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IQBAL IN ENGLAND

S.A. Vahid

Professor R.A. Nicholson of Cambridge once remarked about Iqbal that in him “East and West met, though it would be too much to say that they were united”. Very rarely in the history of human thought do we come across a great personality so deeply and equally versed in Eastern and Western thought and culture. Iqbal’s contact with Western culture generally, and English culture specially, began very early in his career, when he joined the Scottish Mission College in Sialkot. This first contact deepened when Iqbal moved to the Government College, Lahore, and met Sir Thomas Arnold, who was Professor of Philosophy there. Sir Thomas Arnold did not take long to recognise Iqbal’s talents and took great interest in his education. Iqbal took his M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899 and joined the Oriental College, Lahore, as McLeod Reader. But Sir Thomas Arnold advised him to go to England for further studies. Accordingly he went to England in 1905 and joined the Trinity College, Cambridge. The Trinity College, Cambridge, has produced some great men like Bacon, Newton, Byron, Tennyson, Fitzgerald, Whitehead and McTaggart, and Iqbal’s name is associated with those of these giants. At that time Cambridge was well known as a great centre for the study of Western philosophy in Europe, and Iqbal started his studies under the great Hegelian philosopher, McTaggart, who was at that time a member of the Trinity College. Besides McTaggart, there were at that time in Cambridge Professors Whitehead and Ward, great names in the history of Western philosophy. Professor McTaggart was a sufi and he and Iqbal used to have long talks on Sufism.

Iqbal remained in Cambridge from 1905 to 1906. During this time Syed ‘Alī Bilgrāmī of Hyderabad Deccan, the renowned translator of *Tamaddun-i Arab* and *Tamaddun-i Hind*, was a lecturer in Marathi at Cambridge. His house was a centre of social activities for all students from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Syed ‘Alī Bilgrāmī and his talented wife extended their hospitality to Iqbal.

Cambridge has always been a great centre for the study of Persian and Arabic and during this period there were two great scholars,

Professors Browne and Nicholson, whose names are well known to

Orientalists all over the world. Iqbal had friendly relations with these eminent scholars. These friendly relations continued till the end.

Iqbal joined the Middle Temple for legal studies and had to come from Cambridge often to attend dinners or to take examinations. During these visits he stayed with his teacher, friend and guide Sir Thomas Arnold who was working as Professor of Arabic in the London University. Iqbal was called to the Bar in 1908 before returning home.

When Sir Thomas Arnold went on six months' leave, Iqbal officiated for him, and taught Arabic in the London University. During his stay in England Iqbal gave six lectures on Islam in London, at least one of which was delivered in Caxton Hall.

Iqbal was not a book-worm. He enjoyed his stay in England and spent most of his time in the libraries of the British Museum and Cambridge. He read voraciously, and passed most of his time in the company of his renowned teachers.

It was during his stay in England as a student that Iqbal adopted Persian as the medium of expression for his poetical thought. Before coming to England Iqbal had written some poetry in Persian, and most of his poems were in Urdu. On return from England most of his poetry was written in Persian.

His outlook on life underwent two important changes about this time. His admiration for a life of action and struggle became very pronounced. He wrote:

جنہیں سے زندگی ہے جہاں کی
یہ رسمِ قدیم ہے یہاں کی

The life of this would consists in movement;

This is the established law of the world.]

Whereas previously he had said:

زندگی جس کو کہنے ہیں فراموشی ہے یہ
خواب ہے، غفلت ہے، سر مستی ہے، بیہوشی ہے یہ

[That which is called life is nought but forgetfulness;

[It is slumber, indifference, intoxication and unconsciousness]

now he was singing:

Another important change was the feeling of aversion that he developed for narrow nationalism as understood in the West. This feeling was expressed by him later on in the following words:

“I am opposed to nationalism, as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to the Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly material virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man’s faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated.”

His reactions to pride of race and colour were beautifully summed up in the following lines:

جو کرے گا امتیازِ رنگ و خون سٹ جائے گا
ترکِ خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا گھر

[He who will make distinction of colour and race will perish,

He may be a nomadic Turk or a pedigreed Arab!]

Professor R.A. Nicholson of Cambridge has remarked:

“During his stay in the West he studied modern philosophy, in which subject he holds degrees from the Universities of Cambridge and Munich, His dissertation on the development of metaphysics in Persia — an illuminating sketch — appeared as a

book in 1968. Since then he has developed a philosophy of his own.”

This philosophy is generally known as the philosophy of ego, and is Iqbal’s greatest contribution in the realm of thought. In Cambridge, Iqbal was deeply interested in Hegelian thought and was a pantheist. He believed in *Wahdat al-Wujūd*. After leaving England in 1908 Iqbal changed his views, and he actually developed his philosophy of ego. But his studies in Cambridge, Munich and Heidelberg paved the way for his philosophy of ego. After reading the translation of Iqbal’s first Persian poem *Secrets of the Self* his teacher, McTaggart, wrote to him in 1920:

“I have been reading your poems [*Secrets of the Self*]. Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic. For my part I adhere to my, own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their time context and their true good, my position is as it was, that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action.”

It is true that towards the end Iqbal was no longer a pantheist, but he continued to be a mystic all his life. While Iqbal had, as a result of his stay in England, come to believe in action he still believed in Love. In fact, the most powerful emotion with Iqbal is Love. On the wings of this lofty emotion his poetry soars to resounding fullness. But there were changes in his views as regards Love. For Neoplatonist Iqbal, Beauty was the creator of Love, for the budding vitalist Iqbal it was the creator of Love, but not its goal. For full-fledged vitalist Iqbal, Love is everything. Thus it will be seen that even scholars like McTaggart have at times made mistakes in understanding Iqbal. Iqbal was by nature essentially synthetic, he brought together the seemingly opposites And it can be said that his stay in England developed this synthesising nature.

While his stay in England had great effect on his thought, the effect on his art was no less. Iqbal was a great student of English poetry and even before going to England he had translated some poetry from Longfellow, Emerson and Tennyson in Urdu. During his stay in England his poetry

underwent a definite change. Iqbal's poetry is generally divided into three periods. The first period reveals imitation of classical works, although his poems even as a child reveal a markedly different personality. The second period which extends from 1905 to 1908, and with his stay in England, shows a deepening and broadening of his creative genius. He is breaking away from convention and new spaciousness is apparent. Romanticism revealed in the first period becomes dominant now. The third period is generally regarded to last from 1908 to his death in 1938. But it will be more correct to divide this long period into sub-periods for the purpose of studying Iqbal's poetry. But it can be safely said that the third period is actually an extension of the second and in this period Iqbal's genius shows maturity. The poet becomes conscious of his mission. Now his peculiarity is that he lifts us to a height from which we re-evaluate all life, all emotion, and all thought. During this third period Iqbal visited England only twice and that too for short periods. It can be said that the third period is a natural combination of the second, that is his stay at Cambridge.

English poets, especially Wordsworth, exercised great influence on Iqbal's poetry. When we read passages in Iqbal depicting natural scenes we are reminded of Wordsworth's poetry. In "*Guristān-i-Shāhī*" ("Royal Graveyard") written after Iqbal's return from England, we are reminded of lines in Grey's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard". In lines of great beauty and charm Iqbal paid his homage to Shakespeare. But the greatest resemblance is to be found between Iqbal and Milton. Very rarely in the literary history of the world do two great poets born at different times, belonging to different races, writing in different languages, professing different religions and having sprung from different cultures show as many points of similarity in their art and thought as Milton and Iqbal. Both have dealt with the problem of good and evil and the story of Satan. Iqbal admired Milton from his youth and wanted to write a poem on the model of *Paradise Lost*. As early as 1902 Iqbal wrote to a friend that he was thinking of writing a great poem on the model of *Paradise Lost*. This wish could not be fulfilled, but, instead of writing one large poem, Iqbal wrote a number of smaller poems dealing with the same theme, especially "*Taskhir-i-Fitrat*," in *Payam-i Mashriq*, "*Iblis wa Jibril*" in *Darb-i Kalim* and "*Iblis ki Majlis*" in *Armughān-i Hijaz*.

As already mentioned, Iqbal visited England twice in 1931 and 1932 as a member of the Round Table Conference. These visits were short and Iqbal was very busy; still he found time to meet eminent scholars of England. He

also gave an address before the Aristotelian Society of England.

Iqbal had always had great admiration for English literature and the work of English philosophers, but it can be safely said that it was his studies in Cambridge which enabled this admiration to blossom into works of immortal beauty and charm. Iqbal is one of those natural forces that shape the destiny of mankind, but it must be gratefully acknowledged that Iqbal's genius developed during his stay in England and as a result of his studies with English masters there. Today England is doing great work in taking Iqbal's poetry and message to the Western world. Iqbal's poem *Asrār-i Khudi* translated into English by his friend, Professor Nicholson of Cambridge. His quatrains and portion of *Zabūr-i 'Ajam* and *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī* have been translated into English by Professor Arberry who has also translated *Jārid Nāmah*. A selection of Iqbal's poems has been translated by V.G Kiernan of Edinburgh. This selection has been published in "The Wisdom of the East" series by John Murray. Iqbal's lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* were published by Oxford University Press.

It must be made clear that while Iqbal drew inspiration from the works of English authors and teachers, his background was essentially Islamic. And in the light of this background he never hesitated to point out the defects of European culture and civilisation. Sometimes he was so violent in his criticism that many of his readers are inclined to underestimate the part played by England in the development of Iqbals' genius. In the first instance he condemned in clear terms all Imperialism and Colonialism wherever found. In the second instance he believed that in the interests of mankind the basis of a society must be spiritual. In one of his Lectures he said:

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

He wrote:

کوئی پوچھے حکیم یورپ سے
ہند و یونان ہیں جس کے بگوش
کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال

مرد بیکار و زن تھی آگوش

[One might ask the sage from Europe,
 Whose genius even Hind and Hellas admire;
 Is this the goal of social evolution?
 Unemployment amongst men and sterility amongst women?] In another place he wrote:

وہ قوم کہ فیضانِ سماوی سے ہو محروم
 حد اس کے کمالات کی ہے برق و بخارات

[People who are not blessed with Divine guidance,
 Their progress is confined to electricity and steam.]

Iqbal saw the salvation of mankind in the synthesis of East and West and always said so:

غربیان	را	زیرکی	سازِ	حیات
شرقیان	را	عشق	رازِ	کائنات
زیرکی	حق	گردد	عشق	از
کارِ	محکم	زیرکی	عشق	اساس
خیز	نقشِ	دیگر	عالِم	منہ
عشق	را	زیرکی	با	آمیزدہ

[In the West Intellect is the source of life,
 In the East Love is the basis of life.]

Through Love Intellect grows acquainted with Reality,
And Intellect imports stability to the work of Love.
Arise and lay the foundations of a new world,
By wedding Intellect to Love.]

Iqbal wants to bring the life-giving waters of Love to the arid intellectualism of the West, and the dynamics of Western life to the static and often ascetic Eastern view of life. He is never tired of preaching the gospel of everlasting activity to his people who had forgotten the words of the Qur'ān: "Verily God does not change the destiny of a people unless it does change itself" (xiii. 11). There is no doubt that it was the education that Iqbal received in the West, and especially in England, that enabled him to arrive at the right interpretation of the Qur'ān.

HAJJI BEKTASH VALI AND THE BEKTASHSIS

D. Isfahanianfar

The doctrine of the Bektāshī Order of Dervishes was established in the eighth/fourteenth century, and spread a great deal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The sect derives its name from Hājjī Bektaş Valī, the founder of the Order. He was originally from Nīshābūr, Khurāsān, but early in the eighth/fourteenth century he migrated to Anatolia.¹ He first settled in Sīvās and then went to Kırşehir where he found some disciples. The sect owes its quick spread to its association with other sects such as Bābā'īs and Haydarīs, and especially the Ḥurūfīs.² The development of the sect was also due to the political and social conditions in Anatolia and the Balkans, especially in Albania, where Bektāshī doctrines rapidly spread; there were even a few disciples in Egypt and Iraq too. As a result of the fact that this sect maintained an attitude of respect towards other great religions of the world, and also owing to the fact that it appreciated man as a human being, its doctrine was effective in some Christian communities as well.³

The Bektāshīs are great admirers of the Imam 'Ali ibn Abī Tālib and his sons Hasan and Husayn. The twelve Imams of the Ithnā' 'Asharī Shi'ah, who are the descendants of 'Ali, also have an honourable position in this sect.

According to the Bektāshī tradition, any person who accepts their beliefs is accepted as a true Bektāshī; such a person has then no need of anything except goodness, virtue and love of God. These true Bektāshīs are considered as brethren, and they are called Dervishes after they have taken part in the Bektāshī ceremonies. These Dervishes must be servants of humanity and symbols of generosity. Those who are married at the time of joining the sect keep their wives and homes. But single people who want to be counted as Dervishes are not allowed to marry.

The single Dervishes live in a *Takyeh* or *Dargah* (monastery). This monastic way of living was derived from Christianity and had its influence on

¹ Shams al-din Simi, *Qāmūs al-i'lām* (Istanbul, 1889), II, 1332.

² Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Ta'rīkh i nāz̄m u nathr dar Irān* (Tehran, 1344), II, 765.

³ Ibrahim Agah, Mezhepler, *Ablak ve Islam Felsefesi . . .* (Ankara, 1967), S. 65,

the Bektāshīs' customs, but later it was abolished altogether.⁴

The Dervishes' leaders, are called Bābās ("Fathers") and generally the oldest of them has the privilege of having this title. If there are several Bābās, one of them is chosen to be called "Grandfather" (*Dede*) and sometimes even a "Great-Grandfather" is elected. The position of the "Great-Grandfather" (and in his absence that of the "Grandfather") is of great importance, and he is considered as the Spiritual Head of the sect.

There are three classes of Disciples: (1) totally committed; (2) false ones; (3) apostates. The totally committed disciples are those who have not the least doubt about the competence and authority of the "Grandfather" and have accepted the Order unconditionally. The false disciples are those who have declared their attachment to the spiritual director, but their attachment is superficial and not based on esoteric truths. The apostates are those who have doubted the deeds and behaviours of the "Grandfather" and have rejected him.⁵

The Bektāshī Ceremonies. For the Bektāshīs the first ten days of Muḥarram (the first month of the Islamic lunar year) are fast days. There are services and prayers peculiar to these days which are called Niyāz. These services are held in mosques. The Bektāshīs do not have any objection to fasting in Ramdān, and believe that all religious services are useful for the salvation of human beings. They love and respect everybody who believes in a system of morals, irrespective of his religion.

The first day of Shawwāl (tenth month of the Islamic lunar year) is the Bektāshīs' Holy Feast. The first ten days of Dhu'l-Hijjah (twelfth month), the first eleven days of Muḥarram, and Naw-Rūz are considered holy as well.⁶

Every faithful and true Bektāshī considers any young women in his neighbourhood as his sisters and any old woman as his mother. Women too have similar feeling towards men in their neighbourhood. Bektāshīs believe that the essence of their order is derived from the light of the Prophet. From their point of view, the "Grandfather" who is the spiritual head of the sect is one who has given up the transient joys of this life and has attained eternal joy and happiness, and in the end he has been granted the blessing of God. That is why it is obligatory for every Bektāshī to maintain a great respect

⁴ Islam Ansiklopedisi, cilt 2, S. 451.

⁵ Ibrahim Agah, op. cit., S. 66.

⁶ John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937.

towards the “Grandfather”.

The members of the sect cut their hair short and in this they obey a certain *Āyah* (verse) of the Qur’ān. They should ask the great men of the Order, preferably the *Ahl-i Dhikr*, to help them in solving the problems which may confront them. A basic principle of their beliefs is *Mujāhidah*, that is, to endeavour to be far from all that is unclean in the everyday affairs of life; in this they support themselves by another *Āyah* from the Qur’ān. To serve the Order, to fear God and to be hopeful are other important virtues to be possessed by a disciple. Love, enthusiasm, sincerity and freedom from want are important to them and there are a series of deeds and qualities such as politeness, fear of God, abstinence, patience, thankfulness, modesty, generosity, knowledge, enduring want and poverty, gnosis and self-knowledge, to mention but a few, which are cherished by Bektāshīs. They believe that he who knows his own self knows God. They believe in moral standards as well: humility; not finding fault with others; meekness, optimism, a love of human society, and faithfulness are among the moral laws in the sect.

The sect has been influenced by other sects and religions such as the Bāṭinīs⁷ and the Ḥurūfīs. There are differences of opinion between various branches of the sect itself.⁸

Sultān Mahmūd II (1808-1839) abolished the janissary (Yeni Cheri) army in 1826 because of the widespread incidence of Bektāshī beliefs among the members of the army. The sect was proscribed by the said Sultān and consequently its beliefs were propagated secretly during this era. But the sect operated openly again during the reign of Sultān ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1861-1874). In the early years of the Turkish Republic, the Bektāshīs activities were banned together with those of other Sufi sects.

The tomb of Ḥājjī Bektāsh Vail in Kırşehir, Turkey, is now a shrine for the followers of this sect, and people consider the Bektāshīs as congenial companions. Turkish literature has been affected by their ideas and beliefs,

⁷ Bāṭinīs are the people who believe that there are inward and outward aspects of everything such as the Qur'an and the Traditions. They liken the outward to a shell and compare the inward with a kernel (Dr. Reza Khosrow Shahi, *The Causes of Appearance of Islamic Religions and Sects* [Tehran, 1341], p. 112).

⁸ Ibrahim Agah, op. cit., S. 67.

and such poets as ‘Atīqī Shīrvānī was one of the Bektāshī qalandars and wrote odes both in Turkish and Persian.⁹

Today, there are Bektāshīs in Albania and in Egypt also, where they are said to live in a big Takyeh in an area called Moqattam neat Cairo.¹⁰

⁹ Sa’id Nafīsī, op. cit., I, 522.

¹⁰ Mossaheb, *Dā’irat al-Ma’rif Fārsī* (Tehran, 1350), I, 436.

AMIR KHUSRAW AND CONTEMPORARY MYSTICISM¹¹

K. Badar

Amīr Khusraw was born in the thirteenth century of the Christian era when Muslim mysticism was almost at its height. It is a strange phenomenon that the Chishtī saints of the first period tried their best to keep themselves away from kings, nobles and other ranks, under the belief that the ruling groups were mostly unscrupulous in their dealings with the people who were always being maltreated, under-nourished, and suffered from thousand and

¹¹ The primary sources for this article are the following :

- (i) *Nuḥ Spibr*, ed. Dr. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta, 1368/1948.
- (ii) *Hasht Bibisht*, ed. Syed Sulaymān Ashraf, Aligarh, 1336.
- (iii) *Qirān as-Sa'dain*, ed. Muhammad Ismā'īl Meerathi, with an Introduction by Sayyid Ḥasan Barānī, Aligarh, 1337/1918.
- (iv) *'Ishqīyyah*, ed. Rashid Aḥmad Salim, Aligarh, 1336/1917.
- (v) *Tughlaq Nāmah*, ed. Hāshimī Farīdābādī, Aurangabad, 1352/1933.
- (vi) *A'īnah-i Sikandarī*, ed. Muhammad Sa'īd Aḥmad Fārūqī, Aligarh, 1336/1917.
- (vii) Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-Auliya'*.
- (viii) Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id al-Fuwād*.
- (ix) *Dibachah-i Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*.

Of the secondary sources, I have relied mainly on the following two:

- (i) Dr. Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amīr Khusraw*.
- (ii) Maqālāt Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shairānī, Volume V.

one grievances. But Amīr Khusraw, who was able to win confidence of the great Shaikh, Niżāmuddīn Aūliyā', lived a life that was not in the spirit of the mystic tradition of his *sīkīlāh*. It is indeed true that the Shaikh had a particular regard for him and would go out of the way to humour him; yet the disparity between the life of the poet and the saint is too evident to be overlooked.

In *Fawā'id al-Fuwād*, there is an oblique reference to Khusraw when the Shaikh had not yet decided where to settle permanently, that he remembers Patyali, the place where Khusraw was born and where, according to an account, the great Shaikh lived in the house of the poet's maternal grandfather for about two years.¹² In the *Siyar al-Aūliyā'* of Amir Khurd, there are many reports which throw ample light on the intimacy of this relationship. The author finished the hook about sixty-five years after the death of the great Shaikh and the events he relates are often on the authority of his father and some other persons.¹³ I feel that the nature of this relationship as mentioned here is much more influenced by the writer's or reporter's own favoured 'prejudices; they do not sometimes seem to portray facts as they are.

In the *Khayr al-Majālis*, the *Malfūzāt* of the great Shaikh's *khalīfah*, Shaikh Naşīruddīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī, compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar who, was not only the disciple of Chirāgh-i Dihlī but had also been the disciple of the great Shaikh himself and spent the earlier part of his life in his presence, there is a single reference to Amīr Khusraw that throws light on this aspect of the problem.

In the forty-fourth *majlis*, discussion started about poetry. The Shaikh said: Khusraw and Ḥasan Sijzī tried their best to write after the pattern of Shaikh Sa'dī, but could not succeed, because the latter was a man of mystic life and wrote what he experienced personally, implying that Khusraw and Ḥasan were men of the world and could not reach the height which is possible only for those who have renounced the world in the real sense. To support this point of view, the Shaikh praises both Niżāmī and Khagānī as pious souls but is all praise for Hakim Sanā'ī who had renounced the world fully, and quotes the following verse of his:

ای کہ شنیدی صفت روم و چین

¹² *Fawā'id*, Discourse of 27 Sha'bān 715/25 December 1315.

¹³ *Siyar al-Aūliyā'*, p. 592.

خیز و پا ملک سنائی نه بین

[You have heard about the beauties of countries like Rūm and China,

Rise and come with me and see the country of Sanā'ī.]

The country of Sanā'ī, as the Shaikh elucidates, is the country of *fagqr*, true renunciation, to which Khusraw had no access.¹⁴

What in fact brought the saint and the poet together was, first, their love for poetry and music. It is related in the *Fawa'id* that the great Shaikh and his teacher Maulānā Uṣūlī were comparing a text between themselves. They came to a verse which both of them failed to decipher correctly. A person came who, otherwise quite illiterate, was able to solve their difficulty. The Maulānā remarked that it was due to the inherent bent of his mind towards harmony and cadence that helped him in this. The great Shaikh, after recounting this event, told his audience that it was after that event that he understood what *dhang*, aptitude for appreciating love, beauty, art and music, really meant.¹⁵ This was the characteristic that Khusraw shared with the great Shaikh and that made him dearer to his heart.

The poet often participated in the audition meetings of the great Shaikh and on certain occasions recited his own verses which led the Shaikh into the ecstatic mood Amīr Khurd gives accounts of certain such meetings. In one such meeting, when the Shaikh was enjoying the poetry of Auḥāduddīn Kirmānī, sung by his favourite *qawwal*, and drops of tears were flowing down his cheeks looking like shining pearls, Khusraw began to sing his own *ghazal*. On the first verse:

رخ جمله را نمود و مرا گفت: تو میبین
زین ذوق مست و بی خبرم لیکن سخن چه بود

[He showed his face to everybody but to me he said: Don't you see?

¹⁴ *Khayr al-Majalis*, ed. Khalīq Ahmād Niẓāmī, pp. 143-46.

¹⁵ *Fawa'id*, Discourse of 15 Rajab 710/December 1310.

I'm unaware of the intoxicating experience; what did he mean?]

The Shaikh was overwhelmed. With a loving glance, the Shaikh looked towards the poet and the previous state of ecstasy returned. Khusraw repeated the verse several times.¹⁶

There is an account of another *majlis* held on the upper floor of the Jamā'at Khānah, during the reign of Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq. It was an auspicious occasion when almost all the friends and disciples of the Shaikh including Amīr Khusraw, were present. The audition began with a verse of Shaikh Sa”dī. After a while the situation sub-sided. Then all at once Amīr Ḥajjī, the son of Amīr Khusraw, started singing his father's ghazal. When he reached the following verse:

خسرو تو کیستی کہ در آئی درین شمار
کین عشق تیغ بر سر مردان دین زده است

[Khusraw! who are you to be worthy of consideration?

Love has struck its sword on the head of several pious people]

the rapture again reappeared — Amīr Ḥajjī repeating the verse and the Shaikh dancing and swaying. Amīr Khurd states that the situation was so electrifying and spiritually so edifying that he never experienced it afterwards.¹⁷

I would finish these accounts with the following. Once when the audition was in full swing and Amīr Khusraw was singing and dancing with his arms outstretched upwards, that the Shaikh beckoned him towards himself. In his state of ecstasy and rapture, he could find sufficient composure to address the poet thus: "You are a man of the world, you should not dance in this fashion with hands stretched upwards (like a true sufi, maybe).¹⁸ It shows that the great Shaikh was fully aware of the real position which the poet occupied.

And yet a sort of psychological *rappo*rt was formed between the saint and the poet during different sittings of the audition, and his musical talent and

¹⁶ *Sijar*, Chapter 9, pp. 515-16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 514-15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-07

poetic excellence established a relation between the two that seemed to give Khusraw some special glamour among the assembly of the pious. I would, however, refuse to accept Khusraw as a sufi.

The author of *Siyar al-Auliya*, while referring to Amīr Khusraw's poetic charms, says that he was a sufi, enjoying constant spiritual experiences (*mustaqīm al-ahawāl*), the greater part of whose life was spent in fasts and prayers and recitations; he was a special disciple of the Shaikh. He adds that he did not see anyone more devoted and attached to his *pīr* than he and that he had a full share of love and 'ishq and enjoyed *sama'*, etc.¹⁹

In view of what has been stated above, I doubt the authenticity of this statement, especially the first part of it. It is an honest portrayal of a friend's character, innocently and plainly given by a fellow disciple who was deeply attached to his spiritual mentor and meant well for everybody. The picture that he draws is the picture of any resident of the great Shaikh's Jam5'at Khānah. But, unfortunately, studied historically and in the light of the *mathnawīs* and *qasā'ids* written by the poet, this portrayal turns out to be too rosy to be true.

Amīr Khusraw was a poet of eminence no doubt and could be placed along with other great poets of Persian, but he was not a sufi at all, if by šūfi we mean the type of life that was led by the great Shaikh and by scores of his other disciples. The contrast drawn by the Chirāgh-i Dihlī between him and Sanā'i, on the one hand, and then the clear-cut warning given to the poet while in audition, on the other hand, point in the same direction. He lived the life of an ordinary man of the world, amassing and spending wealth as and when he liked; the *qaṣidahs* he wrote in praise of the contemporary kings and nobles do not at all reflect the mind and heart of a true sufi.

It is again true that Khusraw was a man of love and passion and sang songs of beauty and love. He was no doubt attached to the person of the Shaikh — his *qaṣidahs* in his praise, with which we shall deal later, reveal the depth of his love for him; but it was the kind of attachment which ordinary worldly people usually entertain for saintly personages. It is equally true that the great saint had some soft corner for the poet — he could enter his ḥujrah when nobody else could dare s enter, he could beg of him certain things which his most pious and most devoted and far more spiritually advanced disciples could not; but I feel that this exception in his case arose out of his

¹⁹ Ibid, Chapter 10, p. 588.

being a poet, a musician, being a past master in the art of companionship and t because he could enjoy and appreciate beauty, art and music, or because he was capable of feeling and sharing the pangs of love which he could express in so beautiful a language. The esteem which the poet enjoyed in the eyes of the great Shaikh arose not because he was a sufi — as most of our chroniclers, including Baranī, have wrongly asserted about him — but because, and I emphasise this point, through his poetic and musical talent he could give expression to human nature's different moods which even a saint like the great Shaikh could well enjoy because he was schooled, under the benign influence of Shaikh Farīd Ganj Shakar, in the message of love and beauty, both human and divine.

Short Biographical Sketch. Khusraw belonged to the Hazāra- Lāchīn clan of Turkish origin and his great Shaikh often called him as Turk Allah, as he himself says:

بر زبانت چون خطاب بندہ ترک الله رفت
دست ترک الله بیگرد ہم با ہلش سیار

[As you call this servant by the title of Turk Allah,

Hold his hand and hand him over to God.]

His family, living in Central Asia, Transoxania or Khurāsān, must have migrated from their native lands under the devastating attacks of the Mongols and came over to India. Khusraw's father settled in Patyali, a small town in the U.P., otherwise known as Mominpura. His father, Amīr Saifuddīn, called Saif-i Shamsī because of his service with Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltūtmish, must have been holding a sufficient high rank, for very soon he was married to the daughter of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Rawḍat Arc, the well-known Wazīr-i Jang of Balban.²⁰

It is said that his grandfather was an Indian, converted to Islam, and, therefore, though a Turk by race, Khusraw was deeply devoted to his land of birth and spoke the Hindawi, his mother tongue. This love of Khusraw is expressed in most of his *mathnawīs*, especially in *Nūḥ Spibr* where he compares the cultural achievements of the people of India with those of

²⁰ Professor M. ḥabīb, *Hadrat Nizāmuddin* (Urdu), p. 95.

other countries and concludes that in every sphere of art and knowledge they far excel others except in *fiqh*.

His father, as he relates himself, was very distinguished in the art of warfare. "A Turk," he says, "is an angel only in dream but Saif-i Shamsī was a real angel. He was not literate but he tried hi best to give me the best education. By profession, he was an Arnie in the service of the King, but he was in matters spiritual as good as saint."²¹ Khusraw was thus fortunate to inherit the best characteristics of the two races, Turkish and Indian, the happy blend of which is visible in the life, poetry and intellectual attitudes of Khusraw.

He was only seven years of age when his father died.²² It was o course unfortunate in a way, thinking how very anxious his father was about his education. Henceforth, it so seems, the young child could, find peace and consolation in the bosom of his mother who seemed t be very much loving and solicitous of the child's welfare. She seemed to put all her love and affection on the growing child and, as a result we find Khusraw all through his life looking to his mother with ever increasing affection and ever longing to return to her bosom ant loving care. Even when grown up, whenever he returned after long o short absence with the kings, he would like to embrace her mother, and seek peace and consolation that only mothers can give.

Thereafter, Khusraw went to live with his maternal grandfather where, it so seems, the atmosphere was not only congenial to his spiritual but inspired him to reach higher and ever higher planes. As Khusraw himself relates in the *Dibāchah*, "Imād-ul-Mulk was a magnanimous man and showered his beneficence on all and sundry Here Khusraw had the opportunity to listen to the discussions of poets, scholars politicians and *litterateurs* of the age. He was by nature a pee having the talent to compose beautiful and rythmic verses. It is salt that the teacher to whom he used to go for education first tried to dissuade him from composing poetry, but when he found that this at' is but natural with him, henceforth he tried to encourage him in this field. Mostly through his natural talent and partly through such favourable circumstances, Khusraw was well on the way to be a poet of great eminence.

"I was only twelve years old," he says, "when the foundation the various

²¹ *Dibāchah-i Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*, pp. 68-69.

²² Ibid., p. 69 Dr Wahid Mirza, relying on a MS. copy of the *Dibāchah* says that he was eight years old when his father died, See his book, op. cit., p. See also footnote 3 on the same page.

forms of verse were laid strongly in my mind. When scholars and savants of the time saw my proficiency in poetry, they were amazed and their amazement added to my pride, for on listening to my verses they used to encourage me heartily.... From time to time contemporary poets used to test my skill and I displayed to them my art with the burning eloquence of my tongue. As no master has ever trained me,... for some time I placed before me, like the parrot learning to speak, the mirror of imagination, and learnt poetry from the images that were reflected in that mirror.... I studied constantly the works of great masters. From these I culled what was sweet and thus acquired a real taste for the pleasures of poetry. My eyes and intellect brightened when I saw the writings of Anwārī and Sanā'ī, and whenever I beheld a poem bright as gold-water I chased it like a running stream. Every *diwan* I came across I not only studied but imitated in my compositions."²³

Poetry and rhymed verses came to him of their own, though people accused him of his ignorance of prosody and other meticulous rules of metres, etc.

ای که می گوئی، مرا، خسرو، نمی دانی عروض
من چه محتاجم عروضم، تا کنم گفت و شنو
نظم سنجیده پمی گویم به موزونی طبع
نکته سنجیده باشد رفت سنجیدن گرو

[O thou who saith to me, Khusraw! thou knoweth not prosody;
I'm not in need of prosody for proper rhyming;
Through my natural aptitude, I sing rhymed ye' se;
When you judge them, they shall be found to be properly rhymed]²⁴

Born and bred in India of the thirteenth century, Khusraw could compose verses in Persian and Hindawi quite easily and naturally but could

²³ Extracts based on *Dibāchah* of *Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* and that of *Tuhfat al-Sighar*, done into English by Dr Wahid Mirza See his book, op. cit., p. 32.

²⁴ Dr. Wāhid Mirza, op. cit., p. 34, footnote 2.

not write in Arabic. Commenting on this he says:

ترک ہندوستانیم من، ہندوی گویم حباب
شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

[I am an Indian Turk ; I can easily sneak in Hindawi,

I do not possess sweetness of *mīṣrī* that 1 may speak Arabic.]²⁵

He calls himself *Tūtī-i Hind*, the Parrot of India:

چون من طوطی ہندم ار راست پرسی
ز من ہندوی پرس تا راست گویم

[As I am a Parrot of India, if you ask aright,

Ask me in Hindawi, so that I may speak nicely.]²⁶

His grandfather died in 671/1273 at the age of one hundred and thirteen when Khusraw was a young man of twenty. With talent for poetry and music already' recognised he could find little difficulty with regard to his future. The times were favourable and, after a period of instability, the country could heave a sigh of relief when Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd, the youngest son of Iltūtmish, ascended the throne in 646 1248. For twenty-two years of his reign and then twenty-one years during Balban's direct reign, there was peace and security in the country. It was the period when Khusraw's talent needed wholesome atmosphere to mature and flower and, fortunately for him, the country's peaceful atmosphere helped the rising poet in further polishing his talents.

Contemporary Intellectual Atmosphere. If we look at the intellectual atmosphere in those days, we find it was one of the enviable periods of Indian history. Poets and scholars came pouring in as if flying from the destructive forces of the Mongol hordes in the heartlands of Islam and

²⁵ *Mīṣrī* is boiled sugar dried into cakes used to sweeten milk. There is pun on this word, which is also an adjective of Misr (Egypt).

²⁶ *Dibāchah of Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, p. 66.

seeking not only safety but brilliant chances of rich patronage. Wealth was in abundance and nobles vied with one another in spending their money on anyone who could prove his mettle in the durbar, who could sing beautiful and charming songs in his praise, who could warm his heart with sweet notes on some musical instrument, who could demonstrate his scholarly ability in face of all kinds of challenge to his superiority. In short, there was no dearth of real appreciation for true and real merit.

Though there was no dearth of great scholars and religious thinkers in this age,²⁷ we shall mention briefly only a few poets who were Khusraw's contemporaries and adorned, like him, the courts of nobles and kings of the day.

One is Tājuddīn Raizah or, as some call, Sangraizah after Jamālīl. Like Khusraw he is proud of his Indian origin where he was born and educated and could legitimately boast of high quality of his poetry and prose. He says:

مولد و منشا بین در خاک پندوستان مرا
ز من پندوی پرس تا راست گویم

[My land of birth and upbringing is this land of Ind,

This prose and poetry of mine glitters as Khurāsān's.]

He sang qaṣīdahs in praise of several contemporary nobles.²⁸

Another important figure who is much more intimately related to Khusraw is Shams Dabīr who was a great scholar and poet and was attached to the court of Bughrah Khān, son of Balban. According to Shaikh Nīzāmuddīn Auliyā', Shams Dabīr studied Qāḍī Ḥamīduddīn Nāgaurī's Lawā'iḥ with Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganj Shakar whom he served most devotedly. He used to cook food himself and invite several people for iftār, and the great Shaikh, Nīzāmuddīn, used to be invariably present on these occasions. These were the days when he was very poor.²⁹

On another occasion, the great Shaikh relates that once Shams Dabīr

²⁷ See, for this, Muḥammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Fuqaha'-i-Hind*, I (Lahore, 1974); Rahman Ali, *Tadhkīrah 'Ulāma'-i-Hind* (Nawalkishore, Lahore, Lucknow), etc.

²⁸ Maqālāt Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shairānī, V, 31-32, 133-34, 153-54.

²⁹ Fawa'id Discourse of 29 Rajab 710/January 1310.

brought a qaṣīdah in praise of Shaikh Farīd. On being permitted, he stood up and recited it. The Shaikh then asked him his reason for it. Shams Dabīr described his financial difficulties and requested Shaikh Farīd to pray for him. It was after that event that Shams Dabīr became Dabīr of Bughrāh Khān.³⁰ On this occasion Tājuddīn Raizah composed a qaṣīdah in his praise According to Professor Shairānī, Shams was the teacher of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā' who learnt *Hadīth* and *Maqāmāt-i Ḥarīrī* from him.³¹

When Khusraw was in the service of Kishlī Khān, one night Bughrāh Khān came to visit the noble who was his cousin, to enjoy nightly drink and singing parties that were usually forbidden under Balban's strict orders. The prince was accompanied by Shams Dabīr and Qādī Athīr. There, poetic contest started and Khusraw succeeded in establishing his superiority at which Bughrāh Khan showered rich rewards on him — an act which Kishlī Khan took as insult to his magnanimity. Khusraw thereafter left his service and set off to seek another patron. He reached Bughrāh Khān at Samānah. The prince was overjoyed but Khusraw's relief proved shortlived, for Bughrāh Khān had to leave for Bengal in the company of the King. Khusraw could not make himself like the new country and returned to Dehli.

In Khusrawī, it is related that Shams Dabīr gave his Dīwān of verses to him, but Khusraw always regarded him as senior to him-self and often talked of his poetic merit because Shams Dabīr greatly liked his talents.³²

The other great poet of eminence of this period is Shi'hab Mahmarah who is said to be the teacher of Khusraw.³³ It is at present difficult to speak much about him except that Badā'ūnī in his Muntakhab gives some specimens of his *qaṣīdahs*.

It was in 680/1281 that Khusraw reached Dehli and cast his eyes around to see if there was somebody who could patronise him. It seems that either Balban was not so well disposed towards poets or else Khusraw himself did not find himself equal to the task of entering the service of the king. He, therefore, decided to seek employment at the court of Prince Muḥammad at Multan. The prince was a man of letters and was a great patron of learned people, scholars, poets and *litterateurs*. In spite of wild talk and utterly

³⁰ Ibid., Discourse of 11 Dahil-Hajj 714/ March 1315.

³¹ Maqālāt Hāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shairānī, V, 159.

³² Ibid., V, 159, footnote 2; V, 158, footnote 1.

³³ Ibid., V, 345.

untruthful allegations of certain biographers of Suhrawardī saints, especially of Ṣadruddīn “Ārif, the prince was one of the noblest that adorned the court at Multan.³⁴ To him Khusraw went for patronage and was delighted to serve him. Here we find Amīr Masan Sijzī, the great contemporary poet, who is famous for compiling *Fawā’id al-Fuwād*, a valuable record of the sayings of the great Shaikh, that set an example for *Malfūz* literature of the subcontinent.

Unfortunately, the prince died in one of his encounters with the Mongols and Khusraw had to suffer imprisonment from which, how-ever, he was almost miraculously saved. His safe return to the capital was a happy augury for the future Persian poetry in India to which Khusraw was yet to add his beautiful and charming *Khamsah* and other *mathnawīs* of great historical value and poetic beauty.

But he found the country plunged almost in grief at the sudden death of the illustrious prince. Khusraw wrote a moving elegy on the death of the martyr prince which added to the torments of the already dying monarch. After the death of Balban in 686/1287, Khusraw soon secured royal patronage which lasted till the end of his life with very little ups and downs. All this period, from 686/1287 to his death in 725/1325, passed almost peacefully for him, although politically the country witnessed many dangerous situations and sudden and unexpected changes of rulers and dynasties; but to Khusraw it seemed to matter very little: he was always and without exception loyal to the Crown and Throne, whoever there was who adorned (or desecrated) them. It was during this period that he wrote his historical *mathnawīs* and then during the peaceful reign of “Alā’uddīn Khaljī wrote the famous *Khamsah* after the pattern of Nizāmī.

Among the historical *mathnawīs*, the first is *Qirān as-Sa’dain*, written in 688/1289 after a labour of six months, commemorating the meeting of the King Kaiqubād, the son, and his father, Bughrah Khān, erstwhile patron of Khusraw, who preferred governorship of Bengal to kingship at Dehli.

The second, the ‘*Ishqiyah* or the Romance of Khiḍr Khān and Daivalrani, was completed in 715/1315 after a labour of four months and

³⁴ It seems to be a fact that Shaikh Bahā’uddīn Zakariyā appointed or wished to appoint Ḥrāqī as his true successor, but due to intrigues to which “Ḥrāqī refers in his *Dīwān*, Ḥrāqī was forced to quit Multan; and hence to quieten opposition, Ṣadruddīn had to squander millions of rupees he had inherited to the people.

some days. In the Introduction Khusraw gives in brief the history of Muslim ascendancy in India from the days of Shihābuddīn Ghaurī till the enthronement of “Alā’uddīn Khaljī in 696/1296. It is one of our main and authentic sources of information for understanding the social customs prevalent among upper classes of Muslims of those days.

The third in this category is *Nūh Spibir* that deals with the early reign of Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh, son of “Alā’uddīn Khaljī. It was completed in 718/1319. In the third sphere, Khusraw praises the people of India who excelled, according to him, all the people of the world in knowledge, arts and sciences. He vehemently states that these people (i.e. Hindus) believe in the unity and eternity of God, His power to create everything from nothing (“adam)³⁵ In *Tugħlaq Namah*, written in 725/1325, he describes the historical events that led to the murder of Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh at the hands of Khusraw Khān and then the defeat and death of the latter at the hands of Ghīyāthuddīn Tughlaq who ascended the throne at Dehli in 720/1320. These historical *mathnawīs* occupy a very prominent place in our literature, as they relate contemporary events in their true perspective.

The five romantic *mathnawīs* that he wrote after the pattern of Niẓāmī’s — which was probably written after the Pentateuch, i.e. the well-known five books of Moses. Much controversy ranges whether Niẓāmī’s *Khamsah* is better than Khusraw’s. There are various opinions on this subject, but it is almost unanimously held that no *Khamsah*, written after the pattern of Niẓāmī, ever compares in beauty of expression and richness of artistic skill with Khusraw’s.

Khusraw and the Great Shaikh. Many unfounded legends are often related by our *Tadħkirah*-writers regarding great poets, scholars and saints. It is related that when Khusraw was born his father took the babe to a saint who cried out that he would far outstrip Khāqānī.³⁶ It is not the first part of the legend that may be doubted, for common people would often take their newborn babies before a great saint for prayers and blessings. But what is doubtful is the foretelling aspect of the episode which plays on our credulity, for foretelling, commonly, is looked upon as the *sine qua non* of sainthood, especially of a *majdhūb*. Such stories are fabricated about most prominent people in different ages. It is true, however, that he was blessed by Nature

³⁵ *Mathnawī*, pp. 158-72

³⁶ *Siyar al-Auliyā’* p. 108.

with an exceptionally high level of the Muse. He not only surpassed in poetry but also contributed richly to the art and skill of music which, I think, endeared him to the great saint.

During the two years that the Shaikh lived in the house of Khusraw's grandfather, his career as a poet was just starting and he used to show his poetic compositions to the Shaikh who advised him to write after the style of *Safahanian*, that is, he should write poetry employing the usual symbolism of love.³⁷ It is also related that Khusraw once read a *qaṣīdah* before the Shaikh, who was greatly pleased. In this state of enjoyment, the Shaikh asked him to beg for anything that shall be granted to him. Khusraw begged for sweetness in his verses. The Shaikh asked him to taste a little of sugar from the sugar bowl lying under his cot, and distribute some of it among the people sitting there. Khusraw did accordingly and the result: his poetry became sweet as sugar and liked by everybody.³⁸

The Shaikh is reported to have composed the following quatrain about the poet:

خسرو که به نظم و نثر مثلش کم خاست
ملکی است که ملک سخن آن خسرو راست
آن خسرو ماست ناصر خسرو نیست
زیرا که خدای ناصر خسرو ماست

[Khusraw, whose compere in poetry and prose seldom appeared,

It is the realm of letters over which our Khusraw rules;

He is our Khusraw, not Nāṣir Khusraw,

For God is the protector of our Khusraw.]³⁹

³⁷ Ibid., p. 309.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 301-02.

³⁹ Dr. Wahid Mirza, op. cit., p. 118. Nāṣir Khusraw, the prominent Ismā'īlī philosopher, propagandist, poet, who has been mentioned by Iqbal in his *Jārid Nāmah*. The Shaikh was right in condemning Nāṣir Khusraw, for those were the days when Qarāmiṭah were the

The particular point to note in these verses is the epithet that the great Shaikh uses "Our Khusraw" about the poet which seems to point out the intimacy of relationship. As stated earlier, the Shaikh used to call him Turk Allah or merely Turk.⁴⁰

It is often said that Amīr Khusraw became the disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn at the age of eight. It does not seem to be correct. As a matter of fact he entered the *pīr*-disciple relationship, that involves conscious and voluntary commitment to a cause, in 671/1272 when he was about twenty-one. Henceforth the relationship of intimacy grew in depth which was further cemented by Khusraw's capability to sing songs that moved the great Shaikh to heights of great ecstasy. In these situations, the poet rose in the Shaikh's regard. In the evenings, the Shaikh would retire to his room and his servant Iqbal used to sit outside the door. Nobody was allowed to enter the room and see the Shaikh except Khusraw who had access to him at all times. If anybody had something to say to the Shaikh which he did not dare place before him, he would ask Khusraw to do that for him, and the Shaikh most often acceded to his requests.

It is related that some backbiters reported to the Shaikh, quite wrongly of course, that one of his dear disciples, Burhānuddīn Gharīb (d 738/1337), had started sitting like *Mashā'ikh*. The Shaikh was greatly disappointed and naturally grieved over the violation of the spiritual discipline. Later, when the poor disciple came to visit the Shaikh, he noticed clear signs of estrangement and disgust on the face of his *murshid*. It proved too much for the simple innocent person. He retired to his place totally grief-stricken and despondent. There seemed to him no hope of relief: how to find out the reason of his expulsion from the Shaikh's Jama'at Khānah, the rendezvous of thousands of stricken people. At last he requested the poet to speak on his behalf to the Shaikh.

One day, Khusraw came before the Shaikh with his turban hanging round his neck like a penance-seeking culprit. The Shaikh asked him the reason and Khusraw sought pardon for the innocent disciple. The Shaikh magnanimously forgave Burhānuddīn Gharīb at the poet's intercession.⁴¹

source of political intrigues and disturbances.

⁴⁰ *Fawā'id*, Discourse of 27 Sha'bān 715/November 1315.

⁴¹ *Siyar al-Auliya'*, pp. 279-81

Whenever the Shaikh had the mood, he would ask the poet to sing a song which would enrapture the Shaikh. Often Khusraw would sit in the middle with Hasan on the right' and Mubashshir on the left and thus singing would start in a chorus which brought the Shaikh into ecstatic mood. One day Khusraw invited the Shaikh to his place where most of the *Mashā'īkh* of the town had assembled, for *sama'*.

The *qawwal* started with a ghazal which, however, did not evoke the right mood. The Shaikh asked Khusraw to recite his own verses. He tried, but, somehow or other, his voice choked and he could not proceed with his own songs and, therefore, he had to fall back on Shaikh Sa'dī's ghazal which brought about the desired mood.⁴²

نظام الدین حق فرخنده نامی
که دین حق گرفت از وی نظامی
حدیشش چون خبر در امر و نهی
به یک پایه فرود از پایه وحی
دمش مریم صفت آبستن روح
لعا بش مریم دلهائی مجروح
ضمیرش محرم دیرینه عشق
نیازش حازن گنجینه عشق
بهر سو کردمش بادی رسیده
بزاران کوه رنج از جا پریده

In his “Ishqīyyah, he says of the Shaikh:⁴³

[Nizāmuddīn (wa'l-)Haqq, of auspicious name

Through whose grace the true religion became stable,

His talk is, as Prophet's tradition, in *amr* and *nahī*,

⁴² Ibid., p. 304.

⁴³ Except in *Qirān as-Sā‘dāin*, we do not find any poem in praise of the great Shaikh.

A little lower in rank than revelation;
 His breath, like Mary, nourishes soul,
 His saliva, the source of wounded hearts' ointment;
 His heart is knower of the old secret of Love;
 His nature protector of the treasures of Love;
 Wherever wind of his breath goes,
 Thousands of mountains of grief disappear.]⁴⁴

These verses point out certain aspects of the Shaikh's life: that he followed the *Shari'ah* in his words and behaviour; that association with him brought about moral transformation among the people; that he followed the principle of love for everybody and, lastly, his Jamā'at Khānah served as a haven of relief and peace to the aggrieved people of the land.

In the *Nūh Spīhr* (written in 718/1318) we find Khusraw pouring out his devotional songs in praise of the Shaikh. While the night is dark and the destination far off, there is the dread of thieves, while the traveller is ever unmindful of the impending danger. He indeed is fortunate who finds his ways to good-natured people. The Path is so difficult and full of pitfalls that it is impossible to cross and reach the destination without the help of a leader. Then Khusraw relates his own experiences:

خوش آندم که من ز اعتقاد ضمیر
 گرفتم بحق دست آن دستگیر
 من از وی لعابِ دهن یافتم
 که زینگونه آبِ سخن یافتم
 ز لام که خضرِ آب جوی وی است

⁴⁴ 'Ishqīyyah, p. 150.

بدان زنده ام چون ز جوی وی است
 دو قطره کزان در دوات افگنم
 بظلمت در آبِ حیات افگنم
 چون آن قطره از خانه دارم برون
 ازان قطره دریا نشانم برون

[What an opportune time it was when, through my conscience's urging,

I held the hand of that guide, in truth.

I got the saliva of his mouth that watered the water of my mouth;

My pure water which Khidr is after, I am alive through it, for it flows through your stream.

The two drops that I put in my inkpot — it's as if I place darkness in the Water of Life.

When a drop I get out of that place, from that drop I set up a river.]⁴⁵

One thing is constantly repeated in these poems in praise of the Shaikh that Khusraw represents him as following very strictly in the footsteps of the Prophet. In the *Nūh Spibir*, for instance, while speaking about him, he says:

به	افزوی	سرمدی	دولت	د
شور	در	پی	سیرت	احمدی

[Through abundance of spiritual wealth,

He walks after the character of the Prophet.]⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Nūh Spibir*, p.27.

In Hasht Bihisht, he says:

غوث عالم نظام قطب دین
قطب هفت آسمان و هفت زمین
رہبر پیش بین، محمد نام
زده پی بر بیع محمد نام

[He is the *Ghaouth* of the World, brings order to the faith of our *miliat*,

Quṭb of seven skies and seven earths;

A foresighted leader, Muhammad his name,

Puts his step after that of the Prophet.]⁴⁷

In ‘Ishqīyyah, he says:

نظام الدین حق فرخنده نامی
که دین حق گرفت از وی نظامی
محمد اسم و آیات محمد
درو واضح چو حامیم اندر احمد

[Nīzām of the true faith, with an auspicious name;

Who has brought order and harmony to the true faith;

His name is Muhammad and signs of Prophet Muhammad

Are manifest in him as ‘ha’ and ‘mīm’ in Muhammad.]⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁷ *Hasht Bihisht*, p. 5.

⁴⁸ *Ishqīyyah*, p. 15.

In *A'īnāh-i Sikandarī*, the poet draws the picture of the Shaikh, revealing how he spends his days in prayers and devotions, but his greatest and noblest role is that of Comforter to the grief-stricken populace, the common people who unfortunately suffered untold miseries at the hands of petty officials, which are so often related in the *Malfūz* literature of the period.

Even people like Farīduddīn Ganj Shakar, Shaikh Nīzāmuddīn and Chirāgh-i Dihlī, who never played nor wished to play any part in the politics of the day, were subjected to the attacks of the ruffians most probably at the instance of some influential official of the locality. The doors of the Shaikh's Jamā'at Khānah remained open till late at night and nobody was ever refused entry. He was himself carefree keeping fasts and yet showered bounties on the poor and helpless people. One day, at *Iftār*, his servant brought him some food but he took very little and returned the rest. The servant pointed out that he had taken very little at *Sehri*, and if he did not take more, he would be weak. The Shaikh remarked: Hundreds of poor people lie without food, how can I take stomachful?

He is described as emaciated due to constant vigils and yet is a source of strength to all those who visit him. He says:

گرہ مفلس و توشه دان پُر ز در
شکم خالی و دل ز گنجینه پُر
دم خُلق او چون صبا جان نواز
نوازش ہمہ وقت مہمان نواز
بر آلوڈگان چون زده موج پاک
ز رشتہ ز آلایش آب و خاک
بردبار خلق ار چه بسیار تر
کسی نیست از وی سبکسار تر
بر آن ناتوان کز درش زور یافت
اجل زحمت خویش ازو دور یافت
به بیماری دل طبیب امت فرد

[With pocket empty, but provision bag full of pearls,
 With stomach empty, but heart full of treasures;
 Breath of his is soul-refreshing like morning breeze,
 His magnanimity ever ready to serve guests;
 When his pure breath strikes the impure,
 Impurities of water and dust ere removed all at once.
 Although he bears the greatest burden of the people,
 Yet none is so light in weight as he;
 Every weak person who gets strength from his door,
 Death finds its object away from him ;
 For the disease of the heart he is a unique physician of *ummāt*,
 Has brought soothing medicine to hosts of afflicted persons.]⁴⁹

Type of Mysticism. The type of mysticism prevalent in Khusraw's days in the subcontinent and as best illustrated in the life of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā' was the true successor to the mysticism as reflected in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*. For instance, the controversy over *sukr* versus *sahw* (intoxication versus sobriety) and preference of the former over the latter which led to estrangement between *Shari'ah* and *Tariqah*, was rejected by the Shaikh. In a discourse on the capacity of the way - farer (*sālik*) to absorb Divine Illumination, the Shaikh categorically stated that the people of *sahw* are far superior to those of *sukr*.⁵⁰ In another discourse on the same subject, the Shaikh says that the Prophets are invariably people of *sahw*; and indulging in *karamāt* (saintly miracles) often serve as a veil that hide from him the face of

⁴⁹ *A'tinah-i Sikandarī*.

⁵⁰ *Fawā'id*, Discourse of 21 Dhī-Qa'd 707/April 1308.

Reality.⁵¹

Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (d. 260/1874) is reported to have uttered that everybody including the Prophet Muḥammad shall be under his banner. The compiler of *Fawā'id* one day asked the Shaikh about it, stating that he could not understand its significance and that he could not bring himself to accepting it as such. The Shaikh at once replied that these were not the words of Bāyazīd. He added that he is reported to have said: Subḥānī ma ḥāmu shānī [All praise to me! How lofty is my position], but later on, he recanted from it and recited the *kalimah* (Islamic profession of faith) once again (implying that what he had uttered was blasphemous which took him out of the fold of faith).⁵²

This statement of the Shaikh clarifies certain points. He does not enter into controversy whether Bāyazīd actually said these and other words; he simply denies the existence of some of these statements. The only basis of his denial — which he does not mention — seems to be that whatever is contrary to the letter and spirit of the *Shari'ah* cannot be true and correct. Thirdly, the Shaikh does not attempt to interpret (*ta'wīl*) the words — which have been designated as *Shāfi'at*, as if, by coining a new word, its blasphemous character can be changed—but states openly that Bāyazīd recanted from it. Historically, he may have no evidence to support this statement but he absolutely and finally rejected its validity because, as he saw, it was quite untrue to the letter and spirit of the *Shari'ah*.

Another problem is the relative merits of saints and Prophets. Ever since Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 285/898) wrote his book *Khātim al-Wilāyah*, the question of superiority of saints has often been raised and discussed. But when this question was raised in one of the Shaikh's meetings, he said that some believe that saints are superior to Prophet because, as they state, Prophets are most of the time engaged with people of the world (while saints are always with God). The Shaikh at once retorted that it was totally absurd and wrong. Although, continues, the Prophets are always engaged in the world and 1 person around them, the little time that they spend with God is far more in quality than the whole time thus spent by the saints.⁵³

⁵¹ Ibid., Discourse of 8 Shawwāl 708/April 1309.

⁵² Ibid., 29 Jamādī II 718/29 August 1318.

⁵³ Shaikh Moḥmad of Sirbind took note of this argument of the followers Ibn al-‘Arabī and tried to meet this frivolous objection through his metaphysics theory that the material world

It is thus evident that the type of mysticism contemporary with Khusraw as it is reflected in the *Malfūzat* of the great Shaikh, was not at all contaminated with the germs of *wahdat al-wujūd*.⁵⁴ The poi, becomes clearer when we come to consider the famous verse of Jamālī of Delhi, made popular by Iqbal while explaining the difference between the two opposite points of view, the theistic of the Qur'ān and pantheistic of Ibn al-'Arabī and a host of his followers:

موسیٰ ز ہوش رفت به یک جلوہ صفات
تو عین ذات می نگری و در تبسمی

[Moses fainted away by a mere surface illumination of Reality:

Thou seest the very substance of Reality with a smiled⁵⁵

It indicates that the finite ego of the highest order can retain its individuality while face to face with the Infinite. This two-sided relationship, I-Thou in terms of Martin Bober, is the basic aspect of the theistic view of life that is presented in the Qur'ān. The God of the Qur'ān is an individual and "each of us shall come to Him on the Day of Resurrection as a single individual".⁵⁶ This is the clearest refutation of the pantheistic conception of God which had been trying to escape from the individualistic conception of God as well as man.⁵⁷

When we turn to the pages of *Fawā'id al-Fuwād*, we find the Shaikh

is superior in rank in the eyes of God than the teal of the Spirit which was created only to make the world of matter possible; hence any attention to this world is the fulfilment of Divine Purpose and any time spent in the contemplation of the world of spirit is so much violation of the divine purpose of creation. It follows that if the Prophets are engaged in the world matter, they are in deeper relation with God, for this world is dearest to His heart See Shaikh Sirhindi's *Letters*, I, No. 260 See Dr. Fazlur Rahman, *Selected Letter. of Shaikh Sirhindi*, pp. 50-61.

⁵⁴ Some of our biographers have ascribed an unknown booklet entitled. *Wujūdīyah* to Shaikh Muīnuddīn Chishtī, for instance, the author of *Bazm-i ṢSūfīyā* and following him the writer in the Punjab University's publication Persian Literature, without any reliable authority. *Wahdat al-wujūd* made its appearance much later in the subcontinent.

⁵⁵ Iqbal, *Reconstruction*, p. 118.

⁵⁶ The Qur'ān, xis. 96,

⁵⁷ Iqbal, op. cit., pp. 63, 117, 118.

endorsing this theistic interpretation quite categorically. In a discourse, the compiler says that the Shaikh came after saying prayers n the death of a friend and then began to talk of the deceased. The Shaikh said: At the time of death nobody was there; only he and the Divine Presence — it is a great blessing. Then the Shaikh began to relate about Shihābuddīn Khaṭīb nsvī who used to pray to God ‘us: I have tried feebly to fulfil most of Thine ordinances and I hope Thou wouldst also fulfil my last wish and that is that at the time of death there should be none — neither an angel of death nor anybody else — between Thou and me; there should be only Thou and I.⁵⁸

It is related that one day the Shaikh was sitting on the top floor of his Jamā'at Khānah, situated by the Jamna. It was some religious occasion and the Hindus of the city had gathered in thousands offering their devotions to the Almighty. On observing them the Shaikh spoke out in his sweet tone:

بِرْ قَوْمٍ رَّاسِتْ رَاهِيٍّ، دِينِي وَ قَبْلَهُ گَاهِي

[Every people have a way, a law and a *qiblah*.]

And Amīr Khusraw who was sitting beside the Shaikh, at once added:

ما قبْلَهُ رَاسِتْ كَرْدِيْمٍ بِرْ سَمْتْ كَجَكْلَاہِي

[We have set our *qiblah* in the direction of our beloved]⁵⁹

Some people have tried to develop a theory on the basis of this lone verse that the Shaikh was a cosmopolitan, had no particular affinity with Islam and the Muslim *millat* and that he was not at all interested in the conversion of the people to Islam, that, in short, he believed all religions to be equally true.

I feel that those who put forth this theory do this because they feel ashamed to call themselves Muslims. Only a true Muslim-one who believes in a personal beneficent God, in the unity of God (and not unity of existence) — is capable of this experience which the great Shaikh expressed in so

⁵⁸ *Fawā'id*, Discourse of 20 Dhil-Hajj 709/May 1310.

⁵⁹ The actual word used is *kaj-kulah*, one who wears one's cap bent on one side. Maybe the Shaikh was wearing his cap in this position and Khusraw used these words to denote the actual position; but most often it is idiomatically used for the beloved whose awry cap would indicate haughtiness, pride, etc.

beautiful a way. As Iqbal says in the appendix to *Jārid Nāmah*:

بندۀ عشق از خدا گیرد طریق
می شود بر کافر و مومن شفیق
کفر و دین را گیر در پهناه دل
دل اگر بگریزد از دل، واهه دل!

[Man of love tries to follow in the Way of God, Is kind to all,

believer and unbeliever alike.

Let belief and unbelief find room in thy heart;

If thy heart feels ill at ease, then God protect thee.]⁶⁰

That such an interpretation of the Shaikh's utterances is justified is, moreover proved both from Khusraw's praise and Fawā'id's accounts. Whenever and wherever, Khusraw speaks of the Shaikh, most often refers to his following in the footsteps of the Prophet which he was very scrupulous. He looked upon the Traditions of Prophet as next in importance to the Qur'an. When Ghayāthuddīn' Tughlaq called a *Mahdār* to decide about the legality of *sama'*, Shaikh quoted a *hadīth* in his favour. Thereupon, one of the Assembly controverted by a saying from Abū Ḥanīfah. The Shaikh was enraged and remarked: How strange that any Muslim should controvert the saying of the Prophet and prefer the statement of a person to the saying of the Prophet?⁶¹

We have already quoted a verse from Khusraw's *Nūh Spīhr* about the Shaikh's following in the footsteps of the Prophet. In *Hasht Bibisht* he says about him:

پاک روح الٰہی به دین قوی
زنہ دار شریعت نبوی

⁶⁰ Iqbal, *Jārid Nāmah*, p. 242.

⁶¹ *Siyar al-Auliya'*, Chapter 9, regarding the *Mahdār*.

[The pure divine soul, strengthened by dīn,

Keeping alive the Prophet's *Shari'ah*.]⁶²

The Shaikh's efforts were directed not only towards following t . Shari'ah but towards reviving it and making it an active element in t, life of the people.

In the *Nūh Spibr*, Khusraw writes about the Prophet:

حرص به خاکت کشد، شارع گیر ز انکه
بی روش مصطفیٰ راه بر افلان نیست

[Materiality draws you down to earth; catch hold of the Prophet;

Without following in his footsteps, there is no way to heavens].⁶³

There are two different occasions mentioned in the *Fawā'id* which I would like to quote here in this context In a discourse, a person asked the Shaikh's opinion about a Hindu who recites *kalimah* (Islamic profession of faith), believes in the unity of God and the prophethood of the Prophet, but does not profess it publicly. While replying to the question the Shaikh comments that it was within his personal know-ledge that many Hindus regard Islam as a true religion, yet they do not declare their Islam publicly (due to certain circumstances)⁶⁴

The other instance is more revealing. A person visits the Shaikh in the company of a Hindu friend whom he calls his brother. The Shaikh himself asks the person: Has your brother any inclination towards Islam? He replied that he had brought him for that very purpose; perhaps he may embrace Islam through your influence.

Here the very question which the Shaikh asks of the visitor reveals the real attitude of the person. On seeing a Hindu in his presence, he is very much anxious to see him converted to Islam and is solicitous about his future welfare. The Shaikh was, however, conscious that there were certain factors, arising out of their social customs, that stood in their way of

⁶² *Hasht Bibisht*, p. 5.

⁶³ *Nūh Spibr*, p. 70.

⁶⁴ *Fawā'id*. Discourse of 20 Rabi 1715/25 June 1315.

conversion and, on thinking over it, he was moved to tears and said: Alas! these people usually do not accept one's advice; maybe some holy person's society may influence their decision.⁶⁵

To be a Muslim or to wish people of other faiths to be converted to Islam does not imply that such a man is incapable of broad human sympathies. It is true that the great Shaikh was above sectarian differences with regard to his treatment with the visitors. This humanism of his arose, not in spite of, but solely because of, his deep commitment to Islam. A true and consistent pantheist is a materialist whose morality is earth-rooted: it is only a theist who can rise higher and love mankind without any distinction.

As regards 'aql (reason) and 'ishq (love), the Shaikh states that they are opposed to each other. Scholars rely on 'aql while Šūfis follow the path of love; the intellect of scholars is preponderant over their love, while the love of Šūfis is preponderant over their reason; but in Prophets both reason and love are combined. In Khusraw we find an echo of this 'ishq, love.⁶⁶ In *Nūh Spīhir*, he says:

چون تن آدم به گل آراستند
خانه جان بهر دل آراستند
آدمی آن است که در وی دل است
ورنه علف خانه آب و گل است
زندگی چه بود؟ سوز و چاک
زندگی کالبدی چیست؟ خاک
زندگی نه آنست که جانی درد است
اوست که از عشق نشانی دردست
جان که ز عشقش بود آن بازی است
عشق نه بازی است که جانبازی است

[When the body of Adam was fashioned out of clay,

⁶⁵ Ibid., Discourse of 13 Sha'ban 717/October 1317.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Discourse of 13 Šafar'ban 715/18 October 1317.

A portion of his so I was reserved for "heart".

Man is one in whom there is a heart, or

Otherwise. it is a storehouse of fodder.

What is life of the heart? It is burning and rapture.

What is life of body? Mere dust.

To be alive does not mean that you have soul within;

He alone is alive who has love in him.

Life that is without love is a mere play,

Love is not a play but sacrifice of life.]⁶⁷

In the romance of '*Ishqiyah*', while praising God, Khusraw says:

ز گنج عقل خسرو را خبر نیست
درد جز عاشقی عیبی دگر نیست
خداوند چون جان دادی دلم بخش
دلی عاشق نه جانی عاقلم بخش
چنان بنیاد عشق افگن درین دل
که روید جاودانی سیزه زیں گل
به نور دل چنان کن زنده جانم
که بعد از مردگی بهم زنده مانم

[Khusraw is not aware of the treasures of reason,

⁶⁷ *Nuh Spibir*, pp. 74-75.

He has no defect except that he is possessed of love.

O God! when Thou hast given life, grant me heart—

Heart of a lover, not a life of reason.

So lay the foundation of love in the heart

That greenery may constantly grow out of this earth;

So enliven the soul through "light of heart"

That I may live even after death.]

During this invocation, Khusraw cries out:

ز مام من به دست مصطفیٰ ۶۸

[Hand over my reins into the hands of the Prophet]⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Ishqīyah, pp. 7-8.

IQBAL AND THE ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY IN RELIGION

K. A. Rashid

It is usually asserted that to think is to philosophise, and know-ledge is the awareness of internal sensation interpreted to unfold reality. To me this statement seems incorrect, as merely to think is not to philosophise. Everyone has the faculty of thought, but everyone is not a philosopher! Thinking is a necessary process in life to arrive at conclusions, but philosophy involves itself in strange dialectics and makes the problems more complicated without defining its terms of reference. It is a strange paradox that none of the problems discussed so far by philosophy have ever been defined in clear terms. While discussing the proofs of the existence of God, Iqbal, in the second chapter of his renowned Lectures, says: "But regarded as logical proofs, I am afraid, they are open to serious criticism and further betray a rather superficial interpretation of experience."⁶⁹ And the Muslim philosophers particularly, while converting foreign terminology to their own language, have found equivalents to make confusion more confounded. They too have not cared to look into the meanings of these terms either as used in the Holy Qur'an or in Arabic dictionaries. While superimposing this terminology, Muslim philosophers transferred the total meanings which the Greeks or the Vedantists had given to them, and helped to carry the controversy into the further centuries without solving the problems whose answers were readily available in the Holy Qur'an. Around these problems a strange logical network has been woven which has completely hidden the real issues. To mention a few examples, the problems of Soul and Spirit, Good and Evil, Free Will and Determination and Existentialism may be cited. Each problem has been left unsolved and more confusion has been created, showing man the ways of escape from the real truth. No one ever tried to explain what the Soul was or what the Spirit is. They even left terms undefined. Nor have they passed verdict as to what is Good and what is Evil, and how they come about. Similar is the case with Determinism and Free Will. They have adopted an attitude of escapism to take away all the

⁶⁹. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 27.

responsibility which man was to shoulder. They have tried to pass on the baby and make man run away from reality. They have always blamed the Superior Power whom they never tried to understand.

"Is it then possible to apply the purely rational method of philosophy to religion?" asks Iqbal, and to this he replies thus: "The spirit of philosophy is one of full inquiry. It suspects all authority."⁷⁰

As a Muslim, I feel that all this is superfluous and is merely entangling man in unnecessary controversies and wasting his valuable time. Ever since man started to philosophise, hundreds of thousands of pages have been written on these problems without arriving at any conclusion. We have thus been wasting our time over imaginary problems. The Qur'ān is a self-contained book and answers all these questions clearly, and all that is required of man to lead an honest and peaceful life. Not only this, the Qur'ān discourages dabbling in problems which the mind of man is incapable of grasping Says the Qur'ān: "Why then do you dispute about that of which you have no knowledge?"⁷¹ This is in right earnest to save man from wasting his time. After all the Creator knows what the capabilities of man are. In so far as knowledge is concerned, the Qur'ān contains right guidance for its pursuit, and prevents man from pursuing shadows which are of no value to him. Knowledge was essential for man for understanding the purpose of His creation, and has been well defined in the Qur'ān; at the same time, man has been discouraged from dabbling in problems which have no utility in this life and do not help him to attain the purpose for which he was created.

The Soul Take for instance the problems of the Soul or the Spirit. Man from the earliest days of his intellectual awakening created this problem for himself, and attributed to it all supernatural qualities. It will be seen that it is man himself who has created these unwanted mysteries. This problem has, one after the other, troubled the Baby Ionians, the Greeks and the Iranians, not to mention the Vedantists! And no one has ever been able to solve this mystery. This philosophy is contained in the pre-Islamic Hebrew words, *Ruach* and the *Ne fash* (Ar.=*Rūh* and *Nafs*). These words were prevalent at the advent of Islam, and the Jews questioned the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace) as to the nature of Soul. Back came the reply: "Tell them it is My

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷¹ iii. 65.

business, and you have been given meager knowledge of it.”⁷² And yet, in spite of this shut-up reply, man chose to run after it, knowing very well that he had been discouraged to pursue this matter. Man is obstinate enough to think that he can find out something even of what he has been given meagre knowledge. With a Muslim the question is different. He takes the Qur’ān as the revealed word of God, every word of which is correct, or is proving its correctness after gradual research. But the strangest thing is that even Muslim thinkers were so intensely influenced by Greek and other thought that they succumbed to this external influence. Perhaps there was no escape for them as the trend of superior civilisations was tantalising. Islamic thought was just emerging. Perhaps, it was the fashion of the day, as it has always been. They amalgamated their own thinking with it, believing that they will help to make it up-to-date; little realising that they were really drifting away from the true teachings of the Qur’ān Iqbal says:” while Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it, on the whole, obscured their vision of the Qur’ān.”⁷³ A whole lot of spiritual philosophy and supernaturalism developed out of this chase, but without result. After giving up this chase and not being satisfied with their result they started to run after *Nafs* or *Nafs*. This too they deemed to be something akin to the Soul, forgetting that the Qur’ān uses this word for the Conscious Self, and the mere word Self means nothing in the light of the Qur’ān. This word is used almost two hundred times in its different forms in the Qur’ān, and in each place it means Consciousness or the Conscious Self, and only in five places does it denote the Heart—the physiological and anatomical heart. They mistook *Nafs* for the *Rūh* (Soul) and wasted further time in resolving its mysteries of which, really speaking, there were none! To quote a few examples: (i) “Every soul (*Nafs*) will taste of death”⁷⁴; (2) “And in yourself do you not see”⁷⁵; (3) “Allah takes away consciousness (*Nafs*) from the bodies at death, and temporarily when you are asleep.”⁷⁶ These three examples are sufficient to illustrate our point of view. *Nafs*, therefore, is the Conscious Self and not the Spirit as is usually presumed, or a substitute for the Soul. However, in one place in the Qur’ān the word *Nafesh* is used in the form of

⁷² xvii. 85.

⁷³ Reconstruction, p. 3.

⁷⁴ iii. 184.

⁷⁵ Li. 20.

⁷⁶ xxxix. 42.

Nafashat (xxi. 78), where it intends to convey the sense of dispersal. It has, however, the same root as the Hebrew word *Nafesh*, as already referred to above. *Nafs* is, therefore, the Conscious Self or Consciousness, but not the Soul into which a man cannot peep. It is the conscious material self into which one is required to peep, and see how man has evolved from' a tiny speck of sperm which is visible only with the aid of a microscope. The excellence of creation is discernible only by dissecting the human body and not by a philosophical discussion! One has to perceive what organs and what fluids have been created out of this sing cell (*nafsin wāhaidah*) of a sperm, and how the various functions of organs are maintained. Certainly by pondering only one can see the Greatness of God, and not by looking into one's spirit which one can not see or perceive. It, therefore, boils down to this: man has bee wasting his time in idle pursuits while the Qur'ān keeps on telieng him to mind his own business and not meddle with affairs about which he has been given meagre knowledge.

Qur'anic Theory of Knowledge. And in so far as knowledge is concerned, the Holy Qur'ān repeatedly tells man to ponder over the works of Nature and see how the whole universe is operating. Ant also to keep away from such problems of which he cannot find solutions Says the Holy Qur'ān:

(1) "And amongst men is he who disputes about Allah, without knowledge, and follows every rebellious devil."⁷⁷

(2) "And among men is he who disputes about Allah without knowledge and without guidance and without an illuminating Book,"⁷⁸

And of real knowledge the Qur'ān tells man to ponder externally:

"Seest thou not that Allah sends down water from the clouds, then We bring forth therewith fruits of various hues? And in the mountains are streaks, white and red and of various hues, and

⁷⁷ xxii, 3.

⁷⁸ xxii.,8

(others) is tensely black....Those of His servants only who are possessed of such knowledge fear Allah.”⁷⁹

It would now have become clear that knowledge or scholarship is not philosophy which preaches to you to look inwardly at something sub lime but to ponder externally and internally over the physical body where you can see everything of the creation with your own eyes, and not merely imagine things of which you have no sight or insight! AP knowledge, according to the Qur’ān, becomes concrete science which un-folds to him the real purpose of creation. In view of this the Holy Qur’ān discusses at some length the various types of knowledge, such as Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Cosmogony, Psychology, Mathematics, Geology, Medicine and even Embryology! But nowhere do we find even an inkling of Philosophy. Philosophy, therefore, is not knowledge. It is a mere human device to mince matters and take man away from real thought. Of course, the Qur’ān does not discuss details of these branches of knowledge It only introduces you to foundational, knowledge and asks you to ponder and investigate. We have to work out the details ourselves and establish the truth of Divine Revelation. In no place has the Qur’ān devoted any time to philosophy. Whenever an occasion arises it asks you to believe in the Unseen and discourages you from discussing such problems, knowing fully well that you will waste your time and will not arrive at any conclusion. As far as the existence of God is concerned, it clearly says: People unnecessarily argue about the existence of God and follow the misguided philosophers (see above). Yet man has entered into superfluous discussions of Pantheism and Panentheism to make confusion worse confounded! When teleological and ontological proofs are available, where lies the need of philosophical juggling? This universe could not have come about on its own. in this universe nothing comes about on its own. Even the machinery, the furniture, the houses have been built by man. Does man think that he and the vegetation around him have come into the world on their own? Yet man persists obstinately to argue that this universe is not the creation of God. How foolish of him to call himself knowledgeable?

Nature of the Human Soul. As I have said above, philosophy has never tried to define its terms, but has proceeded to argue about them

⁷⁹ xxxv. 27-28.

unnecessarily. Had it taken the trouble to define its terms, it would, have saved us a great deal of intellectual confusion. Take for instance the very term Soul which is sprung from the Hebrew word *Ruach* the equivalent of which in Arabic is *Rūh*. The meaning of *Rūh*, according to the Arabic dictionary, is movement, etc. It is a common expression to say in Arabic: *Rūh min hind* [Go away from here]; or, *Ila anta rūh* [Where are you going?]. It would have now become clear that the Arabic word means movement or energy. Everything moves by virtue of the inherent potential energy. *Rūh* or Soul is, therefore, nothing else but energy; for it makes the things move! And movement is life. By this energy everything grows and develops and evolves. It is the h primordial and the vital impetus, the *elan vital* of all life. And man I know very little about it, except that it exists. It is perpetually flowing. According to the latest scientific investigations and researches, matter and energy are interconvertible. Each one is being transformed into the other. It was energy which took the form of smoke or clouds and became a glowing mass which later cooled and contracted and its pieces broke off to float in space to organise themselves into the Cosmos. It was this energy which later flowed from the sky in Mal form of water from which sprang the first germs of life, which lam but took different shapes to give life different forms, and finally became man. The controversy between matter and spirit is thus resolved. All these stages which I have mentioned above, of condensation and conversion of energy and matter, are described in the Qur'ān. Man must ponder and think and rationalise before he can understand. It must be remembered, realised and understood that there is nothing super-natural about religion or creation. All is natural phenomena and we must look into each entity with the eye of a scientist and not that a m a philosopher, if we wish to understand.

Harmony and Balance in Universe. Similar are the problems of Good and Evil. Free Will and Determinism. It must be realised that P if we mould our thought according to the Qur'ān, we will find that f there is total harmony and balance in the universe. All disharmony and imbalance are the creation of man. All pollution and indiscipline are also his creation. There is nothing but goodness in Nature, Evil only exists in the creative imagination of man, because it is of his own creation. The Qur'ān prescribes the limits of behaviour, The moment you exceed or trespass these limits, you are held responsible for the disharmony and misery that spring therefrom. It is we who are polluting the air, it is we who are polluting the seas, and it is we who

are polluting the minds of men by obscene literature. How dare do we then blame the Almighty and escape the responsibility we shouldered at the time of our inauguration as the vicegerents of God on this earth? Does man think that he is not responsible for his actions? And is he determined? Surely man does not have an overall control But the little control which the Almighty has reserved for Himself is for the right guidance of man and for his benefit. God is all goodness, and is guiding man at every step. It is we who are negligent and irresponsible. Man is responsible for the chaos we see in the world today. Nations are racing for supremacy, and by the force of strength and not reason they ant to usurp every thing for themselves and leave nothing for the comfort of weaker nations Political and diplomatic strategies coupled with industrial exploitation are the tactics which are destroying peace and tranquility in the human race. If people of all races were to truly follow their own religion in its true spirit, there would be peace all over. No religion permits discord. Every religion promotes harmony. It is the philosophy of life which percolates into human desire, thus upsetting the tranquility and harmony in nature and in the society of man. It is making confusion worse confounded. Everyone tries to philosophise but does not stare at reality in its face. Man runs away from truth. And the moment man runs away from truth, he has fallen asleep. "We are all asleep. We shall awake when we are dead!" (Prophet Muhammad).

This is the trend of modern deterministic existentialists! And this is mostly atheistic! I am aware of the fact that there are theistic non-deterministic existentialists too, but their number is insignificant. They e are ineffective and no one pays any attention to their teachings. Had man considered himself responsible for his actions, he would have behaved more sensibly and wisely, because he would have been conscious of the fact that he was answerable for his acts. Unfortunately, philosophy has always had a soft corner for creating such problems to con-t fuse man. It has always overlooked the fact of complete balance and order in the universe. If we study the Qur'ān carefully, or for the matter of that, any scripture, we will find that man is held responsible for all his ills and all good is from God. These are simple facts of life which everyone can experience, no matter to what religion he belongs. But philosophy has its own religion and tries to upset solid facts with obscure thought. God Almighty is bounteous and generous; we are disobedient and dissident.

All great religions are Divine religions. Prophets of God have appeared

since the creation of man for his guidance; for man was hasty, forgetful and thankless. In every religion it has been the priests and the philosophers who have been responsible for the adulteration of true teachings. The main feature of every revelation was to bring man to the true teaching of the worship of One God and make him bow down to HIM. All religions were unitarian to start with. The worship of two, three, four and multiple gods started much later. This diversification was the result of philosophy, which could only make things vague, and escape from the exact true reality. Even to this day we find Unitarians in all advanced religions and amongst all thinkers. The need for Prophets (guides) was always felt to bring man to the true worship of One God. As man became civilised and settled down he started to meddle in philosophy and paid less attention to the nature around him, and sometimes when lie did he drew attention to the stars and planets above and likened them to Gods with different attributes. Man could not understand the natural phenomena. He labelled everything as supernatural. He was overawed with the natural elements, and became superstitious, thus losing his hold over reality. Initially, people led a religious life. There was no philosophy. But the moment philosophy entered religion it put over religion covering of theosophy and mysticism, and tried to justify its existence. Mysticism played an equal havoc with religion and destroyed its very spirit. Monasticism and esotericism further paralysed the belief of man. The entire shape of religion was transformed into supernatural beliefs, which was against the natural religion of man. This has happened with Islam. unfortunately. Very few Muslims realise that the form of religion which they possess today is anything but what the Qur'ān teaches and what the Prophet of Islam left for them. The Islamic society today, in spite of its profession, is totally un-Qur'ānic. Islam has assumed a ritual shape for which there is no place in the Qur'ān. The Muslims today, instead of paying attention to the Qur'ān, are absorbed in things other than those laid down in the Qur'ān. The Muslim philosophers were tremendously influenced by the Greek and Vedantic thought. The pure *Tawhid* was adulterated with Pantheism and Panentheism (*wahdat'at al-wujūd* and *wahadat al-shuhūd*) for which belief there is no justification in the Qur'ān. This has happened in all religions where the highest form of worship still exists as the worship of One True God, the Creator of all. The Advaita philosophy in Hinduism and Unitarianism in Christianity are still cherished as the highest forms of worship. It will thus have become clear how philosophers in every religion have polluted the true

form of belief. What we see of Islam today is not the Islam of the Qur'ān. It is a ritualistic, sufistic and traditional Islam. If it was not so, the Holy Prophet would not complain on the Day of Judgment thus: "And the messen. ger will say: O my Lord, my people had taken this Qur'ān as a for saken thing!"⁸⁰ Some people will not relish my quoting this verse, for they are averse to all that I have said! But this is a fact, which has unfortunately to be admitted. Even the highest authority on the Qur'ān cannot deny this verse of the Holy Qur'ān: and if he cannot, how come this about? The Muslim society, which we see today, is not a Qur'ānic society. Weigh your actions against the dictates of the Qur'ān, and you will find out the truth of what I have said. Says Iqbal again:

"This is what the earlier Muslim students of the Qur'ān completely missed under the spell of classical speculation. They read the Quran in the light of Greek thought."⁸¹

One result of such philosophical thinking is that the propounders of this new thought have always been the founders of new religious movements. This has upset the purity of Divine Revelations. It also happened partially because these philosophers and Sufis translated foreign thought without understanding their language which resulted in the accumulation of a hopeless mass of absurdities in our own religion. This became a "heap of obstructing nonsense" and took Muslims away from the true teachings of the Qur'ān. Iqbal is very adamant about this attitude of Muslim thinkers and unfolds the loopholes in their thought in the opening chapter of his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. If the Muslims had understood the problems of Matter. Spirit and Space. Time and Movement, from the Qur'ān, instead of taking inspiration from Neoplatonic and Vedantic thoughts, they would have much more easily understood the cosmology and cosmogony of the universe, and not made the whole affair so complicated and complex as to drive everything away from the mind of man.

The main effect of the Greek thought was to create confusion between the concept of Matter and Spirit from where all the problems arose. Had they understood that there was no difference between the two and they were only two different forms of one and the same thing, this confusion would not

⁸⁰ xxv. 30.

⁸¹ *Reconstruction*, p. 4.

have arisen On the other hand, the philosophers of history have tried to solve the problems, whereas the philosophers of religion have minced matters.

There is a Vital Principle in creation, the *elan vital* of Bergson or the Vital Impetus. which runs through everything. This running force is the *Ruach* or the *Rūh* (Soul) which is being transformed into matter and evolving into different forms of being. This is happening through a process of congenial condensation. This energy or soul is vibrating and flowing through space from eternity in different wave-lengths and is infused into everything living. Mountains, vegetation, living beings and minerals are all different forms of energy taking shape by condensation. They are all vibrating, radiating, migrating and re-assembling. Had this concept been understood, the controversy would have melted away. Unfortunately, the problem has never been tackled in the way described above. It is purely for this reason that the Soul has always been taken as something sublime and supernatural.

I have no intention of describing the history of philosophical thought in religion, but am merely trying to show how important problems of religion have been tackled and interpreted by the complicated philosophical thought. All that was so simple and easy to understand, had we correctly understood the scriptures. Unfortunately, even the scriptures were not spared and their contents were tampered with to suit the new philosophy of man. Philosophy is a vague subject which has so far never arrived at any conclusions regarding any problem. It tries to put forward a multiplicity of views, but never brings out any result. To think is not forbidden to man. On the other hand, it is encouraged. But a man must think to bring out results and arrive at a definite answer, and be clear about the problem. This is the property of human thought, Even a dog thinks before it sips a hot cup of milk. It arrives at a conclusion that if it does not let it cool, it will burn its tongue.

According to the Qur'ān, there are only three ways of arriving at a certainty regarding any problem. Philosophy has drifted away from these methods and has evolved its own peculiar logic. These methods are: (1) Inference (*Ilm al-Yaqīn*), (2) Observation (*'Ain al-Yaqīn*) and (3) Realisation or Experience (*Hagg al-Yaqīn*). Experience is the final stage of certainty. It is physical experience and not spiritual or supernatural experience which only exists in the mind of philosophers or Sufis who, in order to imitate the

Prophets, take upon themselves the onerous function of Prophets sent by God or who are deputed to guide mankind. These methods of certainty are so simple that any man can utilise them to arrive at results, and convince himself. But to drive man into the so-called spiritual field is to make the whole thing volatile. The cold charm of philosophy, by its very touch, makes the whole atmosphere supernatural! And this is beyond the grasp of man. Physical experience is an experience which every one of us is experiencing. But the spiritual experience is only a fairy tale which no one has ever experienced. How can it be made the final test of certainty? When the spirit or soul is actually energy, all spiritual experiences turn into physical experiences!

Iqbal says in his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*: “There is no historical evidence to show that the Prophet of Arabia actually communicated certain esoteric doctrines to ‘Ali or Abū Bakr.”⁸² I would go a step further and say that the Holy Prophet did not communicate or demonstrate any spiritual experience to any of his Companions! All spiritual experience assigned to saints and holy men is a fiction. All psychic phenomenon is actually psycho-physical function of the brain. When the localisation of functions of the remaining part of the brain is completed all these mysteries and mystical phenomena will disappear. Even to this day we witness pious people relating stories of premonition taking them to be spiritual experiences, little realising that these are common experiences with the people, no matter to what religion they belong. This is a physical phenomenon. And then these so-called spiritual experiences are taken to be the result of contemplation. But in the opinion of Iqbal again: “Such methods of contemplation are quite un-Islāmic in character, and the higher Sufis do not attach any importance to them”⁸³ Even the so-called highest spiritual experience of al-Hallāj (*An al-Hāqq* has been borrowed from the Vedantists who cried out: “I am God” =*Aham Brhma Asmi*)! These are tales of imitation practised to excell prophetic expressions and experiences. There is no truth in them. They are merely philosophical utterances, which have reappeared in the garb of spiritual sciences.

Time and Motion. Movement itself is nothing. You see movement in the moving object. The whole universe is moving. The time is flowing, but you

⁸² *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, p. 84.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 87.

do not see it. This movement is the result of physical phenomenon. It has no spiritual background as is usually presumed. It is energy floating all around which is giving shape to various phenomena, as has been amply described above. Thus has con-fusion been created in the problem of Time and Motion. They both are eternal, and the common thing in them both is the flow. They are both the creation of the Almighty. Everything besides the Almighty is created. Therefore to say Time is God is also incorrect. Time came into existence with the liberation of energy. This may be assumed to be what we call Eternal Time, what the Qur'ān calls *Dabr*. *Waqt* or physical time came into existence with the creation of the sun. And '*Asr* in the Qur'ānic terminology signifies periods of physical time in the history of creation. '*Asr* again is a part of the physical time. The extent of these periods vary. However, time and motion are simultaneous creations. With the release of energy the space started to vibrate with motion, and it was this vibration of energy which congenially concentrated centrally to take the shape of mist or clouds (*Dukhān* — Qur'ān). It was these clouds upon which the vibrations were repeatedly impinging that they became aglow and formed the glowing mass which later cooled, solidified, and contracted to break off into pieces which floated in the space to form the galaxies, the solar systems and the universe. Therefore the controversy regarding time and motion is also time-consuming and does not lead to any definite conclusion. Suffice it to say that it is energy which flows or moves and leaves a trace of time behind it. God Almighty repeatedly says in the Qur'ān and asks men to Reflect, Ponder, Think, See and Understand creation outside and inside himself. Whatever is hidden or unseen, He simply asks him to believe and not to argue (see above). When this is the attitude of the Almighty Creator, what business have we to poke our nose into things unseen and unexperienced by our senses? To create problems is a very easy thing. To solve them is very difficult!

Says Iqbal again: "Philosophy proper comprises the knowledge of the beginning of things, the end of things, and the knowledge of the Self."⁸⁴ If this is true, and it does seem true, then all this has been laid bare in the Qur'ān. Where then lies the need for philosophy? Does it not unfold that it is trying to create confusion in the Divine Revelations? The Qur'ān describes the complete cosmogony and cosmology of the universe and describes the end of the world in clear terms. It even describes life in the Hereafter. But

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 137.

just because Revelation has not dawned upon mystics and philosophers, they have been trying to mislead man. The interpretations of the philosophers and the Sufis is, therefore, superfluous and unnecessary. If we were to ponder over creation on lines suggested by the Qur'ān, we could take aid from the investigation of the scientists and confirm what the Qur'ān is saying and resolve all mystery which is of our own making. But whatever the philosophers have said will ever remain vague and unconfirmed.

Similar are the problems of illumination, Cosmic Consciousness and Death. I consider them stages in the development of man. By a gradual process of experience and acquisition of knowledge man rises in the level of his being. Says the Holy Qur'ān: "That you shall certainly ascend to one stage from another."⁸⁵ Thus man confirms the various aspects of creation himself. He does not require to speculate.

All Revealed Religion is Natural Religion. It is philosophy again which has turned it into a supernatural religion. Nature was created in sympathy, synchronisation and in accordance with the temperament of man. Hence all its laws and limitations are according to the needs of man and fulfil his requirements. Anything supernatural is unnatural for the temperament of man. I am indeed surprised that in this modern and advanced scientific age such philosophical thought is allowed to flourish.

Like other nations, Muslims too have produced great philosophers. But, what have they done? Were they not aware of the fact that the Qur'ān was a self-contained book? By transferring foreign thought and Islamising foreign terminology they have created a great confusion and taken the Muslims away from the true teachings of the Qur'ān? They have so much adulterated the religion of God that we run after their philosophies and neglect the Qur'ān! After all what is their contribution in the understanding or the Qur'ān? Sufistic literature is replete with supernatural and spiritual thought. The Qur'ān is clear and definite on every matter, while they are vague and confused. And what is the Muslim studying today? History, *Kalām*, *Fiqh*, *Taṣawwuf*, Philosophy, Poetry and Sorcery! Where does the Qur'ān come in? Will the Prophet not be right in his complaint to the Almighty that his people had completely overlooked the Qur'ān? (See above.) It is time the Muslims stopped a while to take stock of their pursuits and reverted to the Qur'ān which is a Book of Guidance for everyone and for all times to come. To end

⁸⁵ *ixxxiv. 19.*

this brief article, philosophy is a reaction against science to create confusion. When priests and poets could not learn science, they undertook to patronise philosophy which was easier to learn and take man away from the search for God.

THE SUPERMAN*

The conception of the' Superman in Nietzsche is purely materialistic. This conception may be new in European literature. It is, however, the same as the idea of the Overman in Emerson. It is probable that Nietzsche borrowed it from the literature of Islam or of the East and degraded it by his materialism. In the literature of Islamic mysticism the expression used for the higher man is *Insán-i Kamil*. I wrote on this subject about thirty-six years ago immediately after leaving the College. My dissertation was published in *The Indian Antiquary* of Bombay and now forms part of my *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. Being a thoroughgoing materialist, Nietzsche cannot use the term spirit except in the sense of life in its metaphysical manifestations. The first metamorphosis of life according to him is camel, which from his point of view is a symbol of load-bearing strength. The second is lion, that is to say the strength to kill without pity, for pity is a vice and not virtue with Nietzsche. The third metamorphosis is child, that is to say the Superman passing beyond good and evil like the child and becoming a law unto himself. This is materialism turning the human ego into a monster, which, according to Nietzsche's idea of immortality, has repeated itself and will repeat itself infinite number of times. Nietzsche fell into this error of the world repeating itself on account of his fatal error, namely, that clock time is the real time. On this point again *Asrār-i Khudi* is opposed to Nietzsche's teaching. He never grappled with the problem of time and accepted without criticism the old Hindu and Greek idea of time. The time movement to him is circular. In the *Asrār-i Khudi* it is regarded as a straight line. Life, therefore, to Nietzsche

* From a Note dictated by Iqbal to Sayyid Nazir Niyazi in the summer of 1937. The Note is now the proud possession of the Iqbal Academy. Complete text of the Note appears in S.A. Vahid, Ed., *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal* (Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1964), pp. 238-44.

is repetition, to *Asrār-i Khudī* creation. The perfection of the perfect man according to Islam consists in realizing this aspect of time which can be described only as the eternal now. To Nietzsche there is no such thing as the eternal now. Further, Nietzsche's Superman is a biological product. The Islamic perfect man is the product of moral and spiritual forces.

A BANG-I DARA POEM STUDIED: "MUHABBAT" (LOVE)*

Kamal M. Habib

If there are things that are not what they seem, Iqbal's "*Muhabbat*" (Love) is certainly one. It is — in an age when the art of myth-making is dead — a bold experiment, a real tour de force, and represents a marked departure from the conventional symbolism and form which had hitherto prevailed in Urdu.

"*Muhabbat*" was written during the poet's sojourn in Europe. It is written in *bihar-i basṭ*, which is the most characteristic verse-metre of Iqbal. It reflects all sorts of Western influences — Platonism, Pantheism, Romanticism, German philosophy, Imagism, and so on. But in a sense this period is the most formative so far as Iqbal is concerned. It was then that the poet moved from nationalism towards Pan-Islamism. His' *Siqliyyah*, " *Sulaymah*," and " *'Abd al-Qādir Kay Nām*" ("To 'Abd al-Qādir") clearly bespeak the changed perspective of the poet. It is also rather crucially important in that many of the symbols employed in the poem, e.g. *ladhdhat-i-ram* (love for movement), which emerges as dynamism manifested by khudī (the ego) later on; *dāgh-i lālah* (the spotted tulip); *lutf-i khwāb* (inertia), etc., occur with a greater degree of crystalline clarity in his latter-day poems. Iqbal here rejects, as he rejects in the " *'Āshiq-i Harja'i*" ("The Inconstant or Ubiquitous Lover"), love as a physical entity of Urdu and Persian poetry. It is not regarded as an apotheotic attribute as in conventional Urdu ghazaleering. It is held to be nothing short of being the operating force which makes the amorphous crystalline, the chaotic ordered, the disparate harmonised; it is the very force of attraction that is at the base of the Cosmos. The stigmata of the tulip are there because of love; the moon is the satellite of the earth because of love; the gravitational force is energised by love. Love is thus the operating cosmic force.

The poem is patently Romantic in the style of Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*

* This article is based upon the author's analysis of the poem in a larger work, Iqbal: A Study of His Poetic Thought, Diction and Imagery, which is under preparation.

and Edger Allen Poe's *Haunted Palace*. It is presented to the reader as a legend with its attendant "suspension of disbelief" (to quote Coleridge's expression). The cavern, in *Kubla Khan*, for instance, is "a symbol not only of the hope of restoring the true sun, but, in its own nature, of the material world."⁸⁶ The river and the caverns, according to Beer, "may be taken together as symbolising the elements of dialectic creativity, but in a fallen world." Iqbal's symbolism, on the other hand, does not visualise a dialectic process. The "Alchemist" (*Kimiyāgar*) represents life-force which was present in an amorphous form when the Cosmos was created. This is where Plato's influence is visible, particularly of the *Timaeus*. Life-force has been asserting itself as life and mankind have evolved. The symbolism of *Muhabbat* was explained decades later when Iqbal said:

"Thus we see that the Quranic legend of the Fall has nothing to do with the first appearance of man on this planet. Its purpose is rather to indicate man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience. The Fall does not mean any moral depravity; it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of personal causality in one's own being."⁸⁷

Western poets, since the decline of the Classical Age, Romantic or Classical, believe, by and large, that since the Fall nothing has been right with the world. They tend to invest the state of the world before the Original Sin with idealism and idyllic surroundings. Iqbal's belief, on the other hand, is that the Cosmos before the Fall was a bundle of inertia, and it is this consciousness that is more precious than the *ism-i a'zam* (the Name Most High). For how would the Name Most High be grasped without consciousness? This idea has been differently expressed in the '*Āshiq-i Harjā'i*:

مجھو پیدا کرکے اپنا نکتہ چیں پیدا کیا

⁸⁶ J.B. Beer, *Coleridge the Visionary* (Collier Books, New York, 1962), p. 221.

⁸⁷ *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1960), p. 85.

نقش ہوں، اپنے مصور سے گلار کھتا ہوں میں

He Who created me brought into the world His Own critic;

A portrait (by my Painter), I harbour complaint against Him Who drew me.]

The Alchemist knew that knowledge about a thing is of far greater import than the thing-in-itself. And thus once we understand that the Alchemist *represents* life-force and that love is the operating force which works at the behest of life-force, the symbolism of the poem loses much of its obscurity.

The poem can be divided into four parts: (i) the amorphous nature of life before the appearance of love, when life is amorphous and meaningless in that it is non-active and inertial; (ii) struggle for the attainment of love; (iii) components which have gone into the making of love; and (iv) a universe made conscious of the operating force of love. Only when the operating force has asserted itself would the like embrace the like.

Let us now study the poem:

عروسِ شب کی زلفیں تھیں ابھی نا آشنا خم سے
ستارے آسمان کے بے خبر تھے لذتِ رم سے
قمر اپنے لباسِ نو میں بیگانہ سا لگتا تھا
نه تھا واقف ابھی گردش کے آئینِ مسلم سے
ابھی امکان کی ظلمتِ خانے سے ابھری ہی تھی دنیا
مذاقِ زندگی پوشیدہ تھا پہنائے عالم سے
کمالِ نظمِ پستی کی ابھی تھی ابتدا گویا
پویداتِ ہی نگینے کی تمنا چشمِ خاتم سے

[The tresses of the bride of night were yet innocent of curls. The stars of the ' Heaven knew not the pleasure of movement.

Luna looked strange in its new garb, and was unaware of the laws of planetary motion.

The world had only emerged from the darkness of the possibility (of becoming); the joy of life was still dormant in the interstices of the Cosmos.

The perfection of life just had had its beginnings; the eye of the ring had just begun to be gnawed by urge for the centre-piece of the gem]

The last couplet evokes through a beautiful image what love is; it is a concentric urge, a centripetal force. The charm of the moon lies in its appearance and disappearance. Were it to be gazed at all the time, there would be no novelty about it. It is full, gibbous, crescent-shaped: and thus in its changing form captivates the imagination of man. And yet this was not so in the pre-Love aeons: there was no vision to discover beauty. The poet, in short, has depicted a loveless universe. This was so, because life-force had not asserted itself through its helpmate, love, the operating force. The symbol of the moon could have been evoked through Goethe's *Luna*. Goethe addresses the moon thus:

Sister of the earliest light,

Type of loveliness in sorrow,

Silver mists thy radiance borrow,

Even as they cross thy sight.

When thou comest to the sky,

In their dusky hollows waken,

Spirits that are sad, forsaken,

Birds that shun the sky, and I.

In the "*Kīmīyāgar*" we have the beginnings of the idea of *khudī* (the ego) which becomes so central to the poetry of Iqbal later on. Besides the Platonic influence, the influence of German philosophy is quite apparent here. Thus we have Schopenhauer say:

"...Intelligence and Matter are correlates, i.e., one exists for the other, both stand and fall together. Matter is the idea of the intelligence; the intelligence is that in whose idea alone matter exists."⁸⁸

Life-force, in order to assert itself, had to break through the obstacles. But it could bulldoze through them only by means of love. This idea emerges more clearly in the "*Saqī Nāmah*" (Urdu)," *Mahāwrab ma bayn Khudā wa Insān*" ("A Dialogue between God and Man") and other poems. "*Muḥabbat*" also reflects the musical outlook upon life which is so typically German. Says Paul von Feuerbach:

"Immortal life is the life which exists for its own sake, and contains its own aim and purpose in itself — immortal life is the full life, rich in contents. . . . Every moment of life is of infinite importance and significance. for its own sake, posited by itself and fulfilled in itself, an unlimited affirmation of its own self; every moment of life is like a draught which empties completely the cup of infinity, which like the cup of Oberon miraculously fills itself again and again. . . Life is music, and every moment is a melody, or a sound full of deep feeling. . . the sounds of music pass away, but each sound has a meaning as a sound, and before this inner significance, the 'soul' of the sound, transitoriness recedes as something unimportant and inconsequential."⁸⁹

The power of music in Feuerbach is the power of love in Iqbal. If life is to be infinitely important and significant, its affirmation must follow through

⁸⁸ *The World as Will and Idea*, II, 400.

⁸⁹ *Saemmliche Werke*, X, 88.

love, for without the latter the world is all chaos bereft of all vision.

The poet has laid the basic groundwork in the context of which e must appreciate the true meaning of love. The tresses of the bride f night were without curls, because vision to appreciate both beauty d beatitude was lacking. The bridal procession had no spectators. he stars of the Heaven were stationary, because movement could not be felt or appreciated. The newly-born moon looked strange, because it was so devoid of the mystery it has exercised upon man. The world led just emerged out of possibility but had not become entelechy roper. Life-force was in quest of a concentric vision like the ring that devoid of the gem in its socket. That socket was to be filled with love. Love is the entelechy of Aristotle, the will of Schopenhauer, the *Uebermensch* of Nietzsche — all that and much more besides. It is also faith vouchsafed by God to determine the direction of life-force which d had its birth in *Logos*, the Word.

Then follows the second part of the poem. Here the poet depicts the struggle of life-force which penetrates into the secret recesses of space and time to seek out love, and so out of the darkness which pervaded the universe hitherto emerges the lambent flame of love.

سنا ہے عالمِ بالا میں کوئی کیمیا گر تھا
صفا تھی جس کی خاکِ پا میں بڑھ کر ساغرِ جم سے
لکھا تھا عرش کے پائے پہ اک اکیسر کا نسخہ
چھپاتے تھے فرشتے جس کو چشمِ روحِ آدم سے
نگاہیں تاک میں رہتی تھیں لیکن کیمیا گر کی
وہ اس نسخے کو بڑھ کر جانتا تھا اسمِ اعظم سے
بڑھا تسبیحِ خوانی کے بھانے عرش کی جانب
تمنائے دلی آخر بر آئی سعی پیغم سے
پھرایا فکرِ اجرا نے اسرے میدانِ امکان میں
چھیئے گی کا کوئی شے بارگاہِ حق کے سحر م سے

[It is said that in the world above lived an Alchemist, the dust of whose feet possessed greater purity than the Cup of Jamshīd.

At the foot of the Heaven was kept the recipe for an elixir which the angels hid from the eye of the soul of Adam.

But the eyes of the Alchemist were hitched all the time to this secret recipe which he knew to be precious far than the Name Most High.

And so, under the pretence of worship, he advanced towards Heaven and his heart's desire he obtained through ceaseless striving.

He then roved through the expanse of possibility, but shall any object hide itself from the sight of one who is in search of Truth?]

Modern age, as I have said earlier, is hardly conducive to myths or myth-making. The place of elaborate plot has been taken by poetic thought, diction, imagery and symbolism. Now this Alchemist possessed greater power to see the universe than Jamshīd through his cup. Why so? Because Jamshīd is concerned with his own self and his own kingship. The Alchemist's concern is with the discovery of an object that would change the cosmic order altogether. The elixir incorporated ingredients that had to be sought; nothing was ready-made. "Strive and acquire," that was the message to life-force. The elixir was not only hidden by the Angels from the sight of Adam but also from the farthest flight of his imagination. The latter idea is conveyed by *chashm-i rūh-i Adam*. But what Adam — a part of life-force—did not know, life-force did, and the Alchemist knew the recipe for the elixir to be more precious than the *Ism-i A'zam*, because only through its possession would the consciousness of the Godhead be gained. No consciousness, and *Ism-i A'zam* remains a thing-in-itself in visionless surroundings. Was, then, the Alchemist being both cunning and sacrilegious in trying to obtain the recipe by all means at his command, fair or foul. Three alternative explanations are possible:

(1) The end justified the means. The Alchemist knew that he was trying his stratagem upon the Angels because the endpoint of his efforts would take life-force to the highest pinnacle of faith.

(2) Life-force is compounded of both good and evil. There was more good latent in the effort than evil.

(3) God Himself had set this task for life-force, and by His Grace the Alchemist succeeded.

Keeping in view the undertones of the poem, the last explanation seems to fit well, although one must confess that here Iqbal's words have not been able to catch up with the myth.

The composite nature of love is described in the third part. It is not merely the love of a man for a woman, of a father for his child, or the love we might have for an object, etc. It is the *motivating* or *operating* force in the cosmic order. It is not merely domestic; it is cosmic, and can move from the cosmic to the domestic and *vice versa*, And so we have:

چمک تارے سے مانگی، چاند سے داغِ جگر مانگا
اڑائی تیرگی تھوڑی سی شب کی زلفِ بربم سے
تڑپ بجلی سے پائی، حور سے پاکیزگی پائی
حرارت لی نفسہائے مسیح ابن مریم سے
ذرا سی پھر ربویت سے شانِ بے نیازی لی
ملک سے عاجزی، افتادگی تقدیرِ شبئم سے
پھر ان اجزا کو گھولہ چشمہ حیوان کرے پانی میں
مرکب نے محبت نام پایا عرشِ اعظم سے
مہوس نے یہ پانی ہستئی نوخیز پر چھڑکا
گرہ کھولی پنر نے اس کے گویا کارِ عالم سے

[He took luminiscence from the stars, sadness from the moon, a little of darkness from the dishevelled tresses of the Night,

Fervour from lightning, purity from the hourie, and warmth from the breath of Masīḥ, he that was the son of Mary.

He then measured out a little of the Independence of the Deity, obedience of the Angel, and humility of the dew.

These ingredients he dissolved in the water of eternal life, and the compound was given the name of Love from the Highest Seat in Heaven.

The liquid so made was sprinkled upon the new life, and from his universal act artifice had had its birth.]

There are two points here, however, which are to be noted. The water of eternal life (*ab-i-hayawān*) was already there, confirming thereby that the act of the Alchemist released the operating force of life or life-force — love. The other point occurs in the last couplet- Art, artifice, artifact — they all had their birth after love. Life before the appearance of love was a blind and unconscious stream of turbidity; with the birth of love it moved nearer realisation. Life-force hitherto was wandering in the dark without any objective or aim. Direction or motivation was provided by the discovery of love.

Love is thus the noblest of life's attributes. Iqbal's approach is definitely Pantheistic here. Love is made to comprise divine, angelic and earthly attributes. Thus Independence (*Shāh-i biniyāzī*) is a divine attribute borrowed from God, while all the remaining attributes that go to make love—the luminosity of the stars, dolour of the moon, tenebrousness of the night, the fervour of lightning, the purity of the hourie of Paradise, warmth from the breath of the Prophet Ḥasā, humility of the dew, and the unquestioning submissiveness of the Angels — are either non-divine or created.

We now come to the fourth — and the last part — of the poem. The poet describes the aftermath of the Alchemist's sprinkling:

ہوئی جنبش عیان، ذروں نے لطفِ خواب کو چھوڑا
گلے ملنے لگے اُنھے اُنھے کرے اپنے اپنے ہدم سے
خراں ناز پایا آفتابوں نے، ستاروں نے

چنگ غنچوں نے پائی، داغ پائے لالہ زاروں نے

[Everything began to be on the move. The particles shed off the pleasure of dreams.

Every being leapt up from its appointed place to embrace its mate.

The stars and the suns (at last) found motion:

the buds began to blossom and the tulip fields had scar-ridden flowers.]

And so the meaning of life made itself evident. It lies enshrined in brotherhood, empathy, sympathy and harmony. Conjugation of the similar and activity also mirror love. Thus love is a many-faceted force; and in the end life-force had the guiding hand of love.

The approach of the poem is breathtakingly original. Here Love is not on the downward path; if anything, it is in the ascendant, ever on the path of evolution. *Paradise Lost*, *Divine Comedy*, *Ancient Mariner*, *The Waste Land*, in fact, most of the major poems of Western literature, are permeated by the dogma of Original Sin. Coleridge particularly reflects this. Iqbal is a dynamic millenarian. He refuses to look back on events and incidents *manqué*. We might posit the dynamism of "*Muhabbat*" against the backdrop of *The Haunted Palace* by Edgar Allen Poe. This "Palace" which stood in the "monarch Thought's dominion" has had its original residents who cherished beauty and harmony supplanted. Proceeds the poet:

Travellers in that happy valley

Through two luminous windows saw

Spirits moving musically

To the lute's well-tuned law,

Round about a throne, where sitting (Porphyrogene!)

In state his glory well-befitting
The ruler of the realm was seen.
And travellers, now within that valley
Through the red-litten windows see,
Vast forms that move fantastically
To a discordant melody,
While, like a ghastly rapid river,
A hideous laugh goes out for ever,
And smile — but laugh no more.

The influences that have shaped "*Muhabbat*" can, at best, be guessed at. It is rather regrettable that as major a poem as *Ancient Mariner*, *Kubla Khan*, *Christabel* and *Hyperion* can be analysed only in a general way. We do not have evidence, as we have in the prose material left by Coleridge and Keats, to see what influences and factors shaped the poem. The value of such material stands out all the more when we consider monumental efforts like J.L. Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*, E. Schneidar's *Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan*, A.H Nethercot's *The Road to Tryermaine* or C.F.E. Spurgeon's *Shakespeare's Imagery*. Nevertheless, despite the paucity of the auxiliary material, did we not analyse "*Muhabbat*," it would be difficult to understand the latter-day symbolism of Iqbal.

Muhammad Iqbal

MUSLIM DEMOCRACY*

The Democracy of Europe — overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear — originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies. Nietzsche, however, abhors this "rule of the herd," and, hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Superman. But is the plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?

* From "Stray Thoughts," New Era, 28 July 1917.

FOR THE COMPANIONS OF THE WAY*

Khwājah Nīzāmuddin

Introduction

Come, let us take some step for the welfare of this ummah
and play life's game like a true man ;
we weep in the city's mosque so (bitterly)
that the *Mulla*'s heart may soften.

(1)

*Qalandar*⁹⁰ is a white falcon of the skies,
heavy things weigh light on his wings;
he never hovers round nests, for
the whole bluish span of the skies is his hunting ground.
The song: Allah is He, issued forth from my soul,

* English rendering of the last Persian part of Armughān-i Hijāz, entitled: *Ba yarān-i ṭariq*, pp. 187-210.

⁹⁰ *Qalandar*, lit. wandering *darwaish*, and *fāqir*, lit. beggar, have special significance in Iqbal's works and therefore I have retained these original words in translation, *Qalandar* and *fāqir* represent a person who is fully God-orientated, totally and absolutely free from any attachment to the world and yet fully conscious of his social responsibility that is based on and derived from the Qur'ānic injunction: "Enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency" (iii. 104). Plato's philosopher-king could very easily be called a *qalandar and fāqir* in Iqbal's sense.

and spread all around, like dirt from life's apparel;
 hold the instrument from my hands, for its strings
 have dropped down, like my tear, by the burning of the plectrum.
 I pulsated like a tear, in the heart of Nature,
 I pulsated — till I reached her eyes;
 my radiance can be seen from her eyelashes,
 for I barely drop on the grass leaves.
 To me logic smells of unripeness,
 its reasoning betrays signs of weakness;
 two verses from the Master of Rūm or from Jāmī
 open for me the gates closed in my face.⁹¹

⁹¹ Iqbal refers here to the theme usually expressed in the dichotomy of *'ishq* (love) and *'aql* (reason). It is true that the general trend in his poetical works is to-ward glorifying love at the cost of reason, but it must be interpreted as his strong emotional protest against excessive intellectualism of the West. His real position must not be misinterpreted in the light of such verses. The following lines from *Javid Namah* are decisive and represent Iqbal's true position :

زیرکی	از	عشق	گردد	حق	شناس	
کار	عشق	از	زیرکی	محکم	اساس	
خیز	و	نقش	دیگر	عالم	بنه	
عشق	را	با	زیرکی	آمیزده		

[Only through love intelligence gets to know God.
 Love's labours find firm grounding in intelligence;
 then rise and draw the design of a new world,
 mingle together love with intelligence.]

This is from Arberry's translation of the book, verses 1103 if.

Come and have from my hands that old (wine)
that imparts soul to the cup's clay;
if you water the tulip's⁹² branch from my flask,
it would grow up to man's stature.
I hold in my hand the same old harp,
that enshrines lamentations of various notes,
but I play upon it with lion's claws,
for its strings are from stone's veins.
Tell the Parvizes of the present age on my behalf:
I'm no Farhād to take up an axe;
by a thorn that has sunk into my breast
one can pierce the heart of hundred Behistūn.⁹³
I am a *faqir*, my whole asset is my insight,
to me other people's mountain appears as a straw;
take it from me: graveyard's crow is better

The point here is: where logical reasoning fails to convince, personal experience, born out of direct contact with Reality, often proves effective. Rūmī and Jāmī are symbols of this direct experience.

⁹² *Lālah*, tulip, especially when used with the qualifying phrase *lālah-i šahrā'i*, desert tulip, stands in Iqbal for Muslim people.

⁹³ Parvaiz, Farhād and Behistūn. These words refer to the well-known story of Farhād, the representative of common folk, who fell in love with Shīrīn, the wife of Parvaiz, representative of imperial majesty. In order to confound Farhād, he was asked to dig out a canal in the mountain Behistūn in order to provide fresh water to her bel ved — a task which could not be accomplished but which was made possible through love's frenzy. In order to achieve his object, Farhād took up an axe with which he subdued the mountain.

than a falcon accustomed to a king's hand.
I never shut my heart's door on anybody,
nor do I turn my back on friends and relatives;
I made my nest in my breast
and lived happily under heaven's canopy.
No position of honour do I have in this garden,
neither robe nor cap do I possess;
the gardener calls me ill-mannered,
for I bestowed sight to the narcissus's eyes.
A hundred wise persons spoke in this assembly
words more delicate than jessamine leaves;
but tell me: who is that sharp-sighted one
who, on seeing the thorn, could tell the garden's plight?
I'm not acquainted with the secrets of art,
yet I gave a new value to poetry ;
my songs and lamentations have lightened
the burden of the old aged people of the caravan.
Don't you think, I'm a bird of morning song
knowing nothing but lamentations and bewailings;
don't spurn my guidance, you will find

the key to the garden in my nest.
The world is only a passage for me;
amidst a thousand wayfarers, none is my boon companion;
I've passed by crowd of dear ones,
none is stranger than one's own kith and kin.
Learn to live in spite of many mishaps,
learn to highlight your value and worth;
throw yourself in the ocean of my song,
and learn to settle down like a pearl in my storm.
I was born and bred in this earthly abode
but have grown sick of my destination;
I have flowered the grace of her moisture,
yet I do not look upon the earth as my heaven.
Perhaps you're unaware — unless you enter into rapport with a Man
that hearts become alive through his breath;
he doesn't give vent to lamentations,
for Man's grief knows control and composure.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Iqbal is very particular in emphasising the importance, for moral elevation, of the company of righteous people. Quoting Rūmī, he says in the Epilogue to *Jārid Nāmah* (p. 243) :

Develop insight, look to the soul within the body,
 see on the bough jessamine, yet to glow;
 otherwise like an arrow in the bow,
 see the target through archer's eye.
 Intellect is unaware of certainty's delight;
 is a bad companion, prostitution true wisdom;
 two hundred Bū Ḥāmids⁹⁵ and Rāzīs are not worth
 a simpleton that knows the Way.
 What are fine linen, rubies and pearls?
 what are handsome slaves and golden girdle?
 what are as free of the two worlds as God Himself;
 what else is the asset of the people of skill?
Khudi's intoxication of I-ness is the essence of sobriety,
 my tavern therefore is not so noisy;
 my wine, though not pure, yet you drink it:
 it is the residue of yesterday's wine jar.

”ابل دین باز را باز اهل کیم
 هم نشین حق بجو با او نشین“

[Distinguish people of din from people of malice,
 seek man of God, and sit in his company.]

⁹⁵ Bū Ḥāmid stands for Abū Ḥāmid Ghazālī whom Iqbal associates here with Rāzī, who in Iqbal's works is a symbol of intellect.

You are busy with your cap and dress,
I discovered the Beloved's smell by myself;
my whole asset consists of this one word of flute,
I need neither pulpit's wood nor that of gallows.
When I noticed my own mirror's essence,
I retreated to the solitude of my breast;
I took with me my old grief and ran away
from intellectuals, blind and lacking in taste.
When I departed from this earthly abode,
everybody said: he was our companion;
but none knew what this *faqir* said,
whence he came and to whom he talked.

(2)

If he is wise and pure of conscience,
he is rich, though poor and lacking in means;
costly apparel of the rich, who are devoid of dīn,
are but like pack-saddle.

(3)

You prostrate before Darius and Jamshed,

O ignorant! don't defame Islam;
don't beseech the Western man for your needs,
remove this idol from your heart's pedestal.
I listened to a verse from an old man
who was experienced, wise and enlightened:
if a *fagir* maintains himself safe in poverty,
the two worlds are within his grasp.

The secret of everything lies hidden in two words:
the station of Love is not a pulpit but a gallows;
Abrahams are never afraid of Nimrods,⁹⁶
for fire is touchstone of raw incense.
O tulip! don't seek sympathy from anybody,
try to get succour, like me, from your inner self;
open your heart to every wind that blows,

⁹⁶ Abraham and Nimrod. They refer to the events mentioned in the Qur'an. When Abraham preached his message of monotheism, his people were enraged and Abraham was put into fire by the order of the King Nimrod. Fire, however, could not harm Abraham at the command of God (xxi. 69). Iqbal often uses Abraham's fire as a symbol of tribulations that people usually suffer in the path of righteousness. In *Bāng-i Darā*, for instance, he says:

اگ ہے، اولادِ ابراہیم ہے، نمرود ہے
کیا کسی کو پھر کسی کا امتحان مقصود ہے

[There is fire, the progeny of Abraham, and Nimrod ;
Does somebody wish to test somebody once again?]

keep alive the old mark⁹⁷ that you already have.

I remember these two precepts from an old man:

one should not live except through one's soul;

avoid a mean and low-born person

who bartered away his soul and lived by his body.

The restless wave said to the shore:

I judge myself through a Pharaoh;

sometimes I coil and recoil like a snake,

sometimes I dance to enjoy the experience of waiting.

If this pageantry of yours is borrowed from the West,

prostrate your head before none but her;

present your buttocks to her whip, for after all

⁹⁷ Dāgh, mark. The tulip has a mark which Iqbal has used as a symbol for ardour (sūz), for spiritual dissatisfaction, for yearning, for unceasing effort to achieve the goal. I give here two verses from Zabūr-i 'Ajam(pp 106,193, respectively):

اے لالہ صحرائی! تنہا نتوانی سوخت
ایں داغ جگر تایے، بر سینہ آدم زن

[O tulip of the desert one cannot burn alone,
give this heart-glowing mark on Adam's bosom.]

لالہ ایں گلستان داغ نداشت نمنائے

[The tulip of this garden has no mark of yearning.]

the saddle-maker has a right over the ass.

The Westerner's heart is not subject to discipline,

his asset is all land, not dīn⁹⁸;

my lord, in the circumambulation of his sanctuary

there are a hundred Iblīses, not a single Gabriel.

(4)

You and I have lost all confidence in heart⁹⁹ and dīn,

⁹⁸ *Mulk*, state, land. Dīn is usually translated as religion, but its significance is much wider; it stands for Way of Life, for Law that covers man's whole life. I have, therefore, preferred the use of the original word. Iqbal's views are very definite in this regard. According to him, Is am regards *mulk* and *dīn* not as contradictory but as two complementary aspects of one unit. Referring to Christian separation of the two, he says:

بدن را تا فرنگ از جان جدا دید
نگاپش ملک و دین را بهم دو تا دید

[The West sees body and soul as contradictory,

and therefore regarded State and Church as two things]

⁹⁹ *Dil*, heart. In Iqbal, the word *dil* stands for intuitive side of man as opposed to the intellectual. Heart, for Iqbal, is the locus where man comes into contact with the Ultimate Reality and hence the ways of the heart are not amenable to the laws of logic. In *Armughān-i-Hijaz* (p. 170), he says :

جهان دل جهان رنگ و بو نیست
درد پست و بلند و کاخ و کو نیست
زمین و آسمن و چار سو نیست
درین عالم بجز الله بو نیست

[The world of heart is not the world of colour and smell,

have flown away, like rose's smell, from our roots;
our heart died, and hence our *dīn* also vanished,
we bought two deaths in a single bargain.

A Musalman who is aware of *dīn*'s secret
does not prostrate before others than God ;
if the sky does not revolve according to his wish,
he makes the earth move to his wish.

This heart of strange nature is not of this earth,
its days and nights are not by the revolution of the skies;
you yourself determine the time of your *qayām*,
for the prayers of love and ecstasy have no *adhan*.

The station of yearning (*shawq*) is not attained without certitude and sincerity,
and certitude is not possible without Gabriel's company;
if you share of sincerity and certitude,
take your step undaunted, none lies in your ambush.

there is in it no high and low, no palace and street ;
there is neither earth nor sky nor the four directions,
there is nothing in this world except : Allah is He.]

and referring to the secularist trend in Eastern countries, he says:

به تقلید فرنگ از خود رمیدند
میان ملک و دین ربطی ندیدند

[By imitation of the West, they lost their identity,
they didn't see the link between State and Church.]

For the Muslim, this is knowledge and gnosis:

he sees manifest in his person the secret of *laulak*;¹⁰⁰

God cannot be comprehended through our intellect,
know therefore the one who declares: We cannot know Thee.

You threw yourself before Western idols,

how unmanly you died in the idol temple;

your intellect is unaware of the heart, breast. without ardour,

for you didn't drink wine from your ancestor's vine.

Not everybody is self-assertive and self-surrendering too,

not everybody is enamoured of self-assertion in self-abasement;

the cloak of *lā ilāh* is a bloody cloak,

for it does not fit well unworthy persons.

A *mū'min* burns in the fire of his being,

everything that is closed opens by his talisman ;

¹⁰⁰ *Laulak* refers to the alleged Tradition which states: If it had not been for thee, there would have been no creation of heavens, referring to the person of the Prophet. *Ma'arafnāk* refers to the well-known Tradition in which the Prophet states: We cannot know Thee as Thou art.

in his standing posture (*qayām*), you see Divine Majesty,
in his prostration, Beauty of Submission.

What do you ask about love's prayers?

A its *rukū'*,¹⁰¹ like its prostration, bespeaks of deep intimacy;

the fire and ardour of one *Allāh-u-Akbar*

cannot be contained in five prayers.

His Qur'ān recitation is an invitation to the two worlds,

Muslim becomes immortal through prayers;

one enamoured of the present age, that lacks ardour,

doesn't know what resurrection lies in prayers.

(5)

The West doesn't know the law of Divine Providence,

it gives to one, snatches from another;

¹⁰¹ *Rukū'*, *sujūd'*, *qad qāmat* These terms refer to the form of prayers When the people stand together for prayers, one of the followers recites the words of the adhān, call to prayer ; the words : *qad qāmat, al-ṣalāt* [We indeed stand here for prayers] are further added to it, indicating the intention of the people for saying prayers.

The prayer consists of three main postures :

(i) *Qayām*, standing position with arms on the breast, right arm on the left, indicating attitude of reverence for God.

(ii) *Rukū'*, bending of the body so that both palms of the hands are on both knees.

(iii) *Sajdah*, prostration.

it so provides sustenance to Iblīs
that God Himself is amazed.
No need to prolong this story,
I express hidden secrets in a word:
He gave His world to tradespeople

what does *lā makān* know the value of *makān*?¹⁰²
There is paradise for the pure of the Muslim world,
and for the people of resolution and ambition;
tell the Indian Muslim that he be happy,
for there is a paradise, free of obligation, for him, too.

Qalandar has no inclination to talk,
he has no elixir except this point:
no produce can be had from a desolate field,
that is not watered by Shabbīr's¹⁰³ blood.

¹⁰² *Makān*, space, and, *lā makān*, non-space, i.e. the Realm of Eternity.

¹⁰³ Shabbīr, the title of Husain, the grandson of the Prophet. In Iqbal, Shabbīr or Shabbīrī stands as a symbol of true Muslim who sacrifices his life for the general welfare. In *Bal-i-Jibrīl*, (p. 213), he says:

اک فقر ہے شیری اس فقر میں ہے سیری
سیراٹ سلمانی شیری!

[One *fagr* is Shabbīr; in this *fagr* lies true leadership;

asset of Shabbīr is the true heritage of ,Muslims.]

SELF-REALISATION

"The impulse which drives me into the wide world is precisely the same as that which drives so many into monasteries — the desire for self-realisation." So says Count Keyserling in his Diary recently translated into English. The Count is quite right. The world of matter which con-fronts the self of man as its "other" is an indispensable obstruction which forces our being into fresh formations. I am afraid, however, that the Count's view of self-realisation is one-sided. He tells us further: "I want to let the climate of the Tropics, the Indian modes of consciousness, the Chinese code of life, and many other factors which I cannot envisage in advance, to work their spell on me, one after the other, and then watch what will become of me." Now, such a process may bring about the realisation into a coherent system of ideas, but it cannot shape our clay into an ideal human being. The intellectual self is only one aspect of the activity of our total self. The realisation of the total self comes not by merely permitting the whole world to throw its varied impressions on our minds, and then watching what becomes of us. It is not merely by receiving and intellectually shaping the impressions, but mainly by moulding the stimuli to ideal ends and purposes that the total self of man realises itself as one of the greatest energies of nature. In great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing its own identity, and transcends the limits of space and time. Action is the highest form of contemplation.

—From *Crescent*, Lahore, 1925

In *Rumūz* (p, 127), he says:

زندہ حق از قوت شیری است

[Truth lives through the majesty of Shabbīr.]

ROOK REVIEW

Dr Afzal Iqbal, *Life and Times of Mohamed Ali*. Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1974. xii, 443 pp. Glossary, Chronology of Significant Events, Select Bibliography and Index. Rs 40.00.

Published after more than four decades of the death of Muhamad Ali, the book is a first ever full-length biography of a man who was a nightmare for the British rulers of India during his entire active life. Muhammad Ali (1878-193) was brought up by his illiterate widow mother who carved out a courageous freedom fighter from an easygoing son of a courtier. After early schooling, he went to M.A.O College, Aligarh, where he passed out, with aspiration of becoming a civil servant. He went to England for taking the competitive examination, but was not selected. Though a shocking disappointment at the moment, it proved to be a blessing for the Indian Muslims, for an ICS Muhammad Ali would have died an obscure death without contributing much to the independence of his country. For seven years he remained in the civil service of the Nawab of Baroda, but his restless soul took him to Calcutta where he founded a weekly, Comrade, in 1911. Soon he realised the need of addressing his countrymen in their own language and started the daily *Hamdard*. Muhammad Ali was burning with an ardent desire to get his country out of the foreign domination. But his freedom of expression was unbearable to his foreign masters and he and his brother, Shaukat Ali, were interned for over four years. On their release the Khilafat question was in the air. Muhammad Ali at once took up the mission of defending the Khilafat. Khilafat Movement was launched for arousing masses to the support of the Muslim Khalifah. Hindu-Muslim unity was fostered and the Indian National Congress shared the Muslim struggle for the defence of Khilafat. Muhammad Ali, alongwith other nationalist leaders, was imprisoned. On their release, the termination of Khilafat by Mustafa Kemal gave a shattering blow to all who had struggled so hard for it.

Once Khilafat was a far cry, Muhammad Ali devoted himself to the question of freedom for his country. Despite an extremely bad health and financial fragility, he kept the flag flying till the last moments of his life. His involvement in the freedom struggle was so intense that in his last address at the Round Table Conference in London, he refused to go back to a slave country. His desire was fulfilled when he died in London and was buried in

Jerusalem.

The work under review is an eloquent commentary on the hopes, fears and aspirations of Muslim India during half a century Muhammad Ali lived. The study is both interesting and authentic as it has drawn from the contemporary evidence including private papers of many eminent personalities of the period and the official record of India Office Library. The study portrays the mind of British bureaucracy which was ruling India in those days. The reports of the Intelligence Department, and the office notes which were written for "official use only" have been cited frequently giving an insight into the "inside stories" of many decisions which influenced the Indian political history. It is also interesting to note that the British servants in India, to please their foreign masters, often tried to become more loyal than the ruling class by fabricating baseless reports against Muhammad Ali and other nationalist leaders. This also provides an essential clue to the British policy of "bringing up a class of loyals" from amongst the local population by granting them liberal donations.

The book is interesting in another respect. It studies the British mind in its international dealings. One is shocked to learn that lovers of freedom and self-determination for themselves, they were so shamelessly inclined to keep others under their subjugation. The policy of double standards was adopted by the British Government at all such occasions when it suited them.

Although Muhammad Ali's struggle cannot be termed as un-rewarded, his life was a calendar of disappointments. Now from hindsight we can see that his analysis and judgment about Turks, Hindus and Indian Muslims failed him on more than one occasion. The book would have been more useful had it analysed in greater detail the rationale of Muhammad Ali's viewpoints on different questions. The essential question why Muhammad Ali took up a stand which brought him little success needs to be explained to the new generation who have not lived in British India. Similarly, a short note on the overall contribution of Muhammad Ali to the freedom struggle would have been a welcome addition.

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