

Ali Usman Qasmi *

The Oxford Edition of Iqbal's Lectures: A Brief History

The purpose of this article is to add to the existing corpus of information about Iqbal's life and works and the letters he exchanged with his friends and contemporaries. Of my particular interest is Iqbal's interaction with the scholars and influential figures across Europe. As earlier documentation of Iqbal's interaction with European scholars has shown, Iqbal benefited a lot – both intellectually and professionally – from the generous support of European professors and intellectuals. Thomas Arnold played the role of a mentor during the early academic career of Iqbal. He had a great influence on Iqbal during his years as a graduate student at Government College Lahore. His role was instrumental in getting Iqbal admitted at Trinity College of Cambridge University. Later, it was his recommendation letter that enabled Iqbal to get his PhD approved from the University of Munich. Others among the benefactors of Iqbal include J. M. E. MacTaggart who taught him philosophy at Cambridge and Reynold A. Nicholson who introduced Iqbal to the western readership by translating his Persian poetry into English. It was years before another orientalist, A. J. Arberry, made systematic attempts to translate a bulk of Iqbal's poetic works for the benefit of a larger readership beyond the confines of a Persian literate world.

Other than his poetry, Iqbal's single most important contribution has been his scholastic essays entitled *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Delivered in different cities of South India, these lectures were published

initially from Lahore in 1930. These lectures are a testament to the complexity of Iqbal's philosophical ideas. It is reported that Iqbal had pinned high hopes on this work and expected its critical appreciation from educated Muslim intellectuals. He was disappointed not to receive a fruitful response to his intellectual endeavours. With such a dismal reaction to one of the most important works on Muslim-European philosophical dialogue and scholasticism, this work could easily have slipped into oblivion – at least for some years – had it not unexpectedly caught the attention of Oxford University Press for publication. This article provides the details whereby Iqbal was able to get his lectures published by the Oxford University Press in England. Also, it brings to light two letters of Iqbal which had hitherto been unpublished and which give interesting details about a contemporary of Iqbal named Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah.

Background to the Lectures of Iqbal

From the mid-1920s onwards, Iqbal had been planning on writing a series of essays about different aspects of Islamic thought and philosophy. The first of such essays was drafted in 1924 and presented before an audience in Lahore. It dealt with the theme of Ijtihad.¹ It was around the same time that Iqbal received an invitation from the Muslim Education Conference of Southern India to deliver a series of lectures in Madras. Before Iqbal, Sayyid Suleman Nadawi was extended a similar invitation in response to which he delivered lectures on the biography of Prophet Muhammad. These were later published in book form entitled *Khutbāt-i Madrās*. In the preparation of his own lectures as well, Iqbal received a lot of intellectual support from Nadawi as is evidenced by numerous exchange of letters between the two in the 1920s.

Iqbal wrote his second lecture “The Spirit of Muslim Culture” in April 1927 and delivered it at the annual session of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam in Lahore.² By the end of December of 1928, as he was planning to leave for an extended

tour of South India, Iqbal had prepared three additional lectures. In addition to an invitation from the Muslim Education Conference, Iqbal had also been requested by the Nizam of Hyderabad to deliver three lectures at the payment of a handsome fee.³ In January 1929, Iqbal travelled to Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore and Bangalore to deliver his lectures.

In order to make Iqbal's ideas known to Muslim circles of Northern India, Iqbal was sent an invitation by the Aligarh Muslim University. By that time Iqbal had been engrossed in the writing of three remaining lectures in a series of six lectures which he had planned on the theme of Islamic thought. He had been waiting for the summer break in courts at Lahore to focus on the writing of these lectures.⁴ By the time Iqbal reached Aligarh in November 1929, he had finished writing the remaining three lectures. They were finally published from Lahore in May 1930. Their original title was *Six Lectures: On the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*.⁵

The seventh lecture was drafted when Iqbal received an invitation from the Aristotelian Society London to deliver a lecture in 1932. For that occasion, Iqbal penned "Is Religion Possible?". This was added to the Oxford edition of the book. Iqbal also had plans to write a fresh lecture with the title "Time and Space in the History of Muslim Thought". He collected some relevant material for this purpose as well but could not finish work on it because of his bad health. In a letter to Dr. Zafar-ul-Hasan of the Philosophy Department of Aligarh Muslim University in May 1937, Iqbal enquired if he could get the help of a competent philosophy student from Aligarh Muslim University who could assist him finish work on the proposed lecture.⁶

Background to the Publishing History of Oxford University Press in India

The archives maintained at the head office of the Oxford University Press (OUP) in Oxford – from where all the

information about the Oxford edition of Iqbal's book has been acquired – is an extensive repository of research material on the publishing history of Oxford University Press. On the basis of this archival record, Rimi B. Chatterjee has compiled a history of the Oxford University Press's publishing operations in British India. According to Chatterjee, by the last quarter of the 19th century, the executive board supervising commercial interests of OUP had come to the conclusion that a sound commercial operation in British India could no longer be postponed.

By then, the publishing enterprise of OUP for India, was limited to editions of *Sacred Books of the East* compiled by Max Muller and a few other titles including the *Rulers of India* series. According to Chatterjee:

The bulk of scholarship on India published by the Press from roughly 1890 to 1910 comprised two main categories: antiquarian or Indological works on contemporary Indian systems. Both sought to tame the variety and 'mystery' of India and aid its comprehension and control by the English. The Indological output of the Press was by various hands including Monier Williams, Max Muller, T.W.Rhys Davids, and via London, E.B. Cowell, A.A. Macdonell, and A. Berriedale Keith. This group produced translations of sacred and ancient books, scholarly disquisitions on ancient cultures, and texts of comparative religion from a European standpoint.⁷

Apart from that there were administrative gazetteers and histories produced by retired civil servants and staff of India Office.

Till the end of the nineteenth century, OUP did not have a direct presence in India and its interests in India were looked after by other distributing and publishing agencies. It was when Humphrey S. Milford (1877-1952) rose to a position of influence at OUP in 1907 that a serious attempt was made to

enter the book market in British India. As an ambitious entrepreneur, Milford transformed the business enterprise of OUP. During his time, not only OUP's business operations were expanded but also a number of thematic changes were made to the titles published by it.

Milford's first concern was to have first-hand knowledge about the commercial viability of this venture and setting up of local offices which could liaison with Indian booksellers. He sent A. H. Cobb to India as a sort of mobile sales manager. As part of his survey, Cobb was required to meet the members of various education boards so as to get an idea about their curriculum and academic requirements. Any profitable publishing venture in India could not have been successful without some stake in the textbook publishing business.⁸

The next step for Milford was to set up local offices in major presidency towns in India. He made it clear to his Indian representatives that he would rather adopt a 'hands-off' policy and that all the initiative in dealings with local publishers and stockists would be with the representatives themselves. According to Chatterjee: "The Branch Managers were to sell CP [Clarendon Press] and OUP books and remit the proceeds to London, but they were also to develop their own lists, act as agents for as many other publishers as was profitable, and even take books on commission."⁹

The publication of S. Radhakrishna's (later the president of independent India) *Principles of Psychology* in 1914 can be taken as the formal start of OUP's publishing operations in British India. About the publications by Indian authors during the initial phase of OUP's publishing history in India, Chatterjee observes:

Interactions with India happened on three levels at the Press. The earliest layer of Indian authors were the wealthy 'world citizens' who could afford Oxford printing and on occasion were considered worthy of the Clarendon imprint.

With the opening of the Branch, the Press came in contact with well-wishers, officials and employees who helped to establish the Press in India. The third layer, the Indian authors, who got on to the Oxford lists on their own merit, were initially in a minority, and tended at first to be school book compilers and teachers rather than path-breaking scholars. As the operation became more established and more confident in India, the number of serious scholars it published began to swell. Until today such books form the bulk of its India list.¹⁰

It was one of the duties of the local agents of OUP to look for potential authors and commercially viable titles. On occasions, orientalist – whose academic expertise in the subject was considered too sound to ignore their suggestions in the selection process of potential publishing titles – would make recommendations to the OUP to select a particular author or his/her work for publication. This is how Muhammad Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought* was brought to the attention of OUP for publication.

Edward John Thompson, Lord Lothian and Iqbal

It was Edward J. Thompson (1886-1946), along with Lord Lothian (1882-1940), who played a key role in getting Iqbal's book recommended for publication by OUP. E J Thompson¹¹ was an orientalist and a former missionary who had devoted his life to the study of Bengali literature with a special interest in the works of Rabindra Nath Tagore. He not only translated bulk of his Bengali poetry into English but also wrote a doctoral dissertation on Tagore. Besides being a translator and instructor for Bengali, Thompson was also regarded as a fine novelist and poet in his own right. At Oxford, where he had come to acquire a permanent position for the teaching of Bengali to members of civil services trained for

British India, Thompson increasingly became an influential figure. Before joining Oxford, Thompson had spent a great amount of time in Bengal. He was known to the Calcutta office of the OUP from the 1920s. His opinion about various works on Indian literature was given considerable weightage by European publishers interested in publishing the works of Indian authors.

Thompson had found a powerful patron in Lord Lothian who helped him further his academic interests and career. Lord Lothian was a highly influential figure in the British political and diplomatic circles. He had a chance to meet Iqbal during the Round Table Conference and held a very high opinion of him. This feeling was mutually shared.

As chairman of the board of trustees for Rhodes Foundation at Oxford University, Lord Lothian had considerable influence in academic and literary circles as well. It was because of Lord Lothian that Thompson's research trips to India were financed by Rhodes Foundation. During these trips, Thompson got a chance to meet Iqbal on different occasions. One such meeting provided the occasion for Iqbal's interaction with Thompson on the future polity of India. In that meeting Thompson gathered the impression that Iqbal was supporting the 'Pakistan scheme' of Chaudhry Rehmat Ali. Iqbal denied his support for the "Pakistan scheme" in a letter addressed to Thompson which became controversial when it was made public in the 1970s.

In all, Thompson made three trips to India during the 1930s on funds provided by the Rhodes Trust. On at least two occasions, he was sent for the purpose of making an assessment of the cultural and political dynamics of the Indian scene and submit a written report. On another occasion he visited India to hunt material for his upcoming biography of Thomas Metcalf. In these reports Thompson had urged an increased cultural cooperation between the empire and its colony. One of his suggestions was to establish the position of Lectureship at the India Institute to be filled by an Indian.

Since Lothian himself was a liberal-federalist who advocated greater political rights and autonomy for the colonies, he readily agreed to this suggestion. Lothian raised the issue of financing this position with the trustees. He proposed an appointment on experimental basis instead of asking them for a permanent financial commitment. Lothian also suggested that Oxford University would be a more appropriate forum for such a position rather than the Institute. His idea was to invite “a well-known Indian professor, to come to Oxford and lecture, on some aspect of Indian literature or culture for one, two or three terms in the ordinary academic way, the lecture to be attended by the students of the I.C.S. or anybody else who was interested.” Lothian asked for suggestions about those who could fill this one year position on experimental basis and the emoluments to be offered for this purpose.¹² Lothian got the trustees committed for a one year grant worth £400 on the understanding that it was experimental and for one year only.¹³

Another way of increasing contacts between the metropolis and the colony was through the Rhodes Memorial Lectureship. It was Lord Lothian who sought Thompson’s help in inviting a guest lecturer from India. In previous years such prestigious scholars and figures as Smuts, Einstein, Flexner, Cassel, Halevy and others had been invited as guests. For 1933, the Trust was anxious “to get an Indian” who “must of course be of first class calibre and something more than a University Lecturer” and “who will impress Oxford as being worthy of the Rhodes Lectureship”. Tagore “would have filled the bill” but he was seriously ill.¹⁴ Thompson initially recommended the name of Srinivasa Shastri (1869-1946) – an Indian scholar and administrator – but he excused himself on health reasons. Iqbal was Thompson’s second choice. Lothian was concerned that Iqbal should be made aware that Shastri had already declined before him otherwise it might give rise to some communal trouble.¹⁵

Iqbal was initially enthusiastic about the idea of accepting the invitation of delivering the Rhodes Memorial

Lecture as can be seen from his letter to Lord Lothian. However, due to health reasons, Iqbal had to postpone his visit. He sent a brief cable to Lothian in the beginning of January 1934: “Sorry impossible this year”, on which Lothian remarked to Thompson, “What a nuisance”.¹⁶

Recently a book compiled by Professor Riaz Husain has added considerable new details about correspondence of Iqbal with Lord Lothian on the invitation sent to Iqbal to deliver Rhodes memorial lectures at Oxford. It turns out that other than sending a cable, Iqbal also wrote a letter to Lord Lothian in which he gave reasons for his inability to come for lectures in 1934. He explained, in a letter dated January 14th, 1934, that he relied on legal practice for his bread and butter. His practice had suffered because of his absence for participation in the Round Table Conferences. He thought that his absence would further add to his financial problems. He also mentioned that he had been preparing a lecture on a more philosophical topic (“Time and Space in the History of Muslim Thought”) but since Lord Lothian had asked him to prepare a lecture on a theme of more general interest, he would do so readily.¹⁷

About Iqbal’s initial idea of delivering a lecture dealing with Muslim metaphysics, Thompson wrote to Lord Lothian in a rather contemptuous tone:

Iqbal’s psychology, as I understand it, is this. He is a Brahmin, and Kashmiri at that, of the same clan as Haksar, Sapru & the Nehrus. That gives him an inherited metaphysical beat. And he is very sensitive about the charge brought against Muhammadanism, that it is a sterile low-grade religion, good for savages & negroes, but giving nothing on the metaphysical side for the mind to bite on, infinitely inferior here to Christianity & Hinduism. He is ambitious, as his lectures show, to put Islam on the worldmap metaphysically. He has Einstein on the brain, and also our Dunn

(“An Experiment in Time”) and others. He wants to challenge Einstein and prove that Islam has great philosophy & great philosophers. On top of that, the name of Oxford and of his predecessors as Rhodes Lecturers has put the wind up him; and he feels he did not get enough notice for such an innings as he feels he is expected to play. I shd. [I should] ask him to reconsider his decision in the light of your Letter, which shd. reach him in a very few days. He has not had it, and still thinks he has to launch a world-shaking philosophy here, instead of merely giving a jolly show for Islam.¹⁸

Iqbal’s request for postponement of his appointment as Rhodes lecturer was delayed for another year. He was now appointed to give Rhodes Memorial Lecture in 1935. Lord Lothian informed Iqbal of this decision made by the Vice Chancellor of Oxford University and the Rhodes Trustees in March 1934.¹⁹ Iqbal responded positively and suggested to give three separate lectures on the meaning of Islam as a world movement, law of Islam and its economic significance and on the past, present and future of the Indian Muslims.²⁰ Unfortunately Iqbal was taken ill in the same year and could not fulfil his commitment of delivering the Rhodes lecture. Lord Lothian was still eager to invite Iqbal for the next year. He wrote to him in January 1935 to enquire about his health and possibility of travelling to Oxford to deliver these lectures. In two of his letters written in response in January and April 1935, Iqbal informed Lothian that his bad health persisted and that he had to travel to Bhopal for medical treatment.²¹ He was still hoping to recover and be able to travel to England. Eventually, it was in June 1935 that he wrote to Lord Lothian to express his inability to travel outside India. This was not only because of his ill health but mainly due to the fact that his wife had passed away leaving him with the responsibility of raising his young children.²²

The inability of both Shastri and Iqbal to deliver the Rhodes Memorial Lecture left no choice but to defer the matter of inviting an Indian over for these lectures. The matter came up again in 1937. Thompson was told that Shastri was in high spirits. But since the Rhodes Trustees had been turned down twice by Indians, Lothian wanted to make absolutely sure that Shastri would be able to deliver the lectures before sending him an invitation. Lothian suggested a general topic like East and West or, if Shastri was inclined, “Indian prospects under the new Constitution”. In case of the latter, the lecture was better to be postponed till the coming year “as it would be difficult to form any judgment on the subject on the morrow of the elections.”²³

Correspondence Leading to the Approval of Oxford Edition of Iqbal’s Lectures

During his correspondence with Thompson for a potential speaker at Oxford, Lothian was also impressed upon the idea of introducing Iqbal’s essays in the Western world. Thompson had already met the Indian agent of OUP and told him about the excellence of Iqbal’s work. In the report sent back to the main office, recording the observations of Thompson about Iqbal and his work, it was said:

He [Thompson] said Iqbal was a brilliant rogue, is likely to be next Rhodes Lecturer here, and is a candidate for the Nobel Prize. He didn’t share his views, but admitted that he was a big man and lively.²⁴

Thompson’s recommendation had coincided with that of Lord Lothian. In reply to a letter by Lord Lothian – a copy of which is not available but written before the above cited note of 2nd February – Milford wrote:

It was very good of you, on an Atlantic voyage, to find time to commend Iqbal’s lectures. I have written at once to our Indian Branch to obtain a

copy of the lectures and shall, if we can see our way, take the matter up directly with Sir Muhammad Iqbal. The subject is first rate one, and I imagine, from his position as a poet, that he writes well.²⁵

The fact that two important figures had simultaneously made reference to Iqbal's work, there was a great deal of urgency at the OUP main office to acquire a copy of Iqbal's book. In a letter sent to the Secretary's office on March 10th, 1933, it was reported: "Goffin wrote on 17th February that he cannot get a copy of the lectures locally, but is writing to his Lahore agent for copies, which he will send by next mail if possible, together with any information he can collect."²⁶

One of the reasons for this rush was to make sure that OUP's competitors McMillan, which had a strong network in India with Thompson being considered as one of their agents, would not get ahead in this race to acquire copyrights for a European edition of Iqbal's book. Secondly, the presumption that Iqbal was a 'big name' who was being considered as a Rhodes Lecturer and possibly as a Nobel laureate, was an important commercial consideration as well. Milford would not have like to repeat the saga of a German publisher who is reported to have put the manuscript of Tagore's poetry in the dustbin. But when he came to know, on the same day, that Tagore had been nominated for a Noble Prize, he searched for the manuscript in the dump.²⁷

Finally the agents in Bombay were able to acquire the copies of Iqbal's work. They reported:

We have obtained two copies, and one is being sent to you separately by this mail. The book is indeed atrociously produced. I gather from a learned friend that its contents vary considerably in value, and that as a whole it presents a rather queer mixture of philosophical, religious and sociological stuff unlikely to please the

specialists. But that it is generally considered a “remarkable book”.

“The price of the present edition is Rs. 5/-.”

We await further instructions from you before approaching either author or publisher. We foresee no sales in India for a new edition.²⁸

After acquiring the copies, it became possible for Milford to assess the academic and commercial worth of this book on his own. On the basis of that assessment, he found it feasible to publish the book. Accordingly, Milford wrote to Iqbal on 23rd March 1933:

My dear Sir,

We have been reading with pleasure and interest your six lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought, printed at Lahore.

The suggestion has been made to me by Lord Lothian that I should seek your permission to reprint the book at Oxford in a becoming style and allow it to find a wider circle of readers.

At your convenience I should like to hear how such a proposal would appeal to you.

Yours faithfully

Signed.²⁹

Iqbal was only too pleased to accept the offer of publication of his work by the Oxford University Press. In a letter written by him, Iqbal approved of the publication rights for the OUP. Full text of Iqbal’s letter, of which only a facsimile survives, is as follows:

Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt. M.A. Ph.D.

Barrister-at-Law,

Lahore.

9th April, 1933.

My dear Sir,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which I read yesterday. I had already sent two copies of my lectures to Mr. Edward Thompson

of Oxford, one of which was meant for you. I hope these books have reached Mr. Thompson and that he has presented one of them to you on my behalf. I have no hesitation in giving you the required permission to reprint the lectures. Indeed I consider it a great honour if the Oxford University Press undertakes to reprint it. In case they do so I shd. [should] like to make one or two changes, and if you consider it advisable you can add to these lectures another lecture which I delivered to the Aristotelian Society of London last December. It was extremely kind of Lord Lothian to make this suggestion to you. I wrote to him some time ago; but I do not know whether my letter reached him.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MOHAMMAD IQBAL

P.S. The subject of the lecture delivered to the Aristotelian Society was - 'Is Religion Possible?'. You can get a copy of it from the Society. Bergson appreciated it very much.

Ali Usman Qasmi | 38

[image of the original letter on page 55 (ed.)]

The Charge of Plagiarism

The book was finally published on January 11th, 1934. A total of 1000 copies was printed. A hitherto unknown aspect about the publication of Iqbal's lectures is that he was greatly offended by the plagiarism of his work by a Britain based Indian writer of Afghan ancestry, Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah. In one of his books, *Islamic Mysticism*, Shah had copied from Iqbal's lecture "Is Religion Possible", verbatim. When Iqbal came to know about it, he immediately informed OUP about it. This is recorded in his second letter written to the OUP, only a

facsimile of which now survives in the OUP archives. Iqbal wrote:

Barrister-at-Law,
Lahore.
25th December 1933.

My dear Mr. Milford,

Thanks for your kind letter. I should feel much obliged if you could kindly send me a few copies of the book when it is ready.

I must also bring it to your notice that an Indian writer – Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah – in his book “Islamic Sufism”, published by Rider & Co. in 1933, has copied verbatim more than 40 pages of the book you are printing. He has mentioned my name, but not the title of the book from which he has quoted. These quotations are as follows:

P. 173-194

P. 76-96

I think it will be good if some reviewer of my book points this out in his Review.

Hoping you are well and thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MOHAMMAD IQBAL

[image of the original letter on page 56 (ed.)]

The publishers of Shah’s book, Riders and Co., were accordingly informed about the plagiarism charge. In a letter addressed to Riders and Co. dated January 26th, 1934, it was said:

We have recently published a volume of essays by Sir Mohammad Iqbal most of which had previously appeared in India. We are surprised to find that in the book published by you, Islamic

Sufism, by Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, large passages of Sir Mohammad Iqbal's book are reprinted almost verbatim, e.g. Chapter III, pp. 76-96, reproduces pp.171-88 of our book, and Chapter VII, pp. 172ff. reprints, with slight omissions, pp. 95-117 of our book.

We hold the European rights of Sir Mohammad's work, and cannot see that any permission has been obtained from us or from the author. We should be glad of your explanation.³⁰

Although Iqbal Ali Shah had acknowledged Iqbal as one of the influences in the writing of the above mentioned book, he had not cited any of his work. Especially, the paragraphs from "Is Religion Possible" were reproduced without any reference. When he was informed about the charge of plagiarism, Iqbal Ali Shah gave a flimsy explanation for his act in the following letter:

I have to say that the book of essays, in question, is published only now, whilst my MS was ready more than a year ago, when I had not the least idea of any such book from that house; how then could have I taken extracts in advance also, if you will notice carefully, you will see that where Sir Mohamed Iqbal's material has been used, his name has been mentioned quite clearly, and he is quoted as an authority to prove some of my sufi contentions.

Furthermore, Sir Mohamed Iqbal gave this material to me personally during his English visit when he was in London as a member of the Indian Round Table Conference; and what is more that ISLAMIC SUFISM is a work which I have written entirely on the lines and sources that he himself indicated; for without the advice of such an important man of Islam, I could not tackle a very difficult subject. He has been my

cultural leader for more years than with most; and I would be the last person to do any thing which may detract from the value of the work of that Poet-Laureate of Islam. You should assure the Clarendon Press that I dare not take liberties with the activities of the one man whose services have endeared him in the world of Islam.

Whilst on this subject, perhaps you will kindly request Clarendon Press to send me a copy of Sir Mohamed Iqbal's Essays, for as I should like to review the book for The Bookman naturally in a favourable manner, for I class myself as a humble friend and a great admirer of the poet. Also, you might send a copy of this letter of mine to Clarendon Press, if you will please.³¹

The OUP found this explanation inadequate. In another letter to Rider and Co. dated 21st February 1934, it was stated:

...an acknowledgment does not cover the reproduction of large passages; and that the fact that a copy of a book or essay was given to a person by the author does not justify him in reproducing them. Nor does admiration for the author justify such a use of his work. Otherwise the whole copyright law would be useless...

What the OUP demanded was that for any future copies sold or printed, there should be a note printed at the beginning of the larger passages in the book stating that these passages have been taken from a book authored by Iqbal and published by OUP.

Just to add pressure to Rider and Co. in order to make them acquiesce to demands made by OUP, it was decided to consult legal advisors of OUP – Ravington & Son. Before a formal legal notice could be sent, R. T. Ravington first wrote to K. Sisam at OUP about clarification of some points. In that letter the following questions were raised:

(1) The date when Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah acquired the material written by Sir Mohamed Iqbal and whether there was any assignment in writing to him of the copyright in such material. It looks to me rather as though the former was given oral permission by the latter to make what use he pleased of the material.

(2) Particulars of the agreement between the Oxford University Press and Sir Mohamed Iqbal. I presume the Oxford University Press were the owners of the copyright in November last, and that in the assignment of the copyright to them there was no reservation of any right in favour of Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah or anyone else.

(3) Were the passages as to which the dispute arises published in India previous to the appearance of your book, and if so, by whom.³²

In response to these queries, Ravington was told:

(1) I feel confident that there was no assignment of the copy-right to Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah and no permission to use it by transcription. I took up the matter first on the letter from Sir Mohamed Iqbal of which I enclose a copy. You note that Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah says Sir Mohamed Iqbal gave him the matter, but he pretty clearly means that Sir Mohamed Iqbal gave him a copy of his book, which is a very different thing from giving permission to reproduce it.

(2) We received our authorisation from Sir Mohamed Iqbal on 9th April 1933 by the letter of which I attach a copy, and there is no other agreement.

(3) The lectures were published under the title of The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam at Lahore in 1930, and the printing was done by the Kapur Art Printing Works, Lahore. It

was a very cheap, poor edition, and even our Bombay branch had to write to Lahore to get a copy. Whether Iqbal paid for the printing, or what arrangements he made with the obscure publisher, I cannot say. But I think it is quite clear that he retained the copyright in his own hands, as there has never been a suggestion from him that there was any other claim.

While I am clear that Iqbal holds the copyright and that our permission for the new edition is good, I am by no means clear that we could act in our own right against Rider, though Iqbal seems to think we could. It seems to be certain that Rider's author copied the Indian edition, not ours, and that strictly the person who has a grievance is Iqbal, and we could only take the matter up as his agents, because of his letter of 9th April 1933. But I think a stiff letter would probably bring Rider to his senses.

Accordingly, a 'stiffer letter' was sent to Rider and Co. on March 12th, 1934 by Ravington and Son. The letter said:

We draw your attention to the fact that Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah the author of Islamic Sufism, has inserted on pages 76 to 96 and 173 to 194 thereof two long passages which occur in Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam written by Sir Mohamed Iqbal and published by the Oxford University Press. Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah does not own the copyright in Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam and has not been given permission to reproduce the two passages referred to above. The inclusion therefore of these two passages in Islamic Sufism is a piratical act and an infringement of copyright.

It is not possible to let such a matter as this pass without some notice being taken of it, and we

shall therefore be glad to hear from you without delay what steps you are ready to take to make amends for the piracy which has been committed.

As expected, the letter did “bring Rider to his senses”. In replying to Ravington and Son, Clifford W. Potter of Rider wrote on March 13th, 1934 that there was delay in response because the previous manager had left early in December and therefore the matter remained unacknowledged. It added:

We may ask you to convey to Messrs. The Clarendon Press our sincere apologies for using these excerpts without the publisher’s permission, and our assurance that we shall immediately proceed with the insertion of a note of the longer passages reproduced with the acknowledgment that they appear in “Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”. Meanwhile, we much regret that both you and they should have been put to unnecessary trouble.

This meek response was surprising for Ravington as well. He wrote on March 14th, 1934:

Rider & Co. have given in very meekly. I was afraid that they might dispute the point as to whether any right of the Oxford University Press had been infringed.

It should also be noted that in an attempt to mollify Iqbal who was greatly offended by Shah’s act, Shah dedicated his book on Kemal Ata Turk published in 1934 to Iqbal with the following dedication: “As a humble token of appreciation for his great services to Eastern scholarship, this book is dedicated to Sir Mohamed Iqbal, the Laureate of Islam.”³³ In another book, he published an excerpt – with acknowledgment – from Iqbal’s lecture “The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer”.³⁴

A Note on Ikbal Ali Shah (1894-1969)

Ikbal Ali Shah was the scion of an Afghan family. Born in a family of Mausavi Sayyids, Shah's family had long been settled in Afghanistan. In 1840, Shah's great-grandfather was awarded the title Jan-Fishan Khan for his support of Shah Shuja who had been installed as a puppet ruler by the British. In 1841, following the defeat of the British, Jan-Fishan Khan was forced to leave Afghanistan. The British-Indian government rewarded his loyalty with an estate in Sardhana, Uttar Pradesh.³⁵ Ikbal Ali Shah continued to receive a paltry amount of this monthly stipend throughout his life. Ikbal Ali Shah received his college education at Aligarh Muslim College before moving to Edinburgh around the First World War for a brief stint in medical education. It was during his stay in Scotland that he met his future wife Morag Murray. Ikbal Ali Shah's son Idris Shah made a name for himself in the West as a proponent of Sufism. Much of his claims about spiritual prowess, like his father about his academic relevance, were far too exaggerated. Like his father, he too was involved in an academic scandal in the 1960s when he claimed to have owned an original manuscript of Omar Khayyam's poems which was used to publish an 'authentic' edition of the great poet's works. However, Idris Shah was much more successful than his father in his literary and religious endeavours. This can be estimated from the fact that no less than the figure of Noble Laureate, novelist Doris Lessing was among his admirers and followers.³⁶ His role in promoting Islamic spiritualism in the West were applauded in a seminar attended by various literary and academic figures (including famous Pakistani historian Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi). Its proceedings were published by Ikbal Ali Shah's long-time friend and British academic, Professor Rushbrook Williams.³⁷ The descendants of Ikbal Ali Shah and Idris Shah continue to portray themselves as descendants of Afghan royalty with spiritual eminence because

of their Sayyid ancestry through which they claim to be building bridges between East and West.

Iqbal Ali Shah was not only a megalomaniac about his supposedly royal ancestry but also about the academic calibre of his work. He wrote almost a dozen books on different aspects of Muslim history, civilization along with biographies and political commentaries. But these were mainly journalistic pieces. Most of this work was produced to fulfil the requirements of the propaganda machinery of British Foreign Office and India Office for whom Iqbal Ali Shah was working in one capacity or the other. Even these offices of the British government were not too enthusiastic about the quality of propaganda work done by Shah. On one occasion, when Shah had approached the ministry of Foreign Affairs with a recommendation letter from Sir Zafarullah Khan, an opinion was sought from the Political (External) Department about the utility of his services. In its response, the departmental note said:

We have known him over a long period as a contributor of articles, principally to the provincial newspapers in this country, on matters affecting the Muslim world as particularly those concerning India and Afghanistan. ... [If] either the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office or the British Council were on the look-out for a person who could prepare, under supervision, material and articles in a form suitable for publication in Arab countries, Iqbal Ali Shah might be worth considering.³⁸

As an agent for the British Information Department, Foreign Department and India Office on different occasions, Shah's activities had ranged widely from writing articles in the newspaper in accordance with the departmental guideline to which he was employed to advising the government on procurement of *halal* canned meat for Muslim soldiers of the British Army in South America. But he was never considered

intellectually impressive for any responsible position. On another occasion, the activities and role of Shah were described in the following words:

He has written several books in Islamic matters and is associated with a body called the Islamic Research Bureau, whose object is to present the non-Congress point of view. Iqbal Ali Shah supports the Muslim League's programme and does propaganda on the Pakistan question. He is employed by the Ministry of Information to write articles useful for Muslim papers in India and he provides the Ministry with a regular service of news along these lines. His association with the Ministry of Information is kept confidential.³⁹

Although most of the departmental correspondence and notes about Shah were written in a contemptuous tone, yet these departments could not outrightly deny the importance of Shah for the overall propaganda machinery of the empire in India. Shah had been the London representative of two Muslim newspapers from India, *Star of India* and *Eastern Times*. He later became a correspondent for an Afghan journal *Islah* as well. In this way Shah was considered as the only freelance journalist who could write in English and could be used to present the Muslim point of view in line with the ministerial guideline for propaganda.⁴⁰ This was considered important for British strategic interests. The political department found it an excellent idea to use Shah to write articles for these journals and newspapers which could carry forward the agenda and propaganda of the British government. The Information Ministry asked Professor Rushbrook, Director of Near and Middle East Section, Ministry of Information, to coordinate with Shah and guide him about the kind of contributions to be made to these publications.⁴¹ Professor Rushbrook Williams (1890-1978), like Iqbal Ali Shah, was associated with the propaganda wing of different British departments. Through his writings he served the state purposes and its strategic interests.

Throughout his career, he remained an ardent supporter of Pakistan scheme and the utility of the Pakistani state. He went to the extreme of defending the actions of the Pakistani state in East Bengal in 1971 which had resulted in the killings of thousands of civilians.⁴²

The debate on Pakistan scheme was an important aspect of propaganda in British India during the war period. With regard to Pakistan scheme, Shah wrote a pamphlet which was titled *Pakistan: A Plan for India*. It was published in 1944. As cited above, Shah was responsible for propagating the anti-Congress viewpoint in India and this pamphlet was in part extension of such activities. Therefore Shah was counting on financial support from the India Office for this project as he asked them to buy a certain number of its copies. He had calculated that the contents of the book would be considered by the ministry as useful to its own propaganda. Although written as a Muslim case for Pakistan, without an objective analysis of the situation, the India Office recommended publication of the pamphlet as a way of presenting the Muslim case for Pakistan for a British readership.⁴³ But the question of buying 500 copies of the pamphlet was postponed till the publication of the book as the price quoted by Shah was considered too high. It is not known how many copies, and at what rate, did the British government purchase of this pro-Pakistan pamphlet.

Since the start of the Second World War, Shah had been employed under the Middle East Section of the Information Ministry. When his contract was coming to an end, there were little chances of renewal for another term as his services were no longer required or considered useful. Shah was aware of this fact. He, therefore, made an attempt to broaden the scope of his services for the ministry. He suggested that in addition to his work at the Middle East desk he could also be useful as a "Muslim advisor" to BBC. Alternatively he could also carry out monitoring in Persian and Hindustani for BBC or edit a fortnightly journal. He thought it would be useful if he could be sent on a trip to India to gather

information and judge the mood of Muslims there.⁴⁴ But none of these suggestions were considered viable.

With the termination of his contract looking imminent, Shah approached the ministry to plead his case for extension in a rather agitated mood. He hinted at turning over to Congress's India League in London if no suitable alternative was made available to him. That would have compromised a lot of political secrets for the British Government. The British were hoping that the Muslim League would set up a rival organization to India League in London. It was hoped that Shah could be adjusted in that organization. In this regard Sir Hassan Suharwardy had written to Muhammad Ali Jinnah for the setting up of such an organization but nothing concrete had been done in this regard by that time.

As a follow-up, Sir Hassan Suharwardy was accordingly informed that Iqbal Ali Shah was in an agitated state of mind because of financial constraints and because of termination of his contract. He was told that in case Shah carries out his threat of crossing over to Congress and India League, he might put them in an embarrassing situation.⁴⁵

With funds from Muslim League not forthcoming in the near future for the establishment of an organization in London and the looming threat of Shah's crossover to the Congress, MacGregory at the Information Department of India Officepleaded the case to extend the contract of services for Shah. He wrote:

The reasons are first that Iqbal Ali Shah is the only Moslem of any standing in this country with even elementary qualifications engaged in propaganda work and in the absence of an effective substitute he therefore should not be discarded, the Moslem question being of the importance that it is. Secondly it is certain that Moslem League will set up an organization in this country to further its interest in opposition to the existing Hindu or Congress organizations,

and that Ali Shah will automatically become associated with this. It is desirable therefore that the Government should retain its power to influence him instead of, perhaps, finding him a source of trouble, after the Indian blackmailing manner or method.⁴⁶

After this period, the association of Shah with the Information Department is uncertain. It is known that he set up an Islamic Research Bureau with its head office in London for the ostensible purpose of carrying out non-Congress propaganda.⁴⁷ It is not clear whether in doing so he was receiving direct financial support from the government on regular basis or not. But as shown in case of his pamphlet on Pakistan, he did not sever all ties with the Information Department and continued to follow a line which he thought would be found desirable by the ministry and for which it would be willing to offer financial assistance in some manner.

NOTES

- * Assistant Professor, Lahore University of Management Sciences, Lahore.
1. Dr. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi, "Allāma Iqbāl kē Angrēzī Khutbāt", in: *Iqbāliyat* 37, 4 (January-March 1997): 8. For details about the lectures prepared by Iqbal during the 1920s, I have largely drawn on researches carried out by Dr. Hashmi.
 2. Ibid.
 3. For detailed information, cf. Sayyid Shakil Ahmad, "Hayāt-i Iqbal kē Chañd Na'ē Goshē", in: *Iqbāliyat* 26, 2 (July-September 1985): 5-54.
 4. This he described in a letter to one of his friends Muhammad Jamil Khan dated August 4th, 1929; cited in Hashmi, "Angrēzī Khutbāt", 9.
 5. Ibid, p. 12.
 6. Dr. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi, "Allāma Iqbāl kē Chañd Ghair Mudavvan Khutūt", in: *Iqbāliyat* 23, 4 (January 1983): 43.
 7. Rimi B. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj* (New Delhi:

Oxford University Press, 2006), 232-3. In detailing the history of Oxford University Press, I have mainly summarized the findings of Chatterjee.

8. Milford had a keen sense of publishing industry and also a great knack for the gauging the demands of his readers. In this regard, Chatterjee has noted an interesting anecdote about Milford: “Thomas Arnold who was editing in 1930, the *Legacy of Islam*, complained to Milford that Oxford was pressurizing him to call it the *Legacy of Arabia* on the grounds that no one in England knew what ‘Islam’ meant. Milford went out into Warwick Square and polled random passers-by on the meaning of the word ‘Islam’: most didn’t have a clue. Therefore, he said, the title would have to carry the term ‘Arabia’ although indeed ‘neither title really connotes [both] Baghdad and Cordoba’.” Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind*, p. 195.

9. Ibid, p. 101.

10. Ibid, p. 383.

11. For detailed information about his life and works, cf. Mary Lago, “*India’s Prisoner*”: *A Biography of Edward John Thompson, 1886-1946* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001).

12. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson, July 13th, 1932, *Edward John Thompson Private Papers* (henceforth EJTPP), University of Oxford, 37.

13. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson, July 19th, 1932, *EJTPP*, 39.

14. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson June 10th, 1932, *EJTPP*, 35.

15. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson, July 12th, 1933, *EJTPP*, 54.

16. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson, January 15th, 1934, *EJTPP*, 61.

17. For details, cf. Professor Riaz Husain, *Allama Muhammad Iqbal: Rhodes Lecture dēnē kī Dā’vat (Oxford University File Number 2694 ki Daryaft)* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 2012), p. 26.

18. Edward J. Thompson to Lord Lothian, January 16th, 1934, Ibid, p. 28.

19. Lord Lothian to Muhammad Iqbal, March 6th, 1934, Ibid, p. 31.

20. Muhammad Iqbal to Lord Lothian, March 28th, 1934, p. 32. Ibid, p. 32.

21. Muhammad Iqbal to Lord Lothian, January 26th, 1935 and April 15th, 1935, Ibid, pp. 38-9.

22. Muhammad Iqbal to Lord Lothian, June 22nd, 1935, Ibid, p. 43. In these circumstances it is difficult to ascertain the claim made by M.D. Taseer that Iqbal rejected the offer because he sensed an imperial venture in this whole exercise. According to him, Iqbal had also been invited by Lord Lothian to attend an Islamic moot to be held in Palestine which was to follow shortly after his Rhodes lectures. Later Iqbal found out that the Islamic moot was to serve imperialist purposes. In order to avoid this Islamic moot, Iqbal made an excuse of his ill health. In this way, Iqbal let go off the prestigious Rhodes lecture at Oxford— says Taseer – just to avoid the imperialist venture of an Islamic conference. Afzal Haq Qarshi, ed. *Iqbāliyāt-e Tāsīr*

(*Iqbāl kē Fikr-o Fan par Muhammad Dīn Tāsīr kē Maqalāt*) (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2010), 27.

23. Lord Lothian to Edward J. Thompson, January 7th, 1937, *EJTPP*, 79.

24. "Iqbal's Lectures", Unnamed to Humphrey S. Milford, February 2nd, 1933, *Oxford University Press Archives* (henceforth *OUPA*), file 7070.

25. Humphrey S. Milford to Lord Lothian, February 2nd, 1933, *OUPA*.

26. Unnamed to Humphrey S. Milford, March 10th, 1933, *OUPA*. Raymond Cullis Goffin was ex-professor at Cotton College Gauhati. He was appointed as manager for Indian operations in 1926-27. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind*, 142-3.

27. Axel Monte, "Images of Iqbal and Tagore in Germany", in: Gita Dharampal-Frick, Ali Usman Qasmi, and Katia Rostetter, eds. *Revisioning Iqbal: As a Poet and Muslim Political Thinker* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 92.

28. Memo from Branch Office, Bombay to Secretary of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, March 14th, 1933, *OUPA*.

29. Humphrey Milford Letter Book, February 18th, 1933 – May 31st, 1933, *OUPA*, 376.

30. Other than Iqbal, the plagiarism charge was reported to the Press through Bruce Richmond of the *Times Literary Supplement* and A. T. Wilson, an MP and former oilman for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Milford sent all the relevant documents along with the book to Charles Rivington, the Press's legal adviser. The book was a fairly straightforward copy of Iqbal's work and Milford was confident that Rider and Co would withdraw and settle with the Press. Chatterjee, *Empires of the Mind*, 409.

31. Iqbal Ali Shah to Rider and Co, February 15th, 1934, *OUPA*.

32. R. T. Ravington to K. Sisam, March 8th, 1934, *OUPA*.

33. The complete reference for this book is, Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, *Kamal: Maker of Modern Turkey* (London: Herbert Joseph, 1934).

34. Iqbal Ali Shah, ed. *The Oriental Caravan: A Revelation of the Soul and Mind of Asia* (London: D. Archer, 1933), 237.

35. Much of the information about Iqbal Ali Shah's ancestry has been collected from the website maintained by Shah family. For details, cf. http://web.me.com/shahinfo/SIRDAR_IKBAL_ALI_SHAH/Home.html,

accessed on October 7th, 2011. Additional information about the Shah family has been obtained from an article by James Moore titled "Neo-Sufism: The Case of Idries Shah". For details, cf. http://www.hermes-press.com/S_shah.htm, accessed on October 7th, 2011. The family website claims Indian actor Nasir-ud-Din Shah and English cricketer Owais Shah to be part of the extended Shah family.

36. For details, cf. James Moore, "Neo-Sufism".

37. L.F. Rushbrook Williams, ed. *Sufi Studies: East and West: A Symposium in Honour of Idries Shah's Services to Sufi Studies* (London: Octagon Press, 1973).
38. Secretary, Political (External) Department to W. Mallet, Foreign Office, January 9th, 1939, "Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah: Particulars of Writings, Movements etc", India Office Record (IOR), L/ PS/ 12/ 216. I am grateful to Martin Cabrera for sending me the digital copies of archival material on Iqbal Ali Shah. Only a portion of that material has been used in this article. There are various other projects and activities in which Iqbal Ali Shah was involved but for the sake of brevity, I have chosen to cover only main aspects of his life and work.
39. J.F.G., India Office, Whitehall, to Professor C. M. MacInnes, Department of History, University of Bristol, January 21st, 1944, India Office Record (IOR), L/I/I/1509, 57.
40. A. H. Joyce, India Office, to Professor Rushbrook Williams, Middle East Section, Ministry of Information, April 26th, 1940, L/I/I/1509, 183.
41. A.H. Joyce, India Office, to Professor Rushbrook Williams, Ministry of Information, February 20th, 1940, L/I/I/1509, 243. Supervision of Shah's writings was considered essential since he was not considered competent enough to be entrusted with important tasks on his own. On one occasion, Shah was entrusted with an important task of preparing a draft article on the Muslim war efforts. But his draft was found to be unsatisfactory as it touched upon controversial subjects. The ministry then used the services of A. J. Arberry who was, at that time, an Assistant Librarian at the India Office, to do the job which he successfully did. A. H. Joyce to Sir Hassan Suharwardy, October 22nd, 1940, L/I/I/1509, 224.
42. For details, cf. Rushbrook Williams, *The East Pakistan Tragedy* (London: Tom Stacey, 1972).
43. India Office, Whitehall, to Iqbal Ali Shah, February 17th, 1943, L/I/I/1509, 78.
44. Iqbal Ali Shah to L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, August 14th, 1942, L/I/I/1509, 136.
45. A. H. Joyce to Sir Hassan Suharwardy, October 27th, 1942, L/I/I/1509, 125.
46. MacGregor to F. Burton Leach, India Section, Empire Division, Ministry of Information, January 25th, 1943, L/I/I/1509, 87.
47. Iqbal Ali Shah to Macgregor, Information Department, India Office, February 11th, 1943, L/I/I/1509, 82.

SOURCES

Archives and Personal Papers

Edward John Thompson Private Papers, University of Oxford
Oxford University Press Archives, file 7070.
India Office Records, British Library, L/ PS/ 12/ 216 and L/I/I/1509.

Books and Articles

- Ahmed, Sayyid Shakil. "Hayāt-i Iqbāl kē chañd goshē." *Iqbāliyyāt*. 26, 2. (July-September 1985): 5-54.
- Chatterjee, Rimi B. *Empires of the Mind: A History of the Oxford University Press in India under the Raj*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Hashmi, Rafi-ud-din. "Allama Iqbāl kē Angrēzī Khutbāt." *Iqbāliyyāt*. 37, 4. (January-March 1997): 8.
- Husain, Riaz. *Allama Muhammad Iqbal: Rhodes Lecture denay ki Da'wat (Oxford University File Number 2694 ki Daryaft)*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 2012.
- Lago, Mary. "*India's Prisoner*": *A Biography of Edward John Thompson, 1886-1946*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001.
- Monte, Axel. "Images of Iqbal and Tagore in Germany". *Revisioning Iqbal: As a Poet and Muslim Political Thinker*. Edited by Gita Dharampal-Frick, Ali Usman Qasmi, and Katia Rostetter. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011: 92.
- Qureshi Afzal Haq. Ed. *Iqbāliyyāt-i Tāsīr (Iqbāl kē Fikr-o Fan par Muhammad Dīn Tāsīr kē Maqālāt)*. Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2010.
- Shah, Sirdar Iqbal Ali. *Kamal: Maker of Modern Turkey*. London: Herbert Joseph, 1934.
- Shah, Sirdar Iqbal Ali. Ed. *The Oriental Caravan: A Revelation of the Soul and Mind of Asia* (London: D. Archer, 1933): 237.
- Williams, L. F. Rushbrook. Ed. *Sufi Studies: East and West: A Symposium in Honour of Idries Shah's Services to Sufi Studies*. (London: Octagon Press) 1973.
- Williams, L. F. Rushbrook. *The East Pakistan Tragedy*. London: Tom Stacey, 1972.

Internet

- http://web.me.com/shahinfo/SIRDAR_IKBAL_ALI_SHAH/Home.html,
accessed on October 7, 2011.
- http://www.hermes-press.com/S_shah.htm, accessed on October 7th, 2011

Copy

Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt. M.A. Ph.D.
Barrister-at-Law,
Lahore.

9th April 1933.

My dear Sir,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which I recd. yesterday. I had already sent two copies of my lectures to Mr. Edward Thompson of Oxford, one of which was meant for you. I hope these books have reached Mr. Thompson and that he has presented one of them to you on my behalf. I have no hesitation in giving you the required permission to reprint the lectures. Indeed I consider it a great honour if the Oxford University Press undertake to reprint it. In case they do so I shd. like to make one or two changes, and if you consider it advisable you can add to these lectures another lecture which I delivered to the Aristotelian Society of London last December. It was extremely kind of Lord Lothian to make this suggestion to you. I wrote to him some time ago; but I do not know whether my letter reached him.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MOHAMMAD IQBAL

P.S. The subject of the lecture delivered to the Aristotelian Society was - 'Is Religion Possible?'. You can get a copy of it from the Society. Bergson appreciated it very much.

Copy of a letter from Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D.
Barrister-at-Law,
Lahore.

25th December 1933.

My dear Mr. Milford,

Thanks for your kind letter. I should feel much obliged if you could kindly send me a few copies of the book when it is ready.

I must also bring it to your notice that an Indian writer - Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah - in his book "Islamic Sufism", published by Rider & Co. in 1933, has copied verbatim more than 40 pages of the book you are printing. He has mentioned my name, but not the title of the book from which he has quoted. These quotations are as follows:

P. 173-194
P. 76-96

I think it will be good if some reviewer of my book points this out in his Review.

Hoping you are well and thanking you.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) MOHAMMAD IQBAL.

