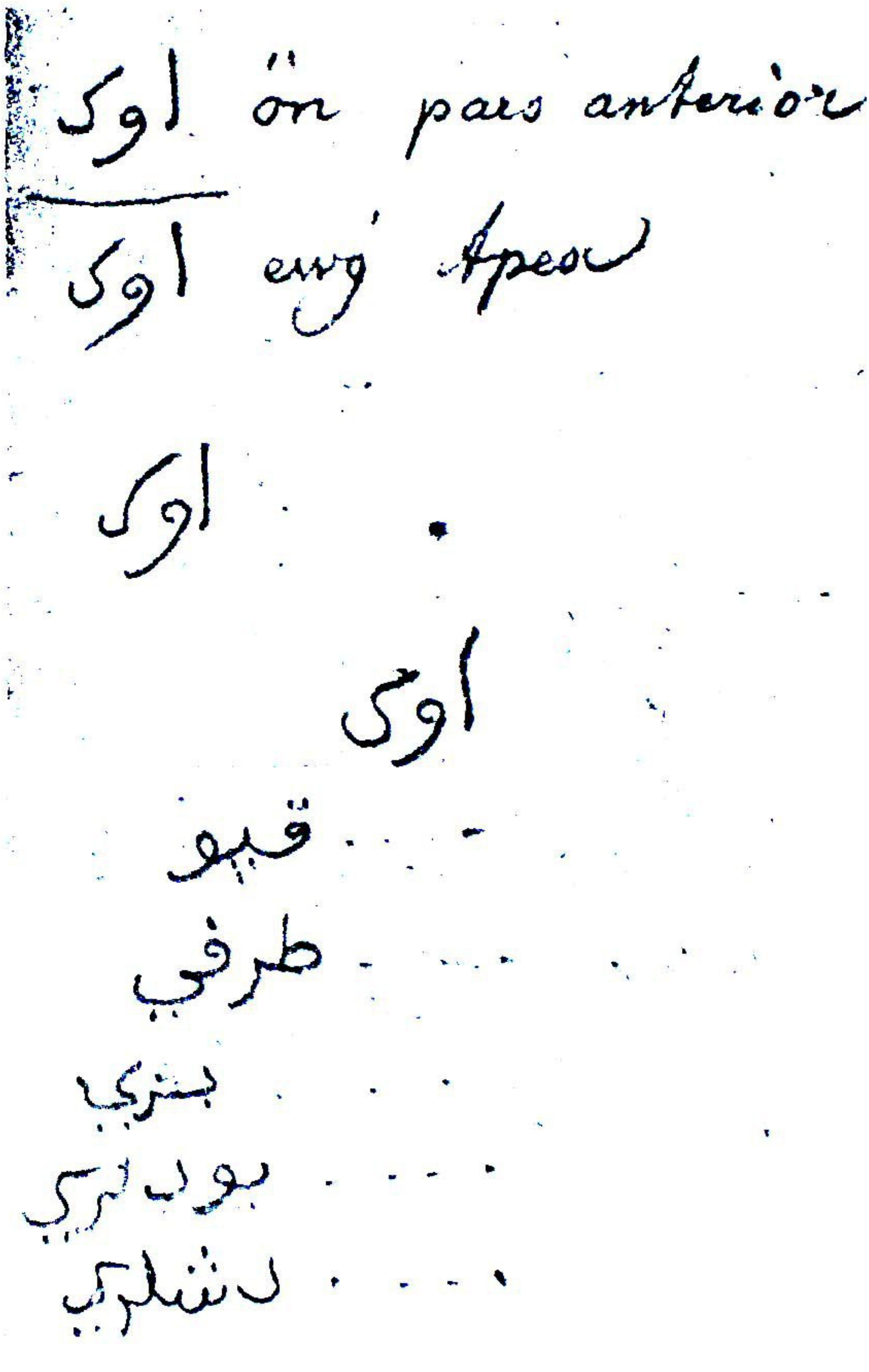

30) Arabic characters in Goethe's handwriting

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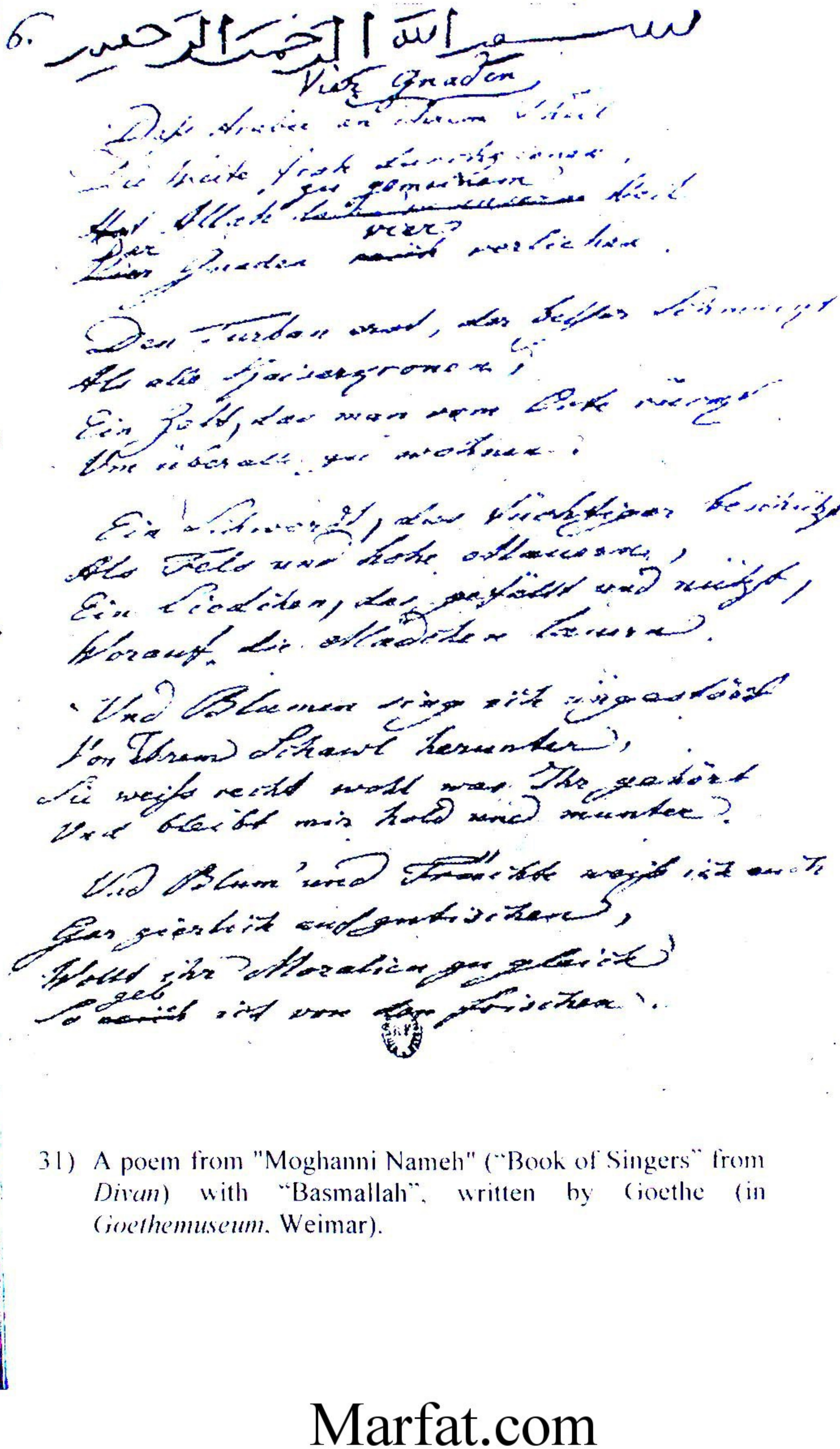

31) A poem from "Moghanni Nameh" ("Book of Singers" from *Divan*) with "Basmallah", written by Goethe (in *Goethemuseum*, Weimar).

Marfat.com

32) 'Willemer Turm' situated in the Mühlberg near Frankfurt a.M. (Postcard 1930).

Marfat.com

33) Goethe's publisher, Johann Friedrich Cotta. On his third journey to Switzerland in 1797, Goethe met Cotta in Tübingen and in 1806 he became Goethe's sole publisher.

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34) Ulrike von Levetzow; Goethe's last passion. She was just nineteen, innocent and beautiful girl, filled with an honest reverence for the poet. He spent happy days in her company and became inflamed with such passion that he asked for her hand through Karl August, but the family evaded an answer. He departed, and it required the utmost spiritual exertion to overcome this love, which haunted him for a long time.

Marfat.com

35) Goethe's house on the Frauenplan, Weimar. The house, built at the beginning of the 18th century in which Goethe had already lived from 1782 to 1789, was given to him in 1792 by the Duke. Since 1885, the house became public property after the death of the last heir and was opened as a worthy memorial. After the heavy bomb damage of 1945, it was restored almost completely to its original condition.

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36) Karl Friedrich Zelter. Oil painting by Karl Begas (1827).

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37) J.P. Eckermann. In 1823, he came to work for Goethe as his Secretary. Chalk portrait by Joseph Schmeller.

Marfat.com

38) Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) Portrait by Anton Graff (1785)

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39) Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805). Oil painating of Ludovike Simanowiz (1793).

Marfat.com

Goethe's

Werke.

Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand.

Erster Band.

Unter des durchlauchtigsten deutschen Bundes schützenden Privilegien

Stuttgart und Tübingen,
in der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung
1827.

40) (*Goethe's Werke*, published during his life.1st volume (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1827). With his portrait by C.A. Schwerdgeburth.

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41) Goethe at the age of 77: Drawing by Sebbers. This pastel drawing outdoes all the portraits of Goethe towards the end of his life. Goethe is really an old man now who bears the burden of years.

Marfat.com

42) Goethe dictating to his secretary John.

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43) The Minister of State, 1828: Oil-painting by Stieler. In the year when Duke Karl August died, this portrait was made at the order of the King of Bavaria by his court painter. Stieler dressed up the aged poet (79) a bit for the state of impressiveness. Goethe, who approved of the picture, nevertheless felt that it "glamorised" him.

Marfat.com

44) Goethe at the age of 81 years.Lithographed by Daniel Maclise.

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45) Last portrait from life, by Schwerdgeburth, who was the last artist to whom Goethe sat, applauding the work as it proceeded. The plaque was in the condition shown in this reproduction when Goethe died.

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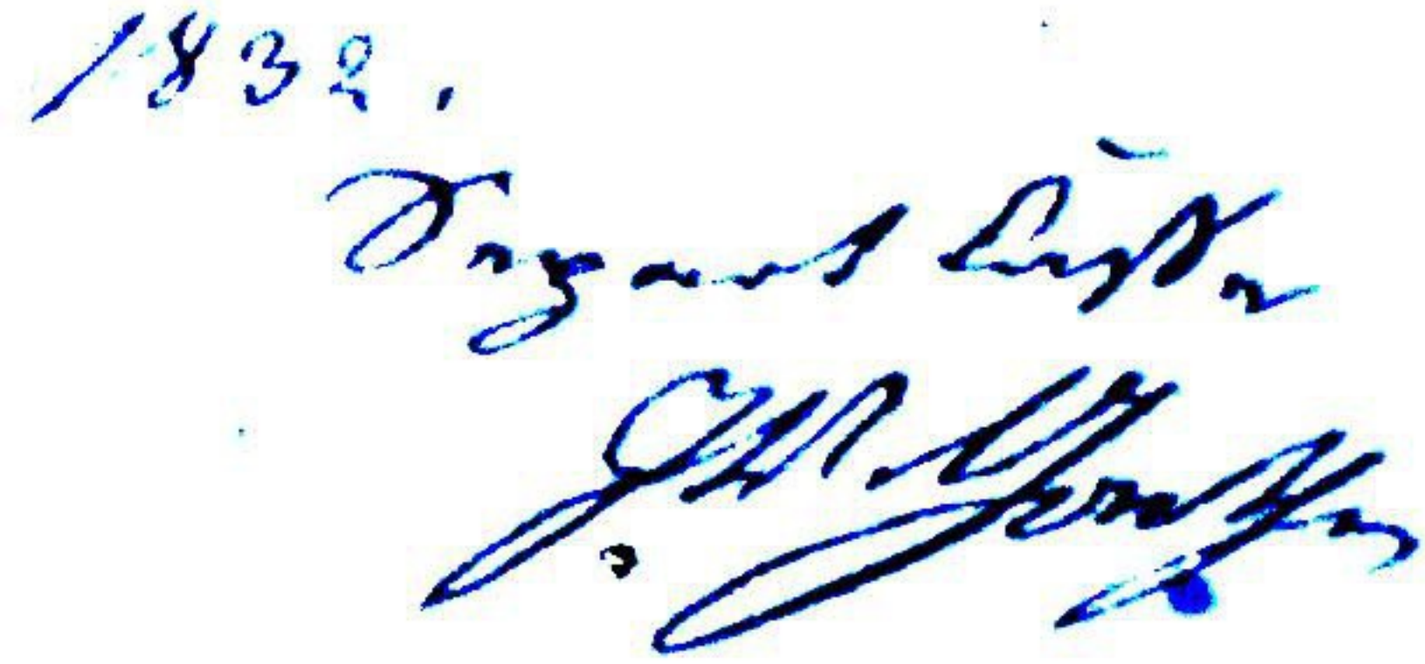

(46) Last signature. Already ill, Goethe signed his name for the last time on March 18th on an official receipt. The sharply, accurate handwriting had lost little of its flow and none of its clarity.

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47) The dead poet with the laurel wreath. Crowned with laurel, dressed in white satin, and with a silver-embroidered black velvet coverlet over him, the dead poet lay in state on the ground floor of his house.

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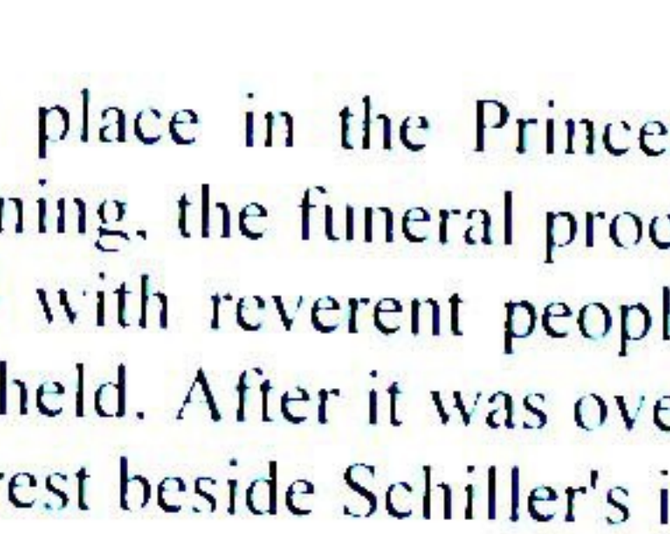
48) Last resting place in the Princes' Tomb. On March 26th, towards evening, the funeral procession moved through city streets lined with reverent people to the chapel where the service was held. After it was over, Goethe's mortal remains were put to rest beside Schiller's in the Princes' Tomb.



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Gestern Vormittags halb Zwölf Uhr starb mein geliebter Schwiegervater, der Grofsherzogl. Sachsische wirkliche Geheime Rath und Staatsminister

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE.

nach kurzem Krankseyn, am Stickflufs in Folge eines nervös gewordenen Katharrhalfiebers.

Geisteskräftig und liebevoll bis zum letzten Hauche, schied er von uns im drei und achtzigsten Lebensjahre.

Weimar, 23. Marz 1832.

OTTILIE, von GOETHE, geb. von Pogwisch,
zugleich im Namen meiner drei Kinder
Walther, *Wolf* und *Alma* von *Goethe*

49) Announcement of Goethe's death, by his daughter-in-law, Ottilie von Pogwisch, resting place in the Princes' Tomb. On March 26th. towards evening.

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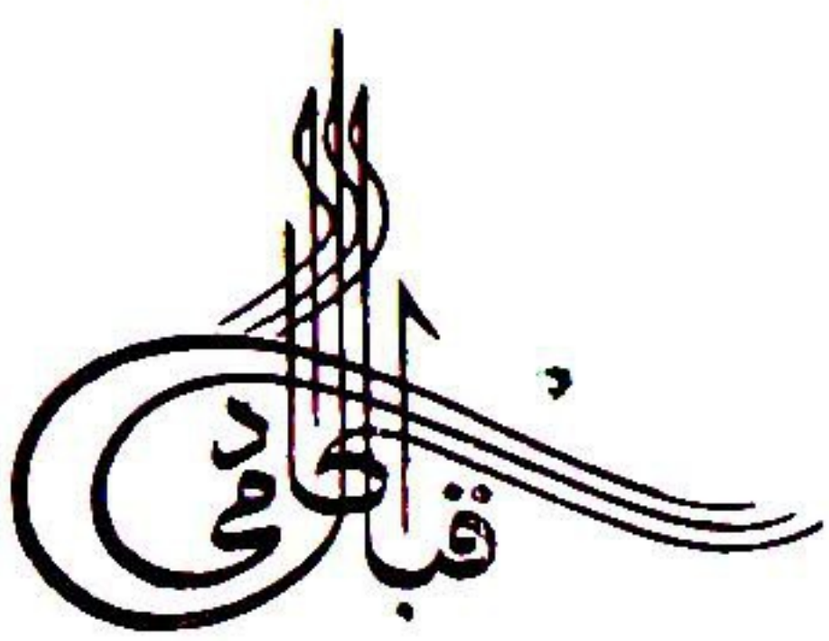

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