

Christina Oesterheld*

Rumi, Iqbal and the West: Some Recent Interpretations from Pakistan

Sufism and particularly the Sufi doctrine of *vahdat al-vujūd* (unity of being, A. Schimmel: monistic pantheism) has long been a controversial subject in Islamic discourse. It was, for instance, strongly opposed by Syed Ahmed Sirhindi, the *Mujaddid-i Alf-i Sānī* (reformer of the second millenium, 1564-1624). In the words of Annemarie Schimmel:

Against this doctrine which had changed the personal and active Allah of the Qurānic revelation Who is the creator out of nothing, into a Being which contains the world in itself, and, as such, leaves no room for the personal relation between man and God – against this doctrine was directed Ahmed Sirhindi’s main energy, and it is small wonder that almost all reformers in later days have gone back to his work.¹

He advanced the concept of *vahdat al-shuhūd*, (unity of appearances, A. Schimmel: testimonarian monism) instead. Iqbal quoted him several times in his poetry and in his lectures.

Annemarie Schimmel, on the other hand, quotes Ubaidullah Sindhi as saying: “This Islamic philosophy (of *vahdat al-vujūd*) is in fact the same Hindu philosophy, which the Muslim mystics of India have brought to a magnificent completion.”² Given the great popularity of what Bausani termed “allegorical pantheism”³ in the Subcontinent, Iqbal’s criticism of certain Sufi attitudes and practices and of Persian poetry “which does not sharpen the sword of the self”⁴ met with much opposition from his contemporaries which eventually led him to remove a critical passage on Hafiz from

the second edition. Iqbal, however, whose father was deeply inclined towards Sufism and who himself was initiated in the Qadiriya order, never opposed Sufism as a whole. His poetical works reveal a profound and lasting impact of mystical Persian poetry. He not only chose Rumi as his spiritual guide and mentor, but also was deeply influenced by Hafiz in imagery and diction. There can be no doubt about the centrality of Sufi ideas and Sufi ethics for his poetry and for his system of thought or worldview.

Poetry in general allows for a multitude of interpretations, and the same applies to most of Iqbal's poetic works, especially to those written in Persian. Hence, some verses may be understood in a pantheistic as well as in a theistic sense. Apart from such occasional ambiguities, Iqbal was very outspoken in his refutation of the *vujūdi* type of Sufism which ran counter to his concept of the Ultimate Ego/Divine Principle as a Personal God who could be addressed by the individual human ego, as the Creator who is engaged in a constant, never ending process of creation. His concept of God is in accordance with the Quranic concept of Allah which is often quoted by Iqbal. On the relation between the human ego and God he said: "In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite ego, it is rather the infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite."⁵ The human ego could thus partake from some aspects of the Divine and develop qualities such as forgiving, love of all creatures, creativity, generosity, patience etc. This point was elaborated with regard to Rumi by Erkan Turkmen in his study *The Essence of Rumi's Masnavi*.⁶ Interestingly, Iqbal was sure that mystical experiences could be scientifically studied and explained, if not today, then some day in the future.⁷ Finally it has to be pointed out that Iqbal's highly intellectual Sufism is far removed from many forms of popular veneration of Sufi *pīrs* at the shrines and strictly adheres to the *sharīat*. Iqbal also

understood the prescribed rituals (prayer, fasting etc.) of Islam as an important step toward spiritual perfection.

Sufi concepts, spirituality as such, are at the core of some publications of the Iqbal Academy in Lahore which I am going to discuss very briefly now.

The aims and objectives of the Iqbal Academy, founded in 1951 as a statutory body of the Government of Pakistan, are “to promote and disseminate the study and understanding of the works and teachings of Allama Iqbal”. Iqbal’s importance is described in the following words on the page under “Iqbal” of the Academy’s website:

Iqbal is the best articulated Muslim response to Modernity that the Islamic world has produced in the 20th century. His response has three dimensions:

A creative engagement with the conceptual paradigm of modernism at a sophisticated philosophical level through his prose writings, mainly his *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* which present his basic philosophic insights.

His Urdu and Persian poetry which is the best embodiment of poetically mediated thought, squarely in the traditional continuity of Islamic literature and perhaps the finest flowering of wisdom poetry, or contemplative poetry or inspired poetry in the modern times.

As a political activist/ social reformer—rising up to his social responsibility, his calling at a critical phase of history.⁸

The first two points are at the core of the texts by Muhammad Suheyl Umar which I am going to discuss next.

M. S. Umar, the current director of the Iqbal Academy, was born in 1954, received his classical (school) education at Central Model School, Lahore, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Govt. College, Lahore, BA (English, Philosophy) Govt. College, Lahore, MA (English); along with acquiring Arabic, Persian and traditional Islamic Sciences (Arabic, Persian, Tajvid and Hifz). He is a prolific writer and has

translated or adapted numerous texts on theism and spirituality by Western authors such as Martin Lings, Gai Eaton (both converted to Islam), Lord Northbourne, Fritjof Schuon, and others, into Urdu. The present talk will be limited to three of his smaller writings (originally lectures) in English published between 1997 and 2010.

The main focus of his *“That I May See and Tell” Significance of Iqbal’s Wisdom Poetry* (Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ¹1997, ²2002) is Iqbal’s concept of all-compassing consciousness as expressed in his “wisdom poetry”, its firm Islamic roots and its universal applicability. According to Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Iqbal combines rational reasoning and intuitive insight to reach a higher state of consciousness. He extended classical poetic concepts with a view to modern realities. Most of his poems belong to the highest class of poetry which Muhammad Suheyl Umar defines as concerned not with outward beauty but “with the beauty of inner meaning (*jamāl-i ma‘ānavī*)”.⁹ Iqbal thus is a poet of “intellectual-conception and intuition-expression.”¹⁰ In full accordance with Iqbal’s view on the limits of rational knowledge, he sees wisdom poetry as a means and vehicle for the expression of truth which complements logic in “that it deals with forms of knowledge which are not accessible to the unaided logical faculties of man.”¹¹ Thus wisdom poetry brings about a transformation of the soul and its sensibilities, causes an ascent in the soul of man, has an almost alchemical quality about it, “a power to transform knowledge, making it a ‘tasted’ fruit which is digested and which transforms one’s being, thus, through its re-echoing of the fundamental truths of our existence aids man to return to the higher states of being and consciousness.”¹²

To underline the universal character of Iqbal’s message, Muhammad Suheyl Umar quotes John Haywood:

The scholar familiar with the poetical classics of Arabic and Persian has the feeling, after reading Iqbal, that he is very much in the same tradition. Indeed, the last was to think of Iqbal is as a Pakistani poet. Rather

does he speak for Islam universally and for the common ground between Islam and the other major world religions...” (...) a large proportion of the verses in his work is truly gnomic poetry—‘*hikmāh*’ wisdom in the highest sense of the word. Moreover, they are not wisdom only to Muslims, or to Orientals, but to men of every creed and race. This is one of Iqbal’s great achievements that he bridged the gap between East and West, and gave utterance to the common ground in the great religious and philosophical systems of the world.¹³

As is already obvious here and even more conspicuous in the following texts, Muhammad Suheyl Umar is very keen to establish a firm bond between theistic or, in his words, Traditionalist, thinkers on a global scale. Frequent quotations from different religious systems of the world serve to support his claim of a spiritual brotherhood of man. The need for this spiritual awakening was time and again stressed by Iqbal. In the sixth lecture of his *Reconstruction* he proclaimed:

Humanity needs three things today—a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis.¹⁴

With even more urgency, the same idea is repeated in Muhammad Suheyl Umar’s Martin Lings Memorial Lecture of April 2010, titled *Repair and Redeem: Iqbal’s Re-Statement of Sufi Thought*. (2nd April 2010, LUMS, Lahore; Iqbal Academy, 2010). Here, Muhammad Suheyl Umar especially highlights the close relationship between Rumi and Iqbal. He sums up the themes of their poetry:

The persistent themes of Rumi are the longing for the eternal, the reuniting with God, enlightenment through love, and the merging of one’s self with the universal spirit. Overarching themes in Iqbal are the One Reality coursing through the veins of the Universe, the Immanent-Infinite, the relationship between the human and the Divine, search for what does it mean to

be human, unfolding of human potential, love, universal peace and harmony and core human values.¹⁵

Differences in emphasis are explained by their different background in time and space. Muhammad Suheyl Umar sees Iqbal as “one of the outstanding sages and poets of our times”.¹⁶ In his view the most fundamental aspect of Iqbal’s relationship with Sufism, and one in which he is in full accord with Rumi, is that both regarded Sufism as a system of repair for the ills of their times. While, according to him, with Rumi it was the challenge posed by rationalism in the medieval age of Islam (*fitna-e āsār-e kuhan*), Muhammad Suheyl Umar asks whether Iqbal took up the challenge “posed by the modern age of secular modernity and materialism, i.e. (*fitna-i āsār-i ravān*)?”¹⁷ His answer is Yes, followed by a detailed discussion of Iqbal’s concept of Sufism, again stressing his refutation of *vujūdī* Sufism. For Muhammad Suheyl Umar, Iqbal stood in the long illustrious tradition of Sufi self-critique; when he “criticized some personalities or practices connected with Sufism its true nature was that of a benevolent concern for the welfare of his own ‘interpretive community’ that is Sufism.”¹⁸ And he quotes Manzur Ahmed who attested Iqbal “a Sufi philosophic system of his own”.¹⁹

With regard to Iqbal’s intellectual engagement with the West, Muhammad Suheyl Umar remarks that his studies in Europe had acquainted Iqbal with the conceptual shift “that the enlightenment project and modernity’s world view had brought in the human thought, the damage it had done to the academia, and the means of repairing the ills.” His immersion in the Western academy gave him analytical tools and methods he would later use—for a “constructive-critical engagement with the Islamic tradition”.²⁰ Thus, Muhammad Suheyl Umar stresses that Iqbal differed from “dogmatic zealots who see nothing problematic in the received tradition and nothing of value in the modern academy.”²¹ (What is of value is, however, not mentioned in detail and not referred to again!)

Again underscoring Iqbal's universal relevance Muhammad Suheyl Umar goes on to state that Iqbal has something to offer to philosophy, to science and to religion, "to repair the ills in their respective domains by tapping at the sources of wisdom offered by Tradition. That is what makes him relevant today and for the future."²²

In this context he quotes F. Schuon:

The error of modern man is that he wants to reform the world without having either the will or the power to reform man... (...) Reforming man means binding him again to Heaven, (...) tearing him away from the reign of passions, from the cult of matter, quantity and cunning, and reintegrating him in the world of the spirit and serenity...²³

Another important aspect is pointed out by Muhammad Suheyl Umar: Iqbal's interpretation does not "fit into the Sunni and Shi'ite Kalām narratives. It, obviously, comes from the Islamic wisdom tradition (...), through its rich and illustrious tradition of wisdom poetry (...trans-Rational Sufi metaphysics)".²⁴

Muhammad Suheyl Umar's views have to be analysed in the context of the current state of affairs in the world (continued Western domination in many fields, military interventions by Western forces in Muslim countries; ideas of the clash of civilizations, the bogeyman of Islam build up by some Western powers and ideologues) and in Pakistan. The ideal of spirituality projected by him cuts across religious denominations, sects etc. and could thus be understood as a "system of repair" against communal strife in Pakistan or anywhere else. Apart from such theoretical/theological speculations, on the practical plane popular religiosity at Sufi shrines has come under attack in Pakistan in a most violent form for a couple of years, with an increased number of militant attacks on Sufi shrines since the year 2010. The militants responsible for those attacks will hardly have followed abstract discussions on the question of doctrine, but this aggressive spell of violence against sites of Sufi veneration

is no doubt linked with political and social changes in the country which undermine religious tolerance and plurality in religious denominations and practices. Hence the spirituality suggested by Iqbal and by Muhammad Suheyl Umar could also serve as a “system of repair” against sectarian strife in Pakistan.

Muhammad Suheyl Umar has clearly condemned religious fanaticism, militancy and terrorism in a lecture with the title *In the Wake of 11th September. Perspectives on Settled Convictions—Changes and Challenges* (Iqbal Academy, 2005). Here he urges the Muslim world to “learn to be tolerant of a world which threatens its very existence without losing its identity and the secularised West must learn the very difficult lesson that its modernised understanding of man and the world is not universal.”²⁵ He appeals to all sides in the present conflicts to revisit the ‘half-truths’ that used to create obstacles to mental co-operation in piety.”²⁶ But he is not very optimistic that a more universal spiritual perspective can be found because of the “anti-spiritual pressures” of the modern world, especially modern education.²⁷ While Muhammad Suheyl Umar here applies a rather modernist, historical interpretation of scriptures, e.g. with regard to the concept of jihād or the definition of infidels, and argues against a literal, a-historical understanding of certain passages in Quran and *Sunnat*, he on the other hand again privileges a certain worldview, i.e. the theistic, Traditionalist, over any other. Taken as a whole, however, his writings can be understood to be a contribution to tolerance and understanding between adherents of different religions.

But I also see some problematic aspects of Muhammad Suheyl Umar’s views as expressed in the texts under discussion:

- His attempts at inter-faith dialogue are accompanied by an essentialising of Modernity and of the West, reproducing clichés about the materialism of the West. Here he often follows Iqbal, but occasionally also

surpasses him. Iqbal no doubt took recourse to clichéd binary oppositions such as the spiritual East and the materialistic West, and the idea that the East was corrupted by the West, occurs time and again in his works. One example is *Pas cheh bāyad kard ai aqvām-e sharq*; numerous other examples can be found in his last collection *Zarb-i kalīm*. Iqbal completely ignored that one impetus for the development and spread of Sufi movements was the materialism, greed and the struggles for power within the Muslim empires of the 11-12th centuries and onwards, and Muhammad Suheyl Umar follows him suit. (It is a different story that some Sufi orders developed very close relations with the powers that be.) And yet, Iqbal's views about the West are much more differentiated and complex, depending on the respective context.

- Muhammad Suheyl Umar diminishes the great importance Iqbal accredited to science and scientific knowledge, his belief in future developments in psychology etc., his rational outlook on many practical, political and social matters.
- The quotation from Schuon reveals a technophobic attitude, equal to that of the Luddites. A similar idea is occasionally expressed by Iqbal, but Iqbal is not adverse to material progress as a whole.
- Muhammad Suheyl Umar sees the present Western world dominated by the “Postmoderns”—this is a very one-sided perspective. On the other hand, it is not clear on what kind of experience his statement “Postmodernism is tackling *social injustices* more resolutely than people previously did.”²⁸ is based.
- Muhammad Suheyl Umar creates “Others” in secularists, pantheists etc. and denies that they may possess human values and potential for a meaningful worldview. Due to this “othering”, this exclusion of a large part of humanity, he may—against his own

wishes—even be appropriated by more fanatic religious forces.

- In the texts discussed here, very little is said about the historical context in which Iqbal worked.
- In the attempt to stress Iqbal’s universality, he glosses over Iqbal’s clear statement of the superiority of Islam. In his sixth lecture he stated: “Believe me, Europe today is the greatest hindrance in the way of man’s ethical achievement. The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of revelation, which, speaking from the inmost depth of life, internalizes its own apparent externality.”²⁹
- There is a certain element of idealising the pre-modern past, ascribing to it an almost uniform, unquestioned spirituality which provided a human perspective and a higher meaning to existence—but human vices and weaknesses flourished in all ages; materialism, greed and selfishness were always part of human nature; no spiritual or religious system has ever succeeded in controlling them (See the remark on the materialism of Rumi’s time!)
- The focus is exclusively on individual perfection which would (almost automatically) lead to social perfection, thus downplaying Iqbal’s political activism, his vision for the Muslims of North India, his social utopia, which in addition to individual perfection needs certain political and social structures.
- As an example for this see the last sentences of the 6th lecture: “Let the Muslim of today appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto partially revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.”³⁰

In a way, these last sentences are the point of departure for Khurram Ali Shafique. He has described the deficiencies in the implementation of Iqbal’s vision in Pakistan in the

concluding remark of his illustrated biography of Iqbal³¹ and developed the idea of the spiritual democracy of Islam in his book *The Republic of Rumi* (Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2007). In the biography he explicitly criticizes the Pakistani ruling elites/the Pakistani establishment for failing to realise Iqbal's vision and states:

Many things that Iqbal took for granted—such as democracy, cultural pluralism, a certain degree of tolerance and efficient governance—now need to be rediscovered through our own effort. We need to readjust his thought to this situation. (...)

Iqbal's concept of a separate homeland for the Muslims on 'communal' lines was driven by a desire to avoid precisely the kind of games that were later played in Pakistan by some wielders of power. One can be sure that the denial of human dignity in the name of state necessity would be *shirk* in the eyes of Iqbal, and he would say that it amounts to making the state a partner with God. (...)

Bad politicians, bureaucrats and military adventurers could hardly be looked upon to accomplish a task that was more challenging than running any other state in the world, for this was a state that was to present a model against the common trends of the age. The very point in having Pakistan was to defeat the idea of geographical divisions in the world and lead the humanity in discovering a universal spiritual democracy.³²

As you see, here Khurram Ali Shafique is much more concerned with the third aspect of Iqbal's personality, his role as a political activist and social reformer which is hardly mentioned at all by Muhammad Suheyl Umar. The quotation also reveals Khurram Ali Shafique's deep concern with the fate of Pakistan, and in extension, its possible role as a model for the world, given the right leadership! He goes on to stress that Iqbal supported the "legitimacy of the Muslim law but focused on the eradication of poverty and injustice."³³ This aspect of

Iqbal's thought is hardly ever taken up by Muhammad Suheyl Umar.

Khurram Ali Shafique is also very critical of Iqbal Studies in Pakistan which according to him are uninspired and repetitive. He accuses Iqbal commentators of not testing "new ideas against the rules of logic, reasoning and common sense."³⁴ In his later works he sets out to present fresh ideas based on new interpretations of Iqbal and taking his works as point of departure.

He interprets Iqbal's work as "hitherto partially revealed", i.e. he is of the opinion that, like the Quran, Iqbal's poetry as a source for endless meaning will be realised over time and which are independent of the poet's intended meaning at the time of composition. In my view, quite a number of the meanings uncovered by him, particularly the mysticism of numbers/numerology he sees at work in Iqbal's poetry as well as in Rumi and in Muslim history or the history of Pakistan, are of a very esoteric nature.

Khurram Ali Shafique's "novel" *The Republic of Rumi* sets off with a parable about Rumi winning the support of the people "with the help of parables, poetry, flute and some whirling dance"³⁵ and bringing peace and unity to the world. He then asks whether this could ever happen in the future and replies that "some possible answers to these questions may be hidden in the writings of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal..."³⁶ The book is divided into seven chapters (according to the magic of the number 7, which he explains at the end of the book.) Ahmad Javed commented on the book. "This book takes you a long way on the path devised by Iqbal in order that Rumi's system of mysteries could seep into the deepest possible recesses of human consciousness."³⁷ I have to admit that I have not yet read the book, so I will proceed to the next text which Khurram Ali Shafique sees as a continuation of *The Republic of Rumi*.

In Khurram Ali Shafique's writing we thus find an astonishing combination of factual presentation and contextual

analysis in the biography, but a highly esoteric attitude in some of his other writings. Another example of the latter type is his short paper “*Andāz-i mahrmānā*” (Confidential discourse/talk) published by the Iqbal Academy in 2009. Here he offers new interpretations of some very popular poems. For the present purpose, I will look only at his discussion of the famous poems for children (*Bachchoñ kē līyē*) from *Bāng-i darā* which, incidentally or not, are seven in number. In these poems he sees the progress of a single character from a fly (*Makhkhī aur makṛā*), then becomes a squirrel (*Ēk pahaṛ aur gilehrī*), a goat (*Ēk gā’ē aur bakrī*), a child (*Bachchē kī du’ā*), a firefly (*Hamdardī*) which actually is the *khudī* of the child, then the *khudī* is the victim of the over-possessive and over-protective mother (*Māñ kā khvāb*), while in *Parindē kī faryād* finally the human soul bemoans its expulsion from the garden of Paradise and its separation from God. The forces keeping the bird-soul in captivity are selfishness, greed, short-sightedness, lack of insight.³⁸ In a separate interpretation of *Bachchē kī du’ā*, he explains how the child proceeds to turn from a candle (*sham* ‘) into a moth (*parvānā*) and from non-specificity in naming God to cultural consciousness (*khudā, rabb, Allāh*) in the course of the poem. The homeland (*vatan*) mentioned in the poem is the final home of man, Paradise; only in the metaphorical (*majāzī*) sense it can be understood as denoting India.³⁹

With these interpretations Khurram Ali Shafique seeks to establish that there was a perennial, unchanged subtext in Iqbal’s poetry which remained largely unimpressed by historical changes. This statement is striking when one thinks of the completely different attitude discernable in the *Illustrated Biography*. And although Khurram Ali Shafique does not deny the fact that six of the seven poems were adaptations of English poems, he does not allow any reference to the Christian ethics in the originals to enter his discussion. His interpretations are immanently Islamic, with a number of references to Rumi, the Quran, the example of the Prophet etc. He leaves no room for other, often very obvious contextual

interpretations. Thus, the reading of *Parindē kī faryād* which would come to mind immediately is as an allegory of the colonial situation.

Khurram Ali Shafique then goes on to criticize Western interpretations of Iqbal, especially some of Annemarie Schimmel's assumptions. On the final pages he highlights Iqbal's visionary faculties and quotes a passage from a letter Iqbal wrote to Ghulam Qadir Girmi in 1917 in which he mentioned that he took his knowledge from the Quran which contains all information about the future destiny of Muslims⁴⁰ which, in turn, seems to form the basis for Khurram Ali Shafique's attempts to derive visions of the future from Iqbal's corpus of writing. He sums up the main purpose of the article: to show the inner connection in Iqbal's writing; many meanings of his texts have not yet been realized by us, there is scope for ever new discoveries. Iqbal's foresight and visions of the future may be right or wrong, but nevertheless they are the most important feature of his poetry which has never been adequately studied so far; at the present precarious state these new aspects in Iqbal's writing are of utter significance for Pakistan, therefore it is essential to read him and understand him on his own terms.⁴¹

Khurram Ali Shafique is currently engaged in the project of writing a comprehensive five-volume biography of Iqbal in Urdu, commissioned by the Iqbal Academy, the first volumes of which have already been published. The combination of historical research and exact contextual information with a high degree of esoteric interpolations and interpretations revealed in his previous works occasionally resurfaces in this new project. The question is whether the element of esoteric mystification inherent in Khurram Ali Shafique's method would really be helpful in fulfilling Iqbal's vision as he understands it.

In conclusion, one may say that while Muhammad Suheyl Umar is engaged in a dialogue with Western Traditionalists and seeks to build a bridge between East and

West on a spiritual basis, Khurram Ali Shafique, in contrast, opts for an immanently Islamic reading of Iqbal, refuting the impact of Western thinkers and Western education on him, with the aim to obtain guidelines for the future of Pakistan based on a new, highly esoteric interpretation of Iqbal's major writings. Thus, his vision is Pakistan-centered, but eventually aimed at developing a truly Islamic democracy in Pakistan as a model for the world.

NOTES

- * South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany.
1. Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ⁵2009), 8.
 2. Quoted in: Ibid., p. 7. See also the detailed discussion of *vahdat ul-vujūd* in Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam. India 1200-1800* (London: Hurst & company, 2004), 91-114.
 3. Allesandro Bausani, "Theism and Pantheism in Rumi", *Iranian Studies*, Vol.1, No. 1 (Winter 1968): 20.
 4. "*is sh 'ēr sē hotī nahīn shamshīr-i khudī tēz*", second line of "*Sh 'ēr-i 'ajam*", in *Kulliyāt-i Iqbāl, Urdū* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ⁸2007), 639.
 5. Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publ., 1996), Lecture 4, p. 98.
 6. Turkmen, Erkan, *The Essence of Rumi's Masnevi* (Konya 1997), 348-350.
 7. See *Reconstruction*, Lecture 4, p. 88.
 8. <http://www.allamaiqbal.com/> The formulation is Muhammad Suheyl Umar's.
 9. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, "*That I May See and Tell*" *Significance of Iqbal's Wisdom Poetry* (Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ¹1997, ²2002), 5.
 10. Ibid., p. 6.
 11. Ibid., p. 15.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Quoted in: Ibid., p. 11.
 14. Muhammad Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, 156.

15. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, *Repair and Redeem: Iqbal's Re-Statement of Sufi Thought*. (Martin Lings Memorial Lecture, 2nd April 2010, LUMS Lahore; Iqbal Academy, 2010), 1-2.
16. Ibid., p. 2.
17. Ibid., p. 2.
18. Ibid., p. 5.
19. Quoted in: *ibid.*, p. 8.
20. Ibid., p. 10.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 11.
23. Ibid., p. 15.
24. Ibid., p. 21.
25. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, *In the Wake of 11th September. Perspectives on Settled Convictions—Changes and Challenges* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 2005), 3.
26. Ibid., p. 4.
27. Ibid., p. 5.
28. Muhammad Suheyl Umar, "Repair and Redeem", p. 17.
29. *Reconstruction*, p. 156.
30. Ibid, p. 157.
31. Khurram Ali Shafique, *Iqbal. An Illustrated Biography* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2006).
32. Ibid., p. 200.
33. Ibid., p. 201.
34. Ibid.
35. Khurram Ali Shafique, *The Republic of Rumi* (Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2007), 11.
36. Ibid., p.14.
37. Ibid., back page of the cover.
38. Khurram Ali Shafique, *Andāz-e mehmānā* (Iqbal Academy, 2009), 13-24.
39. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
40. Ibid., p. 37.
41. Ibid., pp. 38-39.

SOURCES

- Alam, Muzaffar. *The Languages of Political Islam. India 1200-1800*. London: Hurst & company, 2004.
- Bausani, Allesandro. "Theism and Pantheism in Rumi." *Iranian Studies*. Vol.1, No. 1. (Winter 1968): 8-24.

-
- Iqbal, Muhammad. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publ., 1996.
- . *Kulliyāt-i Iqbāl, Urdū*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ⁸2007.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *Gabriel's Wing*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ⁵2009.
- Shafique, Khurram Ali. *Iqbal. An Illustrated Biography*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2006.
- . *The Republic of Rumi*. Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2007.
- . *Andāz-i mahrmānā*. Iqbal Academy, 2009.
- Turkmen, Erkan. *The Essence of Rumi's Masnevi*. Konya, 1997.
- Umar, Muhammad Suheyl. "That I May See and Tell" *Significance of Iqbal's Wisdom Poetry*. Iqbal Academy Pakistan, ¹1997, ²2002.
- . *In the Wake of 11th September. Perspectives on Settled Convictions—Changes and Challenges*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 2005.
- . *Repair and Redeem: Iqbal's Re-Statement of Sufi Thought*. Martin Lings Memorial Lecture, 2nd April 2010, LUMS Lahore; Iqbal Academy, 2010.