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STUDIES IN IQBAL'S LONGER POEMS

Kemal Habib

Longer poems are not new in Urdu literature. But Iqbal's longer poems are certainly new experiments not only from the standpoint of style, but also from the point of view of diction and imagery. There is no doubt that Hali's *Mussadas,* by itself a new experiment for its thematic novelty and naturalness of approach, set the central pattern for the celebrated long poems of Iqbal, 'Shikwa' and lawab-e-shikwa' yet the art of longer poems with Iqbal reached its zenith in the later parts of *Bang-e-Dara.*

The poet here goes far beyond the pattern of *Mussadas-e-Hali,* and performs several feats of original experiments judged by the canons of poetic technique. Iqbal's achievement is superb; possibilities of new rhythmic variations and pervasiveness are unfolded; consciousness moves between historical experience to heights of spiritual intuition and surges forth through new symbolism and aesthetic effects. For the purposes of this study, I will discuss some poems of Iqbal especially 'Shama-aur-Shair', 'Khidr-e-Rah' and 'Tulu-e-Islam'. Whereas 'Shama-aur-Shair' and 'Khidr-e-Rah' are dialogues, 'Tulu-e-Islam' is not. But the structure of the verses is similar. Each 'band' or stanza has a verse interposed in between having a different 'radeer (rhyming arrangement) and the theme for the next stanza is taken up. Such an arrangement provides a gradual transformation from one subject to another, so that each stanza becomes independent. In other words, these poems read like an elongated 'Mussadas', with

its two-verse structure being replaced by a stanza of more than two verses. All these variations provide a very subtle effect to the poems of Iqbal. Another characteristic which Iqbal possesses and which he is very difficult to be excelled, is the lyrical effect produced in one stanza, rhetorical in the next, and pathetic in the succeeding stanza.

Written in 1912, Shama-aur-Shair is among the major poems of Iqbal. In 'Shikwa' and 'Jawab-e-Shikwa' Iqbal introduces the reader to the subject by gradually justifying his theme. In 'Sham-aur-Shair' the dialogue is direct. It is a symbolic poem. The poet or 'shair' is the symbol for the tradition-ridden poet who has not adapted himself to his times. There again Iqbal indirectly emphasises the missionary zeal which should possess and guide a poet. That he should find no appreciation is the logical consequence of a shift from the traditional ryhming 'numbers' to another sort of poetry—one that should impart zeal and fervour_ to its hearer. For as orders change, so do the tastes.

ذوق می گفتم بہ شمع منزل ویران خویش
گیسوئے تو از پر پروانہ دارد شیانہ
در جہان مثل چراگ لالہ صہراستم
نے نصیب مہفلے، نہ قسمت کاشانہ
مدتے مانند تو من ہم نفس می سوختم
در طواف شعلہ ام بالے نہ زد پروانہ
می طپد صد جلوہ در جان امل فرسود من
برنمی خیزد ازیں محفل دل دیوانہ
از کجا ایں آتش عالم فروز اندوختی
کرمک بے مایہ را سوز کلیم آموختی

Shama or candle incorporates several symbols, which are allied to each- other, nevertheles: fervour, dedication, sorrow (here for our lost heritage); vigour; and truth. When therefore the poet bemoans his fate, 'Shama' or the Candle, replies :

مجھ کو جو سوز نفس دیتی ہے پیغام اجل
لب اسی موج نفس سے ہے نوا پیرا ترا
مینن تو جلتی ہوں کہ مضمر ہے مری فطرت میں سوز
تو فروزاں ہے کہ پروانوں کو ہو سودا ترا

"The fervour and pathos that bringeth death to me moveth thine pen and mouth. I burn because pathos inform my nature, tiut thou burnest so that the moths should flutter round thee."

The candle, in the very first verse, comes out with the reply that it is the same life, however brief and shortlived be, that animates it and also supplies inspiration to the poet. The candle burns itself to extinction because it is intrinsically sad and is its very nature to burn for the sake of burning; the poet, on the other hand, panders his poetry to cater to the prospective patrons. Iqbal, through the symbol of the candle, produces several beautiful verses:

گریہ ساماں مینکہ میرے دل میں ہے طوفان اشک
شبنم افشاں تو کہ بزم گل میں ہو چرچا ترا

گل بداماں ہے مری سب کے لہوں سے میری صبح

ہے ترے امروز سے نا آشنا فردا ترا

سوچ تو دل میں لقب ساقی کا زیبا ہے تجھے

انجمن پیاسی ہے اور پیمانہ بے صہبا ترا

کعبہ پہلو میں ہے اور سودائی بتخانہ

کس قدر سوریدہ سے ہے شوق بے پروا ترا

" Tears well out because in my heart there is a tide of tears; thou cravest for the dew so that thou might be favoured by the flowers. My morn is adorned by the blood that I shed at night, while thine morrow knoweth not thine today. Reflect for a moment if thou deservest the title of 'Saqi' when the audience demandeth wine and thou has tnone in the cup. Thou hast 'Kaaba' in the heart, and yet thou seekest idol worship. How misplaced is thine careless passion."

After remonstrating with the poet how improvident and patron-hungry he is, the candle finally tells the poet :

اب نوا پیرا ہے کیا؟ گلشن ہوا برہم ترا
بے مہل تیرا ترنم نغمہ بے موسم ترا

"Now that the garden is desolate, thou singest. How out of place is thy voice and how untimely thine words !"

With undertones of great sorrow that the audience which could give ear to his poetry is now no more and his rhymes are ineffective because they are not in step with the time, Iqbal attacks the senseless contemporary Muslims, oblivious of the past, present and future.

تحا جنہیں ذوق تماشا وہ تو رخصت ہو گۓ
لے کے اب تو وعدہ دیدار عام آیا تو کیا

انجمن سے وہ پرانے شعلہ آشام اٹھ گۓ

ساقیا محفل میں تو آتش بجام آیا تو کیا

آہ جب لشن کی جمعیت پریشاں ہو گی

پھول کو باد بہاری کا پیام ایا تو کیا

اخر شب دید کے قابل تحی بسمل کی تڑپ

سبھدم کوی اگر بالائے بام آیا تو کیا

"Alas ! Those that loved life to the brim in all its splendour are gone, never to return. Now thou comes with a promise to unfold the traditions of Islam, but what boots thy promise? The tavern lieth emptied of those who frequented it and thrill ed all with the zest of life. O saqi, how that thou comest with the cup of wine, is it not too late? The garden is a waste, with its flowers and the plant faded. The Zephyr blew not then, will its breeze augur spring for the flowers? When the victim was gory, and on the verge of yielding up his ghost, no one heeded him, and slumber was dear to everyone. Now that he is past all consolation, all revival, all sympathy, what good doth it serve thine coming at the advent of dawn to see what hath happened."

The last verse, for its pathos, suggestiveness, and appeal is one of the best ever written by Iqbal. He epitomises the history of the Muslim world in the earlier portion of the couplet. 'Akhir-e,' that is, the time when the evil of night was about to lift, the tremours and the convulsions of the wounded victim (bismil) would have moved all and sundry to tears were there anyone to see him. If therefore with the coming of the early dawn one comes with a salve; wilt the past callousness retrieve the dead? What boots us,

therefore, if we cry over what has come to pass? The candle then bemoans the callousness, senselessness, and shortsightedness of the Muslim world which refuses to hear if it has cared to see, even if it has eyes to see, and to think, even if endowed with imagination:

پھول بے پروا ہیں، تو گرم نوا ہو یا نہ ہو
کارواں بے حس ہے، آواز درا ہو یا نہ ہو

واے ناکامی متاع کارواں جاتا رہا

کارواں کے دل سے احساس زیاں جاتا رہا

The flowers are dead to all feelings, however much thou might try to wake them through the warmth of thine emotions and the melody of thine poetry. The caravan too moveth on oblivious to the ringing of the bell that announceth its destination. Alas! the caravan knowth not its gain or loss, nor doth it harbour any goal, and moveth indiscriminately and insensibly forward and forward."

The candle then alludes to the factors that might have contributed to the decline of Islam, specifically with reference to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent: the blending of traditions within the fabric of faith; the apathy and otioseness of the contemporary Muslim countries to dedicate themselves to their own salvation; the narrowness of outlook; and the parochial attitudes taken by the constituent communities or countries.

سطوت توحید قائم جن نمازوں سے ہوئی
وہ نمازیں ہند میں نزر برہمن ہو گئیں

دہر میں عیش دوم آءیں کی پابندی سے ہے

موت کو زادیاں سامان شیون ہو گئیں

اڑتی پھرتی تھیں ہزاروں بلبلیں گلزار میں

دل میں کیا آئی کہ پابند نشیمن ہو گئیں

وست گردوں میں تھی ان کی تڑت نظارہ سوز

بجلیاں آسودہ دامان خرمن ہو گئیں

"The call that proclaimed the rule of one God from one come r of the world to another hath fallen a victim to inetia in the land of Ind. Time forgiveth not the violation of the eternal laws and the Muslim fell on evil days by the misuse of freedom, like a wave that hath no course and dasheth to and fro. Even the bulbul which chirped in the garden and made it a most plcasant place hath sought a roost, from which it cometh not. The call of the Muslim shook the sky to its foundations but the thunderbolts of its fervour have chosen to rest in fields and cracks no more."

The last vcrse again brings out the spatial imagery of Iqbal in the context of Islam's early history. The infinite vastness of Heaven is likened to the fervour that inflamed and inspired the faith of the pristine exponents of Islam. The outer atmosphere has been associated with the lightning. Lightning signifies restlessness in this verse, while usually it is associated with ill-luck. Ghalib says:

خوشی کیا کھیت پر میرے، اگر سو بار ابر آئے
سمجھتا ہوں کہ ڈھونڈے ہے ابجی سے برق خرمن کو

"What is hope? What is pleasure?—Verily a fool's paradise. If I see the overcast sky that portends rain for the fields of my hopes, I am led to think that it is the bolt of thunder that will burn them to nothingness."

'Khirman' or field symbolises man's constant and sustained effort. If therefore lightning strikes the field. the latter is burnt up. But Iqbal gives the symbol a very original twist by suggesting that even the lightning has lost its fervour, and has sought comfortable sanctuaries in the fields. In other words, the element of fervour that provides fillip to a nation is absent. Iqbal, then, takes up the question of the influence of Western thought and politics on the Muslim mind: he can detect rustling of clothes and ultimately the sleeper might wake up.

مژدہ اے پیمانہ ودار حجستان حجاز
بعد مدت کے ترے رندوں کو پھر آیا ہے ہوش

نقد خود داری بہائے بادہ اغیار تھی

پر دکاں تیری ہے لبریز صدائے نائے و نوش

پھر یہ غوغا ہے کہ لا ساقی شراب خانہ ساز

دل کے ہنگامے مئے مغرب نے کر ڈالے خموش

"O saqi that serveth the cup of wine brimming with the faith of Hijaz, I see that the inhabitants of the tavern are opening their eyes. The wine that hath sustained us was not the wine that we desired but that which we purchased from those that exchanged our faith for their beverages. But now it seemeth that the wine shop that purveyeth the wine of thy faith is echoing with the call

of the faithful. Methinks, I hear some echo of the old call of the faith, even though the wine of the West hath benumbed our senses."

Actually the whole of this part of 'Shama our Shair' with its endings in sibilants (sh) provides a very melodious effect: the meterial effect is sustained and is never allowed to move beyond the required limits of the tempo that is to be maintained.

The verses that follows—there are seven of them—are Pan-Islamic in their content. Iqbal, again, comes to the thesis that he has adopted in 'Wataniyyat,' that Islam, as a code of life and conduct, demands independence from national frontiers: for one thing, these are contradictory to the very essence of Islam; and, secondly, Islam cannot emerge as a world force and defend itself unless the constituent nations professing Islam form an indivisible whole. From this thesis Iqbal never departed again, and it occurs very frequently in *Bal-e-Jibreel, Darb-e-Kaleem,* and in 'Khidr-e-Rah', and 'Tulu-e-Islam'.

رہزن ہمت ہوا ذوق تن آسانی ترا
بحر تھا صحرا میں تو، گلشن میں مثل جو ہوا

اپنی اصلیت پہ قایم تحا، تو جمعیت بحی تھی

چھوڑ کر گل کو پریشاں کاروان بو ہوا

"Thine inertia has robbed thee of all valour and courage. Thou wast like an ocean in the wilderness which thou defied and overcame. Now thou art like a rivulet in a garden, a thing that adorneth but doth nothing else. When thou wast united, thou

wast all powerful But thou art like one who hast left the flower and seeketh its scent here and there, knowing not where it is."

This is, however, for the present. What of the future? Iqbal is confident of the glorious future if the Muslim is awakened to the dangers that surround him from all sides: if he reverts to the glorious heritage of Islam and sounds a clarion call to those who are not yet awake to its glory. Iqbal bubbles with hope and the verses become very lyrical:

آہ کس کی جستجو آوارہ رکھتی ہے تجھے
راہ تو، رہرو بھی تو، رہبر بھی تو، منزل بھی تو

دیکھ آ کر کوچہ چاک گریباں میں کبھی

قیس تو، لیلی بھی تو، سحرا بھی تو، محمل بھی تو

شعلہ بن کر پھونک دے خاشاک غیر اللہ کو

خوف باطل کیا؟ کہ ہے غار تگر باطل بھی تو

"O traveller, whom searcheth thou and harrieth the world with thy agonies? Knowest thou not that thou art the path, traveler, guide, and the goal, all in one? If thou ever examineth thyself, thou shalt discover that thou art Qais, his beloved, Laila, the wilderness, and the seat on the back of the camel. All this thou art and wast. Be like a flame and burn all this dross that hath covered thy faith. What feareth thou? Thou wrong? Surely thou canst kill the wrong with stroke of thy inherent righteousness."

اب تلک شاید ہے جس پر کوہ فاراں کا سکوت

اے تغافل پیشہ تجھ کو یا وہ پیماں بھی ہے

تو ہی ناداں چند کلیوں پر قناعت کر گیا

ورنہ گلشن میں علاج تنگی داماں بھی تحا

"The mount of Faran is quiet and watcheth thee—it watcheth thee carefully to see whether thou recallest thine first covenant. A fool that thou art, for a few buds thou hast bartered away the garden resplendent in its beauty."

Finally, the rise of Islam from ashes is predicted :

آسماں ہو ا سحر کے نور سے آئینہ پوش

اور ظلمت رات کی سیماب پا ہو جائے گی

اس قدر ہو گی ترنم آفریں باد بہار

نگہت خوابیدہ غنچے کی نوا ہو جائے گی

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آ سکتا نہیں

محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہو جائے گی

"One day the sky will shine with light, the light of faith, and the darkness of the night will diffuse away with mercurial celerity. The advent of the spring will bring with it its countless notes of joy, the the buds will waft thine scent that they lock now, and it

will be that the buds will share with thee. What I see, I wish I could express: but, no, I cannot, for the wonders of the future defy the use of words that I seek."

'Shama aur Shair' is also very important from another viewpoint, namely, the theme, the imagery empolyed, and the emphasis on the Pan-Islamic concept. For instance, when the poet describes the effect of ceaseless effort for the attainment of success, he employs the image of the wave which, when once it gains momentum, could bring about a revolution in the velocity of the river. Iqbal applies this image to the present-day Islamic world. He sees a storm that is bound to burst from the lull and quietness of the river which pervades it at the moment:

دیکھ لو گے سطوت رفتار دریا کا مآل

موج مضطر ہی اسے زنجیر پا ہو جائے گی

"Thou shalt see, my poet, what the wave that is gaining in momentum promiseth. This self-same wave one day will be like the human foot that will create a spate in the river which is flowing quietly and lulled to sleep."

In 'Khidr-e-Rah' Iqbal writes:

تو نے دیکھا سطوت رفتار دریا کا عروج

موج مضطر کس طرح بنتی ہے اب زنجیر دیکھ

'Thou hast seen the river of faith gaining in velocity. See now how the chain of events unfolds as these waves make a chain of events that will revolutionise faith."

From the viewpoint of the sheer lyrical effect generated, 'Shama aur Shair' is one of the finest poems in Urdu literature. Another factor which confers an elfin-like delicate beauty on the poem is the lyrical key, the tempo of which has not been allowcd to go out of control. Even if the contemporary situation has been alluded to, it has bcen done very cleverly and the contemporary element does not produce a discordant effort.

'Shama aur Shair° then supplies the pattern for the succeeding poems by Iqbal. The pattern has the following super-structure: invocation to the past traditions of Islam; reverence to traditions; problems which beset the contemporary Islamic world; and the beacon light that is there, albeit very dimly, to lead to the glorious future in which Islam is bound to find its plenary fulfilment. Iqbal clearly and unmistakably refers to the influence that the early Islamic history has exercised on 'Muslim' (June 1912):

گوشش آواز سرود رفتہ کا جویا ترا

اور دل ہنگامہ حاضر سے بے پروا ترا

ہم نشیں سملم ہوں میں، توحید کا حامل ہوں میں

اس صداقت پر ازل سے شاہد عادل ہوں میں

کب ڈرا سکتا ہے غم کا عارضی منظر مجھے

ہے بھروسا اپنی ملت کے مقدر پر مجھے

یاس کے عنصر سے ہے آزاد میرا روزگار

فتح کامل کی خبر دیتا ہے جوش کار زار

"My ear seeketh the voice that echoed in the sea, land, and wilderness. I am a Muslim and a believer in God, and God hath attested to this in His eternal message. The temporary scene frightens me not, because I am brimming with the confidence of my *millat' s* greatness. My life is free from any taint of pcssimism, and our fervour proclaimeth our ultimate victory."

"Huzur-e-Risalat-Maab Main' (The August Presence of the Prophet of Islam) bubbles with the faith, spontaneous love and affection that Iqbal feels towards the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him). Iqbal's earlier lack of rcstraint has now been tempered into a steel-like faith. Reverence is the first essential of faith. Iqbal does not visualize a direct dialogue between himself and the Prophet of Islam (peace on him) but projects himself as the exponent of the Islamic precepts after leaving the earthly abode.

گراں جو مجھ پہ یہ ہنگامہ زمانہ ہوا

جہاں سے باندھ کے رخت سفر روانہ ہوا

قیود شام و سحر میں بسر تو کی لیکن

نظام کہنہ عالم سے آشنا نہ ہوا

فرشتے بزم رسالت میں لے گئے مجھ کو

حضور آیہ رھمت میں لے گئے مجھ کو

"When the tide of time bcgan to oppress me, I departed from this earthly abode and left for the eternal. Having spent my life in the midst of the flux of the day and night, I at last was taken to a place where everything is eternal. The angel; took me before the Prophet of Islam, whose boundless mercy had sustained me during my mortal existence."

The Prophet of Islam (peace be on him) asks the poet what his achievement during his brief life-time was:

نکل کے باگ جہاں سے برنگ بو آیا

ہمارے واسطے کیا تحفہ لے کے تو آیا؟

"Thou hast come, 0 poet, out of the garden of life as the scent departeth from the flower. What hast thou brought for us?"

The poet's answer is that, while man is engaged in an unsuccessful effort for tranquility, he cannot obtain it; nor could the poet find any fidelity in the world of selfish men and women;

but he has brought one gift, the martyrdom of the Muslim soldiers who defended Tripoli against the Italian forces.

جھلکتی ہے تری امت کی آبرو اس میں

طرا بلس کے شہیدوں کا ہے لہو اس میں

"This war showeth that thine faithful servants still cherish the covenant that they made with thce and the blood of the martyrs of Tripolitania attesteth to it."

Iqbal's poems in the third part of *Bang-e-Dara* show a marked tendency towards convergence on what might be regarded as the central theme: the *Islamic nationhood.* Thus, in his later poems, Iqbal is moving away gradually and almost irrevocably from the domestic to the cosmic, from the local to the international. Examples are provided by the poems regarding the death of Haji from Bokhara; in his poem on the dialogue between the Prophet of Islam (pcace be on him) and himself; in his poem 'Shafakhana-e-Hijaz' (Hospital for Hijaz), in the moving poem on Fatima, who died while supplying water to the soldiers; and in his major poems. This is in marked contrast to his contemporaries, in which of course only Maulana Zafar Ali Khan could be counted as a sharer of his vision, but then Zafar Ali Khan's approach, even though earnest, somehow strikes a journalistic touch.

In his three-verse poem, 'Saqi' (The Cup Bearer), Iqbal again expounds his theme of re-awakening and imparts a new touch to the symbol of 'saqi' which in ghazal is associated with wine:

نشہ پلا کے گرانا تو سب کو آتا ہے

مزا تو جے ہے کہ گرتوں کو تھام لے ساقی

جو بادہ کش تھے پرانے وہ اڑھتے جاتے ہیں

کہیں سے آب بقائے دوام لے ساقی

کٹی ہے رات تو ہنگامہ گستری میں تری

سحر قریب ہے اللہ کا نام لے ساقی

"Every cup bearer knoweth how to grip the drinker into intoxication; but vcrily how brave would that saqi be whose message is to steady those that are drunk. The old guard of thine tavern, 0 saqi, is departing, could thou but possibly secure the water of eternal life! Thou, 0 saqi, halt spent a riotous night; the night is dcparting; be thou awake, and take Allah's name."

Here Iqbal has committed a solecism; 'nasha' has been used as a common noun, meaning an intoxicant, whereas actually it is an abstract noun, and literally means intoxication. In ordinary speech, however, the world 'nasha' is used to denote an intoxicant; but neither etymologically nor from the literary viewpoint is it correct to use the word in the sense conveyed by common speech. Be that as it may, the poem provides another touch to the concept of 'Saqi'; here the cup-bearer is being invoked to serve a cup of wine which is not the cup that cheers, but the cup that would put the

fire of faith and fealty in the drinker. The cup-bearer has wasted a good deal of time, as it is: now that the dawn heralding the advent of a new era that would dispel the spell of slumber is at hand, let the cup bearer also join others in praying to God for the bestowal of His boundless grace on Muslims.

'Navaid-e-Subah' (The Advent of the Morn) is a 9-stanza poem, that employs the imagery of nature but in the later-day style. In the first verse, the East has been brought into the image not only because sun rises from the east but also because it is the cradel of Islam; dawn has also been employed symbolically, because it dispels slumber (in the wider contex, from the minds of the millions of slumber-laden Muslims):

آتی ہے مشرق سے جب ہنامہ در دامن سحر

منزل ہستی سے کر جاتی ہے خاموشی سفر

"When the morn arrives on its chariot wheels from the East, the quietness of life departs, leaving the world aglow with life."

The third verse has been exquisitely turned out:

چہچہاے ہیں پرندے پا کے پیغام ھیات

باندھتے ہیں پھول بجی گلشن میں احرام حیات

"The birds, when revived by the message that life bringeth, chirp and sing. The flowers also bow down in respect before God who hath endowed them with beauty and life."

Birds chirp and sing when it is the morning time; the flowers also bloom and shine when the sun falls on them. The blooming of flowers has been associated in the image with the ‘ahram' of life, that is, the flowers also gunflect as if offering theire respects to the ‘Kaaba' of life with the advent of morning. ‘Ahram-e-hayat' is a new simile coined by Iqbal, and is in keeping with the rcligious touch given in the verse that follows:

مسلم خوابیدہ اڑھ ہنگامہ آرا تو بھی ہو

وہ چمک اٹھا افق گرم تماشا تو بھی ہو

"O slumbering Muslim, be thou awake. The horizon is all aglow with the songs of life of which thou be a part."

Iqbal invokes the Muslim world to rise and to share in the joy of the morning, and to demand its rightful share in the hustle and bustle of the day. In another poem, 'Id per Shair Likhne Ki Farmaish ke Jawab main' (The poet's Reply to the request to write a Poem on the occasion of Id), however, a despondent touch is apparent; but obviously this was a temporary phenomenon:

پیام عیش و مسرت ہمیں سناتا ہے

ہلال عید ہاری ہنسی اڑاتا ہے

"How the yon crescent moon mocketh and flouteth at us—that moon which should have heralded the days of joy and love."

The mood in this poem is quite different from that of 'Hilal-e-Id' (the Id Moon) where the Id moon is regarded as a source of inspiration and guidance for Muslims. In this poem, on the other hand, the poet looks at the moon with a feeling of wistfulness, since the inspiration which it should have provided to the Muslim world, comes to naught.

The domination of this feeling of despondency and dejection must have been of a temporary nature, as the next poem, 'Fatima bint Abdullah', is dedicated to the memory of Fatima, who was killed while serving water to the soldiers in the battle of Tripolitania in North Africa.

ہے کوئی ہنگامہ تیری تربت خاموش میں

پل رہی ہے ایک قوم تازہ اس آغوش میں

بے خبر ہوں گرچہ ان کی وست مقصد سے میں

آفرینش دیکھتا ہوں انکی اس مرقد سے میں

"Thine grave, 0 Fatima, hideth some riotous upheaval: nay it presageth the birth of a new nation. I am a humble poet, am not yet alive to the scope of that upheaval, but I can sense its birth in the darkness of thy grave."

'Ghulam Qadir Rohila' is a slightly longer historical poem. The perspective that Iqbal sets in the poem is quite similar to that in other poems but has been converted into a historical incident. Ghulam Qadir Rohila was a general who imprisoned the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, and blinded him, in return for the latter's assistance to the Marathas and to the disgrace meted out to Rohila ladies after the battle between the Mughal and Rohila forces. Later on, of course, he was captured and killed; but the incident in itself reflects the canker of degeneration that had been eating away the sinews of the Mughal empire. The poem describes briefly a scene in the harem of Shah Alam. Rohila orders the inmates of the harem to dance before him—which greatly militated against the reverence in which the Mughal princes and princesses were held. The women of the harem obey his order, and Rohila pretends sleep. He then tells the inmates that he wanted to see for himself if any woman in the harem prided herself on the blood of Amir Taimur flowing through her veins, and dared to kill him. None did, and therefore self-respect and dignity which the house of Taimur had maintained for centuries had departed. The poem has quite a few beautiful verses:

بجھائے خواب کے پانی نے اختر اس کی آنکھوں کے

نظر شرما گئی ظالم کی درد انگیز منظر سے

پھر اٹھا اور تیموری ھرم سے یوں لگا کہنے

شکایت چاہے تم کو نہ کچھ اپنے مقدر سے

مرا مسند پہ سو جانا ناوت تھی تکلف تھا

کہ غفلت دور ہے شان صف آرایان لشکر سے

یہ مقصد تحا مرا اس سے کوئی تیمور کی بیٹی

مجے غافل سمجھ کر مار ڈالے اپنے خنجر سے

مگر یہ راز آخر کھل گیا سارے زمانے پر

جمیت نام ہے جس کا گئی تیمور کے گھر سے

"The film of sleep at last began to prevail over the eyes of Ghulam Qadir, whose vision cowered before the drama that he himself had staged. He got up and addressed the Taimuri harem thus: You should not curse your fate. I feigned sleep, because we warriors keep sleep at arm's length. What I wished to find out was whcther any one from amongst you could dare to kill me while I was asleep. But no, of course not. I and the world now know that the Taimuri self-respect is gone for ever."

Walida Marhooma Ki Yad Main' (In the Memory of My late Mother) is a memorable elegy. The poem is a reflection on life and dcath, and ultimately concludes that resignation is the only answer to such personal calamities:

زرہ زرہ دہر کا زندانی تقدیر ہے

پردہ مجبوری و بیچارگی تدبیر ہے

آسماں مجبور ہے شمس و قمر مجبور ہیں

انجمن سیماب پا رفتار پر مجبور ہیں

"Each particle that obeyeth the law of time mirroreth the inexorable hand of fate, and what we call *tadbir* is in reality a covering for helplessness. The whole cosmos obeyeth the laws of fate which moveth the stars."

The rcst of thc third part comprises poems like 'Shakespeare,' 'Bilal,' 'Phool' (flower), and 'Jang-e-Yarmuk Ka Waqaya' (An Incident in the battle of Yarmuk), etc. We now come to two of the most important poems by Iqbal 'Khidr-e-Rah' and 'Tulu-e-Islam'.

Iqbal, in *Bang-e-Dara,* is primarily a lyrical rather than a narrative poet. He has so many ideas, such a vast storehouse of images and metrical variations at his disposal, that perhaps, even if he seriously tried to do so, he could not turn out good narrative poetry, good in the sense that, while it would be excellent in parts, there would be a preponderance of thoughts over events—and thus a hiatus between the form and the content of the poem. In the poems, 'Siddiq' and 'An Incident from the Battle of Yarmuk,' and others, the stress is not on the narration of the incident itself but on the poet's reflections and thoughts on these incidents. 'Khidr-e-Rah' is perhaps a narrative poem, directed at the progress of the self; Islam and the concept of state; capital and

labor; Pan-Islamism, and the future of Islam in the light of the contemporary situation.

'Khidre-e-Rah' is not a very long poem by any means and yet it does seem to be long, because of the variation introduced into the poem by the dialogue between the poet and that globe-trotting prophet, Khidr; the division of Khidr's reply into sub-headings; and as suggested earlier, by the division of the poem into stanzas having verses in varying numbers. No other poem in *Bang-e-Dara* contains an equal number of direct and metaphorical allusions. In this sense the poem does evoke the atmosphere of the *Paradise Lost*

'Khidr-e-Rah' has an epic grandeur, and the allusions are reminscent of Milton's scholarship. When Iqbal refers to Sura Al-eImran in the Holy Quran while describing Khidr, he condenses the description of the incidents mentioned there:

کشتی مسکین و جان پاک و دیوار یتیم

علم موسی بھی ہے تیرے سامنے حیرت فروش

Again, in invoking the Islamic heritage, Iqbal alludes to incidents in the life history of Prophet Moses:

خون اسرائیل آ جاتا ہے آخر جوش میں

توڑ دیتا ہےکوئی موسی طلسم سامری

On the subject of capital and labour, Iqbal goes back to the oris: gins of the Ismailities:

ساحر الموط نے تجھ کو دیا بگ ھشیش

اور تو اے بے خبر سمجھا اسے شاخ نبات

"Hasan bin Sabbah, the magician of Almut, gave thee a druthat deprived thee of thy senses. But thou thinkest that it is verily the *houri* that would give thee heavenly pleasures and enjoyments." Both Milton and Iqbal are attempting very difficult tasks. Milton employs his unrivalled scholarship in dramatization of an incident through classical images. Thus the rape of Proserpine by Dis and search for the former by her mother, Ceres or Demeter, has been used to emphasise in a suggestive manner the temptation of Eve by Satan. Symbolically also, the image serves a dual purpose: if it caused Ceres all that to seek Proserpine through the world, Eve's slip and Adam's surrender to it also has caused equal agony to mankind to redeem itself from the Original Sin.

In parts, therefore, 'Khidr-e-Rah' is an epic poem. If the purpose of an epic poem is to poetise the birth pangs of a nation, its traditions, and its emergence, etc., then, even if Iqbal has not adhered to the accepted epic patterns—like justification for the theme,'mythos' or plot, and the conventional employment of antagonistic characters, etc.—the grandeur of an epic does, however, assert itself. The dialogue is not directly plunged into;

instead, the poet describes the theme that oppresses his mind and then gradually introduces the character of Khidr.

One thing must again be emphasised. even at the cost of repetition. Iqbal was an intuitive poet but no mortal can vouch for the correctness of his intuition. Iqbal considered his duty to place the the problems of the contemporary world before his readers suggestively aid not thoroughly. He confronts them with the Islam that is actually practised in contradistinction to its precepts. He leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. If Iqbal was mistaken in his high hopese the blame lies more on the shoulders of Muslims than on Iqbal. Iqbal's innocence at times is uitrafidian and he did invest certain incidents with a significance that they did not really deserve. A ray of hope was provided to Iqbal by the Turkish victory at Cilicia in October 1920, and the withdrawal of the Allied forces from Turkey in 1922. But Iqbal later became a spectator to the chain of events that succeeded the Mudania Armistice, and was finally convinced that what he equated with Islamic Renaissance was actually a national renaissance. But Iqbal was not the only person who ultimately encountered disillusionment; the whole Khilafat Movement, sponsored by the Ali brothers, has become a mere matter of academic interest to our genaration, because the ideals which it interpreted on behalf of the Turks were not shared by the latter themselves. And. since, in the last analysis, it was the the Turks themselves that counted most, the movement could not have been but be a brief chapter in the present day history. It must, however, be emphasised that it speaks to the boundless credit of Iqbal that he retained his

optimistic outlook for the resurgence of Islam even after his disappointment. In this attitude he has employed that quality of humanistic approach that runs throughout his poetry; he panders at our shortcomings, but never lashes at us; even, when weakness of character transgresses the bounds of limit, he admonishes us not rhetorically but by taking us to the heritage which has been ours and will for ever be. When Josh addresses the youth of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent on the question of the language and our intellectual slavery:

یوں تمہاری منہ سے آی ہے فرنگی کی ذباں

خوف ہے گونگا نہ ہو جائے کہیں ہندوستان

"When I hear your thoughts in a foreign language (English), **I** am really led to wonder whether India would go dumb some day." the poet wishes to convey his argument for national revival through verse but the verse has, in turn, assumed the from of a versified speech. A comparison with 'Khitab ba Naujawanan-e-Islam' would clearly show the difference in the mode of approach adopted by both the poets. This is not to compare the merits of the two poets but to emphasise the tendencies in Iqbal's poetry in comparison with those of his contemporaries. Iqbal maintains a quiet tempo, which even if wisful, is nevertheless devastatingly humanistic— all the more so, because Iqbal the poet saw far ahead of the exigencies of the contemporary setting and gave his verses a lyrical, agonised quality that no poet had ever before or has since then brought into Urdu poetry.

A digression of this kind was necessary in order to understand 'Khidr-e-Rah' and 'Tulu-e-Islam'. These poems are supremely important as Iqbal's concepts which he develops further appear in *Khidr-e-Rah' and are carried over through 'Tulu-e-Islam' on to *Bal-e-Jibreel 'Zarb-e-Kaleem* and *Armughan-e-Hejaz.*

'Khidr-e-Rah' is the description of the poet's reflections in the natural setting. The river by the side of which the whole scene is set may be the river Ravi or may not be; the poet, in any case, assigns it a symbolic significance, as he visualizes the brewing of a storm in the lull that precedes it. The verses are one of the finest by Iqbal.

ساحل دریا پہ میں کھڑا اک رات تھا محو نظر

گوشہ دل میں چھپائے اک جہان اضطراب

شب سکوں افزا، ہوا آسودہ، دریا نرم سیر

تھی نظر حیراں کہ یہ دریا ہے یا تصویر آب

جیسے گہوارے میں سو جاتا ہے طفل شیر خوار

موج مضطر تھی کہیں گہرائیوں میں مست خواب

رات کے افسوں سے طائر آشیانوں میں اسیر

انجمن کو ضو گرفتار طلسم ماہتاب

دیکھتا کیا ہوں کہ وہ پیک جہاں پیما خضر

جس کی پیری میں ہے مانند سحر رن شاب

کہ رہا ہے مجھ سے اے جویائے اسرار ازل

چشم دل وا ہو و ہے تقدیر عالم بے حجاب

"One night I was deliberating by the bank of the river with my heart brimming with sorrow and anxiety. I wished someone could share my emotions. The night wore an air of deathly quietness, and the river was flowing so peacefully and rythmically that one wondered whether it was a :teal river or the static picture of a river. The waves that inundate the banks, that change the course of rivers, and the history of the land, reposed like a child that had been lulled. Stars themselves, even though bigger than moon, could not release themselves from the spell of its effulgence. And, lo! all at once, out of nothing, appeareth an old man, the wandering prophet, Khidr, with a mien that glowed with kindness and who was so hoary with the burden of years that youth to him was like the morn when one would think for one moment that it would not yield to darkness. Scarcely had I been roused from my brown study when I heard him speak: Thou, who seekest the eternal truth and verity, hear with thine ears, see with thine eyes, and I shall unfold the eternal verities of the universe to thee."

The poet was naturally intrigued, and asks the globe-trotting prophet, Khidr, about the doubts and fears that oppress his mind:

اے تری شم جہاں ہیں پر وہ طوفاں آشکار

جن کے ہنگامے ابھی سوتے ہیں دریا میں خموش

کشتی مسکین و جان پاک و دیوار یتیم

علم موسی بھی ہے تیرے سامنے حیرت فروش

چھوڑ کر آبادیاں رہتا ہے تو صحرا نورد

زندگی تیری ہے بے روز و شب و فردا و دوش

زندگی کا راز کیا ہے؟ سلطنت کیا چیز ہے؟

اور یہ سرمایہ و محنت میں ہے کیسا خروش

ہو رہا ہے ایشا کا خرقہ دیرینہ چاک

نوجواں اقوام نو دولت کے ہیں پیرایہ پوش

گرچہ اسکندر رہا محروم آب زندگی

فطرت اسکندری اب تک ہے گرم نائو و نوش

بیچتا ہے ہاشمی ناموس دین مصطفی

خاک و خون میں مل رہا ہے ترکمان سخت کوش

آگ ہے اولاد ابراہیم ہے نمرود ہے

کیا کسی کو پھر کسی کا امتحاں مقصود ہے؟

"Thine eyes have witnessed millenia and millenia of tumults, an . old orders changing to new; thine foresight even Moses for once failed to understand and stood aghast when thou bored a hole in the boat of the poor man, who had no other source of income; when thou killest an innocent boy; when thou straightened the wall of the house under which the treasure of the orphan boy was buried. Who can dare scale thine achievements ? Thou shun-nest the world, liveth out of and yet in it ; thy life hath no today or tomorrow. Tell me what is life, what is this conflict between capital and labour. The old garb of Asia is tearing apace: its young generations are blindly treading the path of the newly-rich nations of Europe. Although Alexander the Great did not drink the cup of eternal life, he hath bequeathed the mental makeup of the conqueror to the succeeding generations and nations. The Hashamite dynasty is pandering the traditions of the Prophet of Islam (peace be on him) to its own ends, while the poor Turkoman, who did so much for Islam, is reeling in blood and pinnioned helplessly. Is this the fate that should befall a race like mine? Abraham dared the fire for his creator's sake : his offspring built the faith anew; he was tested when Nimrod released his fury against him and when God, in His infinite mercy, saved Abraham (peace on him), and put down the fire. We have

faced all this albeit much more; and yet my religion hath fallen on evil days. What have we done to deserve God's wrath?"

Khidr's reply comprises five parts : wander lust (sehranawardi), life, state, capital and labour, and the Islamic world.

In the first part dealing with the zest for wandering, Iqbal expounds his idea of *ijtihad* through exquisite images, all of which are very suggestive. Iqbal does not usually intrude in his poems to flash his own views directly. But he did believe that degeneracy engenders or rather catalyses the growth of the canker which Iqbal equates with the lack of dynamism or mental and physical apathy. A Muslim is answerable to his Creator not only for his piety and observance of the canons of Islam, but also for the amount of effort that he has put in to improve himself, his co-religionists and fellow men. All this demands a ceaseless spurt of effort during his life-time, and this spurt should not be directed so much inwardly as outwordly.

The next stanza, Zindagi (or Life), is quoted very often, but, all told, there is nothing very remarkable about it but for a verse or two, especially.

برتر از اندیشہ سود و زیاں ہے زندگی

ہے کبھی جاں اور کبھی تسلیم جاں ہے زندگی

تو سے پیمانہ امروز و فردا سے نہ ناپ

جاوداں پیہم دواں ہر دم جواں ہے زندگی

"Measure not life with lucre or loss; it transcends both. Life is not in living alone; death, when welcomed for a right cause, is also life—and indeed greater than life. Can life be seen with the coming morn and the setting sunset? Nay, it is ever flowing and ever young."

The merit of the stanza is lost in part, because the poet introduces the theme of the development of self; what else he should have done is of little moment. Writing about life in itself is a very difficult task, and the progress and evolution of self can only be a part of it. The first verse has a reference to the martyrdom of Husain (peace on him) at Karbala and to the concept of jihad which becomes imperative under certain circumstances, such as in the defence of faith.

The stanza that follows deals with the concept of state. I personally hold the stanza in the highest esteem; its measured cadences, stresses at the right places, controlled rhythm, syncopation, and the haunting music, places it not only among the best verse by Iqbal but among the finest in the world literature. Iqbal has composed tense, brief verses; and each line demands volumes upon volumes of expositions.

آ بتائوں تجھ کو رمز آیہ ان الملوک

سلطنت اقوام عالم کی ہے اک جادو گری

خواب سے بیدار ہوتا ہے زرا محکوم اگر

پھر سلا دیتی ہے اس کو ھکمراں کی ساحری

جادوئے محمود کی تاثیر سے چشم ایاز

دیکتی ہے حلقہ گردن میں ساز دلبری

خون اسرائیل ا جاتا ہے آخر جوش میں

توڑ دیتا ہے کوءی موسی طلسم سامری

سروری زیبا فقط اس زات بہیتما کو ہے

حکمراں ہے اک وہی بباقی بتان اذری

از غلامی فطرت آزاد را رسو مکن

ا تراشی خواجه از برہمن کافر تری

ہے وہی ساز کہن مگرب کا جمہوری نظام

جس کے پردے میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری

دیو استبداد جمہوری قبا میں پاے کوب

تو سمجھا ہے یہ آزادی کی ہے نیلم پری

مجلس آئین و اصلاح و رعایات حقوق

طب مغرب میں مزے میٹھے، اثر خواب آوری

گرمئی فتار اعضائے مجالس الاماں

یہ بھی اک سرمایہ داروں کی ہے جنگ زر گری

اس سراب رنگ و بو کو گلستاں سمجھا ہے تو

آہ اے ناداں قفس کو آشیاں سمجھتا ہے تو

"See for thyself what is written loud and clear in thine Holy Book about state. Dost thou doubt that state and oppression are sisters to each other these days! Powerful nations of today are scheming Machiavilli-like for overwhelming the smaller countries. A subject race wilt always be subject, if it surrendereth to the charmingly cruel cunning of the oppressor. Hast thou forgotten that Ayaz saw melody in the discordant and arrogant attitude of Mahmud, the King of Ghazni? Remember that a time cometh when a Moses (peace be on him) breaketh the spell which the unspeakably profance rites performed at the instance of Samari hath cast on the minds of the Israelites. A despot thinketh he alone deserveth revence; the rest are like the idols of Azar, to see but not to speak; to move, but not to act; and to suffer, but not to protest. What charm hath nominal fredom, if the hand of the oppressor be still behind it. What booteth this new era, if the spirit of the despotic Caeser is not dead. Darest thou ever tune

thy lyre? Tune it, and thou wilt hear the Caesarean command, arrogant, conceited, and callous. In thy time there hast appeared a new system of oppression for the people on behalf of the people. Beware! The old trick is being played by the same coterie, the same clique. As long as thou shalt go on making others thy leader, thou shalt be worse than the most degenerate idolator. Thinkest thou this a beautiful vision ? No, my son, it is Circe—to charm thee for the time being and then to decimate you. Talkest thou of constitution, proportional representation, fundamental rights—yes, my son, the West bath done well by replenishing thy cellar with sweet wines that charm thy palate and• put thy intellect to deep slumber. All these fiery speeches, activities, world conferences—what presage they, my son? The same perennial conflict between capital and labour, between the despot and the oppressed, between the haves and have-nots. Thinkest thou this mirage to be a garden for thine pleasures? No, my son, it is a dungeon, a dungeon where cruel chains will oppress thee."

The verses are political in nature and yet Iqbal has varied the rhyme and the, strees in each verse so artistically that the whole stanza produces a haunting lyrical effect. Nothing that will be written from a historical perspective in verse will .be able to surpass Iqbal's achievement in this stanza.

The first verse. of course, takes us to the Quranic concept of State: '(Holy Quran, xxvii. 34), Kings, on entering into a city, raze it to dust.' It found its nearest fulfilment after the death of the Prophet of Islam (peace on him) during the Caliphate of Omar

(peace on him), when each individual was a state unto himself and the state an individual unto itself ; fair and equitable distribution of the treasury ; and the executive council, Majlis-e-Shora. But then our traditions fell on worse times; despotism made those heavenly day's a matter of memory. Time and again, there were revolts,: and time and again they were suppressed. In the third verse an allusion has been made about Mahmud of Ghazni and Ayaz, his faithful sycophant and vazir. Even if a halter is cast round, his neck the eyes of Mahmud would exercise such a spell on him that he would think that he has a tyre round his neck instead of the halter, from which he would hear tunes that he thinks are exquisite but which free men would regard with contempt. But at times a Moses-like figure would emerge and turn the cycle of history, as Moses did with the temple of Semiramis and the worship of the golden ram which the sub-tribe of the Isrealitses' Samari, had built during the prophet's absence. It will also be seen that Iqbal has provided a very original twist to the image of Samari, which in the Persian literature, is associated with the charm that the beloved exercises over the lover. Another significance is that, since the tribe belonged to Israel, Iqbal emphasises that each civilization has inherent in it the twin forces of opperession and justice, which occur and recur. In the fifth verse the image is masterly. Idols are carved out in the image of man: they possess all his external organs. And yet they cannot see, walk, speak, or hear. A slavish intellect is like that of an idol, exquisitely turned out as if by Azur but slavish nonetheless. From the fifth and the sixth verses start lqbal's reflections on the

Western influence on Islam. We hear a music that puts us to sleep, that keeps on haunting and guiding us. But where? Torwards the precipice, of course: for we have lost all that our forefathers left to us; and are adopting new ways that have been forced on us and which we never really will successfully adopt. Is, then, extinction far off? It is in this light that Iqbal's views should be seen and not to be taken to mean that fundamental rights, the right to exercise franchise, freedom of speech and other issues, are not suited to us. Iqbal is reflecting on the cycles of history; and it would therefore be unfair on our part to expect that he should expound his ideas as if he were establishing a proposition. He most emphatically is not doing that, if anything else. Another remarkable facet of the stanza is that the *radeef* (rhyme) at the end has adjectives and nouns that allude to aspects which militate against man's decent concepts. The combination of liquids and hard words has been so dexterously achieved that Urdu literature has at last produced verses which campare with Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi's melodious ghazals in their rhythm, suggestiveness, and beauty.

Thus ends Iqbal's most exquisite and perfect stanza in 'Khidr-e-Rah.' In the next stanza about capital and labour It is actually not the problem that has been highlighted but is again an exhortation to the Muslims to be equal to the task that destiny has chosen for them. However, it clearly shows Iqbal's abhorence for capitalism and cartels:

دست دولت آفریں کو مزد یوں ملتی رہی

اہل ثروت جیسے دیتے ہیں غریبوں کو زکات

"Alas, for the poor labourer. He tilts the field but shares it not. He runs the factory, sweats himself to death; he carries on his broad shoulders the structure of the society and yet protests not. And, yet what does he get? He get his returns from the master, as if the rich were distributing their unused wealth to feed him."

Iqbal's attitude towards labour and capitalism has raised several odd criticisms. Many 'critics have referred to Iqbal's apparent apathy towards feudalism, for instance. One really wonders whether feudalism is not the worst form of capitalism, and must poor Iqbal have written a full and comprehensive exigesis on what he should or should not have written. Was Shakespeare duty bound to protest at the execution of the Earl of Essex by Elizabeth Regina or to raise his voice in protest against the controversial policies of Lord Burleigh when he advised the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots? Even if Iqbal is considered as a political poet which he most emphatically is not, has Europe's greatest poet, Shakespeare, been really so indifferent to his own environmental milieu, and not voiced his ideas through the medium of the drama? Iqbal shares with Shakespeare, the sonneteer, the mental agonies that they both suffered, but lqbal has transported his mental agonies to the Muslim nation and thrilled it in numbers that those who physically and actually heard them must have been a fortunate few.

In the second part of the stanza under discussion Iqbal brings about the theme of 'Saltanat' :

نغمہ پیداری جمہور ہے سامان عیش

قصہ خوا آور اسکندر و جم کب تلک

توڑ الیں فطرت انسان نے زنجیریں تمام

دوری جنت کو روتی چشم آدم کب تلک

"All this talk of republicanism, progress, resurgence, and rights is chimerical; it is, my son, the legends of Alexander and Jamshed, to imprison your intellect. Man, my son, has never accepted any chains; no sooner do you put manacles on his hands, than he breakes them. Did Adam spend his life time crying only? Did he not perform his daily and appointed tasks?"

The last stanza of the peom, 'Dunya-e-Islam' (The World of Islam) has a very contemporary setting:

کیا سناتا ہے مجے ترک و عرب کی دستاں

مجھ سے کچھ پنہاں نہیں اسلمیوں کا سوز ساز

لے گئے تثلیث کے فرزند میراچ خلیل

خشت بنیاد کلیسا بن گئی خاک حجاز

ہو گئی رسوا زمانے میں کلاہ لالہ رانگ

جو سراپا ناز تے ہیں آج مجبور نیاز

حکمت مغرب سے ملت کی یہ کیفیت ہوئی

ٹکڑے ٹکڑے جس طرب سونے کو کر دیا ہے گاز

ہو گیا مانند آب ارزاں مسلماں کا لہو

مضطرب ہے تو کہ تیرا دل نہیں دانائے راز

"You narrate to me the legendary deeds of the Arab and the Turk. What is hidden from my eyes—these eyes that have witnessed the glory of Islam, its truth, and its decline? You are the true inheritor of prophet Abraham through his son, Ishmael; but, lo! the West, the upholder of Trinity, has usurped your heritage. How are the mighty fallen! Once the Turkish fez inspired awe throughout Europe and Asia; and what now? The same cap mocks at us. The West has eaten into your vitals as the jeweller would use his scissors to cut gold into pieces. You ask because the secret is hidden from your eyes. Do you not know that the blood of Muslims flows like wine?" The poet's heart is laden with sadness ; and yet he sees hope—hoping and expecting that the tide of adversity will ultimately lead the Muslim out of it.

The second part of the stanza concludes with the future vision of Islam. It is remarkable like the conclusion of 'Shama our Shair."

کھول کر آنکھیں مرے آئینہ گفتار میں

آنے والے دور کی دھندلی سی اک تصویر دیکھ

آزمودہ فتنہ ہے ایک اور بھی گردوں کے پاس

سامنے تقدیر کے رسوائی تدبیر دیکھ

کھول کر آنکھیں مرے آئینہ گفتار میں

آنے والے دور کی دھندلی سی اک تصویر دیکھ

آزمودہ فتنہ ہے ایک اور بھی گردوں کے پاس

سامنے تقدیر کے رسوائی تدبیر دیکھ

"My son, what I see and do now will be the reflection of the morrow. Open up your eyes, and see what the future shows; see that Heaven hides another storm; and that storm shall defeat the schemes that the other nations are patching against you and establish what has been ordained for your nation by Destiny."

'Khidr-e-Rah' also reminds one of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Dante's love for Beatrice, the doubts and fears which overtake the poet in the first canto (where he visualizes himself to be in a dark

overgrown forest) and the appearance of Virgil as the guide, through whose aid the poet's vision is illuminated. The imaginative fight of Dante does provide a parallel with 'Khidr-e-Rah'. Here Iqbal is also feeling equally oppressed and wants to find the answers to his doubts, fears, and hopes. Khidr, the ever wandering prophet, who has witnessed millenia and millenia of human history, who has wandered all over the world as a spectator (and therefore is in it and yet out of it) and who led the prophet Moses to wonder at his uncanny foresight to which Iqbal has referred in the introductory verses—the self-same Moses who led the believers from wilderness to the land of milk and honey and who was blessed with a fleeting visiong of God that overawed him. Iqbal thus must have chosen the character of Khidr from these viewpoints. Khidr's character in the poem might thus be regarded as a symbolic guide, particularly suited to the ideas that the poet wishes to convey, because he has seen the various historic cycles since the down of civilization.

'Tulu-e-Islam' is actually a continuation of the last stanza of 'Khidr-e-Rah'. The very first verses are a more lyrical expression of the ideas contained in the concluding stanza of 'Khidr-e-Rah'.

دلیل صبح روشن ہے ستاروں کی تنک تابی

افق سے آفتاب ابھرا، گیا دور گرداں کو ابی

عروق مردہ مشرق میں کون زندگی دوڑا

سمجھ سکتے نہیں اس راز کو سینا و فارابی

مسلماں کر مسلماں کر دیا طوفان مغرب نے

طلاطم ہائے دریا ہی سے ہے گوہر کی سیرابی

تڑپ صحن میں چمن میں آشیاں میں شاخساروں میں

جدا پارے سے ہو سکتی نہیں تقدیر سیمابی

"Now that the twinkling of the stars is diminishing, now that the rays of the sun are coming from the heaven in which they had hidden themselves at night, the coming of the dawn is heralded. Lo! the sun has now begun to emerge; and we cannot sleep any more, you and I, my friend. Likwewise, the emaciated East is fast recovering and its veins are getting a fresher, newer infusion of blood. How could Sina and Farabi, the philosophers, understand this phenomenon of regeneration which Destiny is conferring on the Muslim people? As the flood inundates the fields, so has the storm in the West provided fertile soil for the teeming millions of the East. Just as the lashes of the waves produce a bigger pearl, this storm in the West presages the birth of a pearl — the pearl of Islamic Regeneration. Now that our fulfilment is at hand, tarry not, my brothers. Cry in the garden; 'carry your voice near and far. You are like mercurial beings; can mercury be ever static?"

Iqbal thus emyloys the images which have occured in his early poetry as well— the advent of the dawn, the ups and downs in the

river, and garden as an expression of activity. But all these images have been chiselled to suit the new mood of Iqbal which is based on hope, and which he felt was justified in the light of the contemporary happenings. World War I, Iqbal believes, would lead each Western power to cancel the other out; and the various articles, contained in the Treaty of Versailles, Iqbal felt, would lead to further bickerings among them. Bolshevik Russia was also emerging and was fast becoming a factor to reckon with. Could therefore the Muslim world not be visualized as a third force to counterbalance the capitalistic Europe and Communism? Iqbal further transcended beyond the present to a future when the Arab Muslim states and Turkey would soon realize that their irredentist attitudes would spell their own ruin, and that ultimately they would eke out some formula to knit the fabric of Islam more closely:

کتاب ملت بیضا کی پحر شیرازہ بندی ہے

یہ شاخ ہاشمی کرنے کو ہے پھر برگ و ر پیدا

اگر عثمانیوں پر کوہ غم ٹوٹا تو کیا غم ہے

کہ خون صد ہزار انجم سے ہوتی ہے سحر پیدا

ہزاروں سال نرگسا پنی بے نوری پہ روتی ہے

بری مشکل سے ہوا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

نوا پیرا ہو اے بلبل کہ ہو تیرے ترنم سے

کبوتر کے تن نازک میں شاہیں کا جگر پیدا

"The tears of our suffering, brethern, will not have been vain; no, through their fervour, zeal, and pathos, they will cause a flood that will tear away the present barriers. The river of Prophet Ibrahim's progeny will produce pearls that will dazzle the eyes. The lessons of our precepts lie scattered here and there; the time has come when they will be made into one harmonious whole. The garden that will come out from the ashes of the Hashmite dust will burgeon forth flowers and plants whose beauty will make the people wonder. If the Othmanli Turks have experienced a tumultous upheaval of destiny, no matter; is the morn not produced by the tears of the thousands of stars, which have to hide themselves from our eyes to produce it? In a world, my brother, where we live there are thousands of men and women who have eyes but their eyes do not illuminate; then one day, lo! appears one whose eyes peer into the secrets of Good and Evil, Heaven and Earth, and he informs his vision to others around him. Sing bulbul, sing—and inspire the timid pigeon with the spirit of the hawk."

Iqbal ..s now using the images from Persian poetry more often. 'Nargis' or narcissus symbolises the eye, and the fourth verse blends this idea with that of Islamic resurgence in a beautiful image. How many of us see but observe; hear but memorize; read, but grasp—and those who observe, grasp, and memorize the

lesson of the past, can bring about a revolution in the scope of our intellectual flight. A person who combines these qualities has been called ‘didawar' (one who sees properly) by Iqbal. Iqbal has used the image of the narcissus very exquisitely and delicately. These images have come to possess a halo of sacredness in the hands of masters like Hafiz, Saadi, and Khusru and Iqbal saw in the fitness of things that these images should be applied to the lofty theme that he has in view. A very close compeer in this respect which one might recall is Milton—an aspect that has already been discussed; they both have drawn on classical sources ; but, while in Milton's poetry, they are derived from Greek and Latin sources, in Iqbal's poetry they are essentially Arabic and Persian.

The next stanza is hauntingly lyrical:

خدائے لم یزل کا دست قدر تو زباں تو ہے

یقیں پیدا کر اے غافل کہ مغلوب گماں تو ہے

پرے ہے چرخ نیلی فام سے منزل مسلماں کی

ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ہوں وہ کارواں تو ہے

یہ نکتہ سرگزشت ملت بیضا سے ہے پیدا

کہ اقوام زمین ایشا کا پاسبان تو ہے

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا عدالت کا شجاعت کا

لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

"You are the language of God, who has no time and space. Where are you? In the kingdom of superstition, my brethren. The vision of the Muslim traverses beyond the sky; and believe me, the stars light your path, because they have been created for you. When the Chosen of God (Prophet of Islam peace be on him) departed from the earth, what did he take to the Creator? It was Islam that he took with himself my brethren. The history of Islam shows beyond doubt that the viceregency for the defence of Asia rests on your shoulders, 0 my brothers. Let us then delve deep again into our past and learn the long lost traditions of Truth, Justice, and Courage, and surely we shall then have equipped ourselves for leading the world on to the path of righteousness."

In the above verses Iqbal's poetry again revolves round the spatial imagery of sky, sun, stars, and the universe. This imagery he usually introduces into poetry in order to emphasise the infinitude, vastness, and the eternal verities of the Islamic faith. This point is rather important, because in his later poems, he carries this approach further.

From the precepts which the Muslims are duty-bound to observe Iqbal moves again to take up the threads from which he goes on to spin the fabric of Pan-Islamism:

یہی مقصود فطرت ہے یہی رمز مسلمانی

اخوت کی جہانگیری محبت کی فراوانی

بتان رنگ و بو کو توڑ کر ملت میں گم ہو جا

نہ ایرانی رہے باقی نہ افغانی نہ تورانی

میان شاخساراں صحبت مرغ چمن کب تک

رہے بازو میں ہے پرواز شاہین قہستانی

گماں آباد ہستی میں یقیں مرد مسلماں کا

بیاباں کی شب تاریک میں قندیل رہبانی

مٹایا قیصر و کسرے کے استبداد کو جس نے

وہ کیا تھا؟ روز حیدر فقر بوزر صدق سلمانی

ہوئے احرار ملت جادہ پیما کس تجمل سے

تماشائی شگاف در سے ہیں صدیوں کے زندانی

ثبات زندگی ایمان محکم سے ہے دنیا میں

کہ المانی سے بھی پائندہ تر نکلا ہے تورانی

"It was ordained that we, my brethern, should observe no limits in our profession of love towards each other. Break then the idols that you have carved of nationalism, racial superiority, and supercilliousness towards the less fortunate of your brothers. Let there be no Turani (non-Irani, that is), Afghani, or Irani. Do you, my brothers, like to remain in the garden, and chirrup from one branch to the other, when you have dormant within you the vigour and the flight of the hawk, whose flight defies height ! In the world beset with superstitions and false notions, the Muslim acts like a beacon light which would lead us, my brothers, from wilderness to the path of righteousness. Who liberated mankind from the world of the Sassanids and despots? It was nothing but the valour of Ali (peace on him), piety of Bu Zar (peace on him), and the faith of Salman Farsi (peace on him). Our forefathers had a very narrow terrain to cross; but they did cross it, and mankind wonders to this day how they did it, and with what courage and patience they achieved it. In the mortal world, what, my brethern, is eternal? Nothing except faith—it is but this faith which has proved that the West is mortal, and the East is not."

In the last verse the poet compares the decline of Germany after the Great War and Turkey's emergence from the ashes of the moribund Ottoman empire. I have already suggested that Iqbal was very impatient all along to see one such sign, and he interpreted the significance of the Turkish victory against the Greek and British forces as a sign for the resurgence of Islam.

The stanza that succeeds is more or less on the lines of the memorable stanza on "Saltanat" in 'Khidr-e-Rah', but is equally lyrical, and, with the exception of a verse or two, less thought-provoking:

غلامی میں نہ کام آتی ہیں شمشیریں نہ تدبیریں

جو ہو ذوق یقیں پیدا تو کٹ جاتی ہیں زنجیریں

کوئی اندازہ کر سکتا ہے اس کے زور بازو کا

نگاہ مرد مومن سے بدل جاتی ہیں تقدیریں

ولایت، پادشاہی، علم اشیا کی جہانگیری

یہ سب کیا ہیں؟ فقط اک نکتہ ایماں کی تفسیریں

براہیمی نظر پیدا مگر مشکل سے ہوتی ہے

ہوس چھپ چھپ کے سینوں میں بنا لیتی ہے تصویریں

تمیز بندہ و آقا فساد آدمیت ہے

حذر اے چیرہ دستاں سخت ہیں فطرت کی تعزیریں

حقیقت ایک ہے ہر شے کی خاکی ہو کہ نوری ہو

لہو خورشید کا ٹپکے اگر ذرے کا دل چیریں

یقین محکم عمل پیہم محبت فاتح عالم

جہاد زندگانی میں ہیں یہ مردوں کی شمشیریں

"When man's intellect has become slavish, he cannot wield his sword, nor can he plan; it is only through sheer faith and will power that he can achieve his liberation. My brethern, have you tested the faithful? Even his eyes can put destiny on to a different path. What are wealth, economic self-sufficiency, independence, my brethern? They will follow naturally if we have the wealth of faith. If there be no perceptive intellect among us, it is because most of us cannot transcend the mist that selfishness has created in the inmost reaches of our heart. This division between a ruler-man and a subject-man is at the root of all conflicts. Beware, 0 despots, nature does not spare easily and you will have to answer for your misdeeds. Everything in the cosmos is the creation of God, and therefore has the same reality. Does not the particle reflect the ray of the sun? Let us, then, 0 brethren, enrich ourselves with faith, action, and universal brotherhood—for these are the weapons the faithful wield in the struggle for life."

Iqbal is progressively gaining in poetic stature, and has come out with new words like 'ashya ki Jahangiri' (rule over the commodities of life), 'Jahad-e-Zindagani' (struggle in life), which add to the effect of his verses, even though they might not have to say much otherwise. In the sixth verse, however, Iqbal seems to have been under the sway of the philosophy of Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi, who, in his philosophy, associated such manifestation

as the particle-sun, drop-river, etc. But Iqbal later on repudiated this view, and adopted the orthodox Muslim view with regard to the personality of God.

In the succeeding stanza Iqbal—for the first time in a poem of this sort—adds a very contemporary colour to the poem:

عقابی شان سے جھپٹے تھے جو بے بال و پر نکلے

ستارے شام کے خون شفق میں ڈوب کر نکلے

ہوئے مدفون دریا زیر دریا تیرنے والے

طمانچے موج کے کھاتے تھے جو بن کر گہر نکلے

غبار رہگزر ہیں، کیمیا پر ناز تھا جن کو

جبین خاک پر رکھتے ت جو بنکر گہر نکلے

حرم رسوا پوا پیر حرم کی کم نگاہی سے

جوانان تتاری کس قدر صاحب نظر نکلے

"See how the nation that rushed out with the force of an eagle had really no substance in it. And lo ! there is another nation that is like a star that has imbibed the colour of the sunset. Those that harried the seas with their submarine equipment have, by the irony of fate, succumbed to the force of the sea; but those that floated like a jetsam have become pearls Who hears of Germany

with its chemical industry? But those that had nothing except prayers before Almighty God are now a force to recknon with. Mecca's fair name has been sullied by the short-sighted attitude of the Sharif of Mecca; and the Turkish youth has done well to display his power of foresight."

The high hopes reposed by Iqbal in Turkey for the symbolic resurgence of Islam was, however, misplaced. The conflict between Enver Pasha and Mustapha Kamal Pasha and the country's pronounced orientation towards nationalism dispelled any hope that a Pan-Islamist would have pinned on it. It is, perhaps, this aspect which detracts from the beauty of "Tulu-e-Islam'. From this standpoint, 'Khidr-e-Rah', 'Shikwa' and Jawab-e-Shikwa' and 'Shama our Shair' are better poems. A poem like °Tulu-e-Islam' brings out the best in Iqbal—his lyrical outbursts and magnificent imagery—and the worst in him—his misplaced ultra-fidian fidelity to signs that really portended other tendencies altogether—as Iqbal sets out in the following verses :

نظر کو خیرہ کرتی ہے چمک تہذیب حاضر کی

یہ صناعی مگر جھوٹے نگوں کی ریزہ کاری ہے

پھر اٹھی ایشا کے دل سے چنگاری حبت کی

زمیں جولانگہ اطلس قبایان تتاری ہے

"Our eyes, my brethren, are dazed by the impact of the Western achievements, but they are like the false gems . . . . Again,

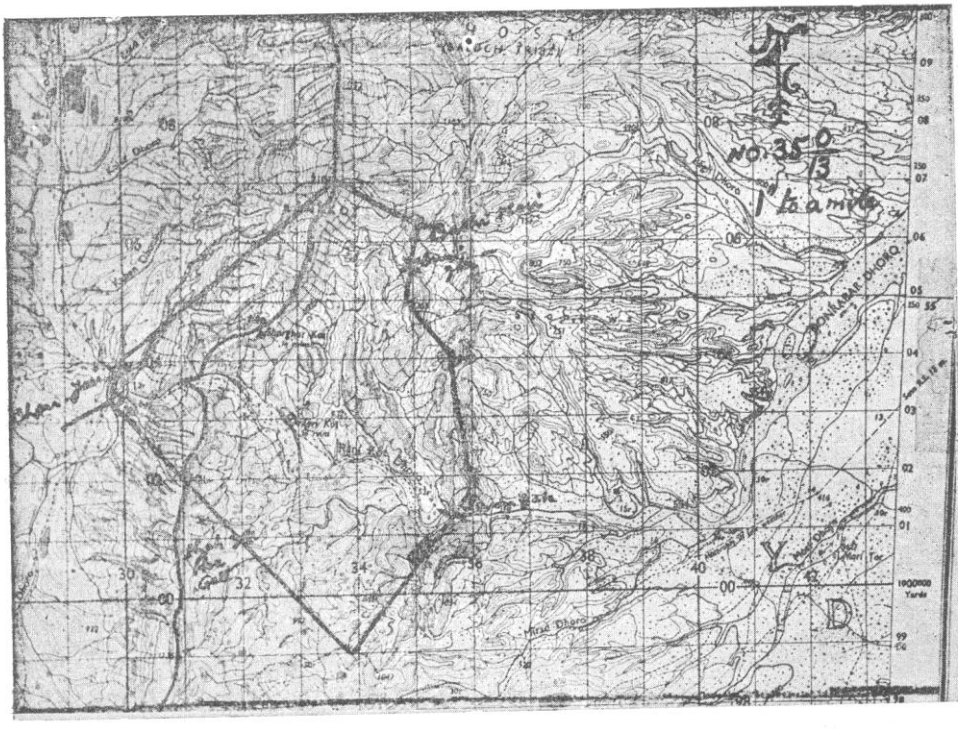
from the heart of Asia has appeared the cinders that will set fire to the hearts of the faithful. Again shall North Africa become the battle-field and will recall the overwhelming tide of the Tartars throughout the continent."

The last stanza ends again in much the same way as in 'Khidr-eRah' but the verses are in Persion:

بیا سساقی نوائے مرغزار از شاخسار آمد

بہار آمد، نگار آمد، نگار امد، قرار آمد

"Let the saqi be ready with his cup; for in the fields and gardens, one can hear the birds singing their joyous songs. The spring has come and with it beauty. Rest thou too; for the final moment hath come."



Frontspiece. One inch to a mile scale of the outline of Ranikot. This plan shows the main features and location of the Fort.

RANIKOT

(The largest Fort in The World)

Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid

To the North-West corner of Sind in Pakistan, lie the Khirthar range of hills, which stretch between 27'.55° North Latitude, and run South-ward along the Western frontier of the Province to a latitude of 26'.15.° It terminates in the Kohistan Mahal at about 25'.4.3° latitude. The total length of this range is 150 miles, and its general height varies between 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea level. The hills consist mainly of lime stone, but sand stone and rubble are also found in plenty. It is calculated that the socks belong to the tertiary system of geological nomenclature.[1] The area is rich in minerals; although not yet fully tapped.

Situated strategically on this range is the largest existing fort in the world called Ranikot. It is known by other names too, such as, Runikot, Ranika-Kot, and Mohun Kot.[2] It lies 18 miles to the South-West of Sann in the district of Dadu. Sann is 56 miles to the north of Hyderabad, in the farmer province of Sind, in Pakistan. Perched high up in the hills, the fort stetches across the hills over a circumference of 18 miles. From a distance, it appears

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[1] E. H. Atken, Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Karachi, 1907. I have my doubt about the height. The survey of Parkistan Map No. 35 $\frac{0}{13}$ gives the contours between 500-2,000 feet.

[2] A. W. Haighes. Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, London, 1876.

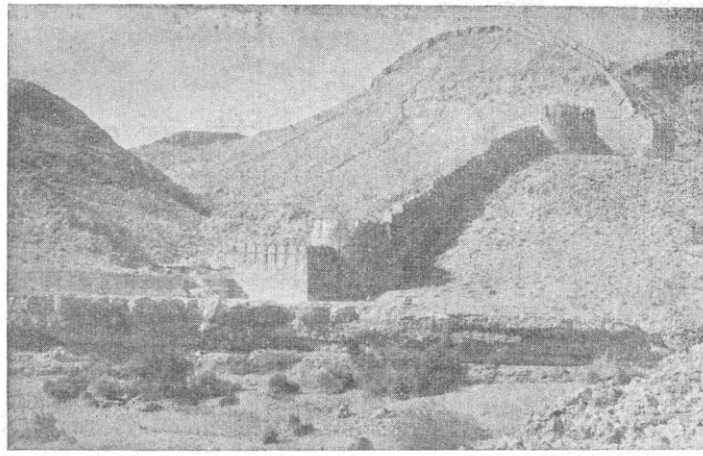
like the Great Wall of China, running sinuously over the hills, valleys and ravines, very tortuous in places, sometimes ascending and sometimes suddenly descending. It is indeed a very skillful work of military engineering.

It has a very difficult approach, and the road, which leads to it from Sann, is in a very bad shape. It runs south-west from Sann Railway Station. In fact, there is no roads worth the name, and it takes about an hour and a half to cover this distance of 18 miles on a Jeep. The road, if it may be called so, ends at the fort. As one approaches the fort, one can see the walls of this gigantic structure hovering along the ridges interpersed with circular and rectangular towers to the right and left of a dried stream (Picture No. I).The main gate, if it may be so called, combines in itself the unique characteristics of a gate of entry, a draw bridge, and a dam (non-existent now). After walking through the interior of this fort one can survey its strategic layout which is most amazing. One is forced to come to the conclusion that a long time ago, when this fort was built, this area was a fertile valley through which a stream of fresh water flowed. It was then thickly populated. Sir William Napier in his *Administrative Report of Sind* says, "Vast tracts of fertile but uninhabited land, and many anciently peopled sites, were also discovered, showing that the riches and mangificence attributed to Scinde in former days were not exagerated, and that the right road was being followed to restore them again. One of those ancient posts was very remarkable. Noted on the maps as Mohun Kote, it is called by Sir Alexander Burnes a fortified hill; but the country people know it by the name of Renne Kote; and it

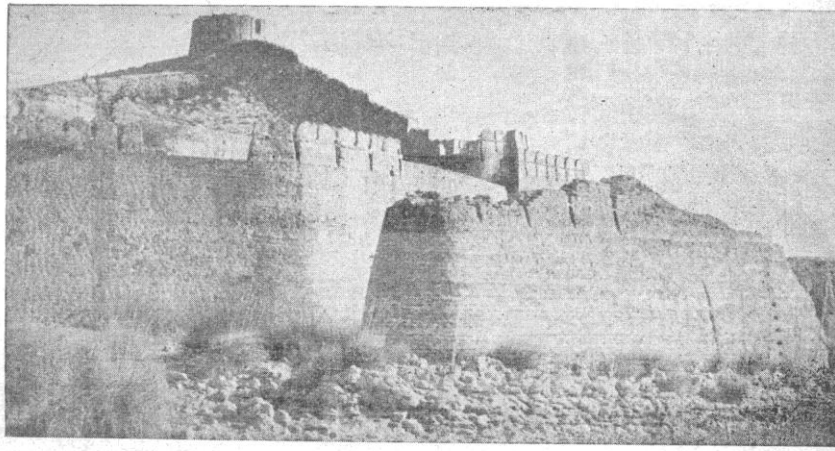
was found to be a Rampart of cut stone and mortar, encircling not one but many hills, being fifteen miles in circumference and having within it a strong perennial streem of purest water gushing from a rock. Greek the site was supposed to be yet no Greek workmanship or ruins were there, and the amears having repaired the walls had the credit of building them."

Indeed around this stream of clear water had grown up a veritable population. The stream was further reinforced from the Dams placed under the draw-bridges of which there was one at each of the gates called the Sann and the Amri respectively. This served a double purpose; first, it increased the quantity of water in, the valley to form a lake stretching across the entire length of the valley; and secondly, it formed an important part of the defence. Perhaps the fertility of the valley could be revived again by rebuilding the dams at the same places. This fertile flourishing valley must have been a great attraction to the invading armies in days gone by. In order, therefore, to protect it from the intruders the then rulers, whoever they may have been, built themselves a stronghold of such unique dimensions. How long ago this must have been, I am not in a position to assess. But when I come to deal with the date of its construction, I shall put forward my views after taking all aspects into consideration. In the meantime I shall proceed to enumerate my other observations.

THE GATES—The gates are not traditional gates visible from



Picture No. 1. The wall of the Fort hovering along the right side of the hills interspersed with circular bastions. A rectangular tower can also be seen. The wall can be seen forking to the right, ending in a tower.



Picture No. 2. One of the pillars of the Draw-bridge in its original position can be seen with holes on its right side running in a line from above downwards, for the insertion of metallic obstruction.

outside but entrances. This fort has four such entrances or gates; namely : (1) Sann or the Eastern gate; (2) Amri Gate or the North Eastern Gate; (3) Shah Per Darwaza or the Southern Gate; and (4) The Western or the Upper Gate (Mehan Gate).

The Eastern or the Sann gate is known after the name of a small hamlet, which lies to the east of the fort about 18 miles away. The Amri gate is known after the name of Amri, which is archaeologically a very well known and important place. It has been twice excavated by eminent archaeologists and is reputed for its culture. Amri lies 15 miles north of Sann along the Indus river on the main road running to Larkana. This also suggests to us the great antiquity of the fort. This fort perhaps came to be built when Amri was still flourishing and hence the north eastern gate was named after this famous place as was the custom in those days to name gates of towns and forts after the famous places.

The southern gate or the Shah Per Darwaza lies on a lower plane than the Amri gate. The eastern or the Sann gate is the lowest gate ; and finally the western gate is the upper-gate (Mehan gate), which is towards the upper citadel.

There are two more structures situated within the fort wall. They are in the shape of small forts or citadels; one atop the other located at different levels. The lower one is called Miri, and the upper is called the Sher Garh fort. Both these are residential forts and must have been occupied by the head of this dominion, The Miri fort is approximately in the centre of this fortification. It is about three miles from the Sann gate, and beyond this to the

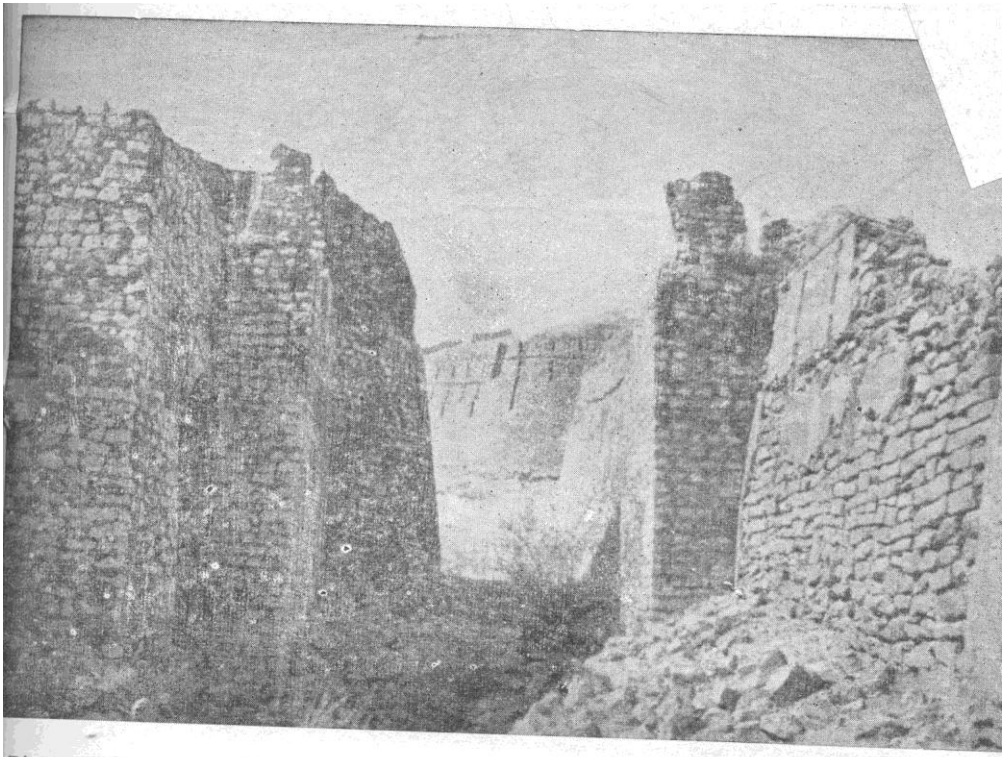
western gate is another two miles. The distance has been judged from the travelling time. Thus the diameter of the entire area is five miles. The circumference has been variously calculated as 15 and 18 miles. But it must not be lost sight of that the circumference is not a straight line. It is a tortuous winding wall going up and down the hills. Hughes gives it as 15, whereas Mr. G. M. Syed thinks it is about 18 miles in stretch. From the map reproduced here, the circumference measures 13 miles. This, while going up and down the valley, would come to about 16/17 miles. The two citadels just mentioned are for all practical purposes located almost in the centre of the area, and command a very important strategic position. I shall discuse these two forts later in some detail, when I come to the question of its date of construction The entire valley is visible from these two forts. In time of a military showdown, these two citadels may well have formed the second and the third lines of defence. In addition to these two citadels, there are found two more fortlike structures. One is situated near the western gate, almost adjacent to the wall and the other is near the eastern gate perched high up on the hill. Both the structures are enlarged rectangular towers. The first one is called *chan-yari.*

THE MAIN FORT OR THE OUTER FORTIFICATION—
The wall is visible from a distance in parts tortuously creeping over the hills and going down into the valley. As one approaches the Sann gate one notices dry stream once full of water, cutting across the middle of it. In places it still has scanty water, which is clear and palatable. On both sides of the stream there are two

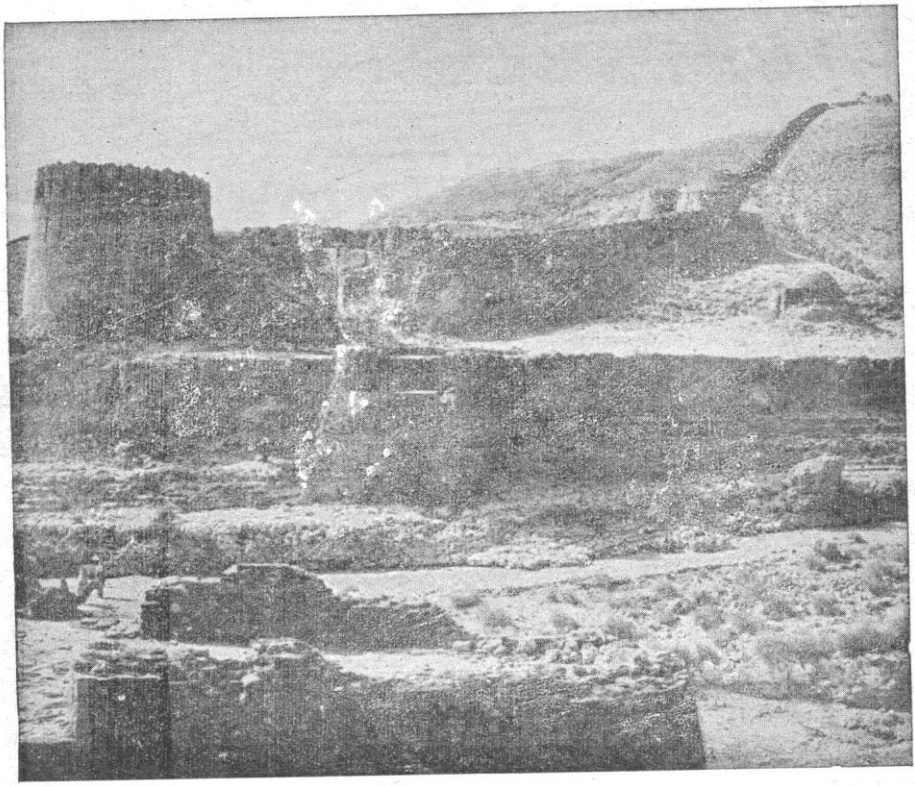
rounded bastions from which the wall curves upwards and inwards. In the middle of the dry bed of the stream there are two oval pillars, one in its original position, and the other partly broken and shifted away from its exact location (Picture No. 2). These pillars have holes in them on the distal side, which run in a line from above downwards. These holes indicate that metallic bars were inserted between these pillars to which wooden or metallic planks were tied to form a Dam for the obstruction of water, thus forming a lake in the valley. Remnants of this lake are still visible today scattered over in bits in the valley. On top of the pillars wooden planks were placed horizontally to form a Draw-bridge. This enables one to cross from one side of the fort to the other. This bridge was defended by a bridgehead formed by the circular towers on either side of the dry bed of the strea n, which was full, once upon a time. The natural features of the surrounding ground have thus been skillfully utilised. This system of Dan and Draw-bridge is also found at the northeastern or the Amri gate.

The entrance to the fort from this end is rather a round about one. One has to take a sharp left turn round the left circular bastion to get in. The entrance was thus hidden from sight; and unless one knew about it, it was difficult to locate. There are two circular bastions or towers on either side of the bridge. There are others after them. These have been built by converting the rectangular towers into circular ones. They are a later addition for positioning artillary fire. Originally it appears to me that there

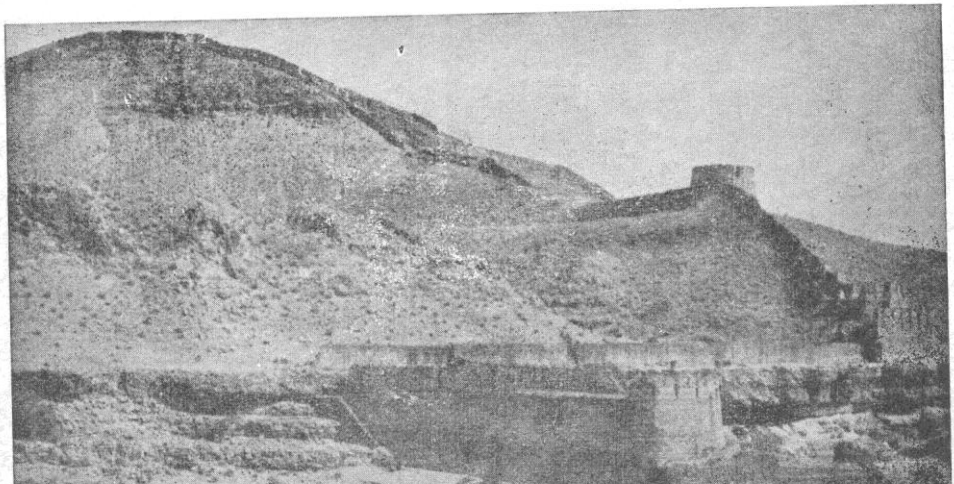
were no circular towers at all. This is a very important distinguishing



Picture No. 3. Entrance to the interior of the Fort from the left hand side, showing sentry's post on the left hand circular addition to the rectangular space and the place for the gate.



Picture No. 5. Interior of the left fort, showing the pillars of the Draw-bridge in the foreground, with the projecting platform leading on to the pillars. In the right background is the domed structure meant for the guard on the bridge.



feature in the assessment of the period of architecture of the fort. It will also be seen that these later additions of rounded bastions are built from sand stone and not the original lime stone of which the entire fort is built. These circular bastions are also not regularly placed along the wall. They are but few and found only in the vicinity of the gates or at the corner of the smaller citadels. Otherwise the original towers were all rectangular regularly placed along the wall. This circular modification has facilitated a double entry gate into the interior of the fort. This double gate system is a Muslim invention which was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, who had picked it in Syria. The reason for giving a double gate is to create an extra obstacle to the entry. With the rectangular towers there can only be one straight entry.

As you enter the fort from the left side (Picture No. 3), you can notice the place of insertion of the two separate gates (Picture No. 4). Along with this and below there is also visible another square hole in the wall for the use of a cross bar to further strengthen the gates. Sometimes a heavy chain was also put across to serve a similar purpose. In this case, I suspect that the chain system was in vogue, because on one side the hole is rather a long one which served for the chain to be pulled in when the gate was desired to be opened. In between the two gates is a rectangular compartment formed by the original rectangle, and a sentry post (Picture No. 3) is noticeable with two guard rooms on the farther side (Picture No. 4). As you cross the second gate you come into an open area, which leads on to the Draw-bridge (Picture No. 5).

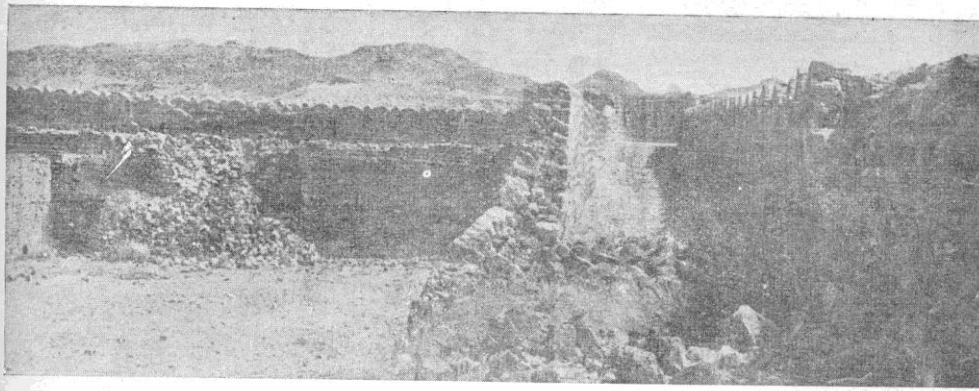
To the left of this open area towards the rising hills, one notices a peculiar domed structure of ten square feet area with a door of entry. The dome and the arch of the door are of unusal design. I am inclined to emphasise similarity of this design with the structures found in the Serbian Palaces of the Sassanians. But it also resembles some of the structures of the Tughlaq period. This is only a single room. What could it have been? It is certainly too small for a magazine. But there was no magazine in those days. Can it be the tomb of some one, who was killed heroically and buried here? But there are no sings of a grave either. The room has four niches on each side. I am inclined to think that it was the living quarter for the man who worked on the Draw-bridge. Whatever it may have been, the period of construction of this structure is definitely the same as that of the original fort.

Passing now to the right towards the Draw-bridge on the stream, we come to a platform across which wooden planks were placed to form a bridge over the pillars. One crossed from here to the right side of the fort over the stream. On the opposite side there is also a platform to take similar wooden planks (Picture No. 6). This leads one to a passage on the opposite side which is formed by a double wall, which includes the parapet (Picture No. 7). This double wall is meant to give initial protection to the crossing person.

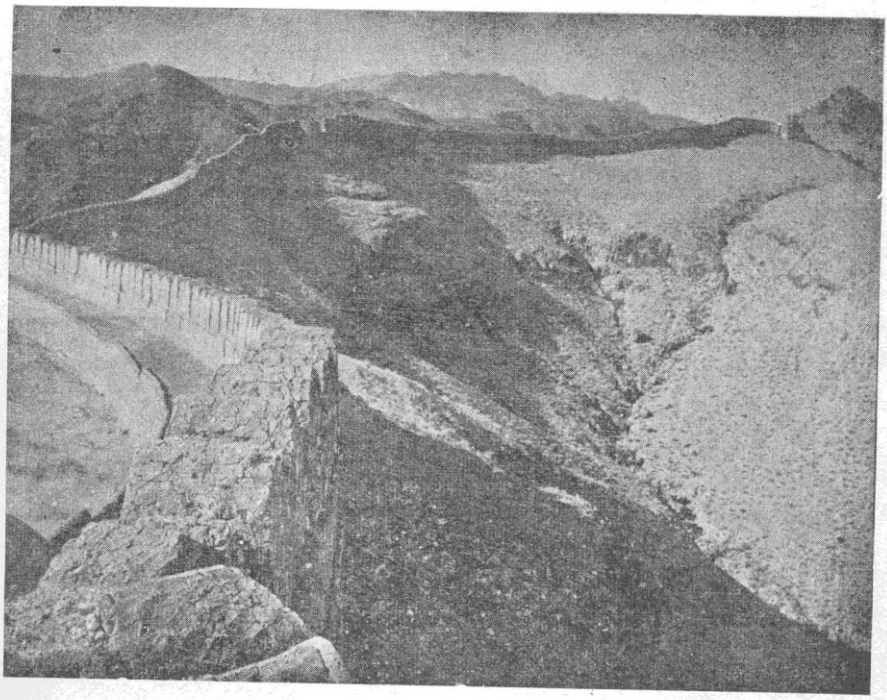
A rampart exists along the entire length of the inside of the fort wall (Picture No. 8); but the wall is only double for a short distance along the gates. As you cross over to the right side of the

fort, and immediately where you alight, there is a flight of steps going down to the stream (Picture No. 6). This was obviously for the purpose of fetching water from the stream, without having to go out of the fort. The wall then proceeds upwards and is seen forking off and ending into a tower (Picture No. 1), the main wall proceeding ahead without any further interruption. There are three circular bastions visible on the right hand side as far as one can see the wall go and an equal number on the left hand side, terminating in an enlarged rectangular tower at the highest peak of the hill along which the wall creeps. Beyond this the wall disappears into the valley below. These rectangular towers are placed at regular intervals as has been mentioned before. In some places, they are unusually large and in some places they have been converted into circular bastions. It must, however, be kept in mind that the original wall had no circular towers.

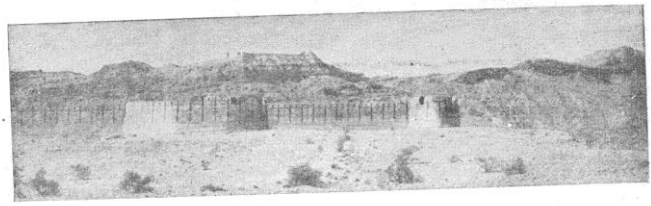
The wall is on an average 30 feet high. It is of varying thickness. Near the bastions it is six feet thick. It tapers away from the bastions to a width of five feet. This is exclusive of the thickness of the rampart, which is eight feet wide. This thickness is made up by filling it with rubble. The wall is not upright or straight vertically, but inclines slightly inwards so as to give it more strength. The entire wall is made of lime stone. At the top it has the usual corbel arrangement with the machiolations. Quite a considerable amount of repair is evident. The wall was originally



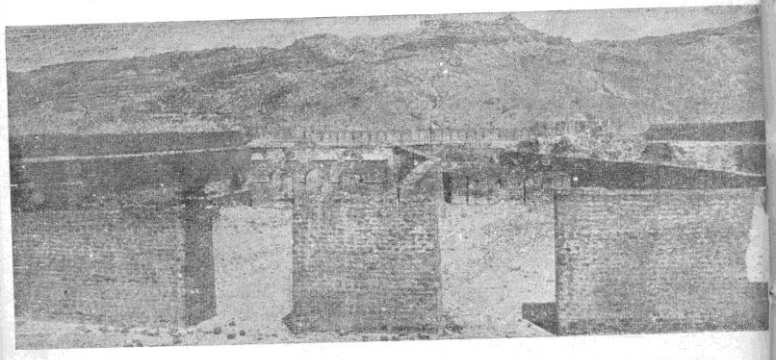
Picture No. 7. After crossing the draw-bridge to the left one comes t double walled passage which includes the parapet.



Picture No. 8. Shows the rampart along the entire side of the inner wall. The wall can be seen creeping along the hills



Picture No. 9. Show Miri Fort. In the centre of the front wall can be seen a double circular Bastion converted from the central rectangular tower. In the background perched high up on the hill is seen the Sher Garh Fort.



Picture No. 10. Three living compartments of the Miri Fort

constructed for the Bow and Arrow warfare; subsequently the machiolations have been enlarged for the lateral play of the crossbow, and perhaps also to accomodate firearms.

This wall, which stretches over an area of 18 miles, is the biggest fortified area in the world, containing two other forts within its perimeter. I say "the biggest," because this sub-continent has the largest and the maximum number of forts found anywhere in the world; and this fort is the largest of them all. I make this statement after having seen most of them. The Great Wall of China is merely a wall, and does not enclose an area to form a fort; hence it belongs to a different category altogether. A comparison of the architecture of the two will, however, suggest some similarity; and hence I do not hesitate to say that it is just possible the fort of Ranikot may have a direct connection with the builders of the great Wall of China.

THE CITADELS—Let us now for a while look round the two small citadels situated one atop the other in the centre of this huge enclosure of fortified area. The lower one is called the Miri fort,[3] and the upper one is known as the Sher Garh fort (Picture No. 9). The philology of these two names is not clear to me. The Miri and Lakhshmir-ji-Mari were in fact the palace citadel of the kings, or rather Chiefs of those remote times.[4] Perhaps, they are named after some hero. Sher Garh Fort is the higher and is

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[3] In the Survey of Pakistan Map No. 35 $\frac{0}{13}$ it is named as Ameri Kot, height 837 feet above sea level.

[4] H. T. Lambrick, *Sind General Introduction,* Hyderabad, 1964.

situated at a height of 1,480 feet above the sea level. The two forts are approximately of the same dimensions, which is to say, about 150 yards on either side. Miri fort is, however, slightly bigger of the two. It is divided into three living areas; each containing living apartments, which are in a bad state of dilapidation (Picture No. 10). These living apartments are certainly of a much later date than that of the actual fort. However, on one side of the left hand apartment, one can see lying several specimens of carved stones with exquisite floral designs (Picture No. 11). These carved pieces are from the original fort, as similar carvings are seen in this fort elsewhere also, strongly fixed in arches and walls (Picture No. 12). The apartments were perhaps built by the Talpurs or the Kalhoras; or may be even by the British during some of their military manoeuvres. I have it on the authority of Mr. G. M. Syed that the British never occupied this fort, and that these quarters were built about thirty years ago. But the carvings from the original buildings denote a Scythio-Sassanian pattern.

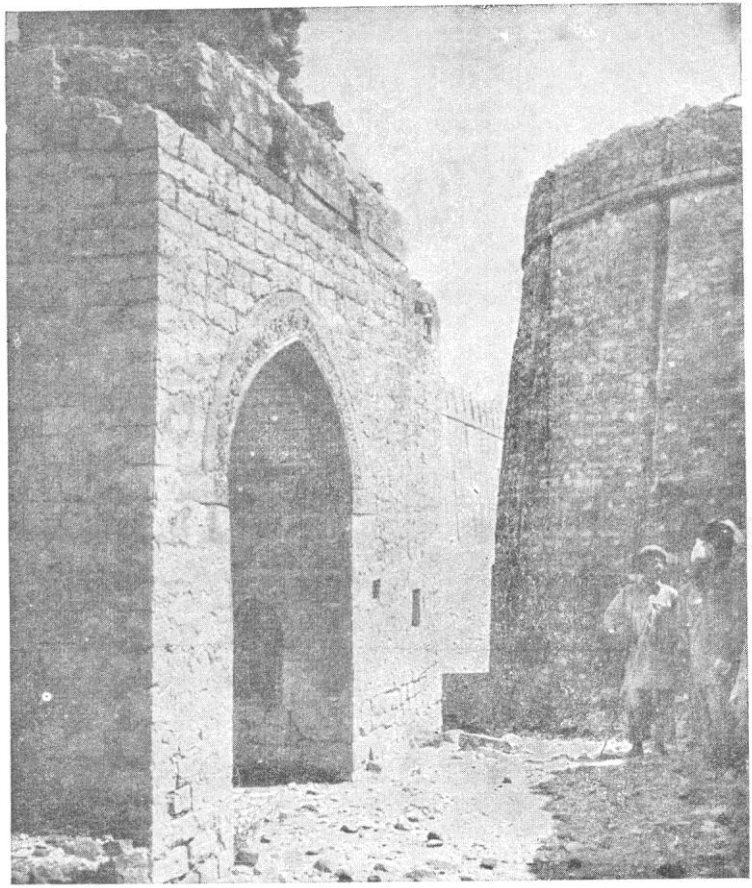
The entrance to these two small forts is very similar to the entrance in the main Sann gate. But the original structure has been altered in the following manner. In the middle of the front wall of the Miri fort there was originally a rectangular tower. This has been extended both towards the right and the left and rounded off so as to form a double circular tower (Picture No. 9). From the outside there are no signs of the rectangle. But as one enters the tower one at once perceives the alteration (Picture No. 13). This procedure has given the entrance a double gate resemblance similar to one I have already described in the Sann gate. This

entrance has two arched vaults on either side. The arch is carved beautifully, but the stone on which it is carved is sand stone and not lime stone which is the original material used in the construction of the fort. There are, however, smaller arches present, which are carved on the original stone and are certainly the original pieces of the structure.

The second fort called the Sher Garh fort (the abode of lions) is situated at a much higher level, which is shown on the map as 1,480 feet above sea level. Below this is a graveyard of some significance (Picture No. 14). There are no living quarters inside this fort. This fort is nearer to the western or the upper gate. The famous Sindhi author Mirza Qalich Beg visited this fort as his name is seen inscribed by him on the wall. It is situated on the north-west of the Miri fort. This citadel also has four circular bastions on the four corners. This is a later addition as the original structures were rectangular towers. Towers were made circular at a much later date. Inside these two citadels the wall is double, which is unlike the main wall of the bigger fort, where it has assumed a double shape only near the gates and that too for short distances. This double wall resembles the great wall of China very much in its structure. The machicolations and the palisade are of a variety similar to those of the outer wall.

I have already mentioned about two additional structures in addition to these citadels. One is near the western gate and is about 100 yards by 80 yards, and the second is near the eastern or

Ptcture No. 11. Carved pieces of stone are seen lying around the liv
compartment of the Miri Fort.



Picture No. 13. Entrance into the Miri Fort. Here again the Post of the sentry is seen on the left with the carved arch and square holes for the gate.

the Sann gate. Both are rectangular. As one approaches the western or the Upper gate (Picture No. 15), one comes to the waterfall from where a small stream of clear water still trickles through, forming into small collections of water inside the valley (Picture No. 16). An area of about 8 acres can also be seen cultivated. At this place the land seems quite fertile (Picture No. 17). This is between the Miri fort and the Western gate. The valley being porous, the water disappears and reappears alternately at several places.

Long before one approaches the Miri fort one can see to the south-west of it a circular bastion projecting over the ridge of a yonder hill. It is a good land-mark for an approach to the citadels. It is a bastion of the southern or the Shah Per gate. Below the Miri fort one can have a good look at the entire valley, which can be seen stretching from east to west. This valley must have looked superb in olden days when the place was inhabited and filled with the choicest aristocracy of trees (Picture No. 18).

PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION—We now come to the most intricate question about the period of construction of this gigantic monument. Unfortunately the data available to us do not provide any historical evidence of the real architects of this fort. We shall, therefore, have to use our imagination, and concentrate on the architecture itself to determine the period in which it was built. But before we do this, we must keep certain facts in view. Where did the Muslims first learn about the construction of fortification? The earliest Muslim armies passed along a series of

Roman frontier forts. They saw them, conquered them and lived in them and modified their designs in later days. Early palaces of Umayyad Caliphs are instances in view. Entrance gates were straight in pre-Muslim days. There are no known instances of a bent entrance during the Roman, the Byzantine or the Persian periods. The history of bent entrances starts with Al-Mansur's city. Tradition attributes the construction of this fort to the TaIpurs. Some have even credited the Kalhoras with its origin. Dr. N. A. Baloch, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Sind, has very kindly sent to me the following note which I reproduce here-unde:

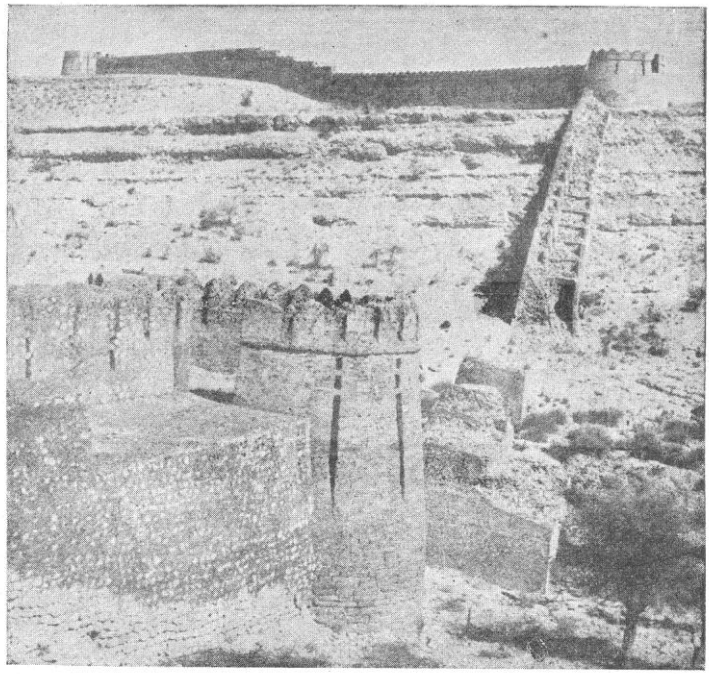
"Regarding the initial planning and the founding of the Runni Kot Fort, no detailed record is available, but the family tradition preserved with the Nawwab family of Talpur (Hyderabad District) gives a fairly clear idea about it as follow: The problem of a stronghold for a final defence against an outside attack had engaged the attention of the Kalhora rulers. Mian Noor Muhammad selected Umarkot for this purpose and rebuilt the fort there and mounted cannons on it. When Nadir Shah attacked Sind, Main Noor Muhammad retreated to Umarkot but Nadir Shah overtook him there. Mian Noor Muhammad could not go any further south because Kuchh, Kathiawar, Jodhpur and Marwar were all Hindu states and there was no hope of any support from them. Main Noor Muhammad had to surrender himself before Nadir Shah.

"The example had proved the futility of having a stronghold in southern Sind, and this was pointed out convincingly by Wali Muhammad Khan Leghari to the Talpur rulers; Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan, who wanted to build such a stronghold. Wali Muhammad Khan Leghari was a r. an of great talents, an able commander, an engineer, a physician, and a great poet. When the Amirs entrusted him with the task, he selected the present site of Runni Kot. The hill torrent (nainنين)Runni had a perennial spring on this site and the small vale through which it ran was encircled by a fairly high ridge line which had some gaps and holes which could be easily filled up to create a natural fort.

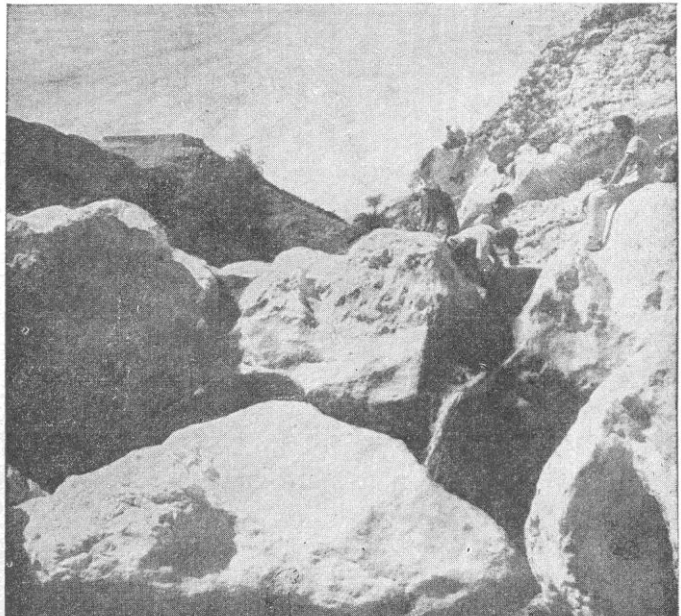
"Wali Muhammad Khan's proposal was approved and the Fort (outer wall as well as the inner fortress of Shergarh and the Miri or the royal residence) was planned and built under his supervision. The only task that remained to be completed was to fit in the gates under the bridge over the Runni. The gates were designed with iron bars but the force of water (in rainy season) simply twisted the bars and the gates did not work. It appears that Wali Muhammad Khan had been appointed as the Nawwab of Larkana and, in his absence, this work was not carried out successfully. In the absence of satisfactory gates, the fort was considered vulnerable and was not occupied finally.

"Mir Hasan All Khan Talpur (d. 1324/1909) in his *Fath-Nama* (Sindhi *Mathnawi)* has enumerated the founding of the Runni Kot Fort as one of the outstanding events of Mir Karam Ali Khan's (along Mir Murad All Khan's) rule (1227-1244 A.H.) and

described some of its features as follows: Runni Kot is a landmark left by our ancestors. When the plumbers worked at it, they filled in the openings in the encircling hill, from the lowest foundations to the



Picture No. 15 The Western Gate. Below and to one side of it is the waterfall.



Picture No. 17. The green patch of cultivated land lying between the Miri Fort and the Western Gate. In the background is seen the Miri Fort.

top, mking it a natural ridge line. Then they made the ridge line even at the top and rised a wall on it—another ridge line on the natural one. It was all stone wall extending in length to Krohs (miles). Flanking on it, hundreds of ramparts (burj) were erected. It was further decorated with thousands of large terraces (Kungra) and innumerable small ones. Another stronghold, called Shergarh, was built inside it. Four ramparts were erected on the Shergarh wall. Still another strong structure, called Miri, was built with four ramparts.

"The *nain* (hill torrent) flows through the Fort, having water inside the fort area but not a drop outside. This is when there are no rains. Gates on it were necessary for crossing over to the inner fort. They planned two gates, west-eastward, in its bottom. First they raised the stone pillars on the sides and then they fixed the gates. These were iron gates with strong bars. Hundreds of maunds of iron were used, but it did not work. During the rainy season, when the *nain* Runni flowed for a week continuously, the force of water twisted the bars like ropes. As the gates did not work, the Fort was not occupied. Seventeen lakhs of rupees were spent on the completion of the Fort."

We will now reproduce below a statement from the Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, compiled by A. W. Huges, in the year 1876. This will throw further light on its history. It runs as follows: "To the South-west of this place (Sann) and on the same torrent, is the vast but ruined fort of Rani-ka-kot, said to have been constructed by two of the Talpur Mirs early in the present

century. It was intended as a stronghold to serve not only as a safe place for the deposit of their treasures, but also to afford a refuge for themselves in the event of their country being invaded. This fort is reported to have cost in its erection the large sum of twelve lakhs of rupees, but as the Sann river, which at one time is believed to have flowed near the walls, subsequently changed its course, and caused a scarcity of water in and about the place, it became as a natural consequence uninhabitable, and was, therefore, abandoned. The Sann river, Rani Nai, now runs through the fort and it is stated that no scarcity of water in any way exists."

Most of this extract is based upon a report made by Captain Delhoste of the Bombay Army, who in 1839 was the Assistant Quartermaster General of that sector. It would perhaps be worthwhile to quote from that report also, before we start to give our own opinion. Here is what the AQMG has said :—

"Rani-ka-kot was built by Mir Karam Ali Talpur and his brother Mir Murad Ali about A.D. 1812, cost 12,00,000 rupees and has never been inhabited in consequence of there being a scarcity of water in and near it—A rapid stream in the rains runs past it and joins the Indus, and by a deviation from its course, parts of the walls of this fort have been destroyed. The object of its construction seems to have been to afford a place of refuge to the Mirs in case of their country being invaded—The river believed to be Sann river, ran formerly round the base of the north face. but about the year 1827 it changed its course, and

destroyed part of the north-west wall." To this Huges adds, "At present the Sann river, or as it is there called the Rani Nai, runs through the fort." It is possible the fort has been named after this stream Rani Nai as Rani Kot.

Leaving aside the description of the fort, which is mostly correct, I am of the view that the Talpurs could not have been the builders of this fort. They were neither rich nor resourceful to undertake this gigantic construction, They were despots surviving on a Fedual system. Their land was divided into Jagirs under a few chiefs, who in turn supplied them with troops in time of need. They had no standing army. The maximum they could muster was about 50,000 men. In so far as their finances were concerned their revenue was based on a zamindari system, which hardly brought them a share of 35 lakhs of rupees per annum. The total expenditure on construction of this fort as given in the above quotation is 12 lakhs. After seeing the fort, it is impossible to conceive that such a small amount could have sufficed to build this huge structure. I am of the opinion that no less than two crore of rupees were spent on this construction, and it must have taken at least a couple of thousand people employed for a couple of years to complete this job. The finances and the resources of the Talpurs were, therefore, insufficient to meet this expenditure. It is also difficult for me to believe that this fort was built in the year 1812. It was certainly repaired about that time and a few alterations were made. But the fort is certainly a much earlier construction. My reasons for saying so are as follows:—

(1) The Corbles and the machiolations are of pre-gun-powder period and meant for bow and arrow warfare.

(2) The serpentine outer wall is interspersed with rectangular towers, which were in vogue before the 10th century of the Christian era.

(3) The naming of the eastern gate as the Amri gate shows that Amri was still flourishing when the fort was built and not buried under the ground as in the last century.

(4) The carvings in the Miri fort are of Scythian artisticpatterns.

(5) The dome-shaped structure in the interior of the entrance at Sann gate belongs to Scythio-Sassanian period.

(6) There is a very great resemblance between the Great Wall of China and Ranikot, thus indicating an older period of construction.

The Talpurs and the Mirs have also used this fort for their residential perposes, and perhaps for refuge too in tmie of need. Another important fact which should not be lost sight of, is this: the Talpurs and the Kalhoras built forts which are to be found on the eastern side of the river Indus, and not on the western side. The repairs and alterations which they carried out in this fort were during their differences with the Kalat state. But the actual construction of the fort must have taken place a long time before that. I shall presently attempt to place its date of construction in an appropriate period by further arguments.

This construction in my opinion was necessitated by the population that lived around the fertile valley inside the existing fort. Actually there had existed habitation in the valley from time

immemorial; and as the valley was very fertile it was very attractive too. Therefore, at some time in history, the rulers who were permanently settled here, in order to safeguard this place, built themselves a fortification with citadels located in the middle of the valley positioning them very strategically. These small forts or citadels must have also served as the second and third line of defence in time of an invasion as I have already pointed out. To have brought people from outside to build this fort would have entailed a great deal of hardship in the way of their sustenance. Of course there must have been some prisoners also to assist them, and some skilled artisans.

There are indications of habitation below the upper citadel Sher Garh. This is in the form of a huge graveyard. There are some graves with tomb stones and sarcophagus and some ordinary ones (Picture No. 14). There is no doubt that people did live in this valley. Although signs of habitation are not traceable today, it is probable their houses have been washed away by heavy rains. Perhaps some further excavations may reveal the site of earlier habitation. To me it appears that this valley had been rendered desolate much before the time of Huges and Captain Delhoste. It may even have happened earlier than the time of the Talpurs and the Kalhoras. As 1 visualise the whole episode, it appears to me that a very long time ago in history, the draw-bridges at the Sann and the Amri gates were demolished by floods caused by heavy rains or by an attacking army, thus letting the water out and drying the area. The population was hence forced to abandon the place. The stream of water which exists to this day

in places shows that it is a clear stream of pure water originating at the small water-fall near the western gate. In olden times this stream was large and the water gushed through it to collect in the lake in large amount due to the Dam under the draw-bridges. As this water from the lake rushed past, the alluvial soil must have been taken away with it and so also the subsequent rains must have taken away some, thus rendering the entire valley barren leaving a loose soil full of bolsters underneath, upon which nothing could grow except the desert vegetation.

Now let us come to the real question. Who built tie fort ? I must admit that I have been unable to arrive at a definite conclusion. But there are various possibilities, which come to my mind. As to the fort's antiquity, **I** have enumerated several arguments above. In order now to pin-pont the period of its construction, we shall have to deal one by one with the different periods in history. Let us take them together in order of priority, and discuss the the feasibility of each one of them. They are as follows :-

The British	1857-1947	AC
The Talpurs	1783-1857	"
The Kalhoras	1700-1783	"
The Moghuls	1500-1700	"
The Tarkhans	1450-1550	"
The Arghuns	1350-1450	"
The Sumas	1325-1350	"
The Tughlaqs	1310-1325	"
The Sumras	1225-1310	"

The Tartars	1000-1225	AC
The Scythians	200-100	BC
The Parthians	100-50	"
The Sassanians	325-50	"
The Greeks	325	"

Out of this list I have already ruled out the first two. The British were not mentioned, but they can also be brushed aside; for they built no forts in this subcontinent. The Moghuls can be set aside as it is not a Moghul architecture at all. It has none of their pecularities. The Tarkhans, the Arghuns, and the Sumas were in the Delta of Sind as small feudal lords, and only built round Thatta; in fact right upto the Tartars they were all here for **a** short period, and in transit. Feroze Shah Tughlaq appears to have come this way a number of times and even built a lake Sangar. He paid a courtesy call on the famous saint of his time known as Pir Lal Shah Baz. It appears to me that the architecture of Ranikot fort may have some resemblance to the architecture of the Tughlaq period and with the older forts he built in India. The Hindus can also be ruled out, as fort building was not known to them in the pre-Muslim days.

Passing down to the Scythians, we find that they were no invaders. They had come to settle down. A branch of theirs came direct to the south from the north along the river Indus and settled down in Sind. They are known in history as Indo-Scythians. The Scythians come from Central Asia, and were a branch of the Aryans. It is possible they may have brought with them the knowledge of the Great Wall of China; this great fort of

Ranikot does resemble it in many ways. It will be interesting to note that Scythio-Parthian remains have been discovered in Bhambhor. The outer fortification has been cleared in three tiers, one atop the other. The walls are interspersed with circular towers alternating with rectangular towers. This is, identical with the architecture of Ranikot. I presume, this is a pre-Muslim structure; for the Muslims at the time of the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim were unaware of any defensive architecture. They came across this during Crusades while in contact with the enemy along the frontiers of Iraq and Syria, where Roman fortifications were found. I am inclined to believe that Bhambhor fortification is a Scythian structure just like the fort of Ranikot. Even today in Sind a large proportion of the population is Scythian. The rest of them are Semetic.

The Greeks can be ruled out due to their very short stay. Alexander himself did not spend more than four years in the subcontinent. He had no time for constructive work. He was an invader, who hurriedly went back with his conquering army, which had become homesick.

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PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND RELIGION

C. A. Qadir

Of all the movements Which have hit religion the hardest, Psyoanalysins, perhaps, the most important and the most active. The attack was launched by no less a person than Sigmand Freud who had at' his command all the armoury of physical and psychological sciences and lashed vehe.nently the citadel of Religion.

Freund was the product of positivistic and materialistic tendencies¬ fostered and nourished, by the steady progress of physico-chemicalcal sciences in the eighteenth' and nineteenth centuries. By tie applicatibn "of Carefully 'worked out techniques and procedure's, and by the enaplOymenl of mathematical devices, the physical and chemical sciences had rescued, from the clutches of magic and Metaphysics, a large area of human thought hitherto regarded as mysteriotis and divine, and so inexplicable and inaccessible to human' beings. Hence wliat was regarded as due to supernatural forces or as due to some transcedental, trars-empirical agency, became an object of scientific study, to be investigated and expounded like any other obervable entity. True; not all phenomena belonging to the realm of magic, witchcraft and sorcery could be scientifically handled and interpreted in strictly objective manner. There are limitations, to the scientific treatment of data. But the point at issue is not the amount of area which was released from the„suzerainity of magic and brought under the sway of physicochemical sciences, but it is the temper it

bred and the attitude it developed. This temper was scientific. It made people to look to the causes of effects and effects of causes by means of techniques which the scientists had developed in laboratories. Consequently all referepces to transcendental and mystical entities were ruled out in the interest of scientific rigour and clarity.

Comte, a representative of the positivistic temper in Europe, held that instead of the vague and dubious explanations of religion and metaphysics—vague, because they could not be verified by commonly accepted criteria of truth and validity and dubious, because their utility could not be upheld-what is required is a scientific approach to problems. Comte sitinguished between the 'Theological', the 'Metaphysical', and the 'Positive' stages of thought. "The first stage, the Theological, projects human emotions into physical environment and explains events in terms of direct volitions or gods or spirits. The second stage, the Metaphysical, depersonalizes these gods and spirits and converts them into abstract essences, ontological beings, occult powers and the like. The final stage, the Positive, eschews all appeal to unobservable entities, and in the interest of preditcion and control, restricts itself to formulating the invariable conjunction between phenomena." According to Comte, the Positive stage can be realized only if there is universal acceptance of the reign of impersonal and unchanging laws. In other words, if human beings continue to believe in the agency of super-natural forces or in the temporary suspension of the physical order due to the intervention of Divine Beings, the positivistic standpoint and the

philosophy behind it has not been properly appreciated. Comte is fully convinced of the fact that the destiny of human beings lies in the emancipation of human mind from the thraldom of irrational and unfounded suppositions and making it amenable to scientific methods of research and enquiry. Freud agreed with Comte here.

As is obvious, the scientific temper of which Freud and Comte speak demands a thorough investigation of the data, a careful weighing of the evidence and an utmost caution in formulating generalisations. A scientist is a doubter. He is not prepared to accept or reject a proposition unless good grounds are forthcoming for or against it. These grounds are not the grounds of religion or metaphysics but the grounds of empirical sciences, that is to say, the grounds obtained and certified by the techniques and methods of inductive disciplines. An inductively grounded proposition starts with the observation of facts and proceeds to frame hypotheses and subsequently laws, in reliance upon the laws of causation and uniformity of nature. Freud thought that as religion and metaphysics did not and could not accept the methodology of the positive sciences, they had no claim to knowledge—knowledge in the sense of a verifiable, objective and shareable experience. Freud's belief in the cogency and the universality of the critical spirit did not stem only from the triumph of physical and chemical sciences; it also arose from the discoveries made in the domain of psychological sciences. Hitherto dreams were regarded as a product of loose and scattered brain. Likewise abnormal phenomena were attributed to evil spirits or to defects in the brain. But Freud established with

the help of a vast amount of data, that both dreams and abnormalities could be explained by the laws of cause and effect and could not, therefore, be regarded as the results of agencies belonging to supersensuous domains.

In the beginning, the explanation offered for insanity and phenomena related to it were ‘demonological' in character. Insane behaviour was regarded as the manifestation of some spiritual being or demon, who either actually inhabited the body of his victim or who merely played upon him from without. "If the phenomena manifested were in harmony with the religious views of the time, it was concluded that the controlling spirit was benign in character, and the individual possessed was revered as an exceptionally holy person, If, on the other hand, the conduct of the individual conflicted with the dominating ethical code, he was thought to be the victim of a malignant spirit" (Bernard Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity,* p. 2, Cambridge 1936). This hypothesis remained in the field for a long time till at the beginning of the Eighteenth century, as a result of the growing hold of humanitarian spirit and the advance of physical sciences, it was felt that abnormalities could be studied as physiological mishaps, that is to say, as defects of the nervous system and particularly of its central part, the brain. This hypothesis led to a great understanding in the aetiology of abnormalities, it also marked the end of an era of brutality in the treatment of the 'possessed' and the witches who were held resposible for quite a large number of abnormal cases. But it could not last long. It was Freud and his associates who

found that despite the immense superiority of the physiological over the demonological hypothesis, there were quite a good many abnormalities which could not be successfully treated through physiology and which as a matter of fact required the whole revision of the problem. The inadequacies of the physiological explanations led ultimately to one of the greatest and the most momentous discoveries of the modern age. It is :a discovery no less important than the discovery of America or that of the atom bomb.

Of course Freud is not the first to discover the nature and importance of the Unconscious. Many thinkers of the past, both European and Asian; had alluded to it in may or the, other but to 'establish it on scientific grounds, in a strictly objective, dis-passionate manner, with the help of evidence judicially collected and carefully sifted, was left to Freud and his co-workers. There is a world of difference between a brilliant flash land its establishment, through incontrovertable evidence. Almost ,a14 discoveries made at the present moment were imagined by. people of the bygone ages. It is said that Hindu scriptures make mention of *uran khatola,* hence Hindus can take the credit of being the first to invent aeroplane. Such a talk may satisfy the vanity of people but it can claim no scientific value, for there is a long journey from a guess to its scientific establishment and technological use From the speculations of the earlier thinkers about the nature of the unconscious forces to the well-established hypothesis of Freud about the same, there is a great distance. Consequently the references of some earlier thinkers to the hidden dark forces of

human mind do not in any manner minimise the importance of Freud.

In almost all religious literatures, particularly the. Semitic; one can find occasional references to Satan and his activities to delude the unwary and to use as tools those of us who are in his grips that is to say, those of us who have sold their souls to him. The Satan is an evil agency which takes possession of the human, soul and employs it for his own nefarious designs.: The victim helpless and seeks the assistance of God to free himself from his clutches. Freud's Unconscious performs precisely the functions which Semitic religions have ascribed to Satan. ± The Unconscious(in the opinion of Freud, is a great reservoir of force whose nature and extent is unknown to the owner and who, works in strange manner, using its victims as an instrument for its own satisfaction: To explain the tremendous power of the Unconscious over thee life of an individual, the Unconscious is some times likened to a huge ice-berg which comes floating down from the Poles 'to the Equator. From a distance the ice-berg looks like a mountain Any ship that strikes against it by chance is shattered to pieces and sinks instantaneously. But strange to say, only one tenth of the ice-berg is above water whereas nine tenth of it is below' water. The Unconscious is the nine tenth of us which is, so' to say, below water, and therefore unknown and unknowable to us for all practical purposes. Moreover, as the Unconscious is sine tenth of the human mind, the Conscious part which is merely one 'tenth, is not only comparatively insignificant but also an instrument in the

hands of the Unconscious for the gratificafion of forces which lie within it.

The Unconscious, according to Freud, consists of a great many things among which repressed sexual infantile tendencies rank the foremost. Freud believed that during infancy when children are physically and mentally weak, their natural urges, for which he uses blanket term, namely that of sex, are very often thwarted and lead to the formation of complexes whose grip is almost satanic and which cannot be removed except through techniques associated with psychoanalysis and its derivatives. The complexes are associations of unwanted unwholesome and rejected tendencies of one's self. They are rejected and repressed as they fail to agree with the accepted social norms' of decency and rationality. In other words, whatever the individual thinks as conflicting with the approved standards of good life are rejected. These are driven away from the conscious level and thrown into the unconscious to lie there not as dead inert forces but as live agencies to influence and dominate the subsequent course of an individual life. The rejected tendencies are very like the fallen angels who in company of Satan plot against humanity to lead them away from the path of righteousness which is no other than that • of decently and rationality likewise the repressed tendencies plot to overthrow the Conscious side' of the personality, thereby to acquire control of entire self and so to use tile person for their down •purposes. Abnormalities are different ways which the Unconscious manufactures to gratify its own wishes. Dreams are' symbols' which the Unconscious puts up for self-fulfillment.

With the Unconscious as the chief; if not the only, agency: to explain whatever pertains to life either 'directly or indirectly overtly or covertly, a programme 'is laid for complete 'determinism in the field of human life. Not only !are conscious phenomena amenable to strict scintiflc treatment through the discevery of causes of effects and effects of, causes about also unconcious processes. Hence every, mental process came under the domain of the law of Causation. Dreams are no longer the products of the loose and scattered brain nor are abnormalities the creations of demons and spirits. Dreams have their causes in the Unconscious mind so have abnormalities.

Thus conceived psychology became as deterministic as Physical sciences were. Freud filled up gaps in the picture of a complete deterministic universe where runs, both on physical and mental side, an unbroken chain of causal relationships from one end to the other. Hence what the physicists had done in respect of the physical universe, Freud did for the mental world. In this manner the desire of Freud came to be fulfilled. In company with the physicists Freud offered a complete positivistic account of the universe. And we know that according to Comte and Freud, positivism marks the coming of age of humanity.

The results of these findings were highly disturbing to moralists and religionists. Already they were smarting in their brain by the deterministic accounts of the physical reality; the success of Freud and his followers drove as it were the last nail in their coffin. If no phenomenon, physical or mental, is beyond the

grip of Determinism, religion and morality, and in fact all values, stand on shaky grounds. Instead of being heaven-born as sanctioned and ordained by a Supernatural Being, they have their source in human situations, psychological and sociological Freud thought that if values rested upon theology or metaphysics, they would never be autonomous, for their validity would depend upon the metaphysics or religion which supports them. Freud wanted to preserve the autonomy of values and this was not possible, in his opinion, so long as values rested upon unscientific grounds. Thus in the psychology of Freud both positivism and humanism join hands. It is a triumph of the scientific spirit on one hand, and a victory for humanism on the other.

But the gain for humanism and critical spirit is not necessarily a gain for other disciplines. Many theologians supposed that Freud's researches into the realm of the Unconscious region and his insistence on the universality of causal law were inimical to what religion had stood for ages. And Freud made no secret of his intentions in this respect. Not only did he desire to root out superstition, irrationality and chance from the field of sciences, he also wanted to show the utter futility and worthlessness of religion.

Freud did not attack religion on the ground that its assumptions were contradictory to the fundamental postulates of physcial sciences. He attacked it primarily on psychological grounds—the kind of ground which his theory of Psycho-analysis had supplied. Freud found the ground already prepared by

Feuerbash who in *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), *Preliminary Theses towards the Reform of Philosophy* (1842) and *Foundations of the Philosophy of the Future* (1843) had made a searching analysis of religion and pronounced it as a projection of human imagination and an expression of human need. In *The Essence of Christianity,* Feuerbach wrote that "the fundamental dogmas of Christianity are realized wishes of the heart, and that belief in God arises from man's tendency to compare particular, imperfect human beings with the general notion of the highest conceivable human perfection." The source of this conception is the character and conduct of some of the noblest persons he is acquinted with, but he *projects* it outside the human sphere and believes that there is some being who possesses all these virtues to the maximum degree. Human beings forget that the predicates they ascribe to a super-human being are really human predicates and that the subject and the predicates have an identical reference. The identity is broken when it is erroneously supposed that the possessor of the predicates is a Being other than man. Feuerbash says, "The identity of subject and predicates is clearly evidenced by the progressive development of religion, which is identified with the progressive development of human culture. So long as man is in a mere state of nature, so long is his God a personification of natural forces. When man inhabits houses, he also encloses his God in temples. The temple is only the manifestation of the value which man attaches to beautiful buildings. Temples in honour of religion are in truth temples in honour of architecture." Again he says, "The other world is nothing more than the reality of a

known idea, the satisfaction of a conscious desire, the fulfilment of a wish." He maintained affinity between religious beliefs and dreams. "Feeling is a dream with the eyes open," he says, "religion the dream of the waking consciouness; dreaming is the key to the mysteries of religion." In the Preface to the second edition of *The Essence of Christianity;* he wrote "that Christianity has in fact long vanished not only from the life of mankind, that it is nothing more than a *fixed idea,* in flagarant contradiction with our Fire and Life Assurance companies, our railroad and steam carriages, our picture and sculpture galleries, our military and industrial schools, our theatres and scientific museums."

From Feuerbash to Freud the way is not long. In *The Future of Illusion,* Freud speaks of many religious ideas which have ,exercised strong influence on mankind and says that the ideas are 'born from the need to make tolerable the helplessness of his childhood And the childhood of the human race. "Freud thinks that religious ideas have sprung from the „same need as have all other cultural achievements: namely, the necessity, for defending ourselves against the supermacy of nature. with its elements which seem to mock at all human control, such as earthquake, whirlwind, flood, disease and above all the painful and the insoluble riddle of death, forces which bring again to mind our Weakness and helplessness, of which which bring we thought the work of civilisation had rid us.

Before Freud wrote *The Future of Illusion* from which a few extracts have been given, he had realized as is evident from his

Leonardo de Vinci that theligions „pod is n?thing but a glorified father. In, this book, he, writes, "Psycho-analyss, has made us aware of the intimate connection between jVie father-complex arid the belief in God, and has taughtlits that they personal pod is psy-, chologically nothing other than a magnified father; it show;us every day how young people can Jose th9ir, religious faith as soon as father's authority collapses. We thus recognisC, the, root of religious need as lying in parental complex."

Freud's first book containing his arguments about the nature of religion is *Totem and Taboo* (1913). In this book Freud traced the the origin of civilization, morality, law and culture and also of religion to the psychological connection between the Oedipus Complex and totemism as it existed within small primitive groups. Freud explains the psychological basis of Christianity „and of all forms of organized religion, by bringing it within the orbit of Oedipus Complex. He starts by saying that primitive tribes were much more afraid of incest than the moderns and had consequently taken strong measures to see that this sin was not committed.. The measures took the form of taboos which meant that a person committing incest invited the wrath of invisible forces. Freud discovered that the restrictive measures prohibiting incest were related to totemism—a practice among primitive tribes of naming themselves after Some species of animals or plants and offering worship to it. The origin of this custom is shrouded in mystery. According to Spencer and Gillen, it arose as an explanation of conception, and birth. Andrew Lang associates it with the *mana-like* qualities of the tribal name, while Durkheim

regards it as an expression of an impersonal force thought of as resident in some totemicult object. Whatever be the origin of Totemism, the important point in this connection is that Freud in common with many of the earlier thinkers, among whom the name of Robertson Smith stands prominent, held that Totemism was the starting point of all religions particularly the Semitic ones. Robertson Smith maintained that "the blood of the victim offered in sacrifices was believed to be the same blood as that of the god to whom the sacrifice was made. The flesh of such a victim might not be eaten except at a communal meal upon ritual occassions."

Freud believed that every race including the most highly civilised had at one time passed through a stage of totemism.

In working out totemistic beliefs, Freud was specially indebted to Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy,* and *The Golden Bough* and to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*. From these he learned that there were two great taboos among the ancients—one was not to kill the totem and the other was not to have sexual relation with any woman of the same totem. Both these taboos Freud associated with Oedeipus Complex which briefly put, is the desire to kill the father and marry the mother.

Since religion was nothing but anthropology for Freud, he thought that the totem animal stood for father in the primitive mind and was honoured precisely for that reason. The totem was regarded sacred, and was not to be molested except once a year when he was ceremoniously killed and eaten incomrnon. Both these things Freud got from Robertson Smith. From Charles

Darwin, he learnt that originally men lived in hordes, each horde dominated by a single powerful, violent, suspicious man.

The net result of all these influences was that Freud became convinced of his standpoint with regard to religion, morality and civilisation. He writes, "The father of the primal horde, since he was an unlimited despot, had seized all the women for himself; his sons being dangerous to him as rivals, had been killed or driven away.

One day, however, the sons came together and united to over-whelm, kill and devour their father who had been their enemy as well as their ideal. After the deed, they were unable to take over their heritage since they stood in one another's way. Under the influence of failure and regret they learned to come to an agreement among themselves; they banded themselves into a clan of brothers by the help of the ordinances of totemism, which aimed at preventing a repetition of such a deed, and they jointly undertook to forgo the possession of the women on whose account they had killed their father. They were then driven to finding strange women, and this was the origin of the exogamy which is so closely bound up with totemism. The totem feast was the commemoration of the fearful deed, from which sprang man's sense of guilt (or 'original sin') and which was the beginning, at once, of social organization, of religion and of ethical restrictions."

"Now whether we suppose that such a possibility was an historical event or not, it brings the formation of religion within

the circle of the father-complex and bases it upon the ambivalence which dominates that complex. After the totem-animal had ceased to serve as a substitute for him, the primal father, at once feared and hated, honoured and envied, became the prototype of God himself. The son's rebelliousness and his affection for his father struggled against each other through a constant succession of compromises, which sought on the one hand to atone for the act of patricide and on the other to consolidate the advantages it had brought. This view of religion throws a particularly clear light upon the psychological basis of Christianity, in which, it may be added, the ceremony of the totem feast still survives, with but little distortion, in the form of communionism" *(The Collected Work of Sigmund Freud,* Vol. IV, by Sigmund Freud, The Hograth Press.)

In *Totem and Taboo,* the position is precisely the same *(Totem and Taboo,* Penguin edn., pp. 217-20). Explaining the agency through which the sense of guilt had travelled from one generation to the other, Freud observes, "We base everything upon the assumption of a Psyche of the mass in which psychic processes occur as in the psychic life of the individual. Moreover, we let the sense of guilt for the deed to survive for thousands of years, remaining effective in generations which could not have known anything of the deed—without the assumption of a mass psyche—social psychology could not exist at all. If psychic processes of one generation did not continue in the next—there would be no progress in this field and almost no development *(Totem and Taboo,* Penguin edn., pp. 240-1). Besides *Totem and*

Taboo and *The Future of Illusion,* Freud has an another book, *Moses and Monotheism,* which carries forward and elaborates his religious views. This book is not concerned with the Jewish religion only as its name suggests but is concerned with the problem of religion in general. There is no new argument. Freud begins with a doubtful history. He supposes that Moses wanted to save the monotheistic religion of Amenhotep, better known as Ikhnaton, which was repudiated after his death by the Egyptian priesthood. Moses did this by adopting the Hebrew as his own people in spite of the fact that he himself was an Egyptian, and leading them outside Egypt. Freud thinks that in the wilderness where he took the Hebrews, there were rebellious uprisings against him and that in the end he was murdered. From these facts, Freud concluded that "the revived knowledge of the murder of the Moses and many centuries later, the crucifixion of Jesus, released the suppressed memories of the ancestral murder of the horde-father." He writes, "I invite the reader to take a step forward and assume that in the history of human species something happened similar to the events in the life of the individual. That is to say, mankind as a whole passed through conflicts of a sexual-aggressive nature, which left permanent traces but which for the most part warded off and forgotten; later, after a long period of latency, they came to life again and created phenomena similar in structure and tendency to neurotic symptoms" *(Moses and Monotheism,* 1939, p. 129).

From Freud's religious writings, it would be obvious that according to Psychoanalysis, as Ernest Jones observes, 'religious

life represents a dramatization on a cosmic plane of the ambitions, fears and longings which arose in the child's relation to his parents.' Man's relation to supernatural powers and his relations of dependence, fear and love to them are simply the reproduction of the child's attitude towards his parents. His anthropocentric view of the universe is a continuation of his own sense of importance he felt during his childhood, while his desire to propitiate the spirits of dead ancestors or other spiritual beings arise from his repressed death wishes against his parents with a consequent fear of relation. Fear of death and problems connected with it do not arise from philosophical contemplation but from ambivalence towards person's loved ones. Again, the importance which a child has about himself gets transferred to a part of his own self, called the super-ego an ideal of what a person should be after moral education. The sense of supreme value is related to God, the Father, so as to win His approval and to be reconciled with Him. The idea of sin can be related to the sense of inadequacy in coping with life and is aroused in the child in his endeavour to make all his impulses conform with adult standard. All sin can be expressed in term of disobedience to the Father or else descretion of the Mother. Both are the components of Oedipus Complex. One is emphasized in Protestantism and the other in Roman Catholicism. Again, reconciliation with the Father against which we have sinned can be obtained in two ways, one leading to father type of religions, the other to son type of religions. The former are monotheistic pure and simple because they permit of no truck save with the one Almighty, loving and

forgiving God; the later of which Christianity is a typical exponent, accept a divine or semidivine intermediary between God and man. This intermediary offers himself as a vicarious sacrifice to the wrath of the Father. People can have salvation, that is to say, win reconciliation with their Heavenly Father by identifying themselves with the intermediary which is Jesus in the case of Christianity, being called the son of God.

II

We have seen that Freud agreed with Comte in holding that it was absolutely essential to pass beyond the theological and the metaphysical stage to that of the positivistic one in order to understand correctly the life within and the life without. He was convinced of the fact that whatever transcended the world of sensory experience could be nothing but an illusion. Consequently he could not believe that our mental apparatus could not reach the real nature of things! "In the long run," says Freud, "nothing can withstand reason and experience, and the contradiction religion offers to both is only too palpable." This shows Freud's prejudice against religion. Right from the beginning, he believed that religion was opposed to reason and experience, that it contained a large element of metaphysics, which could not be verified on strictly scientific lines, and that in the interest of critical, unbaissed enquiry, it was necessary that the law of cause and effect should have an undisputed sway over every territory of human thought. Freud has given no reasons in support of his contention. Nobody denies the value of scientific methods and

techniques in the domain of Physical sciences, but should this methodology be considered adequate or necessary for such disciplines as deal with non-physical reality is a highly debatable matter. Freud had a faith in the supermacy of the scientific method and this faith he acquired from the prevailing mood of his times but he has offered no grounds for this whatsoever, Nor has Freud given any reasons for his contention that religion is contradictory both to reason and to experience. He does not say what he means by reason or experience. If reason and experience are confined to processes as used by scientists in the investigation of physical phenomena, then surely religion will fail to conform to the dictates of reason and experience, but there is no justification for this restricted sense. Besides, it will be committing the fallacy of *petitio principi;* it will be like giving the dog a bad name and then killing it.

Freud also believed that the ethical commands to which religion seeks to lend its weight, require some other foundation. Since human society cannot do without them, it is dangerous to link up obedience to them with religious belief. Danger arises from the fact that "religion is an attempt to get control over the sensory world in which we are placed, by means of the wish-world which we developed within as a result of biological and psychological necessities. But it cannot achieve its end. Its doctrines carry with them the stamp of the times in which they originated, the ignorant childhood days of the human race" (Ernst Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud,* III, p. 359). It seems that Freud wanted to keep morality unsoiled by religious

considerations because religion according to him was nothing but a fairy tale, at best a wish-fullfilment on infantile level, and therefore incapable of providing a firm footing to such an important affair as morality is in human life. Freud's indictment of religiously grounded morality cannot be understood unless we know in what sense Freud takes religion. According to Ernst Jones, Freud said what "In my *Future of an Illusion* I was concerned much less with the deepest sources of religious feelings than with what the ordinary man understands by his religion." To this Jones remarks, "He (Freud) added later that this is the only religion that ought to bear the name."

It is very unfortunate that Freud has taken a childish view of Religion. It is the view of an untutored layman who finds himself in an alien world the nature and complexities of which he fails to comprehend and who accordingly conjures up an imaginary world and an imaginery being to compensate for his disabilities and deprivations. This religion is indeed a means for the fullfilment of unconscious wishes. It is peopled with jinns, fairies, and houries. It is fortified by hell and paradise. It is also presided over by a Being who is nothing but a glorified Father possessing all the virtues and failings of an earthly father. It may have its origin in totem-ism and the myth of patricide which Freud invokes to interpret and inveigh religion. But it is not the religion in its highest form. And certainly Freud's conception of religion is not true of Islam. It may be true of Christianity in its decadent form—the form in which Freud witnessed it during his lifetime, but it

cannot be true of Christianity even in its highest form. Not, for that matter, is it true for many developed religions of the world.

Higher religion is not a fairy tale. According to Iqbal, "it is a search for a larger life"; "a deliberate enterprise to seize the ultimate principle of value and thereby to reintegrate the forces of one's personality"; "it is symbolic of those subtle movements of reality which seriously affect the destiny of the ego as a possibly permanent element in the constitution of reality" (Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* Lahore, 1951, pp. 182, 189, 192). Accordingly Iqbal says, "And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great resposibility which the advancement of the modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter" (Ibid.p. 189).

The religion of an ordinary man is the religion of dogmas, rituals and priesthood. A dogma is an uncritical belief with a strong emotional tone; it may be a principle laid down by an agency whose authority cannot be challenged or a belief whose roots go to the remote past. But whatever be the case, a dogma is not open to doubt, it cannot be questioned, it has to be accepted because it is sanctioned and ordained by an authority which admits of no change or development. Understood in this manner a religion which harbours and encourages dogmas, and which at the same time demands unquestioning acquiescence in respect of

them, is simply a negative and a reactionary force. It is a hindrance in the path of scientific thinking, it thwarts rational enquiry and is what Freud rightly calls "the forcible imposition of mental infantilism." The sooner we get rid of such a religion the better. A religion which cannot tolerate examination of its fundamentals, which admits of no reinterpretation or re-evaluation in the light of life's fresh demands, stands condemned because of its rigidity, irrationality and into lerance. And Freud was certainly right in drawing our attention to this aspect of religion. But it would be tragic if religion is identified, as Freud has done, with dogmas, uncritical beliefs and fanciful thinking. An ordinary man's religion is no doubt replete with illogical, dogmatic beliefs, but not that of an enlightened person, with technology and science around him.

Here I want to sound a note of caution. Though I think that Freud was substantially right in condemning dogmas, illogicalities, and uncritcal beliefs as he found in the religions with which he was acquinted, 1 feel that Freud overshot the mark, for there does remain an element of mystery in all religions which cannot be dispelled by any amount of discursive thinking. It would be a mistake to suppose that mystery can be removed by the increase of knowledge or by the expansion of the domain of scientific disciplines. I agree with Whitehead when he says, "Religion is the vision of something which stands beyond, behind and within the passing flux of immediate things ; something real but yet waiting to be realised; something which is a remote possibility and yet the greatest of present facts, something which gives meaning to all that passes, and yet eludes apprehension; something whose

possession is the final good, and yet is beyond all reach ; something which is the ultimate ideal, and the hopeless quest" (A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World,* chapter 12). Freud would call these things as contradictions, but many thinkers including the Existentialists would regard them as mysteries. They would further say that since religion is essentially a concern with the mysterious or, as Stace says, with the 'hunger of the soul for the impossible, the unattainable and the inconceivable', it cannot accept or fruitfully employ the methodology of the physical sciences. It is a pity that Freud was not acquainted with the religious experience in its higher forms and so looked at the problem from what the Existentialists would say a spectator's or an outsider's point of view. Herein lies the tragedy of Freudian thinking.

Freud has very strongly critcised ritualism and rightly too. In ritualism he has found a parallel between religion arid neurosis, and has demonstrated thereby the psychological mechanism involved in rituals. Many patients are seen exhibiting ritualistic behaviour of a private nature which has nothing to do with their religious thinking and yet bears close resemblance to religious forms. These patients are in the grip of complexes and try to solve their own problems through their actions. For instance. in washing compulsions, the washing ritual is an attempt to get rid of a strong sense of guilt. The sense of guilt is not the product of anything undesirable which the patient might have done in the past, it is on the other hand an indication of the destructive forces of which the victim is not aware. Through his ritualistic

behaviour, the patient tries to undo the destruction which he has unconsciously planned and which should not reach his consciousness. If they ever reach the conscious level then the patient can deal with them directly and perhaps get rid of them. But he deals with them indirectly and unconsciously and so helps in their continuance. Hence, according to Erich Fromm, the ritualistic behaviour "protects the patient from an unbearable feeling of guilt but it also tends to perpetuate those impulses because it deals with them only indirectly."

Since the rituals performed under the direction of unconscious destructive forces are parallel to the ritual performed by religionists, it has been thought by psycho-analysts that the psychological mechanism in the later cannot be different from that of the former. As there are destructive forces at the bottom of compulsive acts, so there are unconscious destructive forces working behind religious rituals. These forces the psycho-analysts found in the destructive hate of the father-figure represented by God.

In their attempt to bring the religious ritual in line with the abnormal compulsive acts of patients, the Freudians have failed to distinguish between the rational and irrational rituals. The similarity in the case of the two is limited to the external form of the behaviour which is neither a relevant nor a material point of resemblance in this case. Most of the arguments which the psycho-analysts employ in respect of religious behaviour and their aetiology assume the form of analogy. None can deny the

important role of analogical inference in daily life But there is a well-worked out procedure and clear-cut cannons to regulate inferences of this kind. There can be pointless, trivial and unimportant resemblances which can lead to dubious and specious reasoning. In some cases, in spite of a great amount of similarity, one important difference would render the employment of analogical process ineffective and even absurd. Logicians have told us that it would be absurd to argue from the vast amount of similarity that the earth bears to the moon that the latter would have life when it is known that the moon has no water and no life can exist without water. Here one important difference has ruled out the possibility of analogical inference. The same is true of rational and irrational rituals. There is an important difference between the two which does not permit the employment of analogy. In the words of Erich Fromm, "The rational differs from the irrational ritual primarily in its function; it does not *ward off* repressed impulses but *expresses* strivings which are recognized as valuable by the individual. Consequently it does not have the obsessional-compulsive quality so characteristic of the irrational ritual; if the latter is not performed, the repressed threatens to break in and therefore any lapse is accompanied by considerable anxiety. No such consequences are attached to any lapse in the performance of the rational ritual; non-performance may be regretted but is not feared" (Erich Fromm, *Psycho-analysis and Religion,* Yale, 1961, p. 103).

I need not talk of the priesthood which forms, according to Iqbal, a part and parcel of the faith of an ordinary person. There is

organized priesthood in Christianity but none whatsoever in Islam. While talking of spiritual values, Prof. M. M. Sharif says, "It must be clearly understood that in Islam there is no priesthood and no organized church. No class has the monopoly of spirituality. There is no division of a society between the Church and the. State and between secular and religious laws or their ministers" (M.M. Shard, *Islamic and Educational Studies,* Lahore, 1964, p. 19). Christianity does recognize priesthood and the evils which result from this institution have been pointed out by many writers including Freud and Nietzsche.

After having discussed the popular form of religion, that is to say, the religion of an ordinary person, let us discuss the developed religions and see which of them are most vulnerable to Freudian attack. Religions can be classified in several ways but the one most convenient is to distinguish them as authoritarian or democratic in spirit. This distinction accords with the prevailing mood and can amply show what is living and what in dead in Freudian religious psychology.

It seems to me that Freudian criticism of religion applies to authoritarian type of religion but fails in the case of religions democratically conceived. In authoritarian religions the emphasis is on the omnipotence of God and the relative insignificance and powerlessness of man. Man is required to obey God in view of his own importance and the mightiness of God. Thus whatever credit human life can or does command is due to the mercy and grace of the Almighty for He apportions credit or discredit to human

actions in his own inscrutable ways. Credit simply signifies the pleasure of God and discredit His displeasure. And as none can ever know what actions of his elicit the pleasure of God and what displeasure, as God looks into the hearts of people and heart may be impure in spite of our best efforts and intention, none can ever be sure that his obedience has been properly appreciated or recognized by the Supreme Being. Thus the religious attitude in authoritarian religions is characterised by fear and trembling- - fear, not in the existential sense but fear in the ordinary childish sense, for the fear is born of insecurity, ignorance of God's ways and the tragic sense of powerlessness.

The attitude mostly desired in authoritarian religions is that of unquestioning obedience and the emotion generally excited is that of fear. Freud is quite right when he finds in this attitude the image of father working, and the ambivalent attitude which the children have towards their earthly father manifesting itself on **a** grand scale. Children do hate their father and also love him because of his authority and control. Likewise God is feared and loved in authoritarian religions because of His limitless power and all-embracing control. As a child feels awfully weak both mentally and physically in comparison to his father, so does a religious devotee feels immeasurably small in the face of the omnipotent, omniscient and all-controlling Deity. And as the only way to win the pleasure of the earthly father, so the child thinks, is through obeying him in letter as well as in spirit, so the only way in which. God's pleasure can be sought is through complete surrender, that

is to say, by throwing one's self completely at His mercy and asking for his grace.

There is no denying the fact that religion is very often conceived in this manner. God is regarded as a potentate, lording over the destinies of human beings in His own inimitable manner, giving bounties to whomsoever He wills and hurling infamy, destitution and disabilities again on whomsoever He likes. God is very like a wayward, irresponsible child whose pleasures or displeasures cannot be anticipated or rationally comprehended. This view was held with regard to gods in Greek mythology and also gods of the early Vedas. This view is still the view of the unlettered, untutored or what Freud says, the ordinary people of today. Unfortunately Freud thinks that this is the only view of religion. Hence he called it an illusion and did not visualise any future for it.

Our conceptions about God and His relation to His creation develop side by side with our notion about earthly powers, that is to say, about kings, their deputies and lieutenants and the relation they bear to their subject. In the past, the feudal lords, chiefs and landlords used to wield undisputed power over the lives and destinies of the people they ruled. There was no constitution to define and limit their powers, nor any recognition of the fundamental rights of human beings which the constitution could guarantee and the courts could uphold. Everything depended upon the sweet will of the lord—which will worked whimsically, almost arbitrarily, to the detriment of the subject. His pleasure

could be obtained by flattering him in and out of season, by admiring and extolling his real or supposed virtues and by offering sacrifices, human or otherwise, in his defence and for his glory. The god or gods of our forefathers were characterised by all these things. They were autocratic, impulsive, wayward, irresponsible, self-centered, pleased with flattery and offended by disobedience. They were not subject to any law, their power was unlimited, they could decree in any manner it suited their fancy, and it was not within the power of any creature to question them.

This conception which clearly parallel that of the political remained for a considerably long period and still forms part of the creed of the ordinary person and of those people also who though very intelligent and educated suffer from infantalism in respect of religion. With the rise of democracy and the consequent downfall of earthly kings one after the other, a new conception arose in the field of politics, which governs the relation of the rulers and the ruled and also defines the powers and limitations of the head of the state. There is a constitution which sets forth, in clear unambiguous terms, the rights and obligations of the people and any infringement of these can be contested in a court of law and decree obtained for their restoration and enforcement. The important thing in this connection is that the state in framing its constitution is guided by certain values which it means to uphold and for which it is prepared to die. The state therefore becomes a repository of certain values, very often called an ideology, which it jealously guards and which it puts up before the world as a justification for its existence and even survival, During the first

and the second world war, Churchill often said that they were fighting for Christian values. Now-a-days the Americans do the same. They attack Vietnam or Cuba in order to defened the cause of the free world. Religion has consequently changed her conception of the Supreme Deity to come in line with present-day thinking. The God of religion can no longer be regarded as a potentate, sitting in heaven on a throne, deciding the fates of people in whatever manner He likes. He has become on the other hand a source and symbol of values. As the head of a state stands for certain values which the country cherishes and upholds, so the God of religion stands for values which humanity cherishes for its own betterment and uplift, The president or the flag of a country is nothing, if considered in their individual, personal capacity. One is just a flag and the other is just a man, as good or as bad as any other man is. But as standing for certain values and as symbolising the dreams and aspirations of the people, both the flag and the Head possess significance, When people stand in respect before the flag of their country, they do not respect the flag as such, they respect the values which the flag symbolises. These values are the expression of the wills of the people. We bow to the values and not to earthly beings or powers. In religion, too, same kind of thinking has set in. The God of religion has to be respected not because He is a super-human being with unlimited power and influence over the lives and destinies of people but because He stands for values or what amounts to the same thing, He is the expression of the wills of human beings. Such a religion is immune to Freudian attacks.

In *The Pakistan Times* (27th July 1962,) I pleaded that Islam as a religion stands primarily and essentially for certain values. The Quran mentions ninety nine names of God which describe in a way such moral and spiritual excellences as can become the summum bonum of human life. These names may be likened to Platonic Ideas since they represent in the most complete and perfect form whatever human mind is capable of conceiving as constituting the noblest and the best in the universe. The values which God's nature signifies need not be assimilated by a person in toto. Each person's life is unique and therefore not suited to the cultivation of each value which the ninety nine names of God suggest. What is needed is that each person considering his own limitations and possibilities should select out of these values such as would best conduce to the furtherance of his moral and spiritual aims. Since life's goals can be achieved not in one but in many ways, the choice which different people make cannot lead to identical plans.

Religion as a creed of values does not necessarily mean that the idea of God as a Person has to be ruled out. No doubt there are the philosophical difficulties in this idea, but these difficulties do not stem from the view of religion outlined above. If we keep in view the comparison of religion with notions of political soveregnity, it can be seen that even in democracy there does exist loyalty to the Head of the state besides loyalty to the values which he symbolises in his person. People do love and respect their soveriegns, even fight and die for them. They know that the soveriegn is just a puny mortal. But it is not as puny mortal that

the soveriegn commands respect and allegiance. Respect is due to him as he projects the image of the country and expresses the aspirations of his people. Likewise God would be loved and respected as He represents in His person what is best and noblest in human life; loyalty to Him will be, primarily and essentially, a loyalty to values.

It is not suggested that Islam is free from authoritarian elements. Many people have conceived it on these lines. But it seems to me that as the eternal truths of Islam were revealed at a time when people entertained feudal notion about their kings, it was necessary that God should have spoken in the diction which people of those times could understand. But the Quran has taken care not to confine its meanings to that diction alone.

There is a story that when the Holy Prophet died, some of his devotees were stunned and failed to believe that such a thing could come to pass. Umar, an outstanding companion of the Prophet, is reported to have said that whosoever would say that the Prophet had expired, he would lose his life. At this another distinguished companion the Prophet rose. He read a verse from the Quran, saying that all things are temporary and evanescent. The only exception is the Person of God. He then remarked addressing those who could not reconcile themselves to the death of the Prophet that if they worshipped the Prophet then he was dead, but if they worshipped God, then God is not going to die; He is eternal and ever alive.

The story means that the propagators of values may leave the theater of existence after a brief sojourn, but the values they propagated and symbolised live forever. Accordingly religion is not so much a cult of personality as a cult of values.

Freudian criticism does not apply to this conception of religion.

IQBAL AND BROWNING

S. A. Vahid

In lines of rare beauty and great charm Iqbal makes Browning say about himself:

بے پشت بو بادہ سر جوش زندگی

آب از خضر بگیم و در ساغر افگنم

The exhilarating wine of life needed some stimulant,

So I take elixir from *Khidr* and add to the cup.

In legendary lore *Khidr* is the person who knows the way to the mysterious Fount of life, a drink from whose waters is supposed to confer immortality on mortal men. These lines show in clear terms the esteem and regard in which Iqbal held the Victorian poet Browning (1812-1889). The authors of *A Critical History of English Poetry* have remarked, "The second major prophet of the Victorians was Robert Browning. The Victorian prophets differed from those of Israel in as much as they came less to curse than to bless. to encourage rather than to warn, for they too shared, at least to begin with, the confident belief in progress as the solution for the ills which beset mankind." The common feature between Browning and Iqbal is their prophetic role. They gave to distraught man a message of hope and cheer, at a time when he needed it most. When man's mental and spiritual horizon was overcast with darkening clouds, their poetry came as a gleam

of light to brighten the prospect. They were both poets whose poetry was what Lawrence called "thought-ridden", and it is especially in their thought that Browning and Iqbal bear close affinity to each other. Perhaps it will be no exaggeration to say that the thought of Iqbal, so beautifully enshrined in his sublime poetry, bears closer resemblance to that of Browning than to that of any other Western poet except perhaps Goethe.

Both these poets have in their poems expressed certain definite convictions about God, Soul and Immortality which they held firmly. According to both, God is transcendent as well as immanent. It will be correct to say that in actual life they both walk with God, Browning views all nature as a thought of God. He says:

God is seen God

In the star, in the flesh, in the soul and the cloud,

And then, looking within and around me, I never renew,

(With the stoop of the soul, which in bending upraises it too),

The submission of man's nothing—perfect to God's all complete,

As by each new obeisance in spirit, I climb to His feet.[5]

These lines would suggest that Browning was a pantheist, but actually he was not. Young, referring to Browning's conception of

[5] H. J. C. Grierson & J. C. Smith, *A Critical History of English Poetry,* p. 410

God, says, He never questions the existence of a supreme authority or God controlling the manifold energies of the world. He is not however of the pantheistic school of Wordsworth; for though we can see evidence of the hand and intention of God in the most unprovising quarters, yet his individualising instinct, more keenly alive to the separations and divisions than to the continuities of existence, conceived of God as a distinct personality from the life of nature and man. Sympathetic communion is established between the Creator and the created by the attributes of power, knowledge and love."

Early in his career Iqbal wrote verses reminiscient of the above lines of Brownidg (B.D., p. 147):—

چمک تیری عیاں میں، آتش میں، شرارے میں

جھلک تیری حویدا چاند یں سورج میں تارے میں

بلندی آسمانوں میں زمینوں میں تری پستی

روانی بھر میں افتادگی تیری کنارے میں

Your glitter evidences itself in lightning, in fire and in spark,

Your reflection is visible in moon, sun and the stars.

In the loftiness of the skies and in the lowliness of the earth,

In the movement of the ocean and in the immobility of the bank.

When Iqbal wrote these lines he was essentially a pantheist although later on he became a theist. But it can be said that Browning's conception of God agrees in a remarkable degree with Iqbal's conception in the final stage. They both believe in theistic pluralism, according to both God is personal, omnipotent, and omniscient. According to both, it is Love which kindles and exalts both power and knowledge and it is by Love that man touches the infinite, the quality common to God and man. According to Browning as well as Iqbal Love is the most powerful force in the universe. Iqbal says (B. J., p. 13):

عشق کے مضراب سے نغمہ تار حیات

عشق سے اور ھیات عشق سے نار حیات

The plectrum of Love produces a melody from the chords of life:

Love produces Light into life and Love brings Fire into life.

Both Browning and Iqbal are poets of Love, but here we are concerned mainly with Love as the attribute or essence of God.[6]

[6] The Muslim mystic Mansur bin Hallaj held Love as God's essence but according to Ibn Arabi it is an attribute. Ibn Arabi says, "Before any form of modalisation, the One in His supreme isolation and simplicity, loved Himself far and in Himself, and loved to be known and to be manifested. This was the cause of creation. In loving Himself, the One loved all the Ayan of things latent in His Essence and hence they are impregnated with the love they now manifest in different ways." A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din-lbnu' I Arabi,* Cambridge University Press, p.170.

God's Love for His creatures is mentioned by numerous poets and writers, but very rarely has a poet described in such glowing terms the mutual yearning and love between God and man as Iqbal has done. Describing the intensity of God's yearning for man he says:

ما از خداءے گم شدہ ایم اور بجستجو است

چوں ما نیازمند و گرفتار آرزوست

گاھے بہ ورق لالہ نویسد پیام خویش

گاھے دون سینہ مرغاں بہ ھاءو ھوست

در نرگس آرمید کہ بیند جمال ما

چنداں کرمشہ داں کہ نگاھش بہ گفتوست

آھے سحر گحے کہ زند در فراق ما

بیرون و اندرون زبر و زیر و چار سو ست

پنہاں بہ ذرہ ذرہ و نا آشنا ھنوز

پیدا چو ماھتاب و باغوش کاخ و کوست

We are gone astray from God;

He is searching upon the road,

For like us, He is need entire

And the prisoner of desire.

On the tulip's petal He writes

The message His heart indites;

Yea, and His voice is heard

In the passionate Song of the bird.

He lay in the iris field

Our loveliness to behold

Bright cup of the ardent gaze

Whose glance is a hymn of praise!

Parted from us forlorn

He sighs with the breath of morn,

Within and out He Both stand,

Around and on every hand.

Hidden in every grain

Not yet is He known to man,

Though bright as the full man's grace

In cottage and street is His Face [7]

The most common theme in the poetry of Browning and Iqbal is Love, so much so that they may be classed as Poets of Love. But it must be made clear at the very outset that their conceptions of Love differ in important and significant details and yet they agree in many respects. Love for them both is the philosophic principle which harmonises and unifies all beings and which is the creative cause of the universe and also the sustaining and perfecting power. It also provides the moral ideal and the end towards which man strives to advance. While it is true that Browning does write of Love of God:

The very God think, Abib, does thou think ?

So the all-great, were the All-loving too.

So, through the thunder comes a human voice

Saying, 'O heart I made, a heart beats here!'

But the love he writes most is love between man and woman, the natural end of which is marriage. So it has been rightly remarked that Browning like Donne is the poet of wedded love. Most of the love poems of Browning are written in the form of dramatic monologues, but he has left some great lyrics also in which he has described love with exquisite tenderness. It has been remarked that no English poet of the nineteenth century has made love so wonderful. In Persian poetry Love is a common

[7] *The Secrets of the Self,* p.xviii.

theme. One has only to mention Sanai, Rumi, Jami and Hafiz amongst a lot of others. Still in this language of Love Iqbal's poetry occupies a unique place. Not only does he write copiously about Love, but as explained by him, "This term is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideas and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved. The effort to realise the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else could satisfy the nature of the seeker." [8]

'Love is all' might have served as the text for the whole volume of Browning's love-poetry. In *Sordello,* Browning shows that Soul under the influence of Love can see its way in Time without either being dazzled by or losing its vision of eternity. In *Evelyn Hope* there is the lament of a man, no longer young, by the death-bed of a girl whom he has loved unknown to her. Like Beatrice she has died without knowing him or his love, but God creates love to reward love and there is another life to come :

So hush;--I will give you this leaf to keep—

See, I shout it inside the sweat cold hand.

There, that is our secret! go to sleep;

You will wake, and remember, and understand.

[8] Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* pp.15-16

In *The Last Ride Together* the mistress will never awake and remember and understand, but the 'glory of failure' is with Browning an inexhaustible theme. The theme of unrequited love as treated by Browning brings to our mind the way Iqbal sings of separation. In accordance with the traditions of Persian poetry, Iqbal prefers the pangs of separation to the joys of union (P.M., p.99):

تو نه شناسی هنوز شوق بمیرد زوصل

چیست حیات دوام؟ سوختن نا تمام

You do not realise that union kills love.

What is immortal fife? Burning incessantly.

For Browning also it is the ascetic and spiritual triumph of an unrequited love that counts more than satisfied love.

The importance they attached to Love led both Browning and Iqbal to deal with Intellect as an opposing force and the theme naturally developed into the conflict between 'Head' and Heart. It has been remarked that Browning was Paracelsus as well as Aprile, and Love was for him never the foe of intellect or knowledge but a more gifted comrade who can help man more effectively. Knowledge means

Every renewed assurance by defeat

The victory is somehow still to react,

To love is victory, the prize itself.

A Pillar at Sebzevar

Iqbal says (B.D., pp. 28-29):

عقل نے ایک دن یہ دل سے کہا

بھولے بھٹکے کی رہنما ہوں میں

ہوں زمین پر گزر فلک پہ مرا

دیکھ تو کس قدر رسا ہوں میں

کام دنیا میں رہبری ہے مرا

مثل خضر خجستہ پا ہوں یں

دل نے سن کر کہا یہ سب سچ ہے

پر مجے بحو تو دیکھ کیا ہوں میں

راز ہستی کو تو سمجھتی ہے

اور انکھوں سے دیکھتا ہوں میں

تو زمان و مکاں سے رشتہ بپا

طائر سدرہ آشنا ہوں میں

Intellect one day addressed the heart and said:

"I guide the benighted who lose the way,

Though I belong to earth, I soar to the skies,

Look to the heights I fly.

My function is to lead the world,

I am like *Khidar* the sacred guide."

Hearing this the Heart replied: "It may be so

But do try to find out what I am—

You try to understand the secret of life,

Which lies unravelled before my eyes.

You are entangled in the meshes of Time and Space

But defying these I soar aloft to Heaven."

As remarked already, Love was for Browning the sum of all morality and the root of all goodness, in which Intellect could help but could not play the leading role. Not saintly ascetic or the door of good works but the lover dominated his imagination and he imbued even God's love for the world with the joy of creation and the rapture of yearning. Iqbal is equally emphatic in the supreme role he allots to Love, but his lover is more of a creator who shares with God in creating new worlds and values, and who gains sway over the forces of nature through Love and not Knowledge or Intellect. There is certainly close resemblance

between the two in as much as instead of the humility and self-abnegation of Christain Love, they exhibit the joyous self-expansion of a true man. To understand Iqbal's appreciation of the relative importance of Love and Intellect we can say that while Iqbal's Love is Plato's Ruler who must hold sway, his Intellect corresponds to Plato's Auxiliary whose function is to guard and whose duty is to obey and help the Ruler.

Iqbal with his deep insight in the history of the fall of the ancient cultures and the drawbacks of the great cultures of today, points out the way to healthy self-preservation in terms of 'Head' and 'Heart.' He believes that the continuance and preservation of all that is rich and glorious in human life depends upon a synthesis of 'Head' and 'Heart' or Love and Intellect. A culture that is based on the synthesis of the twin elements, Head and Heart, Intellect and Love, *Jim* and *Ishq* can alone aspire to survive. Browning saw the importance of this synthesis in the spiritual life of man but he never appreciated its significance in the social and political spheres. Iqbal says' "In the interest of securing a complete vision of Reality sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of what the Quran describes as *fund* or *qulb* i.e. heart. The heart is a kind of inner intuition or insight which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception." [9]

[9] *Ibid.,* p.114.

Thus by emphasizing the importance of a proper synthesis of Intellect and Love, Iqbal meets the challenge of materialism in the modern world. Ever since the rise of rationalism in Europe, Intellect (or Reason) has been the guiding principle of life and this has led to a complete annihilation of moral and religious values. It was Kant who pointed out utter futility of retying so much on reason, but it was left to Bergson to emphasise the importance of intuition or Love in rehabilitating human personality. What Kant and Bergson achieved in the West, Rumi and Iqbal achieved in the East. Browning in his own way showed the way to the path of glory, but, as mentioned above, perhaps, he did not realise the importance of his findings on the cultural and political plane as Iqbal did. Iqbal is never tired of writing on the roles of Intellect and Love but in view of the mainly materialistic out-look of the modern age he concentrates more and more on stressing the importance of Love:

تہی از ھا و ھو میخانہ بودے

گل ما از شرر بیگانہ بودے

نبودے عشق و این ہنگامہ عشق

اگر دل چوں خرد فرزانہ بودے

The tavern would be without any life and tumult,

And our clay would simply lack the spark;

There would be no love and the accompanying upheaval,

If heart would have been wise like the head.

But he says in clear terms that no culture which has failed to synthesise Love and Intellect can survive for very long (J.N.,p. 71):

عشق چوں با زیرکی ہمبر شود

نقشبند عالم دیگر شود

When Love joins forces with Intellect

It ushers in the world a new order.

It is to this new world of peace, spiritual, moral and political, that Browning and Iqbal want to lead the modern man who is overborne by materialistic forces and nihilistic tendencies.

The other firmly grounded belief of Browning and Iqbal is the immortality of Soul. Boldly and clearly Browning speaks out on this point in the following lines:

Another world

And why this world, this common world to be

A make-shift, a mare foil how fair soever

To some fine life to come,

Iqbal says (Z.A., p.194).

ز مرگ ترسی اے زندہ جاوید

مرگ است صیدے تو درکمینی

جانے کہ بخشند دیگر نگیرند

آدم بمیرد از بے یقینی

Fearest thou death in thy deathless heart,

Death's but a prey that before thee lies.

Life once given thee, none can take;

'Tis for lack of faith men faint and die.

For a soul snfficiently fortified by action, death was only a point at which the "last ride together" might pass into an "eternal riding on":

With life far ever old, yet new

Changes not in kind, but in degree,

The instant made eternity,

And Heaven just prove that I and she

Ride, ride together, for ever ride.

Browning once said, "Without death there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. Never say of me that I am dead."In his poem *Prospice,* he says:

Fear death? to feel the frog in my throat,

The mist in my face,

When the snows begin and the blasts denote

I am nearing the place,

The power of the night. the press of the storm,

The part of the foe;

Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,

Yet the strong man must go:

For the journey is done and the summit attained,

And the barriers fall,

Though the battle of fight ere the guerdon be gained,

The reward of it all.

Stressing the insignificance of death, Iqbal says (B.D., p.259):

زندگی محبوب ایسی دیدہ قدرت میں ہے

ذوق خفظ زندگی ہر چیز کی فطرت میں

موت کے ہاتھوں سے مت سکتا اگر نقش حیات

عام یوں اس کو نہ کر دیتا نظام کائنات

جسطرہ سونے سے جینے میں خلل کچھ بھی نہیں

In Nature's eyes Life is so dear

That every object is striving to preserve life.

If Death could efface the impression of life,

The universal order would not have made it so common.

Being so widespread Death has no significance,

Like slumber it causes no loss to existence.

The view of immortality which Iqbal and Browning adopt is not of a static type, but is dynamic. The human soul continues to grow even after death, and there shall be no end to its growth. Browning finds a justification for the immortality of the human soul in the fact that man is imperfect here and so he needs a future life to enable it to grow to perfection. He says:

It is our trust

That there is yet another world to mend

All error and mischance.

In the light of this conception death become not the herald of extinction but

……a groom

That brings a taper to the outward room

where the soul may pursue its course of growth and development

unhampered; this is the faith which inspires the *Epilogue to Asolan-*

du and *Prospice.*

For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave;

The black minute's at end,

And the elements rage, the final voices that rave,

Shall dwindle, shall blend,

Shall charge, shall become first a peace out of pain,

Then a light, then thy breast.

O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,

And with God be the rest,

Iqbal says:

جوہر انسان عدم سے اشنا ہوتا نہیں

آنکح سے غائب تو ہوتا ہے فنا ہوتا نہیں

Man's spirit never knows extinction,

It is lost to sight but does not fade away.

But unlike Browning, Iqbal seeks a justification for immortality in the fact that death is so common and Nature loves life so passionately that if death meant extinction of hie Nature would not have permitted it to carry on its devastating work. When death means only a change of environment it loses all terror. After death "the ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up and win his resurrection. The resurrection therefore is not an external event. It is the consummation of a life-process within the ego. Whether individual or universal it is nothing more than a kind of stock-taking of the ego's past achievement and his future possibilities." [10]

The interesting fact is that both Iqbal and Browning not only believe in personal immortality but also believe in conditional immortality. In this connection Iqbal says, "Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it." [11]

The doctrine of conditional immortality was held by promiment thinkers in the past like Spinoza, Fichte, Goethe and Lotze, but the criteria proposed by them for immortality were vague and indefinite. On the other hand, the criterion proposed by Browning and Iqbal is well-defined, significant and clear; for both it consists of fruitful activity.

Iqbal says:

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[10] *Ibid.,* p.113.
[11] *Ibid.,* p.77

دوام حق جزائے کار او نیست

که اورا ایں دوام از جستجو نیست

دوام آن به که جان مستعارے

شود از عشق و مستی پائدارے

The eternity of God is not a compense for his actions,

For Him the eternity is elemental and needs no seeking;

But that eternity is better which a borrowed soul

Wins for itself through love and frenzy !

Browning is not so explicit on this point but a study of his poetry and letters establishes his firm belief in conditional immortality.For instance in *A Grammarian's Funeral* he says:

That low man seeks a little thing to do,

Sees it and does it:

This high man, with a great thing to pursue,

Dies ere he knows it.

That how man goes on adding one to one,

His hundred's soon hit:

This high man, aiming at a million,

Misses an unit.

That, has the world here—should he need the next,

Let the world mind him!

This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed

Seeking shall find him.

Both Browning and Iqbal preach a life of ceaseless activity and constant striving. They both believe in the evolution of man through strife and struggle. According to them life is a probation in which struggle, moral courage and constant striving form the best equipment. The struggle never ceases, obstacles are always there and evil is never submerged. But the presence of evil and obstacles only urge man to struggle and to overcome them. Instead of feeling thwarted and frustrated by obstacles, man must actually welcome them as providing a chance for his evolution.

Browning says:—

Then welcome each rebuff

That turns earth's smoothness rough,

Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!

Be our joys three-parts pain !

Strive, and hold cheap the strain :

Learn nor account the pang; dare never graudge the throe.

(Rabbi Ben Ezra)

Referring to the obstacles and opposition one has to face in life'

Iqbal says (A. K. p. 59) :

راست میگویم عدو ہم یار تست

ہستی او رونق ازار تست

ہر کہ داناءے مقامات خودی است

فضل حق داندا گر دشمن قوی است

کشت انساں رو عدو باشد سحاب

ممکناتش را برانگیرد ز خواب

I will declare the truth : thine enemy is thy friend:

His existence crowns thee with glory;

Whosoever knows the states of the Self

Considers a powerful enemy to be blessing from God.

To the seed of Man the enemy is as a rain-cloud:

For he awakens its potentialities.

In *Sordello* Browning expresses similar sentiments:—

For mankind springs salvation by each hinderance interposed.

One of the reasons why Browning and Iqbal want man to work incessantly is that they want him to develop. As it is, he is imperfect at present but by dint of hard work and discipline he can become Perfect Man here and then continue development in the next life:

Progress is man's distinctive work alone

Not God's and not the beast's. *God is they are,*

Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.

Man has been and is so great that there is prospect of his stopping in his development. But to attain perfection man must keep himself constantly busy in creative activities. Thus Browning says:

And so I live, you see

Go through the world, try, prove, reject,

Prefer, still struggling to effect

My warfare; happy that I can

Be crossed and thwarted as a man,

Not left in God's contempt apart,

With ghostly smooth lie, dead at head,

Tame in earth's paddock as her prize.

Referring to the scope for unlimited development, Iqbal says:

رہ یک ام ہے ہمت کے لیے عرش بریں

For courage the passage to Heaven is but one pace.

Browning says :

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp.

Or what's Heaven for?

(Andrea del Sarto)

During the course of man's development and evolution he has to undergo a good deal of pain and suffering. Pain and suffering are caused by evil and it is not easy to explain the presence of so much evil in the world. Both Browning and Iqbal absorb evil into a theory of life of which love is the first principle. Browning never under-estimated the evil element in human nature. He felt that evil was somehow necessary to good, and evil and good were not so much antithetical as complementary. According to him evil is there merely to play its part in the fulfilment of God's plan. According to Iqbal, evil is a condition of man's moral progress. There is, according to him, in life discord and disharmony, evil and vice, pain and misery, but they are all meant to be overcome. Good and evil, therefore, though opposites, must fall within the same whole. In *Payam-i-Mashriq* Iqbal says:-

چہ گویم نکتہ ذشت و نکو چیست

زباں لرزد کہ معنی پیچدار است

برون از شاخ بینی خار و گل را

درون او نہ گل پیدا نہ حار است

What can I say about good and evil?

I tremble to express opinion as the problem is knotty;

You see the flower and thorn outside the twig,

While within it, there is nothing of the two.

Thus by overcoming obstacles, living a life of ceaseless activity and resisting evil man develops and rises to unknown heights, In fact he carries out *Takhallaqu-bi-akhlaq Allah—"Create* in yourselves the attributes of God." The moral purpose behind all this struggle and strife is evolution of man and creation of Perfect Man. There is no doubt that Browning sees the appearance of Perfect Man as a direct result of the evolution, but it is also true that he is never as definite or precise in his conception of Perfect Man as Iqbal. He sees the distinct goal and his buoyant optimism points to the bright future which awaits the present man. The character of Parcelsus, the man who would be the Perfect Man, quickens Browning's thought to a point of eloquence, and the says:—

I go to prove my soul!

I see my way as birds their rackless way—

I shalt arrive! what time what circuit first,

I ask not: but unless god send his hail

Or blending fire-balls, sleet or stifling snow,

In some time his good time—I shall arrive

He guides me and the bird. In his good time!

The man who arrives will be our Perfect Man although he is definitely imperfect at present. In this process of evolution there will be failures but these failures are man's glory, they only lead to future bliss. The evolution of man will not be thwarted by death, which, according to both Browning and Iqbal, is only an aspect of life. On the earth there are broken curves, in the heaven nothing but a prefect round.

Thus it will be seen that there is a remarkable and significant resemblance between the thought of Browning and Iqbal regarding the destiny of human soul. While Iqbal starting from his conception of ego points to the distant and glorious goal of man's evolution in this world and the next, Browning gives an indication of the same goal by meeting the challenge of his age and by counteracting dejection, depression and frustration which faced man. Browning is certainly not clear about the Self or ego, neither does he prescribe, like Iqbal, the discipline necessary for its evolution on individual and social planes but he was not less definite in his message. While Iqbal builds the edifice of his thought on the corner-stone of Ego or Self, Browning talks of soul, and his poetry is nothing but a narrative of the human soul's

destiny. He is made conscious of the spiritual world by the enthusiasm, longings and aspirations in the soul, where they exist like imprisoned splendours, resembling in a remarkable degree the vast potentiality of the human ego as envisaged by Iqbal. Both show greatest respect for human personality, and it is the special distinction of both that when they are most universal they are most individual. Every man is to them an epitome of the universe, a centre of creation., and life provides for him an opportunity to evolve, to develop. In life man is faced with obstacles, with evil, with doubt; he is subject to the influence of fellow beings and to the conflicting powers of his soul and he succeeds or fails according as he is true or false to his better nature, which in the language of Iqbal means how much he has developed his ego.

With so much agreement between them it is surprising to read the following remarks of Iqbal :

"To the optimist Browning all is well with the world, to the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind will expreses itself in an infinite variety of living things which bemoan their emergence for **a** moment, and then disappear for ever. The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the universe. Our intellectual constitution is such that we can take only a piece-meal view of things. We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran, which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour

of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope of Man's actual victory over evil."[12] It is true that Browning does not lament with Shakespeare that "Life is but at walking shadow—a tale to be told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifyijjng nothing." He does not complain with Dryden that "Life is all a cheat", nor does he ask planitively with Gray "Oh what is life with ills encompassed round?" On the other hand he exclaims:

My own hope is, a sun will pierce,

The thickest cloud earth ever stretched.

All this is true but as we have seen, according to him, man is imperfect, he has to encounter obstacles at every stage, and has to face evil and suffer pain in life. Man has to encounter resistance and only by over-coming this resistance he can evolve. Thus, according to Browning, man's life is one of constant struggle, and his optimism is at the most a "tarnished and spurious" optimism'. There is no doubt that a good deal of his poetry glows with vital happiness and hope, and there is in him the sense of the immeasurable worth in life and passion for being and he certainly believes that things as they are now are not too bad. But such optimism is found in Iqbal also, for example when he says (P. M., p. 85):

مگو کار جہاں نا استوار است

[12] *Amphibian* by Griffin, p.241

ہر آن ما ابد را پردہ دار است

بگیر امروز را محکم کہ فردا

ہنوز اندر ضمیر روزگار است

Say not, the world's affairs unstable be

Our every moment veils eternity,

Hold firmly to Today, for yet remains

Tomorrow in the mind of Destiny.

They are both emphatic in condemning all ascetism which aims at spurning the world. Iqbal says, 'There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immenisity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of the spirit. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it: The whole of the earth is a mosque.' It is true that in Browning there is the joyous acceptance of life as it is in spite of all the evil and imperfections. Against this it must be pointed out that in some of his poems Browning has expressed masquerading pessimism, for example in *Reverie* and in *Cleon,* and above all in *Pacchiorotto and How He Worked in Distemper,* wherein he expresses two serious ideas—that we are not to expect our work in this life to succeed, and that the Earth is but the induction to Heaven. We have the following lines from *The Ring and The Book* in which Browning definitely admits the existence of unhapiness in life:

Learning anew the use of soldiership,

Self-abnegation, freedom from all fear,

Loyalty to the life's end ! Ruminate,

Deserve the initiatory spasm—once more

Work, be unhappy, but bear life, my son.

Still it cannot be denied that there are certain poems of Browning in which the optimistic philosophy seems distinct and clear, for example when Pippa sings:

The year's at the spring,

And day's at the morn;

Morning's at seven;

The hill-side's dew-pearled:

The lark's on the wing;

The snail's on the thorn;

God's in his heaven—

All's right with the world.

Bu it must be remembered that in such poems Browning only wants to emphasise his firm belief that the only way for man is to weather the storms and to evolve according to God's plan and this he can do only by following the light, even if at times it leads into darkness.

Iqbal expresses the same idea by saying that man must overcome all obstacles and always persist in creating new objectives and purposes in order to strangthen his ego. Thus it will be seen that both Iqbal and Browning share the firm belief that things are getting better and better and this can be described only as meliorism. It must be admitted that the vein of buoyant optimism in the body of Browning's poetry is more prominent than in Iqbal's but that has only meant to nerve man to face life at a time when conditions were particularly depressing. Iqbal and Browning had to adopt a tone which would appeal more to their times. Perhaps Iqbal, when declaring Browning a confirmed optimist, was only following the vast majority of English critics who have written on Browning's poetry.

When we come to poetic art we find that both Iqbal and Browning have dealt with poets and poetry in their poems, and have left explicit notes which give us a clear picture of their ideas on the subject. Browning deals with the subject in three poems in *Men and Women* and again in *Sordello.* In *Pachiorotto* volume he deals with his critics. In *How it Strikes a Contemporary* Browning gives a brilliant sketch of a man and his doings and that man is a poet:

I only know one poet in my life

And this, or something like it, was his way.

In *Popularity* he says:

Stand still, true that you are!

I know you, let me try and draw you.

In *Trascendentalism* a poem in twelve books Browning describes a nameless poet and defines the purpose of poetry as 'pouring heaven into the shut house of life.'

In *Sordello* Browning expresses his views on poetry. According to him all poets worship beauty, but one kind of poet feels he belongs to what he worships while the other sees beauty only as a reflection of his soul, so that actually homage turns inwards. A distinction is also drawn between Sordello's kind of poetry and that of Eglamour, the troubador whom he defeated in a contest of song. For Eglamour composing verses was a temple-worship, a mysterious ritual for which he serves as a priest and his rhymes are the divine response to be used in the shrine of man, but for Sordello it was a process leading from fancy to fancy until it touches inspiration. Dealing with poetry Iqbal says that a poet is a successor to a prophet:

شعر را مقصود اگر آدم گری است

شاعری هم وارث پیغمبری است

If the object of poetry is to make man,

The poet is in direct lineage with the prophets!

Iqbal has described the role of a poet and the function of poetry in several poems but it is in *Asrar-i-Khudi* that dealing with healthy literary trends he explicitly says:

سینه شاعر تجلی زار حسن

خیزد از سینائے او انوار حسن

از نگاہش گردد خوب تر

فطرت از افسون او محبوب تر

"Tis in the poet's breast that Beauty unveils,

"Tis from his Sinai that Beauty's beams arise,

By his look the fair is made fairer,

Through his enchantments Nature becomes more beloved.

In *Zabur-i-Ajam* he has dealt with fine arts in a series of poems and describing an artist he says:

آں ہنر مندے کہ بر فطرت فزود

راز خود را بر نگاہ ما کشود

آفریند کائنات دیگرے

قلب را بخشد حیات دیگرے

That artist who adds to the beauty of Nature,

Unveileth his secrets before our eyes,

Creates a new world

And confers on the heart a new life.

The sentiments expressed by Iqbal in the above lines find an echo in Browning's *Fr a Lippo Lippi:*

For, don't you mark, we're made so that we love

First when we see them painted, things we have passed

Perhaps hundred times nor cared to see;

And so they are better, painted—better to us

Which is the same thing. Art was given for that—

God uses us to help each other so,

Landing our minds out.

Both Browning and Iqbal think loftily of the poetic art, In a way they both believe in the Dantesque conceptionof poetry being vast and deep as humanity wherein every soul will stand forth revealed in its naked truth. They had nothing but contempt for the conception of Art for Art's sake. They believed that poetry is the destined vehicle for all eternal truths. The object of a poet according to them is to enshrine in imperishable words the highest truths known to man and some truths that had escaped man's notice.In *Pachiorotto and How He Worked in Distemper,* Browning says:

All's well that end well—through Art's magic

Some end, whether comic or tragic

The Artist has purposed, be certain!

Explained at the fall of curtain—

In showing thy wisdom at odds with

No problem for weak wits to solve meant.

But one worth such Author's evolvement.

Regarding Art for Art's sake Iqbal says, "There should be no opium eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power "[13]

Thus it will be seen that so far as the basic conception of art is object was merely to provide intellectual toys for man. In his letter to W.H. Kingsford, Browning writes, "I never designedly tried to puzzle people, as some of my critics have supposed. On the other hand, I never pretended to offer such literature as should be substituted for a cigar, or a game of domonos to an idle man." Iqbal always disclaimed being a mere poet, whose object is nothing more than to entertain people.

نغمه کجا و من کجا ساز سخن بهانه ایست

سوئی قطار می کشم ناقه بے زمام را

I and a song! Verse making is but a device

To attract the unbridled camel into line.

[13] Quoted by W. C. De Vane in *A Browning Handbook,* p.51

In another poem he says:

نه پنداری که من بے باده مستم

مثال شاعران افسانه بستم

نه بینی خیر ازان مرد فرو دست

که برمن تهمت شعر و سخن بست

Don't you think that I am inebriate without wine,

And indulge in weaving yarns like poets of yore;

You will find no good in that low person

Who accuses me of being a poet!

With so much in common between them regarding the conception of fine arts and the office of a poet one would naturally expect a close resemblance in their poetic art yet one notices some promiment differences.

Browning's reputation as a poet has undergone great fluctuations at different times. He published *Pauline* anonymously in 1833 and *Paracelsus* under his own name in 1835. Both these poems failed to attract any great attention , and the merits of these poems were not recognised. Then followed *Sordello,* which at once attracted some attention mainly as a terribly obscure poem, so that it became a fashion to boast of not understanding it. But his reputation increased after the publication of *The Ring and the Book*

as will be seen from the following remarks which appeared in the *Athenaeum,* a leading literary journal, "We must record at once our conviction not merely that *The Ring and the Book* is beyond all parallel the supermost poetical achievement of our time, but that it is the most precious and profound spiritual treasure that England has produced since the days of Shakespeare." After this Browning suddenly penetrated to the heart of the British and the American people, but critics were still not wanting who only emphasised his obscurity. For instance, Alfred Austin (1835-1913) wrote in the *The poetry of the Period,* "Mr. Browning is not a poet at all—save in the sense that all cultivated men and women of sensitive feelings are poets—but a deep thinker, a profound philosopher, a keen analyser and a biting wit." [14]As regards Browning's style Austin wrote, "In fact his style may fairly be described as the very incarnation of discordant obscurity." [15] It can be said that there was consensus of opinion amongst critics regarding the obscurity of Browning. [16] It has been remarked that the cause of obscurity in Browning was mainly intellectual and not due to style. It is not proposed to explore the causes of obscurity in Browning's poetry; all that we are concerned about here is to compare it with the radiant clarity of Iqbal's style. Iqbal is a difficult poet to read but he is never obscure.

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[14] *Ibid.,* p.64

[15] As regards obscurity the following remarks by H.C. Duffin will by read with interest: "Almost half of Browning's work has to be read with some attention, but seventy-five per cent of it is as clear as Milton or Wordsworth." *Amphibian,* p. 285.

[16] G. K. Chesterton, *Browning,* p.110.

Apart from obscurity the two features of Browning's style which have effected his popularity are grotesqueness and ruggedness. There is no doubt that some of his verse is smooth and melodious but he is certainly harsh and grotesque when harshness and grotesqueness are out of place. He flings his multifarious vocabulary recklessly. Iqbal is neither grotesqunor rugged; he too has a multifarious vocabulary but he uses it with discrimination. Writing about Browning's ruggedness, Chesterton says, "The whole issue depends upon whether we realise the simple and essential fact that ruggedness is a mode of art like gloominess or extravagence. Now to say that Browning's poems, artistically considered, are fine although they are rugged, is quite as absurd as to say that a rock, artistically considered, is fine although it is rugged. Ruggedness being an essential quality in the universe there is that in man which responds to it as to striking of ony other chord of the eternal harmonies."[17] It must be mentioned here that some students of Browning have even found his grotesqueness and ruggedness fascinating. We are not concerned with the fact whether grotesqueness and ruggedness can contribute to the artistic value of a poet's art. Our object here is to notice differences between Browning and Iqbal and it can be said that obscurity, grotesqueness and ruggedness, which most critics have noticed in Browning, are prominently lacking in Iqbal. Perhaps it will be right to say that whereas Browning is careless of the form Iqbal is a master of the form.

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[17] H. C. Duffin *Amphibian. Bowes & Bowes,* London, (1965) p.274

But ah, the sense, ye gods, the weighty sense.

Browning had a very good ear for metre and stanza-form but none whatever where diction was concerned. He is constansly using such words as *beautosest* and *irreliogiousest* and many others. Iqbal also uses some unfamiliar words but very rarely. A writer has remarked about Browning, "No one ever loved him for the sake of the beauty of his language." [18]

Poetry of both Browning and Iqbal is very rich in metaphor and simile, perhaps it is not so rich in simile. The extended simile so charateristic of Browning is not found in Iqbal. Whereas Iqbal is rich in onomatopoeia, Browning hardly ever attempts this effect. They both use a prodigal number of metres and a veryl arge variety of stanzas.

Another point of affinity between them is that they are both interested in Nature, especially in her relation with man. Browning was mainly interested in those phenomena of Nature which exhibit sudden outbursts of energy. The description of the thunder storm in the first scene of *Pippa Passes* is not to be matched in English poetry. What impresses Iqbal most, as we have already seen, are scenes exhibiting power and strength—mighty mountains, gushing torrents and scenes of grandeur. In both, vividness of pictorial realism is very striking.

Another striking feature of their poetry is that they both display a profound regard for flowers. And they both show

[18] *Iqbal's Letters to Atiya Begum,* p.74

remarkable resemblance in the way they use flowers to express symbolically the traits and nature of their human fellow-creatures. There is a poem in *Garden Fancies* which has its counterpart in Iqbal:

This flower she stopped at, finger on lip,

Stopped over, in doubt as setting its claim,

Till she gave me, with pride to make no slip,

Its soft meandering Spanish name,

What a name! was it love or praise?

Speech half asleep, or song half awake?

I must learn Spanish, one o f these days,

Only for that slow sweet name's sake.

When a young Austrain lady Miss Gottesman, a friend of Princess Dalip Singh, presented a flower to Iqbal in the Shalimar Gardens of Lahore, he wrote (B.D., p.171):[19]

وہ مست ناز جو گلشن میں جا نکلتی ہے

کلی کلی کی زبان سے دعا نکلتی ہے

انہی پھولوں میں وہ انتخاب مجھ کو کرے

[19] But Iqbal has also critics whose criticism was directed mostly against his diction.

کلی سے رشک گل آفتاب مجھ کو رکے

تجھے وہ شاخ سے توڑیں زہے نصیب ترے

تڑپتے رہ گئے گلزار میں رقیب تیرے

When that proud beauty comes to the garden,

Every bud in the garden joins in a chorus of prayers:

"Almighty! may she choose me from amongst the flowers,

From a bud she will make me the envy of the sun."

What a good luck to be plucked by her!

Thy rivals in the garden are burning with jealousy.

Thus it will be seen that although Iqbal and Browning agree in their basic conception of art and the role which a poet must play coming to the rescue of mankind, in technique they are widely asunder. As pointed above Browning's reputation as a poet has known great fluctuations and while he had some great admirers, notably poets Landon and Meredith, he had some equally great detractors. He wrote a great deal and wrote in a hurry so his work naturally shows uneveness. Iqbal's work is singularly free from some of the main defects found in Browning's poetry. At times Iqbal also wrote in a hurry; it is said that when inspiration came he would at times compose three hundred couplets in one night, which means six hundred verses. But he wrote poetry only when he experienced inspired throes of artistic creation and it can be

said that the spontaneous flower of his impulse was always as remarkable for its delicacy as for its exuberance. It took him two years to write his first long poem Asrar-e-Khudi. The result is that his popularity as artist has always stood high, and has known no great fluctuations. Perhaps in the case of Browning the reason for fluctuations in his reputation is that "he wrote too much. Most of his longer poems, whether early or late, and many of his dramas, are already dead and there is danger that even the magnificient thing *The Ring and the Book* will be buried under its debris." [20] This charge cannot be laid against Iqbal. It cannot be said of him that he wrote too much. He no doubt rejected some of his early poems but students find these also so fascinating that every attempt is being made to discover them and to preserve them.

[20] Grierson & Smith, op. cit., p.422.

NOTES & NEWS

Iqbal Day

The Iqbal Day Function, a regular feature of the multi-sided activities of the Iqbal Academy, has a well recognized place in the cultural and intellectual life of Pakistan. This year, the Iqbal Day was held on the 27th March in Karachi in commemoration of Iqbal's birthday. The funntion was attended by the members of the diplomatic corps, teachers, professors and heads of educational institutions, government officials and other sections of the public. H. E. Mr. Djafar Ka fai, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Imperial Government of Iran presided over the function. Mr. S. A. Vahid, Mr. M. Rashid, Prof. S. Ali Ahsan, Prof. Yusuf Salim Chishti, Prof. Ilmuddin Salik, Prof. Mohammad Munawwar, Mr. Naseer Ahmad Nasir, Mr. Abdul Ahad Safipuri, Mr. Akhtar Wasi Ali, Mr. Abdul Rauf, and Mr. Fazal Siddiqi were specially invited for the occasion.

The proceedings started with the recitation from the Holy Quran. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, the Vice-President of the Academy, stood up to welcome the president. He briefly introduced His Excellency the president to the audience and then in his usual charming voice welcomed him in Persian, the language so familiar to th majority of our people in Pakistan. Below are reproduced his very words:

جناب آقای جعفر کفائی سفیر کبیر دولت شاہنشاہی ایران

ما بسیار خوشحالیم و افتخار داریم که جناب عالی دریں مجلس که بمناسبت روز تولد اقبال برپا میشود تشریف آورده اید. بنده از طرف اکادمی اقبال خدمت حضرت عالی خیر مقدم میکنم. حضرت عالی نمائند دولت بزرگ و ملت کهن سال ایران هستید که باملت پاکستان از قدیم الایام نزدیک ترین و صمیمی ترین روابط در رشته هائی معنوی و فرهنگی داشته است

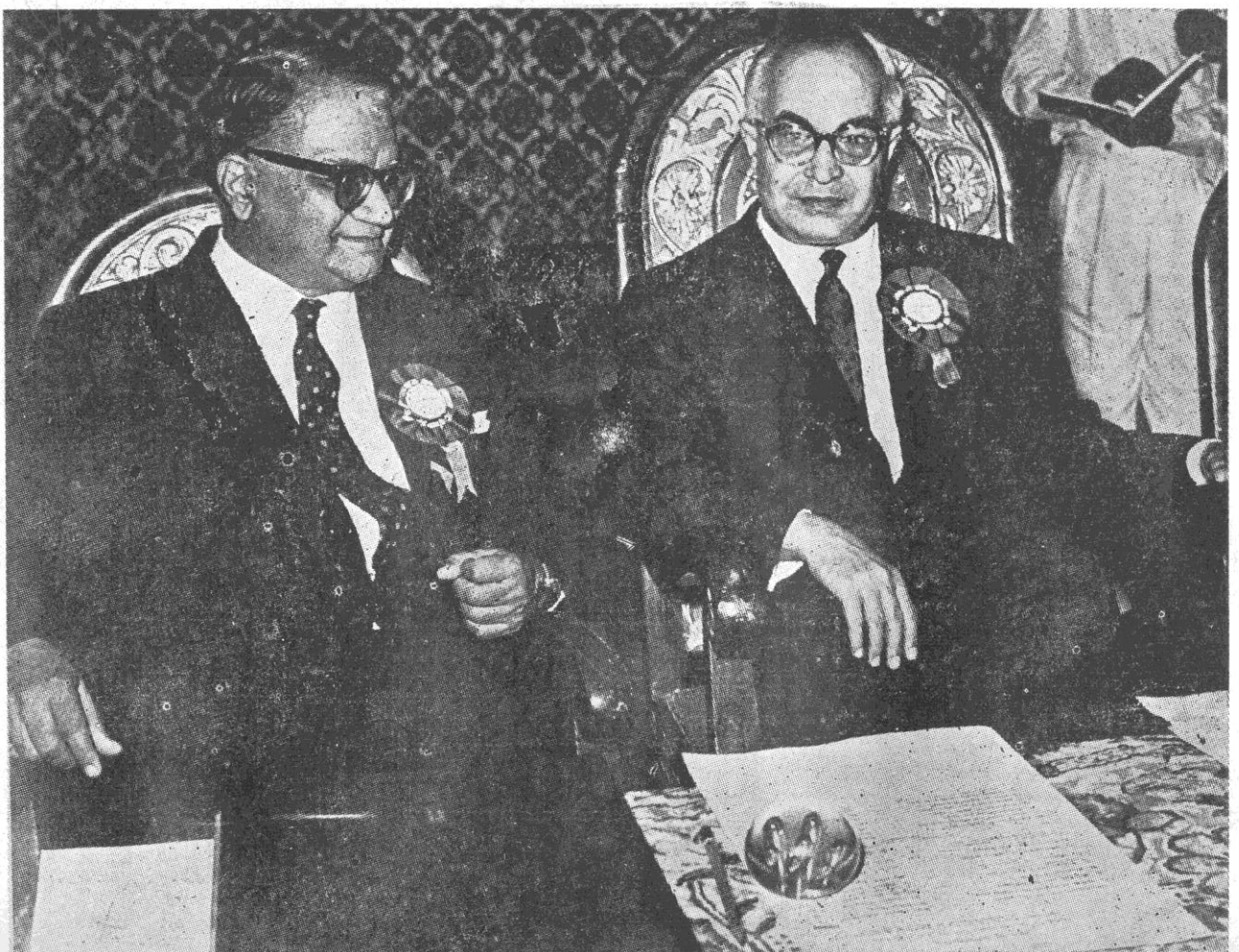
برای ماموجب مباهات است که حضرت عالی دعوت مارا پزیرفته ریاست ابن جلسه را قبول فرموده ایک.

آنطوریکه برهمه معلوم است اقبال پدر روحانی پاکستان است و بدون تردید رابطه بسیار بزرگ معنوی و فرهنگی و دینی بین دوکشور مامی باشد

تجلیل و تقدیر از مرحوم قبال در حقیقت تجلیل و تقدیر از فرهنگ و ادبیات بزرگ و مشترک ماست و بسیار مناسب است که ماو شما برای تجلیل از مفاخر خود ماں دور هم جمع شده ایم.

یک بار دیگر از حضرت عالی تشکر کنیم.

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, welcoming H. E. The Ambassador of Iran on Iqbal Day, Karachi



(Your Excellency! we are glad and proud that you have graced this solemen occasion which is being celeberated on the Birthday of Iqbal. On behalf of the Iqbal Academy, I welcome you most cordially.

Your Excellency; you represent the great country and ancient people of Iran who since centuries have close and cordial relations, both spiritual and cultural, with the people of Pakistan. It is a matter of great honour and pride for us that your Excellency very kindly accepted our invitation and agreed to preside over this function.

As every body knows, Iqbal is the spiritual father of Pakistan and it can be said without fear of contradiction that strong spiritual, cultural and religious bonds exit between our two countries.

The homage that we are today paying to Iqbal is really homage to the great culture and literature that we two peoples share in common. It is therefore most becoming that you and we have gathered today to celebrate this occasion together.

Your excellency, I once again welcome you here).

The President in his address threw light on the political impact of Iqbal on the Muslims of this subcontinent and the important role that he played in the freedom movement. If the Muslim countries unite themselves into a powerful bloc, he said, they would not only become a great force to reckon with, but they would also free themselves from foreign exploitation of which

they have been victim since long. Quoting Iqbal he said that oneness of the nation lies in the oneness of the hearts of the people whose joys and aspirations should be common. "I am confident," he concluded, "that Iqbal's expectation will come out true and a day will dawn when all the Muslim peoples, who are as a matter of fact brothers, will forget their superficial differences in accordance with the teachings of Islam and the Quran and will become united."

The address was followed by a beatiful recitation from Iqbal by Mr. Ahad. Mr. S. A. Vahid, whom Mr. Mumtaz Hasan described as 'a distinguished writer on Iqbal and a devotee of our poet," read his paper on "Development of Iqbal's Genius." He observed "that tracing the development of Iqbal's creative genius in the realms of art and thought is an inspiring task which enables us to share with him the joy of creativeness and the thrills of exaltation in his vision. Above all it gives us a chance to obtain glimpses of his fascinating personality." Mr. M. Raschid, whom Mr. Mumtaz Hasan described "as a distinguished member of the banking profession but who is equally deeply interested in the culture and literature of the West and the East", read his brilliant paper on "Iqbal—Poet and Thinker." He remarked, "Iqbal means different things to different people and this is quite inevitable because of his multi-dimensional personality." He very acutely observed that "evaluating great thinkers and poets in terms of our own limited horizon often cuts them down to a puny size." Prof. Ali Ahsan could not come due to his sudden illness. His paper on

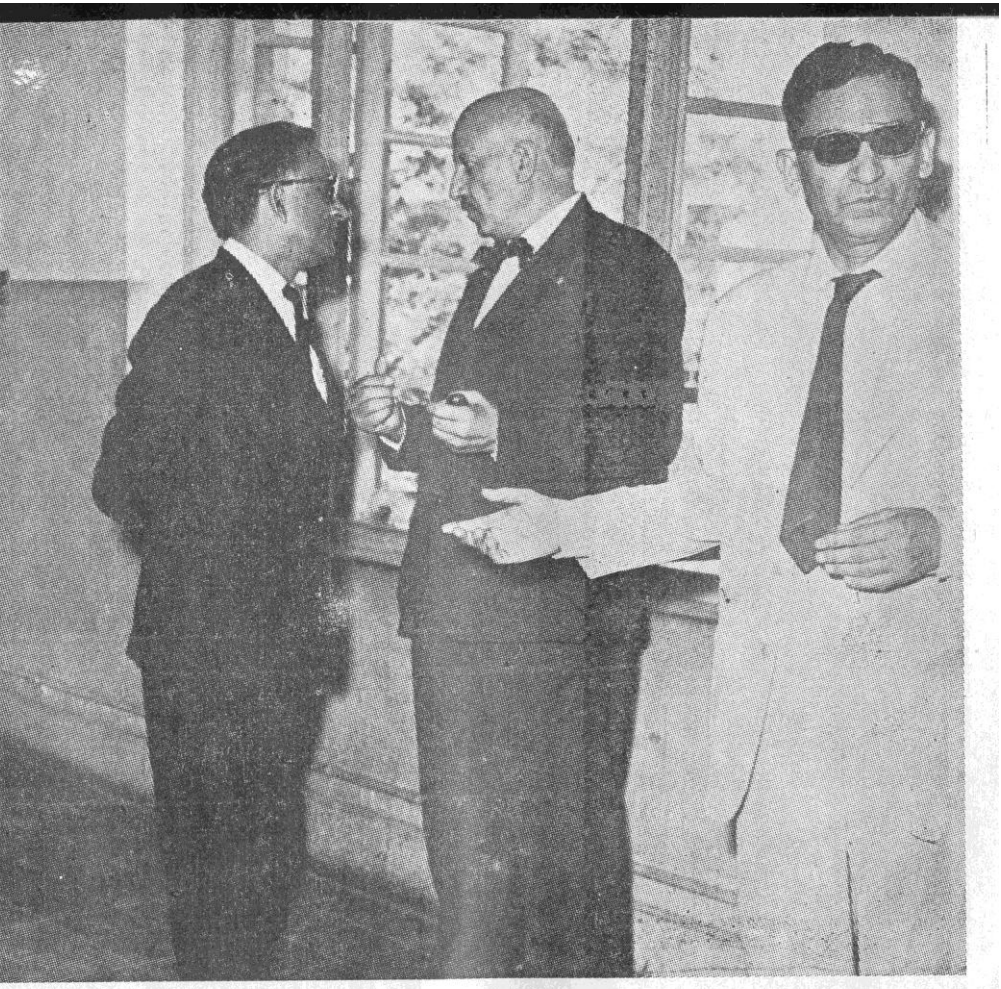
"The Need for the Implemenation for Iqbal's Thoughts and Ideas" was, however, read by one of his students.

After the tea break and Asr Prayers, the proceedings started with a recitation of Iqbal's poem by Mr. Akhtar Wasi Ali. Prof. Yusuf Salim Chishti and Prof. Ilmuddin Salik delivered very inspiring speeches, based on their papers. Their elderly sermons, neat and clean analysis of human problems and most impressive representation of Iqbal's message on the "Cultivation of Khudi" and "Destiny of Nations" respectively, spellbound the audience, They were followed by Mr. Abdul Rauf, who charmingly recited some beautiful verses from lqbal.

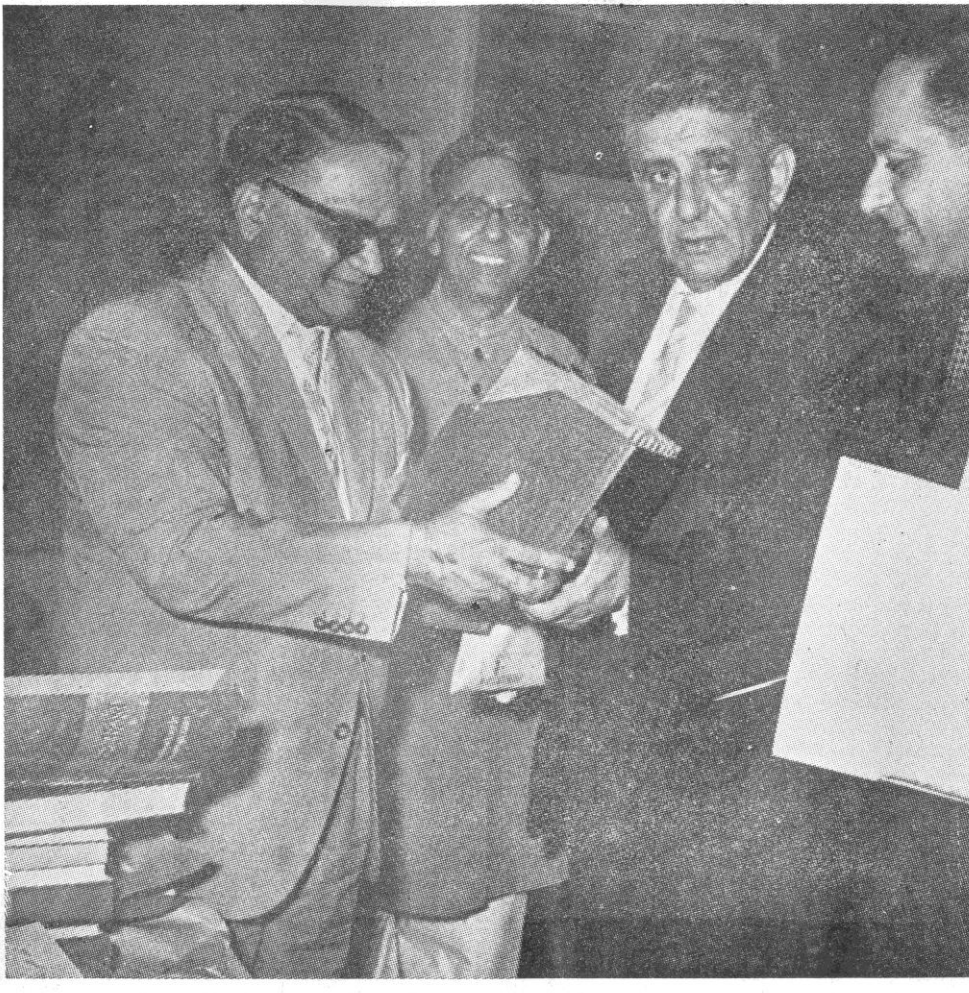
Prof. Mohammad Munawwar, in his paper on "Impact of Arabic on Iqbal" showed that Iqbal used typical Arabic imageries, metaphors and similies in his poetry and thus succeeded not only in expanding the horizon of Urdu literature, but also enriching it by fresh venues of imagination, As the time was short, Mr. Naseer Ahmad Nasir, the last speaker, had to be content with a very brief summary of his article on 'Iqbal's Philosophy of Gham." According to him, Iqbal's philosophy of *gham* (suffering or melancholy) does not stem from frustration; it has its source in a longing for the vision and realization of the Ultimate Ideal of life.Visit of Iranian Cultural Delegation.

An Iranian Cultural Delegation came to Pakistan on *a* goodwill visit. The delegation consisted of Dr. Husain Khatibi, Deputy Speaker of Iranian Majlis, Chairman, Red Lion & Sun Society,

Members of the Iranian Cultural Delegation with the members of the Iqbal Academy, Karachi



a dinner in honour of the Iranian Cultural Delegation at the State Guest
ft) Dr. Irfani Dr. Y. M. Nawabi, Cultural Counsellor, Iranian Embassy,



Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, Vice President, Iqbal Academy (left) presenting the pu

Senior Professor of Tehran University and Leader of the Delegation; Professor Lotfali Suratgar, Senior Professor of English Literature, Tehran University, Secretary General of Royal Cultural Council; Dr. Hakopian, Director General of Imperial Ministry of Culture and Art; Dr. Husain Shahizadah, Head, Culture Department of Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They reached Karachi on 25th April, 1965. On the 26th they visited Iqbal Academy where they were received by Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, the Vice-President of the Academy. A lively discussion on the subject of Persian language and Literature ensued. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan explained in detail that Persian was the court language in India till 1837 when the British replaced it by English and Urdu although it continued to be the language of the court of Moghal Kings and the general public till the end of the 19th century. The people of Pakistan, he said, were proud of this cultural heritage and Saadi, Hafiz and Jami were familiar names to our intellectuals. These great people, he concluded, could teach us greater wisdom than the so-called thinkers of the modern West who, generally speaking, as the said, have nothing fruitful to offer in this respect. In the field of science, he added, we should and must accept the lead of the West but in wisdom this cultural heritage of ours is of very great significance even now.

In the evening the Iqbal Academy gave a dinner in honour of the delegation at the State Guest House to which besides Mr. Mumtaz Hassan, Mr. Akhtar Husain, President of Anjuman Tarriqi Urdu, Pir Hassamuddin Rashidi, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Jamiluddin Aaly, Dr. Rafiq Ahmad, Dr. Khwaja Irfani, Dr. F. A.

Khan, Mr. S. A. Vahid, Mr. Mahmud Shayada, Counsellor and Dr. Yahya Mahyar Navabi of Iran Embassy and other prominent scholars and writers were invited.

Welcoming the distinguished scholars and visitors, Mr. Mumtaz Hassan recalled how the two peoples inherited the same culture which proved fruitful for both of them but as a result of British occupation, a curtain was let down which separated them for so long. He asserted that the presence of a cultural delegation from Iran was a testimony to the fact that " we are trying to repair the damage that history has done us." He pleaded for more and more cultural exchange between Pakistan and Iran which will help us to know each other better," "He said we should not meet each other only in political turmoil but should also give a message and restore the human values to the world which it needs today."

Prof. Lotfali Suratgar said that if there was one person who had done great service to the Persian language it was Mohammad Iqbal nd "we owe to him much for his service." He expressed the hope that one day his Urdu works would also be translated into Persian which could be profitably used by the Iranian students in schools and colleges. He added that for hint there was no difference between Karachi and Shiraz and that he felt quite at home here. Dr. Hussain Khatibi said that Iqbal's new expressions and words were indeed a new source of wealth to Persian language and they had entered into their dictionary and had found immortality. He said that as far as his diction was concerned he never used one word which could be considered without

refinement and unfit for poetical expression. It was wrong to say, he said, that the language and words used by Dr. Mohammad Iqbal were not pure and correct. He expressed great surprise that Iqbal, the great poet of this country, wrote in a language which he acquired by studying it and not by travelling into a country where that language was spoken. Iqbal provided a new link between Pakistan and Iran, for, according to him, Iran and Pakistan were two souls in one body. "No line can be drawn between Pakistan and Iran. We are not two nations. We have the same aspirations and long links and these links and affinities should be further strengthened."

Professor Lotfali Suratgar recited some Persian verses of his and Mr. Jamiluddin Aali recited some beautiful Urdu verses. After the mushsaira the meeting came to an end.