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IQBAL AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

by

Sajjad Haider

IQBAL DAY AT CAIRO

Iqbal Day was observed in Cairo on November 28, 1967 with great enthusiasm. A meeting was held in the Abduhu Hall of the al-Azhar University, Cairo where the Rector of the University presided. Mr. Sajjad Haider, Pakistan's Ambassador to the U.A.R., delivered his address which is being reproduced below. Besides this, several articles on Iqbal's life and thought appeared in different journals of Cairo, like *Akheri Saa* (December 27, 1967), *al-Mujallah* (No. 133). We are reproducing only one of these below, viz : "Iqbal: The Philosopher and the Poet", by Mamoun Ghareeb.

It is with a strange mixture of awe, humility and pride that I stand in this hall to talk about Iqbal. For Muhammad Abdou, whose distinguished name this hall bears, and Iqbal were kindred spirits. Along with Jamaluddin Afghani and Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakbi, they are great Muslim figures of this age. Muhammad Abdou and Iqbal devoted a great deal of their time to deep and serious meditation about the state of the Muslim nation in which they found it, and they both wielded their pens forcefully to alleviate some of the ills from which the *Millat* has been suffering for the past few centuries. However, there was one essential difference between them. Though reformists in their outlook and objective, their vehicle of expression was different. Whereas

Muhammad Abdou chose prose to write a most learned and penetrating treatise, second only perhaps to Ibn Khuldun's *Moqaddama*, Iqbal expressed himself in verse.

Iqbal is not unknown in this country. His works have been studied and appreciated by some of your great thinkers. This is what Dr. Taha Husain had to say about him:

"It was Iqbal who invited and prompted us to know ourselves, to struggle for our rights and to strive for the cause of righteousness, good and beauty."

Mr. Ahmad Hassan-al-Zayyat said;

"If Hassan (Ibn Sabet) is the poet of Islam, Iqbal is the poet of the divine message. If Hassan had some rivals who vied for the honour of defending Muhammad, Iqbal has no rivals with pretensions to the honour of defending Muhammad's message."

Mr. Abbas Mahmoud A1-Aqqad:

"It is the duty of people in all ages to pay respect and homage to great men, and if it is the duty of the East to acknowledge the services of such people, then Iqbal is the man to be taken as an example."

And Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam:

"We want every body to read Iqbal's poetry and philosophy. His philosophy depicts the dynamism of life and his poetry is *Hudy* of a toiling and struggling caravan on the march."

And finally, Dr. Mohammad Husain Haikal:

"Iqbal did not confine his message to his co-religionists in India. He addressed himself to the Muslims of the whole world. His message was universal for all peoples of the globe."

This last quotation perhaps sums up Iqbal and his works best. For Iqbal was not only a poet *par excellence* but a philosopher, a thinker, a preacher, a politician and a creator as well.

Before we go into all these, one by one, let us first cast a look at Iqbal's life. It is not without some importance in any evaluation of his achievements.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot on 22nd February 1873,¹ in a middle class Kashmiri family. His father, Nur Muhammad, a businessman, was a deeply religious man. He followed the established practice of starting off Iqbal's education in a mosque where he learnt the Holy Quran. Thereafter Iqbal went to a local school, where he came under the guidance of Syed Mir Hasan, an erudite scholar, who was quick to recognise the genius of Iqbal and gave him every encouragement. All through his life Iqbal felt beholden and deeply attached to his teacher. When the British Governor of Lahore once offered him a title, Iqbal said that it be given to his old teacher instead. This was done and the title of *Shams-ul-Ulama* was conferred on Syed Mir Hasan.

¹ On the basis of evidence so far available, Iqbal's date of birth seems to be 22 November 1877.

Iqbal moved to Lahore at the age of 22, and obtained his M.A. in philosophy two years later. In Lahore, he came under the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy at the Government College. On Sir Thomas's advice Iqbal proceeded to Europe for higher studies in 1905. Before this, Iqbal, both as a student and later as a teacher, devoted a great deal of time to writing. By the time of his departure for Europe, his poetry had already made a name for him throughout the subcontinent. The very first verse that attracted instantaneous attention was as the one he read at a poetical symposium he attended as a young student. It went like this:

موتی سمجھ کر شان کریمی نے چن لیے

قطرے جو تھے میرے عرق انفعال کے

The Divine Power collected as pearls

The drops of contrition from my brow.

Iqbal's three years' stay abroad was divided between Cambridge, Munich and London. He studied philosophy at Cambridge, obtained his doctorate on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* from Munich, and was called to the Bar in London.

On his return, Iqbal joined the Government College, Lahore as a part-time Professor of Philosophy and English Literature, and at the same time began his practice. But after some time he

resigned his Professorship and concentrated on Law. However, his main pre-occupation continued to be his poetry and other writings. His greatest works both as a Poet and as a Philosopher were products of this period.

In 1927 his friends persuaded Iqbal to stand for the Punjab Legislative Assembly to which he was elected. The same year he was invited by a British Commission of Inquiry to give evidence in connection with their proposed reforms for the sub-continent. In 1930 he was selected to preside at the annual session of the Muslim League. It was in his presidential address to the Muslim League at Allahabad that Iqbal first put forward his scheme for the solution of the political deadlock in the Indo- Pakistan sub-continent. In 1932 Iqbal presided at the annual session of the Muslim Conference.

Although Iqbal gave up active teaching he continued to maintain close associations with the academic world throughout his life. For many years he remained the Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

Iqbal's last five years saw the progressive decline of his health, but his creative powers remained unimpaired. He died on 21st April 1938. Half an hour before his death he recited these verses:

The melody that is departed may or may not return again;

A breeze from Hedjaz may or may not blow again;

The days of this *Faqir* have come to an end;

another knower of secrets may or may not come.

A little earlier he had said:

I tell you the sign of a *Momin*:

When death comes there is a smile on his lips.

Iqbal's works are spread over 11 books, 10 in verse and 1 in prose. These are:

1. *Asrar-i-Khudi* or the Secrets of the Self. It was published in 1915 and contains Iqbal's philosophy of the Ego.
2. *Rumuz-i-Bekbudi*, published in 1918, is a continuation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*. In it Iqbal goes from self to its identification with communal and national interests.
3. *Payam-i-Mashriq*, published in 1922, is in reply to Goete's Dewani-Maghreb.

All three of these works are in Persian.

4. There was a great demand for a collection and publication of Iqbal's Urdu verses. Accordingly, *Bang-i-Dara* was put out in 1924.
5. The next collection of Persian poems came out in 1927 under the title of *Zabur-i-Ajam*. It consists of two parts: (i) couplets and *Ghazals*, (ii) Two *Mathnavis*, called *Ghulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* and *Bandagi nama*.
6. In 1930 Iqbal published his lectures at Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. In these lectures Iqbal discusses the fundamental principles of Islam in the context of modern thought and scientific knowledge.
7. *Javed Nama*, published in 1932, is a reply to Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

8. *Bal-i-Jibril* was published in 1935. After *Bang-i-Dara* it was the second collection of Iqbal's verses in Urdu. This book is thought to be the best Iqbal's Urdu poetry has to offer.
9. *Pas Che Bayed Kard e Aqwam-e-Sharq*, published in 1936, is a long *Mathnavi* in which Iqbal explains to the people of the East the ways of religion and politics in the modern world.
10. *Zarb-i-Kalim*, also published in 1936, is another collection of Urdu verses in which Iqbal tackles in the most direct way some of the problems confronting Islam and Muslims.
11. *Armughan-i-Hedjaz*, published posthumously in 1938, is a collection of Iqbal's Persian as well as Urdu verses. These contain many tributes to the Holy Prophet.

The first point to note about Iqbal's poetry is that Iqbal was absolutely opposed to the concept of art for art's sake. According to him the aim of all art should be to provide guidance to humanity. His own poetry was shaped by a desire to enrich human life. For Iqbal the two powerful impulses to artistic expression were his faith in the capacity for limitless development and man's unique position in the universe.

Therefore his poetry and his theme are always closely linked and parallel to each other. Of course, as Iqbal's ideas matured so did his chosen vehicle for the expression of these ideas. This does not mean that Iqbal's early works are devoid of any poetic merit. On the contrary there is a continuing sense of solemnity, earnestness and quest for the secrets of reality and existence throughout his works. However, the essential difference between his early and later works is that from an ornate and Persianised

style they became austere, precise and simple. They became precise as did his thoughts.

He begins by talking about himself, about his love, about his grief and about his loneliness. Then from himself he progresses to the Muslim Community in India and then to the *Millat-i-Islam*. In this his thoughts turned first and foremost to his Arab brethren. In a poem addressed to the Holy Prophet, he says:

حضور! دہر میں آسودگی نہیں ملتی

تلاش جس کی ہے وہ زندگی نہیں ملتی

ہزاروں لالہ و گل ہیں ریاض ہستی میں

وفا کی جس میں ہو بو وہ کلی نہیں ملتی

مگر میں نذر کو اک آبگینہ لایا ہوں

جو چیز اس میں ہے جنت میں بھی نہیں ملتی

جھلکتی ہے تری امت کی آبرو اس میں

طرابلس کے شہیدوں کا ہے لہو اس میں

(B. D., 218-19)

Sir, there is no peace in the world;
Life I search for is nowhere to be found;
The Garden of the universe is teeming with tulips and roses;
But, alas, none smells of love.
I have brought this mirror as a humble present ;
It holds what is nowhere to be found in paradise ;
It holds the blood of martyrs of Tripoli
And reflects the honour of your *Millat*.

From the *Millat-i-Islam* he goes further to mankind and from mankind to the Universe. This progression in Iqbal's thought and poetry will illustrate the quotations from Dr. Taha Husain, Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam and Dr. Mohammad Husain Haikal cited earlier.

Now let us look at some of the salient points in the evolution of Iqbal's thought. He started off by expressing his sensations, perceptions and personal experiences. By the time he was ready to leave for Europe, he had already become aware of the fact that the Muslim Community in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent had been left behind in the race for material progress. I shall revert to this point, in its proper context, later. At the moment, I am only confining myself to the evolution of Iqbal's thought. After a long and painful appraisal of his community's down troddenness, he

formulated certain positive views, which were subsequently to lead to the creation of Pakistan.

However, for the moment Iqbal went deeper into the basic causes of this Muslim downfall in the sub-continent and elsewhere. When he cast a glance over the state of Muslims the world over, his heart bled. He found them under subjugation of one kind or another every where. The *Millat* was in an abject state of decadence. He traced it to two reasons: (i) intellectual, political and cultural aberrations of the past, and (ii) the sense of lethargy which a certain kind of mysticism, blind to actual realities of life, had enervated the people and steeped them in all kinds of superstitions. Iqbal was not opposed to mysticism as such. He was a great admirer of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and drew much inspiration from him. His view was that mysticism had fallen from a high state of spiritual education into mere exploitation of ignorance and credulity. As Iqbal found the *Millat* a prey to Western Imperialism, he raised a lament. In doing so, he went as far as to join issue with God, who appeared to have abandoned the faithful. It is this *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa* from which Umm Kulsoom sang, so beautifully, a few verses earlier this year You will be pleased to learn that the President of Pakistan has decided to confer the title of *Sitara-i-Imtiaz*, one of our highest awards, on her for this. Now listen to some other verses from the same *Shikwa* and think:

بت صنم خانوں میں کہتے ہیں مسلمان گئے

ہے خوشی ان کو کہ کعبے کے نگہبان گئے

منزل دہر سے اونٹوں کے ہدی خوان گئے

اپنی بغلوں میں دبائے ہوئے قرآن گئے

خندہ زن کفر ہے احساس تجھے ہے کہ نہیں؟

اپنی توحید کا کچھ پاس تجھے ہے کہ نہیں

(B. D., 181-2)

The idols in the temple say: Muslims are gone;

And they rejoice that the guardians of *Kaaba* are no more;

They say: "The world's stage is clear of the camel drivers ;

They have fled with their Quran in their armpits."

The worshippers of many gods laugh at us ;

Have you no feeling?

Have you no regard for your Unity?

Iqbal, however, did not despair and addressed himself to the task of finding where exactly lay the reason for our past errors. He found that it was the Hellenic ideas imported into the cultural and intellectual world of Islam which lay at the root of all subsequent aberrations to which I have already referred. Under the impact of

Greek influence, Islam had undergone a transformation from its dynamic positivism to passive meditative creed which in its turn led to pessimism and fatalism. He denounced Plato and launched an attack on Sufism which was responsible for the doctrine of *Wandatul Wujud*, the pantheistic belief that God is immanent and the entire universe is a mere emanation.

This quest finally led Iqbal to his theory of *Khudi* or 'Self', which opens with the following verses from Rumi:

دی شیخ با چراغ ہمی گشت گرد شہر
کز دام و دو ملولم و انسانم آرزوست
زین ہمریان سست عناصر دلم گرفت
شیر خدا و رستم دستانم آرزوست
گفتم کہ یافت می نشود جسته ایم ما
گفت آنکہ یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست

Last night a Shaikh went round the town with a lamp in his hand;
Muttering: I am fed up with the motley crowd
Of beasts like people around me and look for a "man" ;
He found his fellows slow and elements tiresome;

He was looking for a man like Ali or Rustam of Dastan;

I told him: We have looked also but could not find ;

He said: My desire is to find what cannot be got.

In *Asrar-i-Khudi* Iqbal laid emphasis on the 'Self', the centre of all activity and action, the core of personality, the ego. He held that man should do everything possible to develop his self and bring it to perfection. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation," he asserted. "And he who attains to this ideal becomes more and more individual, more and more unique. The Prophet said: *Takballaqu b' akhlaq Allah*. Thus man achieves more and more uniqueness." According to Iqbal, life is individual and it is the highest form of *Khudi* in which the individual becomes a self-contained exclusive centre ; but he is not yet a complete individual. The greater his distance from God, the lesser his individuality. He who goes nearest to God is a complete person. Not that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary he absorbs God into himself. The true individual cannot be lost in the world: it is the world that is lost in him.

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ وہ افلاک میں گم ہے

مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں ہیں افلاک

The unbeliever is one who is lost in the Universe ; A believer is one in whom the Universe is lost.

This process of perfection and development of the self is to take place not outside time and space but through struggle and strife in the world of time and space. Life for Iqbal is a forward assimilative movement. It removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them. Its essence is a continual creation of desires and ideals and for the purpose of its preservation and expansion it has invented or developed out of itself certain instruments such as senses and intellect, which help it to assimilate obstructions. The greatest obstacle in the way of life is matter or Nature, and yet nature is not evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves. The ego attains freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determined; and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Being who is most free—God. In one word life is an endeavour for freedom, a need for creativity in place of passivity. One of the utterances of Iqbal placed in the mouth of God is:

بر که او را لذت تخلیق نیست

پیش ما جز کافر و زندیق نیست

He who does not possess power of creativity

Is naught but an Infidel and *Zindiq*.

This philosophy of dynamism, this ideal of the development of the Self, was precisely the intellectual and spiritual stimulus which Iqbal thought was most needed by the *Millat*.

According to Iqbal, to fortify the self, the following factors were required:

- (1) Love,
- (2) *Faqr*,
- (3) Courage,
- (4) Tolerance,
- (5) *Kasb-e-Halal*,
- (6) Taking part in original and creative activities.

Of these I would like to touch briefly upon only one, namely, courage. Iqbal believes that courage, physical and moral, is essential for man to achieve anything really important in this world. Progress means encountering obstacles which only serve to draw the best out of those possessing courage. It is only the weaker ones who succumb to obstacles. Courage does not consist merely in facing physical dangers manly, but also in not losing faith in one's standard of values when things go wrong. And here I would like to quote some of Iqbal's verses on *Khudi* which are specially addressed to the young:

خود کو غلامی سے آزاد کر

جوانوں کو پیروں کو استاد کر

تڑپنے پھڑکنے کی توفیق دے

دل مرتضیٰ سوز صدیق دے

جوانوں کو سوز جگر بخش دے

مرا عشق میری نظر بخش دے

(B. J., 168-9)

O Lord, free the intellect from slavery,
And make the young teachers of their elders;
Bestow on them the power to pulsate with life,
The Heart of Ali and the love of Siddiq;
Give the young my anguish of heart,
My love and my insight.
Again:

سوچا بھی ہے اے مرد مسلمان کبھی تو نے

کیا چیز ہے فولاد کی شمشیر جگر دار

اس آیت کا یہ مصرع اول ہے کہ جس میں

پوشیدہ چلے آتے ہیں توحید کے اسرار

ہے فکر مجھے مصرع ثانی کی زیادہ

اللہ کرے تجھ کو عطا فقر کی تلوار

قبضے میں یہ تلوار بھی آ جائے تو موسیٰ

یا خالد جانباڑ ہے یا حیدر کرار

(Z. K. 21)

O Muslim! hath thou ever pondered over

What is the shining sword of steel?

It is the first hemistich of this verse

Which comprises the full essence of *Tauhid*.

But I am thinking more of the second hemistich;

May God grant you the sword of *Faqr*.

If this Sword too comes into the hands of a believer;

He becomes Khalid the brave or Haider the Impetuous.

But the ultimate essence of *Khudi* is:

خودی کا سر نہاں لا الہ الا اللہ

خودی ہے تیغ فساں لا الہ الا اللہ

یہ نغمہ فصل گل و لالہ کا نہیں پابند

بہار ہو کہ خزان لا الہ الا اللہ

The Hidden essence of *Khudi* is that there is no god but God;

Khudi is sword; its whetstone is: there no god but God;

This song is not dependent on a season of flowers;

Spring or Autumn, say: There is no god but God.

Iqbal's dynamism is best reflected in his religious thoughts. Deeply imbued with the teachings of Islam, Iqbal was greatly concerned with the impact of modern western thought on Islam. But he was not unappreciative of the contribution made by the West. He said, "The task before the modern Muslim is therefore immense. He is to re-think the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. The only course open to us is to approach the modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and appreciate the teachings of Islam in

the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us."

Iqbal's major contribution in this field was a series of lectures delivered at Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. What is the theme of these lectures, called *The Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam*? In these lectures Iqbal discussed the fundamental principles of Islam in the light of modern thought and scientific knowledge and made a searching analysis of its basis. He reinterpreted Islam as a dynamic rather than static religion, and a liberal rather than a

reactionary force. In Iqbal's view Islam would cease to be Islam if its fundamentals were not living enough to allow *a* continuous process of fresh experiments and new judgements to change its Society.

According to Iqbal the Idealism that Europe claims to have, was not among the self-generating and animating factors which had their impressions on its existence. On the contrary, Europe had produced strange and conflicting concepts which resulted in a lost Self. Europe is still struggling in the quest which it finds only in democracies, which in turn know no tolerance.

Iqbal's philosophy is centered in the idea that Prophet Muhammad was the essence of the spirit of Islamic culture. The Great Prophet unites the ancient with the modern world. From the ancient world came his message, and, in the present time, his spirit is still prevailing. Life, according to the Prophet, is to be led according to the prevailing trends. The revival of Islam should therefore be based on intellect, logic, and reasoning. To Iqbal religion is not a partial thinking nor is it abstract thinking, feeling or action; it is the expression of a man as a whole. Therefore when philosophy studies religion, it must acknowledge its main position. There is no doubt that religion has an essential role to play in resolving all other factors and elements through reason and thinking.

Iqbal's idea in this regard is the sound extension of al-Ghazali's thinking on religion and philosophy. Iqbal thinks that religious beliefs and notions have their metaphysical basis, but

they are not interpretations of the bases of experience which constitute the subject of natural sciences. From this Iqbal goes on to say that the Holy Prophet wanted to create a wakeful and conscious community. Iqbal maintains that Muslim nation did not lag behind or resort to fatal negation until after its political decay and infiltrations into it of certain foreign influences. To Iqbal religion, more than science, can lead man to the eternal truth through the correct path which does derive its strength from religion. He believes that after taking successful scientific studies, the modern man is no more taking interest in the spiritual life. A modern man is indulging in dynamic realities ignoring everything about spirit. With matter, man's activities are paralysed and from this both East and West suffer. Truth in Islam is based on spirit and it can be reached only through man's endeavours. A material man will have no reality unless he develops spirit within himself.

To Iqbal the universe had not been created in vain. There is a mission to be carried out in the universe and it is on the earth that this mission is undertaken. Man is destined to play his part in fulfilling the universe's mission, and he is properly to determine his destiny and that of the universe as well. Iqbal believes that the highest that the Self aspires to is not to see something but to become something. Efforts made by the Self to become something provide good chances for the achievement of subjectivity and in creating the complete Self. The evidence of the reality of the Self is not in saying 'I think', as Descartes had maintained, but in Kant's 'I can' and before him in al-Ghazali's 'I will'.

Iqbal believes that any Muslim can define his position, rebuild his life and reorientate his social life in the light of ultimate principles. From the principles of his religion, a Muslim can discover spiritual values which is the last and final goal of Islam. This then is the essence of Iqbal's philosophy.

I shall now turn, as I promised earlier, to the question of Iqbal's role as a politician and a creator. It may sound strange that in this century Poet can fulfill these two arduous tasks with success, but Iqbal did, and in that lies his ever lasting greatness. As a starting point, we may briefly refer to the advent of Islam into the sub-continent of India and Pakistan.

Islam first came to India with Muhammad bin Qasim, who led an expedition from Iraq into what is now West Pakistan. However, the impact of this arrival, as we all know, was a short lived one. The next arrival was that of Mahmud Ghaznavi, who led an expedition into the subcontinent from the North West in the 10th Century. From then on the Muslim rule in India extended in varying extents over a period of 600 years. However, with the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, and the ascendancy of the British in the subcontinent, the Muslims went into a period of decline.

There were two reasons for it. First, the new rulers did not trust the community from whom they had taken over the reins of power. Secondly, the war of liberation in 1857 was fought round the person of the last Muslim ruler of Delhi. Clear and recorded accounts exist of the cruel barbarities to which the Muslim

community was subjected by the British after this war. There were summary hangings, shootings, economic oppression and discrimination. Not content with that, the British made it their policy to keep the Muslim community down by all possible means at their disposal. Muslims suddenly found themselves not only bereft of all power and authority but also bereft of their fortunes and many other things that they valued besides. Persian was dislodged as an official language. Muslim Criminal Law was scrapped and the Shariat Law amended. Muslims were deprived of their customary places in the administration of the country. And in Iqbal's words "The Englishman took a Muslim for a beggar."

This led the Indian Muslims to react in a variety of ways, not always calculated in their best interests. They would not cooperate with the new rulers, forbade their children to learn their language and engaged themselves in all manner of opposition and hostilities, which did nothing except bring down further displeasure on their heads. The resultant mood of depression and incompatibility with the new environment from which the Muslims suffered was manifested in their attitude towards religion. For their broken spirits religion provided a solace and no longer a guide to action. No more was it the instrument to establish the kingdom of God on earth, but an escape to the Kingdom of God in Heaven. It is at this stage that the question of relations between the Muslim and the Hindu communities came up.

To understand this point, we must go back once again. From their advent into and to the end of their power in the sub-

continent, there was such a phenomenon as the impact of Islam on the predominant Hindu Community. I can do it no better than describe it in the words of an eminent Hindu historian, Mr. K. M. Pannikar, who in his *Survey of Indian History* says, "The main social result of the introduction of Islam as a religion into India was the division of society on a vertical basis. Before the thirteenth century, Hindu society was divided horizontally, and neither Buddhism nor Jainism affected this division. They were not unassimilable elements and fitted in easily with the existing divisions. Islam, on the other hand, split Indian society into two sections from top to bottom and what has now come to be known in the phraseology of today, two separate nations came into being from the beginning. It was two parallel societies vertically established on the same soil. At all stages they were different and hardly any social communication or intermingling of life existed between them."

Once this point is firmly grasped the rest of what I am about to say will become clear, and any doubts that you may have had about why it was necessary to divide the sub-continent into India and Pakistan will no longer continue to assail you.

The process of adjustment in the majority community after the British rise to power in India was much easier, and more profitable. However, the Muslims found any compromise with the British tantamount to further humiliation. The Muslim community therefore behaved very much like China which after the incursion of the Western Powers both before and after the

Opium Wars, turned its face against modern aggressive civilisation and withdrew into its own shell, while the Hindus reacted very much like the forward looking warrior class of Japan after Comdr. Perry's bombardment. Unlike China or the Indian Muslims who refused to face the realities of life, the Samurais of Japan turned to master the new techniques and industrial technology which their superior invaders had and ended up by beating them at their own game of industrial and technological achievements. The majority community in India followed the same path of hard-headed realism.

Having reached the dead-end, a way out had to be found for the Muslims of India. The Aligarh movement was the first step in this direction. Sayyid Ahmad, the great Muslim Reformer of modern India, opened the first college for the Muslim youth, where they could learn modern languages and sciences. In this pursuit Sayyid Ahmad concerned himself only with his own movement, in which he thought the salvation of his community lay.

However, the younger section of the Community pursued an anti-British policy because they found British imperialism pitted against Islam every where in the world. This is how Edward Thomson and G. T. Garrat, two Englishmen, sum up the situation: "British policy during the pre-war years added to Muslim discontent. One Muhammadan Country after another was being absorbed by European Powers and the British were either privy to the arrangement, as in Morocco and Persia, or made no

protest, as in Tripoli. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were considered part of a general attack upon Islam. Meanwhile, the younger Indian Muhammadans were increasingly affected by the racial nationalism of the educated classes and their co-religionists in other countries. Money was collected for the Turkish Red Crescent Fund."

Therefore when Nationalism overtook India at the turn of the century, the ways of the two communities started to part. Their goals became different. Small differences led to bigger ones, and the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, about which you have already heard, became a live issue. Now strange though it may seem, both Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah began their political lives by throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle for bringing the two communities together. While Iqbal said, "India is better than the whole world put together", Quaid-i-Azam came to be known by his Hindu Congress colleagues as the Ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity. But their efforts were in vain. The gulf between the two communities kept on widening. As Mr. Pannikar has correctly described, there was no common meeting ground between the two. Communal disturbances — that is bloody fights between the two communities — became a daily feature of life in the subcontinent.

It was in this atmosphere that Iqbal delivered his presidential address at the Muslim League session in Allahabad in 1930. He said:

"The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is therefore perfectly justified... Personally, I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a solid North West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims. Nor should the Hindus fear that the creation of an autonomous Muslim State will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such a State. I have already indicated to you the meaning of the word religion as applied to Islam. The truth is that Islam is not a Church. It is a State conceived as a contractual organism long before Rousseau ever thought of such a thing, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man not as an earth-rooted creature, defined by this or that portion of the earth but as a spiritual being understood in terms of social mechanism, and possessing rights and duties as a living factor in that mechanism."

If you examine this dispassionately in the light of subsequent developments, you will see that Iqbal was rendering service both to Islam and India. However, few thought at the time that his foresight would lead to the creation of the independent and sovereign State of Pakistan. Presiding over the session of Muslim

Conference in 1932, Iqbal elaborated the programme for the Muslims of the subcontinent if they desired to lead an honourable life and free to follow their ideals:

"These phenomena, however, are merely premonitions of a coming storm, which is likely to sweep over the whole of India and the rest of Asia. This is an inevitable outcome of a wholly political civilisation which has looked upon man as a thing to be exploited and not as a personality to be developed and enlarged by purely cultural forces. The peoples of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western Capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives ; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomach but on the equality of spirits, where an untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. This superb idealism of our faith, however, needs emancipation from the medieval fancies of theologians and legists. Spiritually we are living in a prison-house of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries we have woven round ourselves. And be it further said to the shame of us— men of older generation— that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economic, political and even religious crises that

the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals.

"The Indian Muslim has long ceased to explore the depths of his inner life. The result is that he has ceased to live in the full glow and colour of life, and is consequently in danger of an unmanly compromise with forces which he is made to think he cannot vanquish in open conflict. He who desires to change the inevitable environment must undergo a complete transformation of his inner being. God changeth not the condition of a people until they themselves take the initiative to change their condition by constantly illuminating the zone of their daily activity in the light of a definite ideal.

"Nothing can be achieved without a firm faith in the independence of one's own inner life. This faith alone keeps a people's eye fixed on their goal and saves them from perpetual vacillation. The lesson that past experience has brought to you must be taken to heart. Expect nothing from any side. Concentrate your ego on yourself alone, and ripen your clay into real manhood if you wish to see your aspirations realized. Mussolini's maxim was: 'He who has steel has bread'. I venture to modify it a bit and say: 'He who is steel has everything'. Be hard and work hard. This is the whole secret of individual and collective life. Our ideal is well defined. It is to win, in the coming constitution, a position for Islam which may bring it opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country. It is necessary in the light of

this ideal to rouse the progressive forces of community and to organise their hitherto dormant energies. The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul, This requires earnest preparation and a relatively permanent programme. What then shall be our future programme? I am inclined to think that it should be partly political, partly cultural."

I earnestly beg you all to read this passage again and again. Its import will then become clear. It applies as much today as it did 35 years ago, for the battle is not yet over.

In a letter to the Quad-i-Azam, Iqbal wrote in 1931: "After a long and careful study of Islamic Law, I have come to the conclusion that if this system of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsist, is secured to everybody. But this enforcement and development of *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe it to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India.

"For Islam, the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are far more easy to solve for the Muslims . . . But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim country to solve these problems, it is necessary to redistribute the community and to provide one or more Muslim

States with absolute majority." The basis of Pakistan was thus not only religious but also political and even more economic. It was to provide daily bread and equality of opportunity to every one.

In yet another letter to the Quaid-i-Azam in 1937, Iqbal said, "You are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. . . . A separate Federation of Muslim provinces reformed on the lines suggested is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from domination of the non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as a Nation entitled to self-determination just as other Nations in India and outside are?"

These lengthy quotations will show you why and how Pakistan came into existence. Iqbal not only saw in Pakistan the only solution of the political, social and economic problems of Muslims living in the subcontinent, but he also chose the man who alone could achieve it. The people of Pakistan owe a debt to Iqbal which can never be repaid. All we can do is to work hard for the ideals which he cherished and set before us. Iqbal himself enunciated these ideals in his address to the Muslim League in 1930 in the following words:

"One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not *vice versa*. If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be

only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you, who as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponent of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you when you have achieved the real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, 'Hold fast to yourself; no one who earth can hurt you, provided you are well guided.' Here is something for you to ponder again."

Iqbal has been dead these 30 years. But he lives in our hearts. He will live as long as Pakistan lives, and Pakistan will live as long as does this world.

IQBAL: THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE POET

by

Mamoun Ghareeb

To talk about Iqbal is to talk about a philosopher who excelled in poetry and a poet who excelled in philosophy. His poetry was not mere feeling or music far from reality and involved in fancy and imagination, but a living dynamism which led to the creation of Pakistan.

His poetry aimed at recreation of man on the basis of "ego" in order to be able to get rid of obstacles and go ahead with freedom and liberty with the current of progress.

The life of Iqbal was rich and fertile. He was born in Sialkot on February 22, 1873.² When he was a child, he learned the Holy Quran.

He studied philosophy in the University of Lahore after which he was encouraged by his professor, the British Orientalist, Thomas Arnold, to complete his studies abroad. He studied philosophy and law in Cambridge, Munich and London. When he returned home, he taught

² His date of birth, on the basis of available evidence, is November 22, 1877 and not 1873 (Ed.)

philosophy and was called to the Bar at the same time. Later, he was elected President of the All-India Muslim League and Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam. Early in 1930 Iqbal demanded the partitioning of India into two States, one of which had to be the homeland of Muslims. He adopted the idea and struggled for it and in 1947, Pakistan came into being under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. But Iqbal did not witness the birth of the State he had demanded because he died in 1938.

- Before he died, Iqbal said :

سرور رفته باز آید کہ ناید؟

نسیمی از حجیاز آید کہ ناید؟

سرآمد روزگار این فقیرے

دگر دانائے راز آید کہ ناید؟

(ارمغان حجاز)

The bliss that is departed may or may not return,

A breeze from Hidjaz may or may not blow again.

The days of this *Faqir* have come to an end,

Another knower of secrets may or may not appear again.

A little earlier he had said:

I tell you the sign of a *Momin*:

When death comes, there is a smile on his lip.³

Iqbal's works are spread over eleven books, ten in verse and one in prose.

Iqbal's Philosophy

To Iqbal, Islam is an open religion which prepares an individual for a happy life. Islam is not a religion of priesthood, but a religion of openness and free thinking. It embodies the strength and power required for liberating man from the slavery of colour, language and race. To Islam, all people are equal, an Arab cannot excel a non-Arab except by his piety. Islam is the religion of freedom, amity and justice. But have these noble principles springing from the real essence of religion, been practised ? These principles cannot be achieved through mysticism which makes man oblivious of the reality of life and puts him in an ivory tower, nor by idleness and fanaticism, but by practising the justice of Omar Ibn Al-Khattab and following the path of Al-Hasan.

³ The present text of *Armaghan* (p. 165) gives this verse in a different form

:

نشان مرد حق دیگر چه گویم
چو مرگ آید تبسم بر لب

These principles spring from the ego and therefore man has to develop and reaffirm his self. Prophet Muhammad says : *Takballaqu bi Akhlaq Allah*. The more man comes nearer Allah, the more his self is developed. He no more lives in a world in which he is unaware of his surrounding. The true individual cannot be lost in the world ; it is the world that is lost in him.

Iqbal believed that life without freedom is meaningless and that it is an endeavour for freedom. Thus man's pressing need is for spiritual values. Iqbal's philosophy contradicts that of Plato who believes that real philosophy is the contemplation in death. Iqbal ridiculed opportunism and philosophies supporting it.

Politics

Iqbal believed that Islam is the religion of dignity and power and that any surrender or submission is nothing but departure from the real spirit of Islam. Iqbal thought over the conditions of the Muslim World and was deeply touched by its dissensions. To Europe, Turkey was a sick country led by a gullible Sultan. In it the Jews have played a dirty role ; they wanted to undermine Islamic unity. The *dumma*, under the leadership of Shabatai,—which included all the Jewry in Turkey,—was formed in Turkey. The leader of this group had gone too far but when he was about to be executed for his misdeeds he uttered the *Kalimah* for which he was pardoned by the Sultan. This group had apparently adopted Islam. Another, called *Al-Nouraniyah*, advocated Turkish nationalism and separation from the Islamic world. Iqbal did not like Turkey to

suffer from stagnation and backwardness. Examining the conditions of the Arab countries, Iqbal realised that they were disunited. He also realised what had happened in India as a result of imperialism. The first thing the British had done in the Subcontinent was to bank on the differences between the Muslims and the Hindus. The British cancelled the Criminal Law derived from the spirit of Islam and Persian was dislodged as official language. Moreover, the British created seditions and plots with the result that human massacres were the order of the day. For all this, Iqbal urged for the creation of a Muslim State in India. When Iqbal studied the conditions of the other parts of the Muslim World, he asked the Muslims to change their outlook to life and to create new ideologies derived from the spirit of Islam.

When Mussoloni had said that whoever had iron and steel would have bread, Iqbal said that whoever was steel would own everything. Hence his demand for the establishment of a new Muslim State based not only on a religious base, but on a political and economic one too.

Socialism

Iqbal believed that Western democracy was, in reality, a false one — the democracy of the interests of capitalists. Behind its glowing and nice words lie tyranny and aggression. Conflicts in parliaments are conflicts springing from contradictory monopolies. In fact, peoples should not be deceived by this form of democracy ; the mirage should not be

taken as a flourishing garden ; it is not a comfortable place, but a -prison.

Iqbal expressed his dislike for the democracy which took no notice of the rights of workers and peasants. He used to call the labourers to shake the foundations of palaces of the exploiters.

He used to say : "O, boy, go and search for yourself and faculties. Take off from your body the dust of ages. Destroy all your old traditions and give up fanaticism. Adhere to your faith and religion because in it you will find real *Tawhid*."

Iqbal composed a poem about Lenin for which he had great regard. But he sees in his theory, which ignored the spiritual side, an incomplete doctrine. Iqbal said : "O, God, you have all power and justice. Take care of Your miserable servants who exhaust themselves in earning livelihood. When would You, my God, drown the ship of capitalism in the middle of the sea ?"

Towards New Horizons

To Iqbal, the East would re-establish itself once again. To look forward to new horizons and to be more dynamic, it has to adhere to the real essence of Islam. Iqbal says that if the Muslim World would realise and understand the essence of religion, "Iblis" would have nothing to say or do. Iblis sees no light coming from the East because it lives in darkness. Light is faint even in mosques and in *Ka'ba*. He fears that the truth would be exposed before those who are lagging behind on the

way of life. Iblis warns people against the Arab Prophet and his ideologies. His message would remove slavery, exploitation and give the poor and the miserable the chance to occupy the key posts. This Prophet has prevented kings from having the earth as their own property because it belongs only to Allah.

This is Iqbal, the poet and philosopher, whose verses brought about Pakistan. His philosophy was an instrument to achieve power and a milestone for the man who is aware of his position in the world of today and who is possessed of the guide which directs him towards the proper direction.

IQBAL DAY IN U.K.

THE WISDOM OF MUHAMMAD IQBAL

— Some Considerations of form and Content

by John A. Haywood

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Of writings about Muhammad Iqbal there seems to be no end. So at the present time, in April, 1967, it is extremely difficult to make any fresh contribution to the study of his genius. His works have been translated into many languages, Eastern and Western. Every aspect of his thought and philosophy would appear to have been explained and expanded — so much so that, while some see him as the latest in a long line of distinguished Islamic philosophers, others see him as a link between the philosophical schools of East and West — or even as an Eastern interpreter of modern Western science and technology. His literary merits, too, have been much discussed ; but it is probably true to say that the general tendency has been to pay much greater attention to his thought than to his poetical worth. In searching for some aspect of his work to consider today, it occurred to me that Iqbal's place in the great tradition of the poetry of Islamic nations — particularly that of the Arabs, Persians and Pakistanis — has not perhaps received its due share of attention. Iqbal is in the long line of Classical Islamic poets (and I do not use the term

"Islamic" here in a narrowly religious sense). Indeed, he is perhaps the last great Classical Islamic poet. He has more of the Classical spirit than say, Hali, though both are preoccupied with the problems of religious, cultural, and national regeneration in the Indo-Pak Sub-continent. The scholar familiar with the poetical classics of Arabic and Persian has the feeling, after reading Iqbal, that he is very much in the same tradition. Indeed, the last way to think of Iqbal is as a Pakistani poet. Rather does he speak for Islam universal, and for the common ground between Islam and other major world religions such as Christianity.

All too few critics of Iqbal have considered him as a poet in the long Islamic tradition. There were fairly well-defined canons of criticism for Classical Arabic poetry, and in the main they were subsequently applied to the Classical poetry of Persian and Urdu. They can best be illustrated from the introduction to the *Kitab al-shi'r wa l-shu'ara'* (Book of Poetry and Poets) by Ibn Qutayba, who lived in the 9th Century A. C. (3rd Century A. He says: "I have reflected on poetry, and come to the conclusion that it is of four sorts. One sort is beautiful in expression and excellent in meaning . . . Another sort is beautiful and charming in expression, then when you examine it, you find there is no meaning of value . . . Another sort is excellent in meaning, but its expression is inadequate . . . Another sort is deficient in both its meaning and its expression." This may seem, at first sight, a rather facile and trite categorisation of the truism that in poetry both meaning and language matter — a truism doubtless applicable to poetry in every language. But it should be considered in the light of the

traditional forms and techniques of Arabic poetry, which have been adopted by other Islamic peoples. It must be borne in mind that Islamic people's poetry has been based almost exclusively on the quantitative verse or *bayt* divided into two halves, each of which is called a *misra*. Each *bayt* had to be complete in itself, embodying a single thought, whose effect in both sound and sense could be considered as a single unit. A poem was likened to a necklace, each verse being a pearl of jewel. Even the most weighty of early Classical Arabic poems — the *qasida* or ode — seldom exceeded a hundred lines in length. *Hamasa* (chivalry) poems were considerably shorter, as were later forms such as *ghazal* or lyric. Poems tended to be entities by virtue of the occasion inspiring them, rather than by any unchangeable logical order of the verses. The critic tended to judge a poem as a series of verses, bestowing the highest praise on the poem, the greatest proportion of whose verses were jewels in both matter and manner. Thus Abu l'Atahiyya (748-828 A.c.) was criticised by the grammarian al-Asma'i in the following terms : "His lines are like the public square in front of the king's palace, whereon fall pearls, and gold, and dust, and potsherds, and fruit kernels." Yet Abu l'Atahiyya's best poems — the *zuhdiyyat* or ascetic poems — appeal very strongly to European poetical taste, because they take a simple theme, and follow it through logically and pithily, in simple language free of artificiality. The fact is that, by accepted Islamic poetical canons, Wordsworth's poetry would rate very low — much lower than Shelley's — whereas to most English tastes these two poets are rated almost equal. Iqbal could never have

been the leader of a revolution in poetical technique, because he was traditional in manner, though original in matter.

Thus, according to the Islamic tradition, in the ideal poem, every verse would be a quoteable pearl, embodying a thought apt to the subject and situation, expressed in language made attractive and telling by all available lexical and rhetorical resources, yet not farfetched or exaggerated. But because continuity was often lacking and the verse was a unit, verses might be interchanged, or even removed or interpolated, without any noticeable prejudice to the train of thought. The educated could, and did, quote a verse (*bayt*) or even a hemistich (*misra'*) in any situation of ordinary life where it seemed applicable. The thought or meaning need not necessarily be elevated or philosophical. Thus the following verse by the "Shakespeare of the Arabs," al-Mutanabbi, about his patron Sayf al-Daula, is excellent in both matter and manner:

Wa-rubba muridin darrabu darra nafsabu

Wa-badin ilaihi l-jaysba anda wa-ma bada.

Many a man who desired to injure him has injured himself, and many a one leading an army against him has benefited him and been himself misled.

This verse expressed the military superiority of Sayf al-Daula all the more effectively for using the rhetorical devices of *jinas* and *izdidwaj*. When, however, the thought expressed was of universal application, and could be quoted rather as proverbs are quoted in many diverse situations, it was termed *bikma* (plural *bikam*). The

word means "wisdom," or perhaps, in English slang, "hitting the nail on the head". This type of poetry is sometimes called *gnomic*, and it is quite common in many languages — in Welsh, for instance. In Arabic, an example is the first verse of al-Mutanabbi's elegy on the mother of Sayf al-Daula :

Nu'iddu l-mashrafiyyata wa-l-'awali

wa-taqtuluna l-manuna bila qitali.

We make ready swords and lances, and death slays us without a battle.⁴

Arabic poetry had two severe restrictions, which were to be removed in Persian and Urdu. Firstly, it was not designed for religious or philosophical subjects — despite the *zuhdiyyat* of writers like Abu I-'Atahiyya — being largely occupied with personalities, concerned with a special moment in time, and overwhelmingly dependent on patronage. It is, perhaps, significant that the short lyric (*ghazal*) on love and wine became the vehicle of mystical religious poetry. Secondly, Arabic poetry did not easily lend itself to larger forms, such as the epic, owing to the mono-rhyme system which prevailed. The social environment probably also meant that neither the reciter-poet nor his hearers had staying-power. Any large work would have to be disjointed and episodic : and it is probably no accident that Arabic fiction was largely anecdotal, and that a large work like the *Thousand and One Nights* was merely a string of anecdotes or short stories. It is

⁴ A. J. Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbi*, Camb ridge, 1967, p. 56.

true that Arabic writers of the Silver Age did produce some long didactic poems ; a famous example is the rhymed grammatical treatise by Ibn Malik (1203-1273 A.c.), which was called the *Alfiyya* because it was about a thousand lines long. In such poems, poets took some common metre, such as *rajaz*, and rhymed the two *misra's* of each *bayt*, changing the rhyme from verse to verse. (In the *qasida* or ode it had been customary to rhyme the two hemistiches of the first verse, and thereafter to maintain the rhyme merely at the end of the verse.) A rhymed couplet poem of this type became known as a *mathnawi* or in Persian, *du bayti*. It seems likely that this form originated in Persian rather than Arabic.

The Persians took over Arabic poetical canons. But they also felt the urge to compose historical and religio-philosophical poems of epic proportions. While in poems of medium length — longer than *qasidas* but shorter than epics — various stanza patterns were used, as in Arabic popular poetry termed *muwashshabat*; *ruba'i*, *mukhammas*, and *musaddas*, for instance : for epic, *mathnawi* was the favoured verse-form. The *mathnawi* — as already stated—is in rhymed couplets. For comparison purposes, it is worth reminding readers that in English epic poetry by Milton and others, blank verse is used. Unfettered by rhyme, blank verse is made even more flexible by the acceptability of sentences running over from one line to the next. Rhymed couplets used by writers like Pope, though effective in satire, never achieved the same strength in English, though they were extremely successful in other languages such as French. Occasionally English poems were

composed in stanzas — like Spenser's "Faerie Queene" and Byron's "Don Juan."

Persian epic poetry may be divided into two categories — the heroic-historical like Firdausi's *Shahnamah*; and the religio-philosophical, which at first sight often seems secular, especially to Europeans. The second type is exemplified by 'Attar's *Mantiq al-Tayr*, and of course by the greatest of all, the *Mathnawi* of Rumi (1207-1273), to whom Iqbal so often refers. Rumi's book is a long, sprawling work, divided into six books, which are in turn divided into series of sections, mostly of an anecdotal-allegorical nature. *Mantiq al-Tayr* is divided into episode-sections, again allegorical. The allegory in both works is, as in many other Persian epics, religious and mystical. They both illustrate the fact that though the epic was an esteemed form in Persian, no closely-knit epic structure emerged. In general, interest is focused on the parts rather than the whole — the whole can be appreciated merely as an agglomeration of the parts. Urdu poets like Iqbal had to face up to this problem of cohesion in the poetical epic. Some would say that he begged the question by using Persian as the medium of his epics. However that may be, the result of this lack of obvious cohesion in the Persian epic was that its high-lights were the *hikma* verse divided into two hemistiches with internal rhyme. Arberry assesses the effect of the *mathnawi* rhyme very ingeniously.⁵ He rightly asserts that, by ridding poetry of the restrictive Arabic mono-rhyme, it made the poetical epic possible.

⁵ A. J. Arberry, *Tales from the Masnavi*, London, 1961, pp. 18-19.

He goes on to say : "Rhyme, then. . . may be said to have resumed its original function as a characteristic of elevated or emphatic prose utterance. (Here he quotes as an example the English proverb, *A stitch in time saves nine*)⁶.... It invests the statement with a kind of magical authority; but, being readily contrived in Arabic and Persian, which abound in rhyme, in those languages it carries very little rhetorical weight. It is not a conscious 'poetical' device." This is a penetrating remark, revealing Arberry's deep insight into Islamic culture. But if it implies that there is no inherent monotony in thousands of *mathnawi* couplets one after the other, I venture to suggest that it contains an element of "special pleading". The tyranny of the verse unit is still there, because the tradition derived from Arabic demanded that each verse should be a meaning-unit as well as a metrical unit. The *mathnawi* poem is therefore disjointed rather than continuous: in musical terms, it is *staccato* rather than *legato*. At the same time this facilitates the inclusion of verses embodying gnomic wisdom — hikma — succinct philosophizing — epigrams — or whatever term one chooses to use. And the maintenance of verse-separateness, and its use as a vehicle for succinct philosophizing, is an important constant feature of the poetry of Islamic peoples. At the same time, as Arberry senses and implies, Rumi was able to mitigate the monotony of the *mathnawi* form by his anecdotal method, and by his avoidance of artificial language, especially in his *hikma* lines. The latter point is illustrated by the following verse:

⁶ Cf. Urdu. *Ek akela, do ka mela*. (One is solitary, two are company.)

'aqil an bashad kih girad 'ibrat az

marg-i-yaran dar bila-yi-mubtaraz.

The wise man is he that in (the hour of) shunned tribulation takes warning from the death of his friends.⁷

The following is an example of metaphorical *hikma* in simple language :

sabl shiri dan kih safha bishkunad

shir anast an kih kbwud-ra bishkunad.

Deem of small account the (champion) lion that breaks the ranks (of the enemy) : the (true) lion is he that breaks (conquers) himself.

All this may appear, at first sight, to have only marginal relevance to Iqbal's poetry. But it represents the heart of the problem facing any Islamic poet who wished to eschew the light-weight lyricism of the *ghazal* and compose lengthy and serious poems on philosophical or religious themes. And this was undoubtedly Iqbal's aim. It is undoubtedly true that, from pre-Islamic times, when the Arab poet was the spokesman of his tribe, the poet in Islamic nations had a respected role in society — a role which not even the later sycophancy prevalent in the courts of the Islamic Empire could altogether hide. In the Middle East,

⁷ Book I, verse 3114. Text and translation are taken from R. A. Nicholson's *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, IV, 1, and IV, 2, London, 1926,

in the Arab awakening of the last century, the poet was a cross between a teacher and a prophet. To Iqbal, the poet's function was to stir and stimulate his readers : the poet had some of the attributes of the prophet. "Nations," he said, "are born in the hearts of poets."⁸ At the same time, while not a Sufi poet, he was inimical to facile and simple poetry. He once wrote : "Matthew Arnold is a very precise poet. I like, however, an element of vagueness in poetry, since the vague seems profound to the emotion."⁹ Though undoubtedly seeing himself as a teacher of his fellow Indian Muslims, he had little in common with the direct didacticism and plain speaking of the Aligarh movement, epitomised by Hali. "The old poetic diction with its cloying touches, soon to be revived by Iqbal, has been discarded," says Sadiq¹⁰ speaking of Hali. Iqbal had to find forms and means of expression suiting his temperament and his purpose. It is, perhaps, not surprising that he chose to write his weightiest works in Persian. At the same time, the poet's function as an inspirer of his people demanded that he produce *hikma* verses embodying important truth — gnomic verse, in fact, which would be remembered and quoted by the reader or hearer, and which in the tradition of the poetry, was moulded in the unit of the verse of two hemistiches. Not for Iqbal, then, the experiments of *azad sha'iri* (free verse) and metrical innovations.

⁸ Javid Iqbal, *Stray Reflections*, Lahore, 1961, p. 125.

⁹ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁰ Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, O.U.P., 1964, p. 267.

Iqbal's early poetry, later collected in *Bang-i-Dara*, consists of short poems in varied forms and metres. Some are *ghazal*, some *musaddas* (for example *Shakwa* and *Jawab-i-Shakwa*). Some are taken from European writers like Longfellow and Emerson, some are written specially for children. Iqbal had not yet felt the urge to embody his ideas in a long poem of epic or near-epic proportions. When he did, the result was *Asrar-i-Khudi* (1915), to which a companion piece *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* was later added. This work, as Schimmel says,¹¹ "was written in the style and metre (and, she might have added, language) of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi's famous *mathnawi*, and according to a family tradition, the great mystic had appeared to Iqbal in a vision, urging him to write this poem in order to promulgate the new way of life. Rumi appears in this and all the following poetical works of Iqbal as his spiritual guide." *Asrar-i-Khudi* abounds in gnomic verse which linger in the memory. It is not, perhaps, Iqbal's greatest work, and resemblances with Rumi should not be over-stressed. Though divided into a prologue and eighteen parts, its total length is considerably less than the average book of Rumi's work. Again it is more directly philosophical. It does not conceal spiritual significance under external secularity. When it appeared, however, it was clearly the work of a totally new and original poetical-philosophical genius. It may well be that Iqbal realised that in the *mathnawi*, excessive length was a disadvantage : it may be that his distilled thought was repelled by the idea of prolixity. It may also be that contemporary trends were against inordinately long

¹¹ A. Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, Leiden, 1963, p. 42.

poems. The *Mathnawi-i-Sibr-ul-Bayan* of Mir Hasan (1727-1786), with 4,442 lines, is somewhat longer than *Asrar-i-Khudi*. The *Khawar Namah* (1649) of Kamal Khan Rustami of Bijapur contains 24,000 verses, nearly as many as Rumi.

If *Asrar-i-Khudi* was a tautly constructed *mathnawi*, Iqbal's next major work, *Payam-i-Mashriq* (1923) was basically a varied Persian *Divan*, united merely by the author's thought patterns — a *divan* written in answer to Goethe's *West-ostliche Divan*. Here Iqbal was in his element, ranging over Western and Eastern ideas, untrammelled by limits of form. The opening poem, *The Tulip of Sinai*, which has been translated by Arberry,¹² consists of 193 *ruba'iyat* (quatrains), and it is full of memorable lines. The following, for example, begins like Abu I-'Atahiyya :

Sikandar raft u-shamsbir u-'alam raft

Kharaj-i-shabr wa ganj-i-kan-u-yam raft

umam-ra az Shaban payanda-tar dan,

na-mi-bini kih Iran mand wa Jam raft?

(Arberry's translation)¹³:

Gone is Iskandar with his sword and throne,

His tribute and his treasure, all is gone;

Know then, that folk endure beyond their kings:

¹² A. J. Arberry. *The Tulip of Sinai*, London, 1947

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27

Though Jam is dead, yet Persia liveth on.

Compare this with Abu I-'Atahiyya:

Ma lava la natafakkar ? Aina Kisra, aina Quaisar ?

What ails us that we do not ponder ? Where is Chosroes, where is Caesar?

Iqbal gives a new turn to the old idea that even great men have a limited life-span, and are levelled to the dust like everyone else, by adding that nations outlive their rulers. (Arberry's "folk," as a translation of "umam" — peoples, nations, is doubtless dictated by metrical considerations, but it does not quite give the sense). Such an idea would have been foreign to Abu I-'Atahiyya. The following puts one in mind of 'Umar-i-Khayyam:

bi-Yazdan ruz-i-mahshar Barbman guft

farugh-i-zindagi tab-i-sharar bud.

wa-laikin gar na-ranji ba to guyim

sanam az admi payinda-tar bud.

(Arberry's translation).¹⁴

The Brahman spoke on Resurrection's day

To God: "Life's lustre is a spark at play:

But if I may so speak without offence.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 2

The Idol lasted more than Adam's clay."

Passing over *Zabur-i-' Ajam* (1927), to which Professor Arberry paid high tribute, and which he translated as *Persian Psalms* (Lahore, 1948), we now come to Iqbal's greatest large-scale philosophical poem, undoubtedly his finest work, the *Javid Namah*. This also is a *mathnawi*. In this poem, the poet, accompanied by Rumi, visits the various planets, and meets historical personalities, who in their dialogues elucidate eternal truths. So far as style is concerned, *Javid Namah* belongs to the very first rank of Persian verse. It is unsurpassed in grandeur of expression, in beauty of diction, and in richness of illustration. As regards theme, the poem deals with the everlasting conflict of the soul, and by telling the story of human struggle against sin, shows mankind the path to glory and peace.

In this poem, the potential monotony of the *mathnawi* form is relieved by the introduction of lyrical interludes, and by the somewhat dramatic form, with sections of dialogues of varying lengths. It may be that in this, Iqbal was influenced by Goethe's *Faust* — especially Part II — with which he was, of course, familiar. Certainly the characters who take part in the dialogues are varied in the extreme : Rumi — Zoroaster Jamal al-Din al-Afghani — Lord Kitchener — A Sudanese Dervish — the Seer from Mars — Hallaj — Ghalib -- Satan, and so on. The author himself figures as Living Stream (*Zinda Rud*). An incongruous group, no doubt ; but then, so are the characters, earthly and heavenly, in Goethe's *Faust*. When one comes to know

the *Javid Namah*, one realises that, despite first appearances, it is a triumph in form as well as in content and language, and that the form suits both the theme and the author's genius. In this work — of which there are now, fortunately, two

English translations¹⁵ — Iqbal solved, in his own way, the problem of Islamic epic form.

In *Javid Namah* we have whole necklaces of pearls of wisdom, from which almost endless quotations could be made, all of them based on the couplet unit. The following are merely examples :

(1) *Banda-yi-haqq bi niyaz az har maqam*

ne ghulam u-ra nah u kas ra ghulam.

The man of God transcends all rank and class.

Being no man's master, no man's slave.¹⁶

(1) *Madhhab-i-'asr-i-nau ayine nigar*

hasil-i-tandhib-i-la-dini nigar

zandagi-ra-sbar'-u-ayin ast 'ishq

asl-i-tandhib ast din, din ast 'ishq.

Look at the creed of this newfangled age

The fruit of disbelief. Love is the law

¹⁵ By Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad as *The Pilgrimage of Eternity*, Lahore, 1961, and more recently by Arberry.

¹⁶ Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, op. cit., p. 61.

And principle of life; a culture soul

Is faith, and faith is love.¹⁷

(2) *bi-admi na-rasidi, Khuda chih mi-juyi ?*

What search for God will profit thee?

When thou failed reaching man?¹⁸

These, like a large proportion of the verses in this work, are truly gnomic poetry — hikma, wisdom, in the highest sense of the word. Moreover, they are not wisdom only to Muslims, or to Orientals, but to men of every creed and race. This is one of Iqbal's great achievements — that he bridged the gap between East and West, and gave utterance to the common ground in the great religious and philosophical systems of the world.

Iqbal's poetical career is like a sandwich. The weighty Persian poems divide the Urdu poetry of his early and later writings. *Bal-i-Jibril* dates from 1936, and *Zarb-i-Kalim* from 1937. He is, indeed, a unique figure in modern Islamic literature. Though at times expressing modesty over his command of both Persian and Urdu, he preferred to write major epics in Persian, a foreign language, while employing Urdu in the traditional short forms such as *ghazal* and the medium-length *rubai*'i (though of course he wrote these in Persian also). Unfortunately some early Panjabi poetry seems to be lost. Many, like Arberry, have highly esteemed his command of Persian, others have been slightly less enthusiastic. Some regret

¹⁷ Ibid., 103-104.

¹⁸ Ibid., 177.

that he did not write exclusively in Urdu. V. G. Kiernan says¹⁹ : "By comparison, the Urdu poems, addressed to a real and familiar audience near at hand, have the merit of being direct and spontaneous utterances on tangible subjects ; and it is probably the case that nearly all the leading ideas of the 'serious' Persian works are expressed more briefly, and sometimes more effectively, in the Urdu." Whether this is true or not, it is rather paradoxical that, while Iqbal is regarded as a major figure in Urdu literature, it is more often his Persian works which are quoted as evidence of his genius.

I have already quoted Sadiq's dictum about Iqbal's old-fashioned diction — and Sadiq, making this assertion in a history of Urdu literature, is speaking of Iqbal's Urdu works. The real truth, however, lies mid-away between Sadiq and Kiernan. There is a wide range of treatment in the Urdu poems. Yet in the main, he does appear to have turned his back on those stylistic changes in Urdu which were a byproduct of the Aligarh movement. When one compares Iqbal with Hali, it is like comparing Shelley, Keats, or Coleridge with Wordsworth. The following quatrain by Hali, with its homely proverbial philosophising, does not have the Iqbal stamp :

jo log hain nikiyinn men mashhur babut

hain nikiyun par apni nah maghrur babut

¹⁹ In *Poems from Iqbal*, translated by V. G. Kiernan (Wisdom of the East Series), London, 1955, Preface p. xiii.

niki hi kbnud ik badi hai gar ho nah kbalus

niki se badi nabin hai kuchh dur babut.

Those people who are very famous for their virtue

Are not over-proud of their virtue.

Virtue itself is a vice if it is not pure.

There is no great gap between vice and virtue.

Yet Iqbal *could* write simply in his Urdu verse, as the following examples show:

(1) From *Bang-i-Dara*.²⁰

Apni millat par qiyas aqwam-i-maghrib se nah kar

khas hai tarkib men qaum-i-rasul-i-hashimi.

Do not judge your own nation by the standards of the peoples of the West.

The people of the Hashemite Prophet are distinct in make-up.

(2) From *Bal-i-Jibril*:

shahid-i-mahabbat nah kafir nah ghazi

mahabbat ki rasmen nah turki nah tazi.

The martyrs of love are not Muslim nor Paymin,

The manners of love are not Arab nor Turk.²¹

²⁰ In the poem *Madhhab*, p. 279 of the Urdu text.

Some of the best Urdu poems are by no means simple. There is, for example, marvellous music in the poem about the mosque of Cordoba, especially in the opening where the word *silsila* occurs at the end of five out of first eight lines. This gives an effect of which any Arab, Persian or

Urdu poet would be proud, and many parallels for it could be found going back as far as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry.

In this paper I have been concerned as much with the means used by Iqbal to put over his wisdom as by the wisdom itself. But I cannot end without stressing the universal appeal of his wisdom. His oft-repeated message on the importance of love, "faith is love" (*din ast ishq*), Sufi in origin, is also at the heart of Christianity. His belief in the development of the individual, and in action liberated by love, appeals as much to the West as the East.

I now return to the ideas of Ibn Qutayba with which I opened this paper. According to his dictum, the best poetry must excel in both meaning and expression. How far does Iqbal's poetry come up to this standard? There is no doubt that he expressed noble meaning in beautiful language. It cannot be denied that the language and imagery used — especially in his Persian poetry — seem today to be somewhat old-fashioned, being derived from Classical Persian metaphysical poetry. In his verse form, too, he was conservative, using the traditional *mathnawi* verse of two hemistiches as the vehicle for his gnomic utterances. However, in

²¹ Kiernan, op. cit., p. 54.

the *Javid Namah* he was able to clothe the *mathnawi* form with great flexibility, and produced an epic original in every sense.

Postscript

I am only too well aware that this paper is somewhat strange in form, ranging from Classical Arabic literature, through Persian to Urdu. My justification is that I am myself primarily interested in Iqbal as a poet, not as a national figure, or even as a philosopher. And I agree with Sadiq²² that "it is astonishing how little has been written about the formal aspect of Iqbal's poetry." If I have made some small contribution towards filling this gap, I shall be well satisfied.

²² op. cit., p. 372.

IQBAL: AN UNRELENTING ADVOCATE OF ISLAMIC VALUES

by

Professor Muhammad Baqir

A firm believer in *Ijtihad* (the principle of movement in the structure of Islam), but unrelentingly uncompromising, where Islamic values of life were concerned — that is, what Iqbal was. He thought it was quite in order to exert one's mind to form an independent judgement on moral, legal and ethical questions, but in Islam, according to him, the spiritual and temporal were not two entirely separate and distinct domains, and the nature of an act, however secular in its import, was determined by the attitude of mind with which the agent did it. The agent, in all circumstances, was to be guided by the tenets of Islam. "The ultimate Reality," he said, "according to the Quran, is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity." He believed that the spirit found its opportunities in the natural, the material and the secular. To him Islam was the most rational religion and the Holy Prophet, Muhammad (May peace be upon him), the greatest man ever born on the face of earth. Iqbal's message and the whole philosophy of this message was based on these considerations which pervaded all his poetical compositions of substance. Some years back Lt.-Col. Ferrar truly remarked about Iqbal in his *Whither Islam* (p. 204) : The strength and fervour of his love for Islam as an ideal which if fully realised should suffice for man's

every want in this world and the next. According to the estimate of Ferrar wide reading and poetic temperament of Iqbal had created in his mind so attractive and so inspiring a picture of the simplicity, the force and the appeal of early Islam that his main preoccupation centered round a return to that simple creed in order to revive what he believed Islam had lost.

Iqbal had very carefully studied the political-cum-social movements in vogue in the so-called more civilized and advanced contemporary world of Europe and other countries and denounced all these movements (in 1934) by saying : "Fascism, Communism and all the isms of this age are nothing real. In my conviction only Islam is the one reality which can become the medium of salvation for human beings from every point of view" (*Makhtubat*, II, 314).

The importance of studying Quran is repeatedly preached by Iqbal in prose and poetry and, in fact, his last ambition, to achieve this ideal, was to write a book on the Holy Quran. In a letter addressed to Sir Ross Masud, on April 26, 1935, he very despairingly remarks:

"Thus it would have been possible for me to complete in the light of the modern thoughts, which are for a long time, under my consideration, my notes on the Quran. But now I doubt very much if I shall ever be able to achieve this. If I could be afforded the little time, now left at my disposal, to devote to this work, I think I could not offer a better present to the Muslims of the world, than these notes on the Quran" (*Iqbalnama*, I, 357-358).

He reiterated his desire in his letter of May 30, 1935, when he said : "I wish I could record my views about the Quran-e-Karim before I die" (*Iqbalnama*, I, 361-362).

This wish was never realized, but in order to keep the Islamic ideals alive in the country Iqbal propagated throughout his life that a real effort had to be made to dispel the scepticism towards Islam, which was deeply embedded in the minds of the ignorant people. He very bitterly remarked in 1921: "Muslims are now, from the intellectual point of view, in a state that resembles in many respects, the period of European history which started from the time of Luther. But as this Islamic movement is not led by any individual, its future is not free from dangers" (*Iqbalnama*, I, 143).

The poet often complained of his intellectual loneliness in the contemporary society calling himself the "first Adam of a new world" (*Zabur e 'Ajam*, 37). He also complained of the difficulty of his position while he was struggling against heavy odds to convince the Muslims to revive an unflinching and unassailable belief in the tenets of the Holy Quran. Yet he kept the torch burning with an unrivalled fervour as he firmly believed that

An katab e Zandeh Quran e Hakeem

Hekmat e oo la Yazal ast o qadeem

Noskha o ye asrar e takveen e hayat

Nau e insan ra payam e akhbreen

Hamel oo Rahmatol Lal Alameen

"The wisdom contained in that eternal book, Quran e Hakeem, is unfading and ever living. It is an archetype of the secrets of life's genesis, from whose strength the infirm derives firmness. It is the last message to the human race, delivered to it by the Holy Prophet."

To-day when we are celebrating the twentyeighth death anniversary (and why don't we celebrate the birth anniversary?) of Iqbal, all over Pakistan, and even in some other countries, we have to ask a simple question from ourselves : Have we at all cared to practise what Iqbal preached ? His preachings were original but not new. He simply aimed at the restitution of the ideals of pristine Islam, devoid of all later additions and interpretations from Hellinistic, Persian and even Hindu sources. Before the establishment of Pakistan we shouted from the house tops:

Pakistan ka matlab kiya

La ilaha ilia Allah

"What is meant by Pakistan ? There is no god but God."

Have we struck to this slogan? If not, what is being done in our society to bring home to us the dangers of fleeing away from realities and the message of Iqbal? If the preachings of Iqbal and the spirit of this slogan is lost to oblivion there can be no hope for tomorrow. We are paying homage to a guide by lip service, which is probably not a very honest attitude of mind.

IQBAL DAY AT MESHED

Iqbal Day was celebrated at Meshed (Iran) on May 11, 1967. A lecture was delivered by Bano Maheen Mir Abidini Sadiqian, a prominent scholar of Iran. The article which deals with the political and individual aspect of Iqbal's philosophy is reproduced in original Persian:

(1)

سیاست و تنهائی در اشعار اقبال

میر عابدینی (صدیقیان)

به بحر رفتم و گفتم به موج بیتابی

همیشه در طلبستی چه مشکلی داری؟

بزار لو لوی لالاست در گریبانت

درون سینه چو من گوهر دلی داری؟

تپید و از لب ساحل رمید و هیچ نگفت

بکوه رفتم و پرسیدم این چه بیدردی است

رسد بگوش تو آه و فغان غم زده ای

اگر بسنگ تو لعلی ز قطره خونست

یکی درآ بسخن با من ستمزده ای

بخود خزید و نفس در کشید و هیچ نگفت

ره دراز بریدم ز ماه پرسیدم

سفر نصیب! نصیب تو منزلیست که نیست؟

جهان ز پرتو سیمای تو سمن زاری

فروغ داژ تو از جلوه دلی است که نیست؟

سوی ستاره رقیبانه دید و هیچ نگفت

شدم بحضرت یزدان گذشتم از مه و مهر

که در جهان تو یک ذره آشنایم نیست

جهان تهی ز دل و مشتش خاک من همه دل

چمن خوشست ولی در ور نوایم نیست

اگر تنی تنها همه عمر در بن غاری بسر برد بان اندزه غم اورنیست که تنی
در میان جمع تنها باشد و غم اور ترانکه کسی در در عصر خود شحره افاق باشد و
باز در شهر و انجمن سایه هولناک تنهائی و غربت بر دلش سایه بیگفند.... برخی
از مردم این گونه اند. تنها در زندگی تنها در غم و شادی. تنها در آرزو و هدف.
همچنانکه تنها در تولد و مرگ.... شاید چندتنی بعد از مرگ نامشان بر زبانها
بگردد و خاطر شان گرامی داشته بود.

ای بسا شاعر که بعد از مرگ زاد

چشم خود بر بست و چشم ما گشاد²⁴

دکتر محمد قبال لاهوری یکی از ان چند تن در همه اعصار وقرون است. اقبال
در وسعت تنهائی خود از اسمان بلند بینیازی بهستی بگریسته است. امید نام یا
بیم ننگی راهش را نگردانده است. هرگز بر دل و زبانش گرد تملق ننشسته و چون

²³ پیام مشرق، ص ۱۳۶

²⁴ اسرار و رموز (اسرار خودی)، ص ۶.

(زبان اوران رنگ اور)²⁵ بر لحظه برنگی در نیامده است. دیروز و امروز و فردا
یش همه بسپیدی و روشنی افتاب گذشته. صافی اسمانش را ابر مصلحتی سایه دار
نکرده است و دامان باکش به باران عجز و حقارتی نیالوده. بدفش دگر گونه نامها
نیافته است زیرا که بجز حقیقت و راستی مقصدی را دنبال نکرده است و کیست
که در عمر خود بتجربه ندانسته باشد که در این راه پرچه هست خارست و مار. نه
گلبارانی از پول و نه حتی خردک نسیمی از جاہی یا پیشه ای چه کس یارای ان
دارد که قدم در این راه گذارد جز تکروانی که کام جانیشان را از ازل باشد حقیقت
اشنا کرده اند؟ اقبال قدم در این راه نهاده و بیاری ایمان و روشنی قرآن که
پیوست. فرا راهش بوده راه باخر راسنیده است. درود بسیار بر همه رهروان ای
راه.... و اقبال با دست و اغوش پر از سفر بر گشته است. مقدمش گلباران باد که
تحفه استقلال بملک خویش هدیه کرده است و روح تازه بکالبد افسرده شان
دمیده. بیهوشی و رخوت از تنشان باز ستانده تا باحس درست درد استعمار درد
جهل و درد فقر دیگر زادگان این سه را دریا بند و و بخچشند:

²⁵ بوستان سعدی:

نگویمت چون زبان اوران رنگ امیز

که ابر مشک فشانی و بحر گوهر زای

پر مسلمانان غمی بخشیده ام

که‌هنه شاخی را نمی بخشیده ام

گوهر دریای قرآن سفته ام

شرح رمز صبغت الله گفته ام²⁶

او بسود دیدگان نظر افریده است و بتاریکی شبها سحر و به غافلان خواب

رفته بیداری داده است:

به سواد دیده تو نظر افریده ام من

بضمیر تو جهانی دگر افریده ام من

همه خاوران بخوابی که نهان ز چشم انجم

به سرود زندگانی سحر افریده ام من²⁷

اقبال در سرودی شکوه تمیز از بی سوزی جانها شکایتی اندوهگین دارد:

²⁶ رومی عصر تالیف عبدالحمید عرفانی، ص ۱۸.

²⁷ رومی عصر، ص ۶.

مرا در عصر بی سوز افریدند

بخام جان شوری دمیدند

چونخ در گردن من زندگانی

تو گوئی بر سرم دارم کشیدند²⁸

ابن است که از تف جان خود سوزها بر تنهائی افرسده میدمد:

ز جان خاور ان سوز کهن رفت

تنش وا ماند و جان او ز تن رفت

چو تصویری که بی تار نفس زیست

نیداند که ذوق زندگی چیست

ز جان خاک تو را بیگانه دیدم

باندام تو جان خود دمیدم²⁹

²⁸ارمغان حجاز، ص ۹۱-۰۲.

²⁹ربور عجم ۲۰۳.

حکیم درد آشنا که جا بجا جای درده ازموده است مادر بیاری را که نوامید
است کشف میکند:

مسلم این کشور از خود نا امید

عمر پا شد با خد مردی ندید

زشتی اندیشه او را خوار کرد

افتراق او را ز خود بیزار کرد

پست فکر و دون نهاد و کو ذوق

مکتب و ملای او محروم شوق

شیخ او لرد فرنگی را مرید

گرچه گوید از مقام با یزید

داستان او مپرس از من که من

چون بگویم آنچه ناید در سخن

در گلویم گریه با گردد گره

و بعد نگاه تیز بینش خصم دیرینه ایرا باز می بیند که ریاضت و فقر نام دارد و در شکل های مختلف (این نیز بگذرد) و (هر چه پیش آید خوش آید) مصیبت هابر سر شرق آورده است. اقبال با فقر میان تهمی بمبارزه بر میخیزد و دست رد بر سینه تفسیر گویان بر نیت تصوف میزند و میگوید جای شاهین و بز سینه باز افلاک است. اقبال برای باز افلاک را عالم استغنا میداند نه کنج خاج و گرسنگی و کاهی. استغنا در نظر او پیرو زشدن بر نیا زیهاست که خواهی نخواهی در بشر بست و برای خاموش کردن اتش گرسنگی و تشنگی نباستی خورد و نشیده. گرسنه ماندن و تشنگی کشیدن نوعی درندگی بد نبال دارد بیپوده نام وارستگی بان داده اند. ترک دنیا گفتن تا زمانی که زنده هستیم و در دنیائیم جز از اسارت ماست بدست انانیکه دنیا را ترک نمیگویند و فقر های مادی همیشه فقر منعی بنبال دارند. فقر در نظر اقبال این است:

فقر کار خویش را سنجیدن است

بر دو حرف لا الله پیچیدن است

برگ و ساز او ز قرآن عظیم

مرد درویشی ننگجند در گلیم

با سلاطین در فتد مرد فقیر

از شکوه بوریا لرزد سریر

گرچه اندر بزم گم گوید سخن

یک دم او گرمی صد انجمن

بی پران را ذوق پروازی دهد

پشه را تمکین شجبازی دهد

بر نیفتد ملتی اندر نبرد

تا در او باقیست یک درویش مرد³¹

در مثنوی زیر باستد لال قوی او بنگریم که چگونه انزوا را رد میکند:

ایکه از ترک جها نگوئی مگو

ترک این در کهن تسخیر او
را کبش بودن از او وارستن است
از مقام آب و گل بر جستن است
صید مومن این جهان آب و گل
باز را گوئی که صید خود بهل
حل نشد این معنی مشکل مرا
شاهین از افلاک بگریزد چرا؟
وای ان شاهین که شاهینی نکرد
مرغکی از چنگ او نامد بدرد
در کنامی ماند راز و سرنگون
پر نزد اندر فضای نیلگون³²

اکنون که بسر چشمه بیماری دست یافته است در پی درمان می‌رود. درمان
سگست باز دادن آن شخصیتی است که از دست رفته. حقارت و ناچیزی بر
شخص باعث خواری و پستی اجتماع است این جهت درمان یا بد از فرد آغاز
گردد. از او بنشنویم که چگونه راج و بهای شرق را به شرقیان مینمایاند:

سوز و سازو درد و داغ از آسیاست

هم شراب و هم ایام از آسیاست

عشق را ما دلبری آموختیم

شیوه آدمگری آموختیم

هم بنز هم دین ز خاک خاور ست

رشک گردون خاک پاک خاور است

بر صدف را گوهر از نیسان ماست

شوکت بر بحر از طوفان ماست

داشتیم اندر م یان سینه داغ

بر سر راهی نهادیم این چراغ³³

و کدام صاحب دل است که بر این چراغ بر سر راه نهاده بدست طوفان و باد
سپرده دل نسوزاند و براستی اندوهگین نگردهد اما اقبال با ماست. کاروانسلاری
که میدانند غرب هر چه دارد همه از شرق است:

حکمت اشیاء گفرتگی زاد نیست

اصل او جز لذت ایجاد نیست

نیک اگر بینی مسلمان زاده است

این گهر از دست ما افتاده است

این پری از شیشه اسلاف ماست

باز صیدش کن که او از قاف ماست³⁴

وانگه جان بخواب رفته مشراق را با تازیانه شعر هشیاری میبخشد و او را به
بیگانگی و وحدت میخواند:

³³ پس چه باید کرد، ص ۶۰.

³⁴ مثنوی مسافر، ۴۰.

ای اسیر رنگ پاک از رنگ شو

مومن خود کا فر افرنگ شو

رشته سود و زیان در دست توست

ابروی خاوران در دست توست

اهل حق را زندگی از قوت است

قوت بر ملت از جمعیت است³⁵

اقبال سربزیز و تسلیم نیست. آزاد و سر بلند و پر جرئت است. این است که در میان دسته دسته بره گان جلوه شیر ژان دارد شریکه سودگران استعمار را باشمشیر برن قلم در میدرد و ارزوئی جز سیادت همان بره گان سیه روزگار ندارد... محمد علی جناح قائد اعظم پاکستان گفته است (اقبال نه تنها یک متفکر بلکه راهنما و رفیق من ود. در تاریکترین روز مانند یک صخره محکم برپا ماند و هر گز متزلزل نشد)³⁶ دلیل دیگر برمتانت فکر و روشنی را هوش همین بس که در روزگار استعمار هر گز خفت کار دولت استعماری نپذیرفت و آزاد و بیرون از

³⁵ پس چه باید کرد، ۵۹.

³⁶ رومی عصر ۱۱.

هرقید و بند گفت آنچه بایست بگوید. شاید انتقاداتی که اقبال با ستعمار گری دارد در همه ادبیات عالم در تندی و صراحت بی نظیر باشد:

از من ای باد صبا گوی بد نامی فرنگ

عقل تا بال گشو دست گرفتار تر است

عجب ان نیست که اعجاز مسیحا داری

عجب الست که بیار تو پیار تر است

دانش اندوخته ای دل ز کفت انداخته ای

اه زان نقد گرا نمایه که در باخته ای³⁷

اقبال میدانند که چه قدر احتیاجات کشوری کمتر باشد ازادگی و بیشتر است. باین سبب ملت خود را بقناعت آنچه که دارند ودعوت میکند تا بازار سوداگرای بیگانه را کساد کند که به بیمانه کالا با ابروها نرود و شان کشور پاس داشته شود:

وای ان دریا که موجش کم تپید

گوهر خود را ز غواصان خرید

انچه از کاک تو رست ای مرد حر

ان فروش و ان بیوش و ان بخور

ان جهان بینان که خود را دیده اند

خود گلیم خویش را بافیده اند³⁸

بر صاحب نظران است که از دریای شعر او گهر با صید کند که گهر بسیار

است.

به هشدار و بهوش ائیم که طرفه باشداری میدهد:

نگر خود را بچشم محرمانه

نگاه ما ست ما را تازیانه

تلاش رزق اذان دادند مارا

که باشد پر کشودن را بهانه³⁹

اوحتی نظری رحمت خدا را نیز شامل ملتهای ازاد میداند:

خدا ان ملتی را سروری داد

که تقدیرش بدست خویش بنوشت

بان ملت سروکاری ندارد

که دهقان‌ش برای دیگران کشت⁴⁰

اقبال تحت تاثیر عرفان و ادب ایران دانسته بود که عقل مغرد پیچکاره

خواهد بود اگر ز مددگاری یارانی چون و جدان و عشق محروم باشد و غرب در

نظر او پیر و عقل مفرد است. چه زیبا سرائیده:

بو علی اندر غبار ناقه گم

دست رومی پردهٔ محمل گرفت

ان فروتر رفت و تا گوهر رسید

ان بگردابی چو خس منزل گرفت

³⁹ارمغان حجاز، ۱۳۶-.

⁴⁰ارمغان حجاز ۹۳-.

حق اگر سزی ندارد حکمت است

شعر میگردد چو سوز دل گرفت⁴¹

مگر از مکتب مولوی نیا موخته است که:

عقل گوید شش جهت راهست و دیگر راه نیست

عظق گوید راه بست و رفته ام من بارها⁴²

اگر مولوی در طلب مقصود با چراغ گرد شهر میگردد⁴³ و اگر حافظ طالب

یاری است که انی دارد⁴⁴ اقبال در جستجوی کسی است که تنی همچون کو پی

دلی همچون جوئی باشد:

تنی پیداکن از مشمت غباری

تنی محکتر از سنگین حصاری

درون او دل درد اشنائی

⁴¹ پیام مشرق ، ۱۲۲-.

⁴² از غزلیات شمس-.

⁴³ از غزلیات شمس-.

⁴⁴ از غزلیات حافظ-.

چو جوئی در کنار کوهماری⁴⁵

کیفیت خرد و دل دونیروی بزرگ درونی از چشم او این است:

خرد زنجیر بودی آدمی را

اگر در سینه او دل نبودی⁴⁶

و با این رباعی که در ترازوی اندیشه او جاع عقل و عشق را نان میدهد:

نه به جاده ای قرارش نه بمنزلی مقامش

دل من مسافر م که خداهش یار بادا

حذر از خرد که بندد همه نقش نامرادی

دل ما برد بسازی که گسسته تاربادا⁴⁷

اقبال ازان دسته معدود مردم است که مسولیت خود را میشنا سد و بکار

خویش آگاهی دارند. او هنرا را موبیتی میداند و هم امانتی و هنر مند را ان

⁴⁵ پیام مشرق، ص ۱۸.

⁴⁶ ارمغان حجاز ۱۶۸.

⁴⁷ پیام مشرق ۲۱۵.

امانت داری که بایستی دین خود را ب مردم ادا کند. اقبال بهر محض معتقد نیست بلکه بر این عقیده است که بر هنری تنها در خدمت بشریت معنا دارد و بس. او پرسالت خود در میان مردم مومن است و رهنمونی مردم دیگر را میپذیرد که خداوند همپایه او با آنها روش بینی نداده است و یا احتیاجات زندگی انجنان گرفتار شان داشته که مجال نمودی ندارند. اقبال از هنر بهای تفننی و تزئینه از شعر ها که چون بفشاری تافاله ای از کلمات در دست میمانند و دیگر هیچ بیزار است و زندگانی خود را او شاپدی است زنده بر این اعتقاد و شعر او ائینه ر و شنی که بی دارنده عشوه در مندانه ندارد:

برگ گل رنگین ز مضمون منست

48 مصرع من قطره خون منست

ویا:

باغبان زور کلامم آزمود

49 مصراعی کارید و شمشیری درود

⁴⁸ پیام مشرق، ۳.

⁴⁹ ارمغان حجاز ۵۸.

و نفت خود را از طالبان پنهان های با زاری باز میگوید:

تو گفتمی از حیات جاودان گوی

بگوش مرده ای پیغام جان گوی

ولی تویند این نا حق شناسان

که تاریخ وفات این وان گوی⁵⁰

اعتقاد او در شعر بر این است که:

نغمه میباید جنون پرو رده ای

اتشی در خون دل حل کرده ای

افریند کاینات دیگری

قلب را بخشد حیات دیگر

زان فرا وانی که اندر جان اوست

هر تهی را پر نمودن شان اوست⁵¹

دریکی از منظومه های پر مغز خویش که گفتگوئی میان خدا و انسان استبقدرت سازدنگی بشر اشارتی بس نغر دارد. درآغاز خداوند خطاب به بشر میگوید:

جهان را زیک اب و گل افردم

تو ایران و تا تار و زنگ افرد

من از خاک پولاد ناب افردم

تو شمشیر و تیر و تفنگ افردی

تبر آفردی نهال چمن را

قفس ساختی طاہر نغمه زن را⁵²

و این انسان شاهکار افرینش پروردگار عجب زیرکانه جوابی داد. انچنان پیا سخی که بی شیخ خدا را نیز خوش میاید. میگوید:

توشب افردی چراغ افردم

⁵¹ ربور عجم، ص ۲۵۳، ۲۵۶.

⁵² پیام مشرق، ۱۳۲۰.

ویا:

تراش از تیشه خود جاده خویش

براه دیگران رفتن عذاب است

گر از دست تو کار نادر آید

گناهی هم اگر باشد ثواب است⁵⁵

بت شکنی ژیکمی دگیر از دفات چشم گیر اقبال است. تعصب با بت‌های ما بستند چه چشم و دل ما را بروی حقایق میبنداند و ما را اسیر و برده میداردن. او دشمن همه خرافات و بت‌هاست و چون بفلسفهاگایی دارد با تیشه منطق بر ریشه بت‌های دروغین‌میزند تا بجایش خداوندانی راستین بسازد و چون برای از نوسختن به ویران کردن محتاج است سر سخخانه ویران میکند و ویران میکند:

صورت نپرستم من بتخانه شکستم من

⁵⁴ اسرار و رموز، ۳۶.

⁵⁵ پیام مشرق، ۶۲.

ان سیل سبک سیرم بر بند گستم من
در بود و نبود من اندیشه گمانها داشت
از عشق هویدا شد این نکته که هستم من⁵⁶

ویا:

بتان تازه تراشیده ای دریغ از تو
درون خویش نکا ویده ای دریغ از تو
گرفتم اینکه کتاب خرد فرو خواندی
حدیث شوق نفهمیده ای دریغ از تو
طواف کعبه زدی گرد دیر گ دیدی
نگه بخویش نیچیده ای دریغ از تو⁵⁷

⁵⁶ پیام مشرق ، ۱۷۹-.

⁵⁷ پیام مشرق ۲۲۱-.

اقبال در مقامی بمناسبتی گفته است: (بندوان مایلند مهین خود را ازاد ساخته و حکومت خویش بدست گیرند اما تعصب طبقاتی را بیشتر از ازادی کشور دوست میدارند و برای بدست استقلال بند قربانی کوچکترین تعصبات خود را روا نمیدارند)⁵⁸ در زندگانی اقبال هر چه مینگری تلاش است و طپش و کوشش که این طرز زندگانی همه آنها ست که بدنی و شن رادنبال میکنند و گویا که ارزش انسنها باندازه همین تلاشهاست. برا و مبارک بادان ثمره ها که از تقلای خود برد و دلسوزی بسیار بر دست و پا و زبانهای باد که هرچه کنند و گویند و پویند همچنان در جای خویشند و در پی ثمری بسر و میمانند. بشعر او رو ارویم که برهان بزرگی است بر عشق او بدشواریهها:

در جهان نتوان اگر مردانه زیست

همچو مردان جان سپردن زند گئیست

عشق با دشوار ورزیدن خوش است

چون خلیل از شعله گل چیدن خوش است⁵⁹

⁵⁸ رومی عصر ۱۱-

⁵⁹ اسرار و روموز، ۵۵-

ویا :

میازرا زم بر ساحل که انجا

نوای زندگانی نرم خیز است

به دریا غلط و با موجشدر اویز

حیات جاودان اندر ستیز است⁶⁰

خوبست بحث بت شکنی اقبال را با بیستی از صادق سرمد پیا یان بریم که:

اقبال بزرگ است که در عالم توحیدر

در بت شکنی دشمن اصنام بزرگ است⁶¹

و تاریخ پا گفته است که بت خنان عقاید چه دشواریها تحمل کرده اند: چه

سالها سال زجرو جس و چه داربا و تیر بارانها..اما اقبال از این سفر پر صعوبت

برای خود (تنهایی) به ارمغان آورده است. بر سیر شهرت و پیا هوی انجمن خود

⁶⁰ پیام مشرق، ص ۱۳.

⁶¹ رومی عصر، ص ۱۶۶.

را تنها دیده است و دور خود را از همدلان و بهم نفسان خالی. شعر او جلوه گاه
تنهائی است:

من اندر مشرق و مغرب غریبم

که از یاران محرم بی نصیبم

خم خود را بگویم با دل خویش

چح معصوما نه غربت را فریبم⁶²

و در این سروده او غم تنهائی موج میزند:

ادمی اندر جهان هفت رنگ

پر زمان گرم فغان مانند چنگ

ارزوی همنفس میسوزدش

ناله بای دلنواز آموزدش

گرچه بر گردون هجوم اختر است

بر یکی از دیگری تنها تر ست

بر یکی مانند ما بیچاره ای است

در فضای نیلگون اوراه ای است

این جهان صید است و صیادیم ما؟

یا اسیر رفته از بادیم ما؟

زیر گردون خویش رایا بم غریب

زان سوی گردون بگو: انی قریب

زار نالیدم صدائی بر نخلست

هم نفس فرزند ادم را کجاست

عمر هابر خویش میپچد و جود

تا یکی بیتاب جان اید فرود

گر نرنجی این زمین شوره زار

نیست تخم ارزو را سازگار

از درون این گل بیحاصلی

پس غنیمت دان اگر روید دلی⁶³

او خویش را در مقام مقایسه با گوته شاعر و فیلسوف المان که شبهات بسیار
باو دارد گیاه رسته از خاک مرده ای میداند و پر نده در گلستان خود غریبی⁶⁴.

اقبال در تنهائی عمیق حیلت خومش بروزگار پس از مرگ نیز اندیشدیده
است بروگاریکه شحرتش افاق گرفته و همچنان تنها و نا شناخته مانده است
اقبال با شنائیهاظا پر که از حد نام و تاریخ تولد و مرگ و حوادث ظاهری زندگی
پیش نمیروود بانگاه طنز امیزی نگریسته است:

چورخت خویش بربستم از این دیر

همی گویند با ما آشنا بود

ولیکن کس ندانست این مسافر

چه گفت و با که گفت و از کجا بود⁶⁵

⁶³ جاوید نامه، ص ۳۲، ۱.

⁶⁴ پیام مشرق، ص ۲.

شاید حاصل همه گفتار هارسا و نارسا در روز اقبال و بیاد او در راه انست
که گفت شود اقبال سما با تو بیگانه نماندن ایم درد تو بجان حس کرده و غم تو
بجان چشیده ایم شاد باش که در کام یا بی های اسیا بهره ای بزرگ نصیب تو
است.

این نگاهی بود نا تمام از دو جلوه گاه سیاست و تنهائی بشعر اقبال یا دست
کم طرحی از او طرحی از مرد بزرگ مشرق عاشق مشرق و دشمن پرچه او را
دشمن است. سیاست مدار و اشاعر بزرگ. مبارز و دانا ابرکار خود نخستین و
دلیر ترین فردی که نقشه پاکستان امروز را طرح ریزی کرد و نشانی از یک
مسلمان واقعی بهمان معنای واقعی:

مسلمان غم دل در خریدن

چوسیماب از تپ یاران تپیدن

حضور ملت از خود در کدشتن

دگر بانگ انا الملت کشیدن⁶⁶

⁶⁵ ارمغان حجاز، ص ۱۹۹.

⁶⁶ ارمغان حجاز، ص ۱۱۷.

پس شگفت نیست که او در بین مبارزین خود نیز دوستاناران بیشمار دارد. وقتی سخن از مردانی چون اقبال بمیان میاید مرزها از میان بر میخیزند و دوگانگی با و صد گانگیها به یگانگی بدل میشود. به یگانگی خاور و اَبسته است به یگانگی عالم و حاصل همه ان گفتار و کردار با موجی از صافی و زلالی بوده است در درون مردابی و یا جریان سیلی تند در دل با طلاق ... بهمین جهت ما روز اقبال را که شاعری پاکستانی است با معیار کوچک (کشور من) نمی سنجیم بلکه او را با میزان بزرگ (درد من و دنیای من) مینگریم. روانش شاد باد که در دنیای هنر بهر ای چنی نعظیم دارد و برای ما که ایرانی هستیم بویژه حماسه ای بزرگ است که زبان ما را برای پیام بزرگش بمشرق بر گزیده است. اثار اقبال بزبان فارسی بمراتب بیش از اثار او بزبان اردو است و این خود تجلیلی است از زبان عزیز و دیرینه ما. دران سوی مرز بزرگ مردی ایران ندیده در خانه ای اردو زبان دیده بعالم گشوده دل از دست افرنگینا خون گشته اندیشه ازادی ملت مسلمان هند انقلابی در جان پاکش بر انگیخته قلم بر دست میگیرد و از جان ما به سخن یعنی شعر لباس بییافد که از تار و پود حریر سخن فارسی است شاید بنظر شگفت آید که چرا فارسی؟ اما راستی کدام زبان ان گسترش و لطافت او انعلاف دار د که بتواند با سخگوئی روحی چون روح مولانا جلال الدین رومی بوده باشد و در دست و قلم شمس الدین حافظ نقش و نگاری کند که بمعجزه بماند. نیاز روح

شرق را زبان قادر شرق میتواند ادا کند. و یگانگی زبان خود دلیلی بر یگانگی
دلهاست.

آرزوی اقبال را ارزو میکنیم که میگوید:

بر جوانان سهل کن حرف مرا

بهر شان پایاب کن ژرف مرا

این سخن اراستن بی حاصل است

بر نیاید آنچه در قعر دل است

گر بگیم میشود پیچیده تر

حرف و صوت او را کند پوشه ده تر

سوز او را از نگاه من مگیر

یا ز آه صبحگاه من بگیر⁶⁷

با مضمون سخنی از استاد سعید نیسی سخن پیا یان باید برد که هرچه گوئیم
همچنان در ابتدائیم. اقبال اگر روشن کنند هآسمان پاکستان است البته روشن گر
ایران هم هست زیرا دوخانه دیوار بدیوار را خورشید با هم روشن میکنند.⁶⁸

فٹ نوٹ

SPEECH BY SYED MUHAMMAD MANSURI

Syed Mansuri is attached to the Pakistan Consulate at Meshed. He delivered this speech on the occasion of Iqbal Day.

(2)

روز بر گذاری مراسم در گذشت علامه محمد اقبال لاهوری شاعر شهیر پارسی گوی پاکستان روزی است اختصاص دارد که بروح بزرگ ان شاعر و فیلسوف فقید و مطالعه دقیق در افکار عالی ان حکیم ارجمند و پیامهای آمیخته با پند و نصایح آن مرد بزرگ پی برد.

در این روز سر مقاله روز نامه های شبه قاره و سخنرانیهای دانشجویان و دانشگاههای پاکستان و همچنین عنوان نوشتن فضلا و شعر گفتن شعرائ اختصاص دارد بمعرفی شخصیت و نابغه بزرگی که در عصر ما یگانه فیلسوف و ادیب و فضل و علامه بشمار میرفته و میزیسته است.

اگر مطالعه دقیق در تاریخ و شخصیت علامه اقبال بنائیم اولین صفت اخطصادی او که در فکر و ما بسیار مؤثر اسر همانا پی بردن بعمق و عظمت و بزرگواری اوست که یک سلسله متوالی از نسل و نژاد و همچنین مناسق بیشمار از حوزه عملیات خود را تحت تاثیر و نفوذ خویش قرار داد.

از روزیکه اقبال پا بعرصه و میدان چیز نویسی گذارد تا پنگا میکه رخت از گیتی بر بست در هر زمان (ظرف نیم قرن) سبک کلام و روش نوشتن و فن تئوری و افکار او چه در زمینه ادب و مذهب و عقیده و سیاست و سائر امور مشابه بآن. تاثیر و بسزائی داش در فکر و روحیه کلیه طبقات مختلف در هر شئون و درجه از مردم گفتار و کردار او که سر منشاء آن زروح قوی فکر او بود. آثاری عیان و مستمعر که شاهدهی صادق بر روشنفکری او و روح مقتدر اوس. -- باقی گذارد

گفته با آئینه روحند ان

جلوه گر گردد دران افکار چون

جلوه گر گردد در او امیال شخص

جلوه در وی میکند آمال شخص

پر کرا فکر قوی دارا هدی

جلوه اش زیبا تر و اعلا هدی

آنا گشتن بروح مقتدر

هست آثارش عیان و مستمر

هر گروهی کاندیدین دهر شگفت

کرده نیکو کاربائی بس شگفت

هست پر کردار و بر گفتار او

شاپدی صادق درخشان روح او

(منصوری)

آیا چه اسرار و رموزی علامه اقبال در عهد معاصرین و همزمانان خود بکار برد تا توانست در دروان زندگی خود معاصرین زمان خود را تحت تاثیر ابن رومز و اسرا قرار بدهد و همچنین نوشتجات او پس از مرگش پا یدار و بجای بماند که بتواند همه را شے فته گفتار و اشعار خود بسازد؟

آیا این اسرار و رومز در مهارت و استادی او در صنعت شعر و افکاری شاعری و همچنین از حس تشخیص او در باخبر بودن و آگاهی داشتن از اجتماعی و اجتماعی بودن و گروه دستی او نبود که در نهادش نهفته بود؟

آیا فروز ریختگی و از هم پاشیدگی فئوا ریلیسیم بومی در قرن نو زده و پیدایش رژیم و سیستم مستعمراتی که دولت بیگانه ای این رژیم و سیستم را

با خود بعنوان تحفه و هدایا حمل و تحمیل بر مردم شبه قاره کرد. رموز و اسراری نبود که او را آگاه ساخت از بیدار بودن و پیدار شدن اجتماع و درک کردن ماهیت سیاست که ابن رومز بنو به خود افکار تازه ابرا درسبک ادبیات و اشعار او پروراند و تولید کرد و همچنین نصاب و میزان قضاوت و داوری را در جنبه اشعار و ادبیات خود تشکیل داد؟

قدرت قلم مخصوصا نیروزی سرودن شعر او متدرجها نقش موثر و جدید تری را بخود گرفت که این نقش مانند سلاح از طرف... نهضت و جنبش ملی و همچنین مانند شعار و تظاهرات و افکار زندگی ساده اجتماع بود

رنج کشیدن در راه وظیفه خودی یعنی اشعار جوان و تازه و بزبان خود را به درجه اعتلاء و بر میزان بحر و وزن شعری رساندن وظیفه آسانی نبود که بتوان از طریق تغییرات کوچک که از تجارب فکری خود آموخته یا از شیوه و فنونی که در رسم شعر گفتن رعایت میشوید استفاده نمود این وظیفه و کوشش مستلزم توسعه کلی در ساختن و سرودن اشعاری است که جنبی و وجه و ذوق شعری جهانیانرا! در برداشته باشد و همچنین یک تطبیح و ابتکار جدید است که کاملاً افکار و احساسات را در خود ایجاد نماید لذا فقط اقبال بود که توانست عظمت و عمق صنعت شعری خود را با بزرگی و اهمیت وظیفه خودش بمسابقه یا پیکار در

اورد و برای انجام این وظیفه نه فقط بر حجم و توسعه جدید شعری در اشعار یکه بزبان ملی خود و همچنین بزبان فارسی (که بنظر داوران و موشگافگان علم و هنر بهترین اشعار که علامه اقبال سروده اشعار فارسی اوست که از جمله شاهکاری بای اشعار او میباشد) میسرود اضافه نمود بلکه در اشعار خود تغییر شل و دگر گونی را قائل و همچنین در مرحله و جریان کار و وظیفه شاعری خود محسنات علم بدیع کا ملا قابل قبول را در اشعار خود میپروراند:

شاعری زین مثنوی مقصود نیست

بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست

پندی ام از پارسی بیگانه ام

ماه نو باشم تهمی پیمانہ ام

حسن انداز بیان از من مجو

خوانسار و اصفهان از من مجو

گرچه پندی در عذوبت شکر است

طرز گفتار دری شے رین تر است

فکر من از جلوه اش مسحور گشت

خامه من شاخ نخل طور گشت

پارسی از رفعت اندیشه ام

در خورد با فطرت اندیشه ام

خرده بر مینا میگرای پوش مند

دل بذوق خرده مینا بینند

(اسرار خودی)

در مرحله نهائی از آنا لیزه موشگافی اقبال ثابت و مدلل نمود که هر گونه از محسنات علم بدیع که در مد نظر نویسنده بزرگ است مانند گفتار صدق و صفا و بدون آرایش و پیچان انگریز یا هر گونه سلسله از افکار و عقیده راست و درست که نویسنده را بر انگریزد نباید اهمیت انرا موكول و مربوط بمحسنات علم بدیع دانست زیرا همین عواملند که نیروی بزرگ شاعری اقبال را مستعد و مجهز ساخته عظمت و نقوذش را معرفی و اشکار میسازند چنانکه اقبال در جواب بدیوان گوته شاعر آلمانی در بندگی نامه خود میگوید:

من باغوش صد تاہم ہنوز

در ضمیر بحر نایابم ہنوز

آشنای من زمن بیگانه رفت

از خمستانم تمہی پیمانہ رفت

من شخوہ خسروی او را دہم

تخت کسری زیر پای او نہم

او حدیث دلبری خواہد ز من

رنگ و آب شاعری خواہد زمن

کہ نظر بے تابی جانم ندید

آشکارم دید و پنہانم ندید

تا میرسد باین اشعار:

برگ گل رنگین ز مضراون من است

مصرع من قطرہ خون من است

تا نینداری سخن دیوانگیست

در کمال ابن جنون فرزانیگیست

از پندر سرمایه دارم کرده اند

در دیار پندر خوارم کرده اند

لاله و گل از نوایم بی نصیب

طاہرم در گلستان خود غریب

بسکه گردون سفله و دون پروراست

وای بر مردی که صاحب جوهر است

(بندگی نامه)

موقعیکه اقبال شروع بنویسندگی کرد همان زمانی بود که او آرزو مند و اشتیاق تنهایی را در دوره جوانی خود داشت و ابن تنها دوره حساسی از آرمان و آرزو های او بود که دوره رنج و سختی و زود گذر او محسوب میشد ولی وقتی وارد اجتماعی شد ابن عادات بچه گانه را دور افگند زیرا او بزوردی وارد اجتماع و روبرو با حقیقت و اعتماد و اطمینان مردم هم کیش کشور خود و اجتماعیکه مرتبط

وابسته بنظام عالم حقیقت و هستی بالاخره با سرانجام طبیعت بود مواجه شد و تا پایان عمرش موضوع اجتماع که همواره در حال تغیر و باز جوئی و بی آرام و تحت مراقبت و عمل انجام نشده و مانند چهره های حقیقی و واقعی که بخوابند حقیقت و ماهیت خود را اشکار بسازند و دائم در تجدید هم آحنگ نموده و یک صدا شدن خود میکوشند. برای او یک مسئله غامض و پیچیده ای شده بود. همین خاصیت نیروی دینامکی و قوه درک و احساسات و تجارب او بود که و را بین مفسرین و ترجمانان احوال و اقوال خود بمشابه و مانند شخصی سراسیمه و پریشان حال معرفی نمود. زیرا بیشتر از مفسرین مبهوط شده بودند که نتوانستند نقطه تعادل و نکته اعتلاء افکار شاعری اقبال را پیدا نمایند. زیرا این نکته مرکز و اصل انتقاد و همچنین دلیل کافی بود برای مفسرین که نتوانستند تفسیر و تاویل افکار شاعری اقبال را بنمایند:

دل من روشن ازسوز درون است

جهان بین چشم من ازاشک خون است

ز رمز زندگی بیگانه تر باد

کسی کو عشق را گوید جنون است

مرا ذوق سخن خون در جگر کرد

غبار راه را مشمت شرر کرد

به گفتار محبت لب کشودم

بیان این راز را پوشیده تر کرد

گریز آخر ز عقل ذفنون کرد

دل خود کام را از عشق خون کرد

ز (اقبال) فلک پیما چه پرسى

حكيم نکته دان ما جنون کرد

(پیام مشرق)

تجسس در تفسیر و تاویل در کلیه افکار و آثار شعری اقبال از نقطه نظر تعیین نمودن هر گونه تعادل در اعتلای افکار شعری او در دوره زندگیش بطور تغییر نا پذیرى افکار او را از مباحثه و کشمکش و مغایر بودن آن با افکار دوران تاریخ و و از تجاریکه بدست آورده به مرحله ای وارد میسازد که مشکل است از افکار را با افکار دورانهای دیگر از زندگی او وفق داد. معهذ این ضد و نقیض

های ظهاری به ترکیبات جامع و مکمل شعری او که داری مطالب و موضوعات
عالی و دائمی است بیشتر نیست:

نعره زد عشق که خونین جگری پیدا شده

حسن لرزید که صاحب نظری پیدا شد

فطرت آشفت که از خاک جهان مجبور

خود گری خود شکنی خود نگری پیدا شد

خبری رفت ز گردون به شبستان ازل

حذر ای پرد گیان پرده دری پیدا شد

آرزو بیخبر از خویش باغوش حیات

چشم واکرد و جهان دگیر پیدا شد

زندگی گفت که در خاک طپیدم همه عمر

تا از این گنبد دیرینه دری پیدا شد

(افکار اقبال)

در فکر اقبال این موضوعات عالی و مطالب و در ذات و صلیت خود تعبیر بوجود انسام میشود. زیر انسان در بعضی از موارد وارد زندگی و زیستن با معاصرین و همزمانان خود میشود. به عبارت دیگر این انسان معاصر و همزمانان در نظراقبال عبارتند از مردم مسلمان هند. مردم دم افسرده و دل تنگ مهین خود. مردمیکه در انتظار آرزو امید آئینه بزرگ روز شماری میکنند. و بالاخره مرد میکه نخستین نمونه ای از مبارزه شدید و با دت تنها و بدون کمک غیر در مقابل دشمن با کمک و مساعدت نیرویذات خود بدون همچگونه مخالفت از داخل اردو سو سنگر گاه اجتماع صف آرائی نمودند.

پس ترانه با و اشعار اقبال یک رجز خوانی است از زبان نهضت های رائج کشیده و فخر و مبابات این نهضت با در مبارزه های بلا انقطاع که در خور عظمت و شایستگی میبا شد. این ترانه هاو رجزی های نشاط آمیز ووجود اور و بهم آهنگ آمیخته یا درد دل و نگرانی و ناشی از اختلافات. نا برابری ها. برتریها. تفاوت ها. ناعدیالیتها نزاع فرقه ها وغیره بود که در مقابل این قهرمان داستان عشق فرا گرفته و صف آرائی کرده بودند.

اقبال در همین افکار و اید های وسیع خود با دلی پر از شفقت و مهربانی که این ناروائیها و نا عدانتیها او را خشمگین کرده بود رجز میخواند اشعار و ترانه

میسرود مبنی بر خطاها و اشتباهات و بر رنج و المیکه برهم میسنانش که آرزو و اشتیاق آزادی را داشتند احاطه کرده و همچنین اشعاری با شوق و حرارت زیاده و بانیت پاک و عقیده و ایمان راسخ بخدا میسرود. اشعارش بشارت و پیش بینی برای پایان دادن بهر گونه اضطراب و اندیشه و نگرا نیهائیکه بر جهان انسانیت رو آور بود و همچنین اشعار در نقص و شکستن فرمان و منشور بندگی و غلامی نوید میداد:

من درین خاک کهن گوهر جان می بینم

چشم هر زره چو انجم نگران می بینم

دانه ئیرا که باغوش زمین است هنوز

شاخ درشاخ و برومند و جوان می بینم

کوه را مثل پرکاه سبک می یابم

پرکاهی صفت کوه گران می بینم

انالقبی که نگنجد به ضمیر افلک

بینم و هیچ ندانم که چسان می بینم

خرم آنکس که درین گرد سواری بیند

جوهر نغمه ز لرزیدن تاری بیند

(نقش فرنگ)

IQBAL DAY AT KUWAIT

On Iqbal Day celebration in Kuwait, His Excellency Dr. Ghulam Riza Taj Baksh, the Ambassador of Iran in Kuwait, delivered a speech which is reproduced below in Persian:

ازاینکه اشب در این محفل با شکوه افتخار آشنائی بیشتری با برادران پاکستانی خود پیدا میکنم بسیار خوشوقت و مفتخرم. همچنین مایه مسرت است که جناب آقای مطهر حسین سفیر عالیقدر کشور پاکستان که ہم امروز صبح بکویت وارد شده ندا امشب باین انجمن تشریف آورده اندومن از طرف خود و همه حضار بایشان خیر مقدم عرض میکنم و توفیق جناب ایشان را در انجام و ظایفی که در این کشور دوست بر عهده دارند از خدا وند متعال آرزو مینمایم.

در اولین روز این هفته که س نفر از سروران انجمن فکر و فن از من دعوت نمودند در این اجتماع برادران پاکستانی که بیاد بود اقبال شاعر و متفکر بزرگ تشکیل میشود شرکت نمایم با نهایت مسرت آنرا پذیرفتم و با کمال رغبت و امتنان از آن استقبال کردم. زیرا گذشته از آنکه معروضیت این راد مرد بخاطر تمام خصوصیات برجسته و فضائل اخلاق و فکری و هنریش از موزهای پاکستان بخارج گسترش یافته وستایش گرانی در اقصی ناط دنیا دارد. ما ایرانیان بویژه برای او محبتی خاص و مقامی ارمند قائل هستیم. اقبال بسیار از آژاری ارزنده

خود را بزبان ما سروده و عالیترین افکار خود را در قابل مناسب ترین الفاظ و شیرین ترین کلمات زبان فارسی که بگمان خود او از هر زبان دیگری برای بیان عقاید فلسفی و مضامین شعر و ادب گویا تر و شیواتر است آورده است. اقبال شیفته ایران و دلباخته ایرانیان بوده و ازدور باین سر زمین و مردمش مهر میورزیده است. او درقطعه شعر بسیار طریفی که در وصف شیراز سروده دلیل عالقمندی بی پایان خود را بجوانان عجم آتشی میداند که از نیایان آنان در سینه او مشتعل است. بدون شک اقبال از بسیاری از شاعران و متفکرین ایرانی مانند عطار و مولانا جلال الدین و عراقی و اوحدی الهام گرفته و بنوبه خود آنها بخش بسیاری از شعر او متفرکین معاصر ایرانی شده است. بقول سعید نفیسی که متاسفانه در سال قبل از میان ما رفته و نقاب در چهره خاک کشیده است در واقعی ایرانی و پاکستانی از روزی که در جهان سخن گفتن آغاز کرده اند همیشه یک فکر و یک آرزو و یک امید داشته اند. این فکر و آرزو و امید را زمانی و مولانا جلال الدین رومی درقرینه سعدی در شیراز و عمر خیام در نیشاپور بیان کرده اند و روزگاری دیگر غالب در دهبی و اقبال در لاهور همان معانی را بر زبان آورده اند.

علامه محمد اقبال لاهوری در ۲۲ فوریه ۱۸۷۷ میلادی در شعر سیال کوت واقع در ایالت پنجاب در یک خانواده متوسط الحال چشم بجهان گشود. اجداد اقبال از برہمنان کشمیر بودند کہ قبل از مہاجرت بہ پنجاب بدین اسلام مشرف شدہ بودند. جد و پدر از تمدن و تفکر اسلامی بہرہ مند بودن و طبعاً محیط خانوادگی در طرز فکر و روحیہ اقبال تاثیر بسزائی بخشید بود. او بعد از اتمام تحصیلات ابتدائی از سیال کوت بہ لاہور مرکز ایالت پنجاب رفت و بمحافل ادبی آنشہر کہ مرکز شعر و ادب بود راہ یافت. شاعر جوان بزودی توانست درین محفل قریحہ و جوہر ذاتی خود را بروز دہد و ادبا و شعر را از ذوف ادبی سرشار خود بشگفتگی اندازد. اقبال پس از اتمام تحصیلات انشگاہی در رشتہ فلسفہ در لاہور بسمت معلمی فلسفہ در ہمین دانشگاہ برگزیدہ شد و چندی بعد برای تکمیل معلومات خود رفت خسر اوپا برہست و سہ سال تمام بافلاسفہ و متفکرین اوپا محشور بود و بالاخرہ باتقدیم پایان نامہ خود تحت عنوان ”توسعہ و تکامل فلسفہ ماورأئ الطبیعہ در ایران“، کہ بزبان انگلیسی نوشتہ بود از دانشگاہ مونیخ کشور آلمان درجہ دکتری گرفت.

مسافرت اقبال با روپا و تماس دائمی و بال فالسفہ و متفکرین این دیار تحول بزرگی در فکر او بوجو آورد. برقی کہ از تضاد و برخورد دو تمدن شرق و غرب در

ذبح اقبال بوجود آمده بود حقایق تازه ای را بر او مکشوف ساخت و او را بدین فکر وا داشت که از نو فلسفه اسلامی را در اقبال پیشرفت های فکری و نظری مطالعه کند و میان شعور عقلی و شعور وجدانی سازی بعمل آورد. چگونگی نسانش افکار جدید و قدیم او طبیعت و ماوراء طبیعت در آثار او بسیار جا لب توجه و تعمق است و خواننده باندا زه ای تحت بتاثیر ذوق سرشار و فکر سلیم او قرار میگیرید که شعرش هر دم سخت باشد بطبع گران نمیافتد چنانکه خود او میگوید:

ز شعر دلکش اقبال میتوان دریافت

که درس فلسفه میداد و عشق میورزید

اقبال پس از مراجعت از اروپا مدتی بوکالت داد گستری پرداخت و شغل دولتی پیشه نکرد تا زیره بار نفوذ بیگانگان نرود و تواند باحکمرانان وقت مبارزه نماید و هموطنان خود را بادراک اهمیت استقلال و آزادی وادار کند.

در سال ۱۹۱۰ (؟) مثنوی اسار خودی و رموز بیخودی را بفارسی آغا کرد. البته قبل از تصنیف ابن مثنوی نیز بندرت بزبان فارسی شعر میگفت اما قدرت و مهارتی که در میان و شرح اسرا و روموز حقیقت هستی و سائل ترقی و تعالی

وپیشترفت فکر انسانی در این اثر بکار رفته فوق العاده شگفت آور است. موفقیت و محبوبیتی که با انتشار مثنوی اسرار و مرز بدست آورد توجهش را بزبان پارسی بیشتر کرد و بعد از مدتی دیوان دیگری را بفارسی تحت نام ”پیام مشرق“، بزیور طبع آراست. متعاقب انتشار پیام مشرق منظومه های ”زیور عجم“، ”جاوید نامه“، ”مسافر“، ”پس چه باید کرد-ای اقوام شرق“، و ”ارمغان حجاز“، را بفارسی سرود تا جائیکه میتوان گفت تعداد اشار وی بزبان فارسی بر اشعاری که بزبان اردو سروده است فزونی دارد.

در بررسی آثار اقبال خواننده خود را در برابر موجودی می یابد که با تسلط کامل و معرفی خاص بحقائق و دانستنیها از مباحث متنوعی سخن میراند او بهمان اندازه که در عمق مسائل فلسفی و عرفان فرو میرود و مظفرانه خود را از این وادی بی انتها و دریای ژرف بیرون میکشد بهمان اندازه باچیرگی به بیان مسائل اجتماعی و سیاسی و تشریح نظامات امروزی می پردازد. درد را تشخیص میدهد و راه علاج آنرا مینمایاند. او پر بخلاف بساری از عرفا و متفکرین شرق از عزلت و اعتکاف و گوشه نشینی و تفکر بی اقدام بیزاراست. مکتب اقبال مکتب نوسازی جهان فرداست. مکتب کوشش و فعالیت جنگ و ستیز باجهل و نادانی و مبارزه پی گیر با آفات و مخاطرات زندگی اجتماعی است. افکارترقی خواهانه وی چراغ

روشنی فاره مردم محنت کشیده شبه قاره هندوستان داشته و یقیناً همکاری و همفکری و با سایر آزادی خواهان تشنه اعتلای اینمطنقه وسیع دوباره کرده زنجیر های استعمار و کسب استقلال و آزادی بیسار ثمر بخش بوده است. اقبال هم در ردیف سید احمد خان و مولانا محمد علی و چناح از موهبت رهبری بهره مند بوده و در اثر کوشش بای خستگی نا پذیر و زحمات گوناگون توام با فداکاریهای قهر مانه و اراده آهنین و تغییر ناپذیر این رهبران عالیقدر حکموت اسلامی که در سال ۱۸۵۷ در شبه قاره هند رسماً پایان رسیده بود بعد از ۹۰ سال یعنی در سال ۱۹۴۷ بصورت پیدایش ممالک اسلامی مستقل پاکستان در شبه جزیره هند مجدد ازنده گردید ولی چه حیف که اقبال در این سال دیر گر زنده نبود تا ثمره درختی که او کاشته و بارور شده بود بچشم خود ببیند.

کوشش و جدو جهد اقبال در بیداری مسلمانان از سال ۱۸۹۹ از وقتی که در جلسه سالیانه انجمن حمایت اسلام لاهور منظومه را قرائت کرد. آغاز گردید. کوشی که تا پایان عمر او ادامه داشت مرحوم محمد علی جناح قائد اعظم پاکستان در حق او گفته است: اقبال نه تنها یک متفکر بلکه راهما و رفیق من بود و در تاریک ترین روزگار جمعیت مسلمانان هند مانند یک صخره محکم برپای ماند و هرگز متزلزل نشد.

اقبال در تمام عمر خود یک مسلمان بمعنای واقعی کلمه بود. او بافکری روشن و با بیانی شیوا که از ایمان پاک و از اعتقاد راسخ او به پیروی از دین مبین اسلام و تعلیمات قرآن الهام میگرفت همه کشور های اسلامی را باتفاق و وحدت و بهم آهنگی و برادری دعوت مینمود و میگفت:

اهل حق را حجت و دعوی یکی است

خیمه های ماجدا دلها یکی است

این وطن مصر و عراق و شام نیست

این وطن آنجاست کورا نام نیست

در سال ۱۹۳۴ اقبال بمعرض حنجره گرفتار شد و بمدت چهار سال در برابر مرگ مبارزه کرد. در اواخر مارس ۱۹۳۸ ناگهان مرض وی رو بشدت گذاشت. رفقا و علاقمندان وی در علاج او کوشش بسیار کردند اما متأسفانه چنانچه خود او نیز میدانست کار از کار گذشته بود لذا دعا را بر دوا ترجیح داد.

شب ۲۱ آوریل حالش خراب تر شد و تقریباً نیم ساعت قبل از آنکه لب

هایش برای همیشه ساکت شوند رباعی زیر را تکرار کرد:

سرور رفته باز آید که ناید

نسیمی از حجاز آید که ناید

سر آمدن عَلَيْهِمُ روزگار این فقیری

دگر دانائی راز آید که ناید

سپس بعلاقمندی که بر بالینش گرد آمده بودند گفت: برای مسلمان مرگ ترسی ندارد. مرگ عملیات این جهان را به تکامل یرساند و دوره های زندگی تازه ای را بروی او میگشاید.

اقبال در سن ۶۱ سالگی دعوت حق را لبیک گفت ولی هنوز آوائی در گوش دوستاندارانش و ان جمله دوستان ایرانی او که امروز بیست و نهمین سال وفات و را بر گزار میکنند طنین انداز است که میگفت:

چون چراغ لاله سوزم در خیابان شما

ای جوانان عجم جان من و جان شما

A GHAZAL OF IQBAL

O! Long-awaited Truth for once express
Theself in golden garb of shape and Form,
For at my brow, that it Thy Feet may press,
A thousand fealties have stirred a storm.

Be music-imbued movement of delight:
Thou art a Tune, unto mine ears be free.
What strain in this that hides its airy flight
In silence in the folds of Melody?

Do not Thy Mirror in close safety keep.
For shattered into pieces when it lies.
It then becomes a thing of love more deep,
Of love gar greater in its Craftsman's Eyes.

The moth thus said whilst fluttering round and round
The flame: Ah me! The same effect of old,

Is not in story of They burning found:

My tale of immolation too is cold!

For my heart's peace, there was no earth no place;

Yet peace I found at last, last, but where?

In Thy Forgiveness and befriending Grace,

My wild, destructive sins had found it there.

No warmth is left in Love for least desire

In beauty to display before the world.

No Ghazanawi burns in his feelings' fire,

Nor Ayaz' tresses now are lustrous, curled.

Once with my forehead as I touched the ground

At one of my devotions strange and rare,

Then from the Mosque arose an echoing sound,

“Lover of Idol, what avails this prayer?”

Amin Khorasane

IQBAL DAY AT LAHORE

The Central Iqbal Committee observed Iqbal Day at Lahore on April 23, 1967 as usual. The lecture delivered by Mr. A. K. Brohi, a brilliant lawyer and scholar, is reproduced below. But I would like to make one or two observations. Mr. Brohi thinks that the term "Islamic Socialism" is illegitimate. I merely wish to point out that Iqbal in one of his letters to the Quaid-i-Azam pleads for socialism and social democracy (28 May 1937). Similarly, in a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, Iqbal has this to say: "Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam. . . ." (Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, 1948, p. 167). And yet I do not contest Mr. Brohi's right to express his personal opinion about these matters.

IQBALIAN IJTEHAD & THE CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

by

A. K. Brohi

Iqbal day celebrations are a regular annual feature of considerable importance in the life of the State of Pakistan, and to participate therein necessarily involves an undertaking which is both solemn and serious. God grant that my own participation in this holy ritual be in accord with the spirit which is appropriate to the occasion and may I have His guidance to say from this sacred platform not that which the people of this country *want* but only what they *need*.

Iqbal symbolises for us primarily a poet *par excellence*, but he is also a philosopher who could justifiably be acclaimed, in the felicitous phrase of Plato, as a "Spectator of all-time and all-existence". He is, additionally, the architect of our polity. And for these reasons, whatever he has uttered is for us a part of our indestructible heritage — a heritage of which we have reason to feel proud. Therefore, in honouring him we are really honouring ourselves. A continual affirmation of the basic principles of his political philosophy is the surest way conceivable of safeguarding the moral and spiritual foundations upon which Pakistan was conceived by him and won by the sacrifices of those who, having listened to his call, gave the best of themselves to see that his dream came true. He was a poet, a philosopher, a sage — all

rolled into one. He drew his inspiration from the life-imparting reservoir of divine guidance which is contained in the Holy Book and the utterances of the Prophet of Islam through whom it was revealed to mankind. From that point of view, a study of his works is bound to contribute to a better understanding of that tactical principle in the light of which Islam came to transform the life of man on earth and to provide the frame-work of values in terms of which his destiny could be realised. A study of Iqbal's teaching in our own time is a *must* for all of us, if only because he has articulated the spirit of Islam in the vernacular of our age. He has interpreted for us its message in the light of the present day economico-political conditions.

Rich tributes have been paid to Iqbal by the best thinkers of the world, and I have no doubt that as long as Urdu, Persian and English languages live, and Pakistan, his spiritual child, endures, his name will continue to evoke admiration and respect in the heart and soul of men and women, not only of this country, but all over the globe. If it be true that the world is ruled by God through a few heroes and pre-eminent persons as has been suggested by Dr. Martin Luther, Iqbal will, being one of these, continue to rule it. Of such heroes it was that H.S. Chamberlain had remarked, "The mightiest of these heroes are the princes of intellect, men who without sanction of diplomacy or force of arms, without the constraining power of law and police, exercise a defining and transforming influence upon the thought and feelings of powerful the less many generations, men who may be said to be all the more powerful the less power they have, but

who seldom, perhaps never, ascend their throne during their lifetime; their sway lasts long but begins late, specially when we leave out of account the influence which they exercise upon individuals and consider the moment when that which filled their lives begins to affect and mould the life of the whole people". And to those words of Chamberlain, I would like to add the following: when the clap-trap and sound and fury of the pretenders to the noble mettle and vocation of the real heroes of history ends with the end of the brute-power they wield, they are bound to be exposed by the response which posterity makes to them. Thereafter, such is the inexorable law, they continue to be condemned by the teeming millions and none is deprived as to do them honour. Our posthumous name, fame and immortality is a function of our character — not of our power: This is the reason why not Ceasar but Christ prevails in History.

I shall try, in what follows, not so much as to offer a tribute to Iqbal as to consider, in the light of his teaching, one or two problems that have been in recent past posed for us in this country. Iqbal has taught us to accept the doctrine of *Ijtehad* as the "principle of movement in the structure of Islam" and it is our duty to think clearly about the validity of some of the "solutions" of our present day problems that are being daily advertised for our acceptance. The first of these has reference to what nowadays so frequently appears in the daily Press or is heard *ad nauseam* within the so-called intellectual circles — I mean the concept of *Islamic Socialism*. It is claimed that "Islamic Socialism" if we could only realise it as a practical possibility is a panacea for all our ills.

Speaking for myself, I find much difficulty in understanding precisely what is meant by the concept of Islamic socialism. The term "socialism" one can understand; and, to some extent, I suppose I understand what "Islam" is. But it is, if I am permitted to so put it, the spurious concoction of these two concepts which creates complications for the rational mind. The dilemma posed to normal human intelligence by this hybrid expression "Islamic Socialism" can be presented as follows : If "socialism" is precisely what Islam enjoins us to accept, then socialism by itself should be acceptable to us as our national ideology. If, however, it is not the conventional type of socialism that Islam enjoins upon us to accept, then in what essential particulars, one may ask, has Islam modified this concept so that it must be designated as *Islamic Socialism* to distinguish it from its non-Islamic varieties. Why is the word "Islam" which is a substantive, being degraded into becoming an adjective of "socialism" is a question that no one that I know of in this country can, consistently with logic, honestly answer. On the one hand we say, do we not, that Islam provides a comprehensive code of life bearing upon questions related to the economic, political and social organisations of mankind ; yet, on the other hand, we are called upon to say that there is an ideology called "socialism" which is what we need provided we somewhat modify it thus it is not Islam simpliciter, but Islamic socialism that will redeem us and will help us to organise our lives much more meaningfully than we are able to do at present.

If Islam is a universal religion, that is to say, a way of life which is valid for all time for all people and for all geographical habitats, then why does it not have also an adequate answer to those specific economico-political problems with which we are confronted in Pakistan — so that we must be forced to borrow our 'model' from an alien culture and civilisation? If socialism may be defined as a theory or a policy of social organisation which advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property, etc., by the community as a whole and their administration or distribution in the interests of all, it is clear that Islam cannot have much to say in the matter. If you think that is the only way to secure justice, you may subscribe to the theory or the policy of socialism, but, on the other hand, if you think that it will not advance the cause of justice but frustrate it, you may not subscribe to its doctrine. But what has that got to do with Islam, anyway? Strategy of socialism may be of some importance today to realise the ideal of justice but tomorrow it may not — it is no use, therefore, implicating Islam in this manoeuvre.

By "socialism" one ordinarily understands an economic philosophy which enjoins upon its votaries the necessity of regarding the instruments of production and the questions relating to the distribution of wealth to be matters exclusively for state-ownership and concern. In the context of Marxian philosophy, which necessarily is a part and parcel of materialistic interpretation of history, we are taught to believe in the primacy of economic categories. One thought that, within the frame-work of Muslim view of life, this avowedly materialistic approach must

be rejected since it is in conflict with the contention of the Quran, that it is the moral and spiritual categories which are primary and fundamental. The main purpose of the Quran, according to Iqbal, is to awaken in man a higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. Iqbal. emphasises, in ways too numerous to mention, the primacy of the spiritual life and, over and over again, he calls our attention to the fact that all things have their origin in the Divine and in the end return to the Divine. In his words, "The ultimate Reality, according to the Quran, is spiritual, and its life consists in its temporal activity. The spirit finds its opportunities in the natural, the material, the secular. All that is secular is therefore sacred in the roots of its being. The greatest service that modern thought has rendered to Islam, and as a matter of fact to all religions, consists in its criticism of what we call material or natural — a criticism which discloses that the merely material has no substance until we discover it rooted in the spiritual.

"There is no such thing as a profane world. All this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realisation of spirit. All is holy ground. As the Prophet so beautifully puts it, 'The whole of this earth is a mosque.' The State according to Islam is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organisation. But in this sense all State, not based on mere domination and aiming at realisation of ideal principles, is theocratic."

There is, accordingly, no place in Islam for the materialistic interpretation of history so that you might, with some

justification, be able to argue for the primacy of the economic factor. Socialism, as an offspring of materialistic interpretation of history, cannot be acceptable to a Muslim. Therefore, no wonder efforts are afoot to suggest that "socialism" can be spiritualised — and this is sought to be achieved by the simple device of labeling it as "Islamic".

I suspect that the word 'Islam' is in Pakistan constantly being utilised as a cloak for importing alien stuff — be these ideologies or institutions. By this device, ideologies and principles of social organisation which have been sanctioned by the growth of atheistic, nihilistic and materialistic philosophies of West in our time are given an air of plausibility, an appearance of respectability. I have often heard it said : If you add God to communism the product becomes equal to Islam. Although I am a philosopher by training, I confess, I do not know much about this "dialectical arithmetic" and I will not venture to say any, thing about it. But what I can say with some authority is this: that God is too all-comprehensive to be added to anything and communism which is assuredly based on Godlessness cannot survive for you to accept it, if you were to be a believer in God. You cannot have both together you have to make up your mind as to what you want and then you have some choice in the matter. "Theistic Communism" absurd — as is Islamic socialism or Islamic Capitalism.

To the age-old question : What is the State to do for the individual where the individual is not able to provide for himself

those bare necessities of life which he is to have if he is to survive ? Islam has its own answer to return. It is the responsibility of the State to provide conditions upon which not only the mind and character of its citizens must develop but also the conditions upon which its citizens are to win by their own efforts all that is necessary to a full civic efficiency. It is not for the State to feed, house or cloth them. It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house, and clothe himself and his family. The "right to work" and "the right to a living wage" are just as valid as the rights of person or property — that is to say, they are integral conditions of good social order. This was the concept of social order upon which " liberalism " of the nineteenth century European politics was based. " A society, " says L.T. Hobhouse, "in which a single honest man of normal capacity is definitely unable to find means of maintaining himself by useful work is to that extent suffering from mal-organisation. There is somewhere a defect in the social system, a hitch in the economic machine. Now, by the individual work, man cannot put the machine straight. He is the last person who can have a say in the control of the market. It is not his fault if there is over-production in the industry or if a new or a cheaper process has been introduced which makes his particular skill, perhaps the product of years of application, a drug in the market, He does not direct or regulate the market or the industry. He is not responsible for its ups and downs, but he has to pay for them. That is why it is not *charity* but *justice* for which he is asking. Now,

it may be infinitely difficult to meet his demands. To do so, may involve a far-reaching economic reconstruction. The industrial questions involved may be so little understood that we may easily make matters worse in the attempt to make them better. All this shows the difficulty of finding means of meeting this particular claim of justice, but it does not shake its position as a claim of justice. A right is right nonetheless though the means of securing it be imperfectly known, and the workman who is unemployed or underpaid through economic mal-organisation will remain a reproach not to the *charity* but to the *justice* of society as long as he is to be seen in the land."

Now L.T. Hobhouse whatever he was, was not at least a socialist. He was inspired by the ideal of justice and wanted to see that society was based on justice. Man's pre-occupation with the task of founding a just society is as old as the hills. This was long before socialism — or, as a matter of fact, long before any 'ism' was born. What could you say of the economic and political system of Abu Bakr, or Omar, or Usman or of Ali? Were they socialists? The instruments of production were not owned by the state of their day nor had they the type of control which a socialist state claims to have on the means of distribution of wealth. And yet they were, I suppose, consistently with conditions that obtained in their times, practising the gospel of Islam by founding society on justice.

I would like also to recall to your mind that celebrated passage in the epoc-making book of Iqbal entitled as *The Reconstruction of*

Religious Thought in Islam, where he, in his inimitable manner, so convincingly demonstrates the universality and the catholicity of the Muslim view of man's life. In his words, "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilise what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of Europe in the political and social science illustrates the former principle, the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years illustrates the latter. What, then, is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam? This is known as *Ijtihad*!"

It must follow that the *Mujtabid* in a Muslim polity has to look upon his own task with a sort of bifocal vision : he must have an eye on the eternal principles sanctioned by the Quranic view of man's place in the scheme of things as also have his eye firmly fixed on the ever-changing concourse of economico-political situation which confronts man from time to time. The *Mujtabid* must respond to the challenge of the time, by perceiving the nature of the change in the purple light of those enduring and universal principles which the religion of Islam has laid down for mankind. Whatever be his answer to the challenge of the time, the validity of his answer will depend upon the nature and character

of temporal situation with which a given society is confronted. The answer will differ from place to place and from time to time. If in the state of present day affairs that is observable in Pakistan our *Ijtihad* were to point out that system such as is suggested by the "socialism" of the West is the only solution that is available, there would be nothing wrong in our saying so. But it is no use calling all that as "Islamic socialism" if only because the model in question is taken from an alien culture which itself is premised upon certain principles for its ideological foundation that are different from those that are suggested by Islam. It would be dangerous in the extreme to speak of socialism of West as "Islamic" and to palm it off as an Islamic product.

It is interesting to notice that there is a chapter in the present Constitution of Pakistan which is headed as "Islamic Institutions" as if to suggest that the other institutions contemplated by the Constitution are un-Islamic or have nothing to do with Islam. Once again I would point out that here too the word "Islamic" is an unjustifiable prefix to the word "Institution". Similarly we hear it often said even by men who ought to know better : "All we want is Islamic education" — suggesting thereby that education in *Fiqh*, in *Hadith*, in Quran is alone Islamic, but in subjects like mathematics, engineering, medicine, law or modern inductive sciences is somehow not "Islamic" — and so on and so forth. And yet those who somehow are not persuaded to regard education of this latter type as Islamic, have not the least compunction in using the products of these disciplines : they travel on jet-planes with a great deal of gusto, use modern surgical

means in getting themselves treated for the removal of their bodily complaints, or watch the television — as if they were the acceptable fruits of a forbidden tree. I submit that one of the surest symptoms indicative of the canker of corruption and demoralisation having attacked a given people is that truth becomes with them the first casualty and a sort of general inflationary spiral begins to infect their language. Words are robbed of their meanings and no one understands any one and one half of society is set against the other half in a mortal conflict.

The second question I would like to refer to is : Who is discharging the role of a *Mujtabid* in the sphere of the Islamic State that we claim to have established? Is it the Head of the State, the National Parliament, the Provincial Assemblies or the Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology visualised under Article 191 of the Constitution ? Iqbal, were he asked to identify the individual or institutions who are fulfilling the role of a *Mujtabid* in our polity, would not, in my opinion, be able to return any answer which would be satisfactory even to him.

Students of Iqbal are therefore under an obligation to look upon the operations of the present economico-political institutions of our country in the light of such thoughts as Iqbal has voiced concerning the universality, the catholicity of Islamic spirit — particularly in relation to its capacity to vivify and fecundate the present-day operations of governmental institutions. Iqbal, for instance, whole-heartedly accepted the approach of the Turkish nationalist poet Zia as he saw it reflected

in one of his poems to the effect that "in order to create a really effective political unity of Islam, all Muslim countries must first become independent ; and then in their totality they should range themselves under one Caliph. Is such a thing possible at the present moment ? If not today, one must wait. In the meantime the Caliph must reduce his own to order and lay the foundations of a workable modern State. In the international world the weak find no sympathy ; power alone deserves respect." Iqbal's own comment on this approach is well known. According to him, "These lines clearly indicate the trend of modern Islam. For the present, every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics. A true and living unity, according to the nationalist thinkers, is not so easy as to be achieved by a mere symbolical overlordship. It is truly manifested in a multiplicity of free independent units whose racial rivalries are adjusted and harmonised by the unifying bond of a common spiritual aspiration. It seems to me that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations which recognised artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members." In the context of these considerations, Iqbal admonishes us over and over again to regard our historical situation in the light of the ideal Islam has placed before mankind and increasingly to make efforts to approximate as much as it is practically possible to that Ideal.

The question in this regard to be raised is : Whether, across the twenty years of its history, Pakistan has conformed to this 'Ideal' ? Have we understood and applied that principle of movement in the structure of Islam for which Iqbal has spoken so eloquently with so much of fervour and which, as far as I know, is the best Re-statement of the strategy of Islam itself in terms of which earlier statesmen of Islam had set about doing their task in order to fulfil the Divine Law.

Apart from academic study of these thoughts and the inspiring message given to us by Iqbal in the works that he has left behind, there is the all important obligation to be assumed by the protagonists of Iqbal's philosophy to eagerly strive for the maintenance of those conditions in terms of which the reform of our institutions in the light of the Muslim Ideal that he depicted so eloquently for us has to be pursued.

Iqbal day celebrations ought to be directed to the end that we do a bit of heartsearching and take stock of our situation in the light of the teaching that he has imparted to us. Let us, on this day, consider his message from the view-point of the actual impact it has made upon us as a people, as a *millat*.

MUHAMMAD IQBAL: A REAPPRAISAL

by

James Dickie⁶⁹

Neither Iqbal's philosophy nor his poetry can be easily understood in isolation from his historical context, that interval in India's history

between the failure of the Mutiny in 1857 with all it entailed for the Muslims and their gradual recovery, culminating in the establishment of Pakistan. Unlike most philosophers Iqbāl did not philosophise in a vacuum; his philosophy was purposive. Precisely in the nexus between his historical background and his reaction to it lies the clue to his writing, whether poetry and prose, and even the explanation of why at times the content of both verges on, what for want of a better word we may call, heresy. A glance at the contemporary situation may not account for his genius as a poet but it does explain his attitude as a philosopher. Whereas to-day there are some thirty independent Muslim states, when Iqbāl was living there were only three or four and of these, two — Turkey and Persia — were being rapidly secularised ; meanwhile in Palestine the rape of that country by international Zionism was proceeding apace with the connivance both of Russia and America. As for Iqbāl's own country there the crown of Shah Jahān rested on the head of Queen Victoria's descendant.

⁶⁹ He is a Ph.D. from Granda University, Spain,

Muhammad Iqbal was born into a Punjabi bourgeois family in 1877 and died in 1938. His emergence therefore coincides with one of the most complicated and critical periods in Indian history and the intricacy, not to say the confusion, of his background is reflected in the polyglot character of his work : the language he commonly spoke was Punjabi ; the language of his shorter poems was Urdu, that of his long poems Persian ; whilst his philosophical works were written in English and his religious language was Arabic. And toward the end of his life he was even contemplating turning to English as a medium for his poetic inspiration.

In his youth Iqbal had gone to Europe and studied at Cambridge and Munich, taking a doctorate in philosophy at the Latter university. This was the crisis, the turning point in his life. He saw in European society an attitude towards life which if applied in the East might resurrect its ancient glories. Back in India he found his co-religionists bewildered, as in the words of the Qur'an "Have you not seen them wandering mazed in every valley ?" (xxvi. 225) and their fatalism filled him with despair, In the long poem *Rumūz-i-Bekbūdi* he describes his anguish in graphic terms:

در سکوت نیم شب فالدن بدن

عالم اندر خواب و من گریان بدم

جانم از صبر و سکون محروم بود

درد من یا حی یا قیوم بود

آرزوے داشتتم خون کردش

تاز راه دیدہ بیرون کردش

سوختن چون لاله پیہم تا کجا

از سحر درویزہ شبنم تا کجا

اشک خود بر خویش میریزم چو شمع

با شب یلدا در آویزم چو شمع

In the mid-watch of night, when all the world

Was hushed in slumber, I made loud lament.

Unto the Living and Omnipotent God

I made my litany ; my longing heart

Surged, till its blood streamed from my eyes:

How long, O Lord, will the tulip glow,

Begging cool dewdrops nom the dawn?

Lo, like a candle wrestling with the night

Over myself I pour my flooding tears.⁷⁰

The only solution he could envisage was to transplant the activist philosophy of Europe to Eastern soil where it could be acclimated by a process of Islamisation. Iqbal therefore like most of us was not a pure philosopher : he did not start from a basis of reason and arrive at objective conclusions; rather he started with the conclusions and ingeniously constructed metaphysical arguments to give the impression that he had arrived at them by a rational process. He had asked himself the question : What philosophy can save Islām from disintegration? The answer, as he saw it, was a combination of the individualism of Nietzsche and the vitalism of Bergson. Nietzsche's theory of the superman he recast as the theory of ego.⁷¹ There is nothing inherently wrong in this borrowing from a foreign culture *provided that the elements borrowed be assimilable within their new context.*⁷² The answer to the

⁷⁰ *Asrar u Rumuz*, 95.96. Translation is from Prof. Arberry.

⁷¹ The writer seems to be unaware of Iqbal's true position in this respect. In a "Note on Nietzsche" dictated by Iqbal himself (preserved in the Iqbal Academy), he says, "The conception of the Superman in Nietzsche is purely materialistic. This conception may be new in European literature . . . It is probable that Nietzsche borrowed it from the literature of Islam or of the East and degraded it by his materialism." (Ed.)

⁷² Iqbal's own comment on the current tendency to copy the West could not be more apt: "There is nothing wrong in this movement," he says, "for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam." (*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Oxford, 1934), 7). The issue confronting Muslim nations today is not the acceptance or rejection of Western civilisation *in toto* but the selection of valid criteria to distinguish between good and bad in that civilisation and in the case of the former to

question of Nietzsche's assimilability may be found in his own work *The Antichrist* :

"Christianity destroyed the harvest we might have reaped from the culture of antiquity, later it also destroyed our harvest of the culture of Islam. The wonderful Moorish world of Spanish culture which in its essence is more closely related to *us*, and which appeals more to our sense and taste than Rome and Greece, was *trampled to death* Later on the Crusaders waged war upon something before which it would have been more seemly in them to grovel in the dust, — a culture, beside which even our Nineteenth Century would seem very poor and 'senile' Christianity, alcohol — the two great means of corruption. As a matter of fact, choice ought to be just as much out of the question between Islam and Christianity as between an Arab and a Jew" (*Aphorism* 60).

These excerpts illustrate to perfection Nietzsche's splenetic style ; there is much more in the same vein, but we have quoted enough to show why Iqbal could describe the German philosopher as a *mu'min*, a true believer.⁷³

Bergson, however, was a very different proposition. Iqbal with characteristic subtlety saw that the mindless dynamism of Bergson was insoluble as such in Islām and he ingeniously adapted the French philosopher's theories. And here we come to

assess the compatibility or otherwise of the feature whose adoption is proposed.

⁷³ An extensive study of this topic, which unfortunately cannot be recommended without caution, is Subhash Kashyap's "Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche" in *The Islamic Quarterly*, II (1955), 175-194

the heart of Iqbāl's philosophy, but before analysing it there is one observation which deserves to be made. Since Iqbāl is the only philosopher properly so-called to have emerged in Islam since Averroes's death in 1198 C.E., Most Muslim scholars have hesitated to criticise the only example there is of a modern Islamic metaphysic and Iqbāl's writings in consequence have assumed an almost sacrosanct character. This attitude in inhibiting the emergence of a modern Islāmic philosophy is a tendency of which Iqbāl himself would have been the first to disapprove.

Iqbāl was above all anxious to discredit determinism which in terms of human behaviour meant a tendency for Muslims to be complaisant about their unenviable lot. This leads him to analyse the individual's inner experience as "pure duration" untouched by serial time which is time as the common man apprehends it, a series of "nows". Paralleling the dual nature of time there is a bifurcation in the ego's activity: it is divided into the efficient self and the appreciative self. The former is in direct relation with space, the external world of everyday experience, Time as the appreciative self knows it is pure duration which the same ego acting in its capacity of efficient self has broken down into sequence that it might apprehend its daily experience in a dimensional world. Real time is spatialised and therefore distorted through the ego's unavoidable commerce with the world. But in pure duration as it is experienced by the appreciative self there is change but no seriality or succession : the temporal order of events has ceased to obtain. This is the dimension of mystical experience. "Its unity," says Iqbāl, "is like the unity of the germ in

which the experience of its individual ancestors exist, not as a plurality, but as a unity in which every experience pervades the whole."⁷⁴

From the individual self this pure duration is transferred to the universe and predicated of the Ultimate Ego. Thus an immanent God is established for nature and the divine purpose is seen as working out through the Muslim community whose behaviour is therefore purposive and rationally directed. The only flaw in this system would seem to be the impossibility of eliminating entirely the notion of seriality from pure duration. The unity of the latter, Iqbāl contends, is like a germ wherein the past (its parentage) and its future (the open possibilities of its growth) are co-existent with its present existence as a germ. But if the future tree be potentially present in the seed then the effect is already present in the cause, and as effect is posterior to cause pure duration is therefore not wholly untainted with seriality and determinism, we are forced to admit, still stands. To point out the partial failure of Iqbāl's metaphysic is not to belittle his stature. Free will, as someone observed, is something we all continue to believe in even though all the evidence is to the contrary. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of his metaphysic is its insistence on the plural nature of time. Heidegger emphasises that time, far from traversing a measurable course as along the edge of a ruler, is really a complex tissue of directions. And Dunne and Priestley have noted that the

⁷⁴ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Oxford, 1934), 45.

secret of immortality may lie in the individual's life not being circumscribed within a single time.

In our opinion the Islāmic metaphysic of the future must move within the conceptual framework of the 'Ashariya. It may be that Islām will one day, witness a neo-'Asharite movement, just as Catholicism has witnessed neo-Thomism. At all events — and the inadequacy of Iqbāl's metaphysic confirms this — a philosophy or cultural identity such as Islām evolves best when it evolves from within itself. Ultimately every people will have to work out their own destiny simply because no other course is open to them.

Whatever, nevertheless, the final verdict on Iqbāl's philosophy may be, that is no reason why we should not consider on their own merits the ethical values which arise from his premises and their significance for the Muslim community in the future. If in philosophy he was an innovator, in his social theories Iqbal was a conservative reformer, which is not really as paradoxical as it sounds. "Believe me," he said, "Europe to-day is the greatest hindrance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of those ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation, which speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalises its own apparent externality."⁷⁵ This sentence is central to Iqbāl's position. He envisaged the ideal society toward which Islām is or should be moving and this, apart from his unquestioned status as a poet, may be the most valuable aspect of his achievement. He saw that the class war had its basis in a false

⁷⁵ Ibid., 170.

attitude toward property which the Qur'ān proposed to abolish. The Qur'an's attitude is that *the whole earth is God's*⁷⁶ which means that the relation of the individual to his property is not ownership but trusteeship ; in other words, the world is held in trust by man for God. Further, Islamic society is unlike other societies in that it is God-given, established by divine charter in the Qur'an. Islam is not a religion in the sense in which Christianity and Buddhism are religions : these are extended metaphysical essays ; they purport to explain why things are not otherwise than thus. Islam, on the other hand, is a social system related to a metaphysical background which in turn confers dignity and transcendental validity on that system. For the Muslim religion seeks always to fuse the secular and spiritual into a new reality which is superior to either of original components taken separately. In this connection Iqbāl says, "In Islam it is the same reality which appears as the Church looked at from one point of view and the State from another. It is not true to say that the church and the state are two sides or facets of the same thing. Islam is a single unanalysable reality which is one or the other as your point of view varies."⁷⁷

It is not to be wondered at therefore that to Iqbal the names of certain modern seculariits in Islam were anathema as a glance at several bitter little epigrams in Urdu will show. Our modern

⁷⁶ Verily the earth is God's. He gives it as an inheritance to whom He will.

And the sequel is for those who keep their duty to Him" (VII. 128).

⁷⁷ Op. cit., 146.

secularists unable to refute his arguments prefer to pass them over in silence as they do with those of Napoleon who also found little to say in favour of laicism.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ "No society can exist without morality ; there is no good morality without religion. It is religion alone, therefore, that gives to the State a firm and durable support." From an address delivered in Milan, June 1800.

Not only does Iqbāl attack policies of westernisation but on the West itself he pours the vials of his scorn. Four trenchant lines describe what France referred to as her civilising mission in Syria:

فرنگیوں کو عطا کیا خاک سوریا نے کیا

نبی عفت و غم خواری و کم آزاری

صلہ فرنگ سے آیا ہے سوریا کے لیے

مے و قمار و ہجوم زنان بازاری

(ضرب کلیم)

This land of Syria gave the West a Prophet

Of purity and piety and innocence ;

And Syria from the West as recompense

Gets dice and drink and troops of prostitutes.

Another poem, *Syria and Palestine*, enlarges the same theme :

ہے خاک فلسطین پیہ یہودی کا اگر حق

ہسپانیہ پر حق نہیں کیوں اہل عرب کا؟

(ضرب کلیم، ۱۵۹)

If the Jew claims the soil of Palestine

Why not the Arab Spain?

He was anxious to secrete Islam against all forms of culture distortion, and if he did not spare the West neither did he neglect disruptive forces within Islam or the apathy which is perhaps more dangerous than either. The militant feminism of the West met with his distrust and he exhorted Muslim women to take the Prophet's daughter Fātima as their model and to copy her chastity, meekness and obedience.

In fact this notion of obedience, of submission, is central to Islam and to Iqbāl's understanding of it. — in the words of the Qur'ān, "I have surrendered up my face to Allah, likewise he who follows me" (III. 20). "My face" means "my purpose", the direction in which I look. The -verb used here, *aslama* (to surrender). gives as its active participle *muslim* which therefore means "one who has surrendered", surrendered, that is, his individual purpose to the will of God as revealed in the Qur'ān.⁷⁹ The Law embodies Allāh's will and signifies the integration of the community who have made this act of surrender. In *Rumūḡ-i-Bekhūdī* (p. 139) Iqbal says:

ملته را رفت چون آئین ز دست

⁷⁹ The verbal noun or *masdar* of a verb in the fourth measure contains the idea of the end of a process; and the end of a process of submission is unconditional surrender, which is the precise meaning of the word "Islam".

مثل خاک اجزائے او از ہم شکست

When a community forsakes its Law

Its parts are severed like the scattered dust.

In the Qur'ān the relation of the believer to God is beautifully described in terms of slavery. The recurrent phrase *wa Allāhu bashīrun bi'l-'ibād* (And God is Overseer of His slaves) emphasises this because enslavement to God means liberation from all other forms of bondage. But God, having accepted the individual's voluntary surrender, assumes the right to impose His own terms which are total obedience to His Law as contained in the Qur'ān. Thus in *Asrār-i-Khūdī* (p. 46) Iqbal, in a frankly didactic mood, exhorts:

باز ای آزاد ستور قدیم

زینت پاکن آن همان زنجیر سیم

شکون سنج سختی آئین مشو

از حدود مصطفیٰ بیرون مرد

O you who are emancipated from the old customs,

Adorn your feet once more with the same fine silver chains!

Complain not of the hardness of the Law

And transgress not the statutes of Muhammad!

Only a specialist can deliver a verdict on his Urdu and Persian poetry ; it seems however to be accepted now that in the genre of *nazm* his supremacy is as unchallenged as is that of Mirzā Ghālib in the *ghazal*, as far at least as the subcontinent is concerned. And though his philosophical system admits of more than one opinion its purpose does not. His orthodoxy in respect of Islāmic society and culture, his loyalty to Islam in distress whether in India or Palestine, his deep understanding of the Law and the singleness of his effort to create a modern Islāmic philosophy all combine to make him what he is generally admitted to be, the leading Muslim thinker of the present century. He dreamt of an Islamic resurrection, but unlike others he was not contest with dreaming. In the last analysis his is a gospel of action, a fresh *jibād*. The words he addressed to the Muslim woman in *Rumūz-i-Bekhūdī* (p. 180) have a wider application irrespective of gender:

فطرت تو جذبہ ہا دارد بلند

چشم ہوش از اسوۂ زہرا مہند

تا حسینے شاخ تو بار آورد

موسم پیشین بہ گلزار آورد

. . . be conscious still

And ever of your model Fātima,

So that your branch may bear a new Husain,

Our garden blossom with the Golden Age.

And if one asks how a garden so long sterile may be refertilised, the answer may be sought in a perfect little epigram which is Iqbāl in a nutshell:

ساحل افتاده گفت گرچه بسے زیستم

ہیچ نہ معلوم شد آہ کہ من چیستم

موج ز کود رفتہ خرامید و گفت

ہستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

(پیام مشرق، ۱۵۰)

"Long years were mine," said the sea-shattered cliff,

"Yet never taught me what is this called I".

A headlong hurrying wave cried, "Only if

I move I live, for if I stop I die."

A UNIQUE LETTER OF IQBAL

by

Reyazul Hasan

As a student of M. A. Final Class in the Faculty of Economics during the academic session 1931-1932 of the University of Allahabad, I was required, under the University Regulations, to write a research paper on any subject connected with Economics to be submitted two months before the annual examination. I selected "Economic Theory in Islam" as my subject for the research paper, a subject which was so far unthought of by any teacher in the Faculty. When I broached it to the Head of the Department and other teachers, they expressed their concurrence but at the same time they showed their concern over the meagre material available for research.

I wanted to consult Iqbal in this connection but a friend from Lahore advised me that Iqbal was making preparations to go to Europe and that he would not be available quite for sometime. However undaunted by the difficulties I began my work.

I discovered in the University Library a very useful book *Muhammadan Theories of Finance* by Aghnides, published by the Columbia University. Aghnides was a Turkish citizen of Greek Orthodox Church. He worked as an official in the Revenue Department of the Ottoman Empire, for it was the practice in those days that the Ottoman Government employed mostly

Greeks for collection of taxes and other revenue work. In order, therefore, to facilitate the Revenue work and to bring it in line with the theory of Finance in Islam, the Ottoman Government deputed Aghnides to study Islamic theory of Finance at the Columbia University so that it could be applied later on to the Ottoman practice. Aghnides went to the U. S. A. sometime before the First World War and stayed at Columbia for more than two years. His book came out in 1916. In a way he was a pioneer in this field.

Aghnides has in his book dealt only with Taxation and Public Finance and has not touched upon other branches of economic life. My line, however, needed a more extensive field.

With whatever material I could lay my hand on, I wrote an 80-page paper which was duly approved and appreciated by the examiners, one of whom was a famous Indian economist. But I was not satisfied with it. Long after the examination, when Iqbal was back again in Lahore I sent the paper to him, seeking his guidance and advice. And the following letter I received in reply.

Lahore, 29th May, 1933

Dear Sir,

I am extremely sorry I have no time to read your Essay. But I would suggest that you should make a careful study of the ideas of Mussolini. The essence of Islamic Economics is to render the growth of large capitals impossible. Mussolini and Hitler think in the same way. Bolshevism has gone to the extrem of abolishing capitalism altogether. In all aspects of life Islam always takes the middle course. Says the Quran :

وكذلك جعلناكم امة وسطاً لتكونوا شهداء على الناس و يكون الرسول عليكم

⁸⁰شہید

The subject of the شرايع of Islam is only a recent discovery in Europe. Its importance is likely to attract the attention of European scholars. Indeed some German scholars have already begun to work at it. You may also read with advantage a book called the *Sociology of Islam*. I forget the name of the author.

Yours truly

⁸⁰ . ii. 143: "And thus we have made you an exalted nation that you may be the bearers of witness to the people and (that) the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you."

The *Sociology of Islam* is by Prof. Reuben Levy who taught Persian Language and Literature at the University of London. Incidentally he produced this book in the late twenties. The book has now come out with more elaborate theme under a different title.

In this letter reference to Mussolini and Hitler, specially to Hitler, is rather interesting. Iqbal had met Mussolini in Rome in 1932 and was much impressed by his dynamic personality. He saw that Italian life was galvanised by Mussolini. The spirit of siesta was being replaced by feverish activity in all departments of life. Thus being favourably impressed by what Mussolini was doing, Iqbal wrote an eulogistic poem about the Italian dictator which has been characterised by the critics of Iqbal as a poem in praise of Fascism.

But three years (1935) later when Mussolini attacked undefended and poor Abyssinia, Iqbal came out with two scathing poems full of acidity and sarcasm, condemning the Italian aggression in his own manner. In the first poem he painted Mussolini as an *enfant terrible* of Western imperialism which had had ruthless expansion in Asia and Africa, crucified humanity on the cross of gold and sacrificed non-white races at the altar of greed. In the last two lines of the poem Mussolini is made to address the western imperialists as follows:

تم نے لوٹے بے نوا صحرا نشینوں کے خیام

تم نے لوٹی کشت دہقان! تم نے لوٹے تخت و تاج

پردہ تہذیب میں غارت گری، آدم کشی

اکل روار کھی تھی تم نے، میں روار رکھتا ہوں آج

(ضرب کلیم)

You looted the tents of the poor denizens of the desert,

You appropriated the harvest of the farmers And destroyed
thrones and crowns.

In the name of civilisation you justified genocide, Arson and
plunder yesterday,

I do the same Today. (Where is my crime?)

In another poem he took up the question of Abyssinia in the
light of international events and gave his opinion that the
spoilation of Abyssinia would prove to be the preamble of a
bigger world tragedy. His forecast was correct as later events
proved it. Here are those lines:

یورپ کے کرگسوں کو نہیں ابھی خبر

ہے کتنی زہرناک ابی سینا کی لاش!

ہونے کو ہے یہ مردہ دیرینہ قاش قاش

تہذیب کا کمال شرافت کا ہے زوال

غارت گہری جہاں میں ہے اقوام کی معاش

ہر گرگ کو ہے برہ معصوم کی تلاش!

اے وائے آبروئے کلیسا کا آئہ

روما نے کر دیا سر بازار پاش پاش

پیر کلیسا! یہ حقیقت ہے دل خراش!

(ضرب کلیم)

The vultures of Europe are not yet aware

How poisonous is the dead body of Abyssinia!

This old dead body is to be shortly cut to pieces.

The perfection of civilisation is but a decline in human dignity;

Plunder and arson provide now the livelihood of nations.

Every wolf now is in search of an innocent victim.

Alas! Rome has broken to pieces in the market place.

The mirror of the honour of the Church.

O, Father of the Church ! This is a heart-rending reality.

The reference to the Church is also interesting, for the Church in all imperialist countries of the West has all along been a strong supporter of colonial expansion in Asia and Africa. There is also the hint at the concordat which Mussolini had with the Church of Rome in 1929 and which removed the tension at least for some time between him and the Church and brought in cooperation above all in the colonial field.

Now let us come to the anti-capitalism of Mussolini which Iqbal has mentioned in the letter. G.D.H. Cole, a noted British economist, in his book *Practical Economics* (1937), says that "Mussolini has often declared that the country (Italy) is unsuitable for intensive capitalist development under present conditions" (p. 137). Then Mussolini upheld private property and wanted to bring big capitalists and other big property owners under the control of the State.

Iqbal's reference to Hitler is in a way striking, for in no other private correspondence of his, or public statements or private conversation he has been reported to have said anything about Hitler in relation to his views on capitalism and private property. Yet what Iqbal has said about Hitler is correct, at least in the pre-governmental phase of Nazism. It may be noted here that Hitler came to power on January 30, 1933, and this letter was written from Lahore on May 29, 1933, only four months after that memorable event. Then Nazism had not yet taken a capitalist position. So what Iqbal has said should pertain to the views of Hitler upto that time.

Like Mussolini, Hitler also believed in private property but wanted to restrict it to the needs of small man. As G.D.H. Cole points out, "the Nazis came to power as the decided enemies of Big Business, the friends of the 'small man' who was being ground down by the great capitalist trusts, the inveterate enemies of Marxism but the advocates of National Socialism that would put the claim of the whole people far above those of any sectional interests" (p. 107).

This is further verified by a reference to Hitler himself. In an interview given to a representative of the Associated Press in August 1932, Hitler is reported to have said, "It would not do to have wealth and property concentrated in the hands of a few people or a few concerns. When this property is wisely distributed amongst millions of our people—that is when everybody has his share of the goods of the world—then we hope to supply the proper offset to the Communists'ideas." (*The Speeches of Adolf Hitler: 1921-1939*, p. 776, Vol I, Ed. by Norman H. Baynes, Oxford University Press, 1942).

This division of property amongst the millions is certainly opposed to the principle of the growth of big capital in private hands, But it does not mean that the State should not develop big capital. As Hitler himself once said, one could not produce a railway engine in a blacksmith's workshop. For this and other similar industries the State should have big manufacturing and capital organisations. What he wanted was the restriction of

capital in private hands for it creates great deal of mischief in society and goes against social well-being.

But as later events proved, both Mussolini and Hitler abjured their former principles and bowed their heads before big business. Perhaps their external politics led them to this path. But we are not concerned here with this. Iqbal's position is, however, not affected by what happened subsequently. He cannot be regarded as a believer in the Nazi or Fascist doctrines as they culminated in the Second World War.

CREATION, ITS NATURE AND IMITATION IN ALCHEMY

by

S. Mandihassan

1. *The aim of Alchemy.* Before proceeding further it is advisable to take stock of the present position serving as the starting point from which to trace the origin of alchemy. This has been briefly revealed by Taylor(1), who, as late as 1951, records that, "it may be at once said, alchemy still continues to be an unsolved problem". In more than one communication(2) a different picture has been presented to that of the traditional one. Alchemy has been shown as trying to acquire immortality and this by using special herbo-metallic drugs. Now synthetic gold was such a dual-natured medicament so that the art of making gold, as a drug of immortality, was mistaken for that of making gold, as a precious metal. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in ancient times silver, being rare, was even more costly than gold; but alchemy has always aimed at making gold in the first instance.

For making herbo-metallic preparations the important ingredients were herbs. Thus alchemy directly descends from herbalism. But herbalism itself, which incorporated cults like that of Soma, endowing plants with fabulous properties, was an offshoot of mysticism. This makes alchemy directly a product of herbalism and indirectly of mysticism. It will be seen later that the very name, alchemy, incorporates the notion of fresh-plant juice, and the same is true of its Sanskrit synonym, Rasayana. Pharmacy is restricted to the art of mixing, decocting and dispensing drugs

already available. Pharmaceutical Chemistry, on the other hand, signifies the science and art of synthesizing drugs not known to exist. Alchemy then was Pharmaceutical Chemistry in its earliest phase.

2. *The active principle of Soma.* Literature is silent as to the nature of the active principle in Soma. Moreover, there were also others like Ambrosia in ancient Greece and Chih in China. It is natural to expect that all these drugs of immortality shared a common factor among them. Their active principle has been shown to be the soul, or rather the Spirit, the life-essence. And the use of the above drugs was initiated by the doctrine of Animism which assumed the active-principle, even though Spirit, to be transferable.

The early man inquiring into the nature of different objects, founded primitive natural philosophy. He first factorized himself, thereby creating the equation: $\text{Life} = \text{Body} + \text{soul}$. The conception of the soul kept on changing, first it was blood, lastly a dual-natured "gaseous" entity. The natural philosophy of the times simply extended the human constitution to explain the make-up of everything under the sun, when a plant and a metal each became the owner of a soul like man. Thus a portion of Soma juice could transfer its soul-content to increase the life-span of man. Just as blood transfusions can keep an anaemic patient alive for some time the regular use of Soma kept on prolonging life for ever. On the contrary alchemy wanted a single-dose of immortality. It therefore became imperative for the alchemist to discover the reasons for the limited powers of Soma and, on the basis of such information, to proceed further to improve upon it.

Such a study meant nothing else than establishing the constitution of the soul which was the active-principle of Soma.

3. *The two souls.* When man inquired into the nature of objects in general he simplified his problem by making everything like himself. Now he wanted to know their origin, including that of the soul. Like the animist he began by inquiring first into his own birth. The animist had previously replied to the effect that a soul enters the womb and a child is delivered; sexual connection has nothing to do with it. This archaic conception still prevails among the aborigine of Australia and even persists in many a legend, all over the world, according to which, a hero is born of a virgin mother. But later on man did realize the joint role of a father and mother in his own make-up.

Reasoning quite rationally man traced his body to two elements, Adam and Eve. These were elements because they could not be analysed further. They were two because neither could be reduced to one. Man thus possessed a bi-elemental constitution and a bisexual origin. The same was applied to everything else by a doctrine which has been called Dualism. The ultimate cosmic elements of masculinity and of feminality were named Yang and Yin in Chinese, meaning Light and Darkness. If our life is magnified into existence the abstract notion of Adam becomes Yang, and that of Eve, Yin. Just as Adam and Eve are the joint progenitors of man, Yang and Yin are the joint-creators of everything that exists. They together are the source of all existence. The theory which propounds this notion is but an

extension of Animism since Animism and Dualism are based on the constitution and on the birth of man respectively.

However, the two creative elements need not be exactly equal in a given constitution or to give birth to one ; their issue however would not be immortal. We know instances where some men are robust males or otherwise dominating, and others positively effeminate or passive; corresponding opposite cases are also found among women. A similar pattern of unbalanced constitution exists among souls. Then their two components are easily separated which explains how no man is immortal and nothing is eternal, gold being the only exception, an observation of great significance to the alchemist.

In the light of Dualism if $\text{Life} = \text{Body} + \text{soul}$ then, body can be conceived as female, and soul as male. Let us see further the factors which constitute the body. $\text{Body} = \text{Adam} + \text{Eve}$ (together as donors of the two elements in the make-up of the body). Their sex is self-evident. Being elements they cannot be factorized further. Correspondingly in the equation: $\text{Soul} = \text{Male-soul} + \text{Female-soul}$, these two components are the ultimate elements functioning as the "Adam" and "Eve" of the soul. The Yang-soul is called *Ruh* in Arabic, Brahman or Prana in Sanskrit, and Spirit in English. It is responsible for the life-span of a being, brief or long. Being the life-essence it may be properly called the animating or Animogenic principle. When the soul-complex has a large ratio of Spirit the individual, as its carrier, is long lived. The same applied to a plant, like Soma, makes it perennial. The Yin-

soul is *Nafs* in Arabic, Atman in Sanskrit and the Soul (or Soul specific) in English. It is the form-donor, accounting for physique, appearance and individuality. It is the Morphogenic principle. When a man's *Nafs* is strong the individual is well-built, handsome, or intelligent, but he need not enjoy a long life. On comparing a herb and a metal, the latter, being obviously solid, has a powerful female-soul, whereas the former, being delicate, would have a poor one. We may picture the Soul as the gaseous replica of the individual, but then we must not forget to attribute to such a dummy all the virtues and desires that characterized a given personality. In fact the Soul is the abstraction of individuality. The Arabic word, *Nafs*, the Soul, also means the individual, or self. In Sanskrit Atman is its exact equivalent, meaning the Soul, as also self. In fact there it even means the Body, the corporeal self as in the following translation of a text from Brahadranayaka Upanishad, (1.2.3.) which states that, "He (Prajapati) divided his Body (Atman) in three ways"(3). Schep (4; p. 30) quotes the Psalm, 63 : 1, where the poet says to Yahweh, "My Soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee," as though Soul and flesh (body) are one. He reproduces the interpretation of J. J. Valetton who "regards Soul and flesh as both denoting the *whole man* (or self), without distinction between the inner and outer aspects." The Soul and Body, as content and container, become identified with each other. Even the popular English phrase, "poor Soul," suggests nothing else than a "pitiable individual." Soul, or the female-soul, is the abstraction of life-form, which differs from species to species and from individual to

individual. To avoid confusion between soul as a whole and the female-soul, the former is written here with a small "s", as soul, and the latter, or *Nafs*, with a capital "S", as the Soul.

4. *The conception of souls in alchemy.* The subject of souls being of vital importance in alchemy their nature must be explained in terms which the masters of the art themselves have expressed. Stapleton(5) reproduces a Latin "extract from the (work) Margarita Pretiosa Novella of the Italian Alchemist, Bonus, c. 1330 A.D., affording an excellent summary of the opinions of Arabian alchemists, regarding the terms Body, Soul and Spirit." The passage left untranslated, was by no means easy to understand. It was kindly rendered into English by Rev. Father Mascarenhas, S. J., of St. Patrick's High School, Karachi. Some subtle points were further explained by Dr. Gruner, of Canada, the first to introduce Avicenna to the English reading public. My sincere thanks are due to them both. However the responsibility for the interpretations that follow entirely rests with me.

Bonus maintains that the portion or the substance which is stable to fire is Body. But at the same time it serves as the vehicle of a noncorporeal element, the Soul. Soul cannot resist heat and evaporates, as some kind of vapour, with the action of fire. Spirit, the third element, is a powerful force, capable of resolving Soul and Body together as vapour; and also the reverse, making them both fire-proof, even when the body is originally sublimable. Without Spirit neither can the Soul remain in the Body nor be

separated from the latter, for the simple reason that Spirit and Soul constitute a soul-complex, or soul as a whole.

We may now discuss examples illustrating the above two phenomena. The classical picture of the Spirit making the Body buoyant is that offered by the resurrection of Lord Jesus Christ. His spirit returned to his dead Body, enlivened it and took it to Heaven. His body, as such, became buoyant. It is a controversial point, due to rationalism being allowed to interpret a recognized legend, whether Jesus went with his body and flesh, or the body was transformed into an ethereal structure which was naturally light enough to ascend upwards. The orthodox Muslim view maintains that Jesus went with his original body. Likewise, on the Day of Judgment, all will rise with the bodies they used to know before their death. Schep(4), in his erudite treatise, on the Resurrection Body, has gone deep into the problem and fully supported the traditional view mentioned above. I am now convinced that the alchemist also understood by resurrection the body becoming sublimable without any change in its constitution; this is a change from my previous interpretation. A Body which was non-volatile before can become sublimable and the property could be donated to a Body by a Spirit, being the agent capable of inducing resurrection.

We can here consider a pure alchemical phenomenon of this category. Common salt is solid and as such non-sublimable. It may be distilled with alcohol, much like rose flowers with steam. Heat kills the salt, liberates its Spirit, which evaporates along with

alcohol vapours, and is recovered in the distillate. This is returned to the distillation flask when the Spirit revives the dead body of the salt. By repeated distillation the salt is killed and revived until the impacts of the Spirit on the Body make the latter sublimable. The end result is that the entire quantity of salt distils over and the product becomes Elixir of common salt. Its other name would be Resurrection Body of salt. It may be added that the different system of mysticism, treating the body mercilessly, illustrate the same principle. The Spirit has to produce impacts on the Body, killing within limits and reviving the same, until it acquires miraculous powers quite foreign to its material nature. In fact the acquisition of such virtues characterizes an immortal, apart from the ways and means which has made him one. Thus an Elixir, according to Jiladaki, the famous master of Arabian alchemy, also "enables one to achieve extraordinary and talismanic results" (6 ; p. 80). I have previously(7) reproduced the picture of such an Elixir-made Chinese immortal ascending to Heaven in broad day light just as Jesus did. We see here clearly how mysticism has been extended to appear as alchemy. The incorporation of mysticism in alchemy is indirectly recognised when authors, like Sir E. Thorpe(8), state that, "theosophy and mysticism were first imported, into alchemy not by Arabs but by Christian workers." When Elixir had talismic powers and enabled one to ascend towards the sky what better proof can be offered of alchemy being applied mysticism from its very inception.

There is still the opposite role to be exemplified, of a volatile substance becoming heat-proof. Mercury vaporizes with heat.

Spirit, however, is so powerful that it can pin down the Soul to the Body, when both, along with the Spirit, can continue to mock a blazing fire. In fact an adept in alchemy first gains confidence when he has successfully stabilized mercury against heat.

The interpretation discussed above can be briefly confirmed by what Juldaki has to say. He was alive in 1342 so that he belongs to the same age as Bonus, who lived about 1330, when alchemy was at its zenith. According to Jildaki "pure Bodies are the carriers of the Souls and Spirits, the latter merely serving as a *liason* between the other two" (6; p. 54). And again, "Soul and Body do not combine with each other unless helped by pure Spirit, which plays the part of an *intermediary*" (6; p. 283). Spirit is like a catalyst, controlling the reaction between Body and Soul, separating as well as uniting the two.

5. *The mortal and the immortal, the nature of their souls.* By now we are fully initiated to understand the constitution of the soul of Soma and thus explain its limitations as a drug of immortality. The soul of Soma had only additive properties, while the real immortalizing soul must be multiplicative or ever-growing. The soul in Soma was preponderantly male, that is why it was strong enough to prolong life longer than any other donor of soul. But since it is not self-reproductive, its stock was bound to get exhausted when a fresh portion of the juice had to be taken. Now Soma was the herb Ephedra(9). Being a perennial plant it possessed a large quantum of Spirit which accounted for its life-increasing power. But being a delicate plant its Soul was poor.

Thus its soul structure was highly unbalanced, much like Adam who was a mortal. We can now take the case of a metal like copper. This is the carrier of a dominating female-soul. But when we take Soma and copper together we have:

Soma=Strong Spirit+weak Soul

Copper=Strong Soul+weak Spirit

On calcining them the weaker elements depart first, and of the two, the weak Soul before the weak Spirit. Thus the first to really appear on the scene is the strong Spirit, and as soon as the strong Soul is free to accept the male-soul, the herbal Spirit joins the metallic Soul, fusing to constitute the soul of a herbo-metallic complex. The male and female souls are now equally strong, unlike anything in nature and their unity represents a well balanced bi-sexual constitution. Being bi-sexual, or a hermophrodite, it is self-generating, unlike the male soul of Soma. An ever increasing soul is another name for an immortalizing soul and the herbometallic complex, obviously a metal, becomes eternal as gold, being the only metal which is fire-proof. To say that gold resulted as the impact of the Spirit of Soma on dead copper, is to admit that the resultant is now a soul-bearer, a creature. While so much has been explained of alchemy the animated nature of synthetic gold is never mentioned in the literature. Authors appear to feel shy in facing irrational concepts and having subconsciously rationalized alchemical doctrines they have left alchemy an unsolved problem.

6. *Two kinds of creations and their respective creators.* Our conception of the creator starts with the belief that, we have life and body, or rather a body and an invisible soul, when their ultimate source is the creative power which, personified, becomes the creator. First God created "dust" out of nothing. Then he sent his "word" which was transformed into the "soul", and the impact of the latter upon the previous dust resulted as life with the form of Adam. But then there is to be a further repetition of creation. On the Day of Judgment there will be a mass resurrection. The souls of the dead will return to their respective "ashes", which are nothing else than the original clouds of "dust". Thus each soul and each clod of dust will reunite for the second time and repeat creation, thus making Resurrection = Creation. Correspondingly the power that resurrects is the same that creates and we do attribute them both to God. In Hindu philosophy the power that created out of nothing is Brahma.

We unwittingly recognize another kind of creation which is spontaneous generation. It is, so to say, anonymous creation, since it is not attributed to any creator. To cite a couple of examples, we observe mushrooms shooting up from vegetable debris as also growing from trunks of fallen trees. Worms are born in our intestines from decomposed vegetables and meat that we eat. Above all there is a regular recipe for generating scorpions by mixing curds with cow dung. What is the origin of life in such cases? Only Dualism has tried to answer it. There is some Yang matter and other as Yin. They behave like mysterious father and mother producing an issue which is what we actually see as mushrooms, scorpions etc. Dualism explained every creation on this pattern, thus leaving no form of life unexplained.

Now arose another difficulty when man tried to interpret the origin of mortal and immortal beings. Adam was mortal by his constitution but with Eve, to reproduce their race, mankind became immortal. Man accordingly conceived, Reproductivity = Immortality. In as much as Eve is the joint contributor to the immortality of the human race her origin has also to be considered. She was not created from a separate clod of dust but out of a "rib" of Adam. Adam was divided between two parts, though unequal, a rib and the rest of the body. Adam remained as such while the rib grew to be Eve. Thus we find that man and woman ultimately come from a single clod of dust. Let us now return to Hindu philosophy for the genesis of such donors of immortality. We read in Radhakrishnan (10; p. 59) that, "a personal god, Prajapati, tired of solitude produces the world after having divided himself into one half male and the other half female." Just at this stage, when he took over the duty of the creator, Prajapati was bisexual or a hermaphrodite. In order to further explain his activity, as the creator of immortality, the following extract has been reproduced from Brahadranayaka Upanishad (3 ; p. 50): "One does not feel happy when alone. He (Prajapati) desired a mate. He became the form of a *man and wife embracing each other*. He divided this body into two. From that husband and wife came into being. Therefore this body is half of himself like that of a two-celled seed." And the two-celled seed became the everlasting tree of life, and of eternal creation. The constitution of Prajapati is fully confirmed as that of a hermaphrodite. Adam later on became essentially the same, but as

two unequal halves, as a rib and the main body. Since Prajapati's two halves contribute to the immortality of man his initiation makes Reproductivity. =Immortality. And what is reproductivity but a continuation of creation so that, Procreation=Creation. Now the above two equations as one make, Procreation=Creation —Immortality.

7. *Procreation identified as immortality.* When the concepts of Procreation and of Immortality become fused into one, such a belief led to the worship of the procreative power as that of the immortalizing one. Archaeologists have unearthed images of the reproductive organs which were worshipped in ancient times. Relics of the same worship, in a disguised form, persist even today. Moreover there is a regular pageant of resurrection depicted as a scene on a Chinese grave(11) of about 3rd cent. A.D.; Fig. 1. There are male and female deities, half human and half serpents, which are active pairing. By their procreation-activity they are generating life-essence for reviving the dead from the grave. Life springs when Yang and Yin substances undergo reproduction be it in secrecy. A symbol of this category has found its legitimate place in alchemical literature. In an Arabic MSS on alchemy there are shown two serpents intertwined, Fig. 2, a feature characterizing the reproductive pose of these reptiles. Life-essence is being generated by serpents which are themselves spirits and would go to animate dead copper as live gold. A similar symbol, entitled the Hermatic Rod, is the design of Holbein, the younger, Fig. 3. The two serpents, representing male and female souls, shown co-opulating, have thereby created a soul, shown as the bird, sitting on the top of the tree of life, depicted as the staff or the rod, the soulbearer or Body. Different versions of the same, with two serpents pairing, are found profusely decorating

medical literature. Their activity represents *creation via reproduction*. By creation is meant generating life-essence, the agency that creates and that resurrects. Briefly the Hermatic Staff is the magician's rod that dubs the dead to rise to life. It has therefore become a popular symbol in medicine, the art of healing and of saving life from premature death.

8. *Synthetic gold and the category of its creation*. It is further desirable to understand the pathway leading to the synthesis of gold. A Yang-herb and a Yin-metal generated an immortalizing soul and this was assimilated back into the body which, as a system of creation, finds a ready explanation in Hindu philosophy. Radhakrishnan (10; p. 69) writes that, according to the Upanishad, "He (the creator) created the world and then enters it." In the synthesis of gold, gold was created out of copper and the soul enters the metal to animate it. Creation was dead until the creator as soul entered it; likewise gold *was* not a ferment until the soul that was generated permeated it. The feature common in both cases of creation is that the life-essence did not come from outside. The generator of the soul, or the creator, and the acceptor of the soul, or the final animated creation, constitute a closed system. This is expressed otherwise, when Radhakrishnan states that, the creator "created itself by itself". If creation is to be self-explanatory, or at least consistent, we have to identify the material that grows with the power that induces growth. Thus there is a doctrine which equates Creator = Creation, leaving nothing outside it. It is called Vedantism in Hindu philosophy and Unity of Existence in Islamic Sufism. I imagine such monistic theories exist also elsewhere. What Dualism did was to start from the very beginning with a dual-natured creator so that, when there is a self-reproductive system, creation and immortality both are implied in it. Only a hermaphrodite-creator could create itself by itself, as a typical bacterium would. In reality Dualism projected

the phenomenon of human birth to explain the origin of the universe. One is reminded of what a French cynic shrewdly observed : Man first created God in human image and then God created man in divine image. Dualism projected man/woman as Yang/Yin as the cosmic male and female elements which became one as the creator. The creation of a hermaphrodite creator naturally became bisexual. Brahma created the world out of nothing which cannot be visualized. Moreover Brahma created man a mortal which is not perfect creation. Prajapati on the contrary created the universe out of himself which is relatively easier to grant. Moreover Prajapati's creation is immortal and his technique of creation is reproductivity which again is easily appreciated. Thus arose two creators in the Hindu Pantheon, one for simple creation, and the other for immortality. In Chinese philosophy there is no counterpart of Brahma, whereas Prajapati's place is occupied by Yang-Yin, the procreative-creative power. Dualism is the philosophy that mainly supports alchemy, Animism being another, and with their doctrinaires largely in China it explains how alchemy took its birth there.

9. *Synthesis of gold allegorically represented.* A picture can represent an object which it tries to reveal. In some cases the artist tries to conceal what he specially likes to present as a riddle. It is a form of negative, but more forceful, presentation of some contents. Allegorical compositions come under this category. Unless one possesses a key to the understanding of such contents a picture as a whole conveys little meaning. We have learnt of three features characterizing synthetic gold. Firstly it is something living, a creation. Next it is ever-growing a ferment. Lastly it is a drug of immortality. Briefly it is the donor of an immortalizing soul, hence a creative force. We have to find all these features in the symbols

of the alchemist. We know that he imitated creation by inducing spontaneous generation. As an artist the alchemist has depicted two lovers, most eager of union. Accordingly there are love scenes showing that the selection of two initial substances has been proper. Naturally they are to be presently bound which means by marriage. The alchemist does figuratively speak of marriage when referring to a further stage of union between his opposite substances. Then the technique of marriage requires procreation and the alchemist has accepted procreation as a means of generating the soul. This stage is shown as a nude couple on a nuptial bed. Later on marriage is blessed with an issue. This is depicted as a child being born by its parents or even independently. It is the fruitful end of the experiment, the issue representing soul as creation. The issue or the soul has been generated by two opposites. Now the soul has to be absorbed. It may be reminded again that Hindu philosophy conceives the creator entering the creation to animate it. Such a stage, with the soul assimilated, shows fusion of the opposites, into a unit constitution. The female is grafted on to the male, when the resultant becomes a hermaphrodite, an element by itself, no longer capable of existing as any half. A successful marriage is a bondage for ever, husband and wife living two as one, or half and half as one, which, figuratively speaking, becomes a hermaphrodite. And this inter-dependent life begins with the birth of an issue, of the soul, that has been generated by the pair of lovers and now binds them into unity. The pair, as husband and wife, is the stage prior to their becoming a hermaphrodite, or as

two mortals about to become a self-generating immortal. Those who know a married couple having remained childless and then getting an issue will realize the change here spoken of as mortals becoming immortals, when their life's mission seems to have been achieved. The hermaphrodite represents joint-creators in the constitution, otherwise even a married couple can personify creation as also immortality. In alchemical symbolism therefore Married Couple=Hermaphrodite ; and both kinds of symbols occur in numbers.

10. *The Hermaphrodite and the Staff of Hermes.* We can now analyse a symbol of the hermaphrodite in all its details. Fig. 4 is a classical symbol of the hermaphrodite and has been taken along with Fig. 3 from the illuminative article of Schef(12). There are at once two parts in the picture, the hermaphrodite and the dragon, the latter bearing the former. The dragon is the Body and the hermaphrodite the soul. Both Body and soul are dual natured. Body=Adam+Eve (as elements). The dragon, or the Body, with its two ends, carrying the heads of a man and woman, chin to chin, show mutual attraction as between the two poles of a magnet. Likewise the Soul=Male-soul+Female-soul. These are two parts of a whole which cannot be separated any more. But we have seen that previous to this state of fusion they were separate. In fact in a mortal being Spirit and Soul easily separate, whereas in an immortal they become one and self-reproductive, for which the hermaphrodite is the proper symbol. Body continues to remain one and is accordingly treated as an element, but since Spirit and Soul do separate they are treated as two distinct

elements in a mortal. Thus arise the three elements of the alchemist, Body, Spirit and Soul, already discussed. The symbol Fig. 4 as a whole is accordingly named "*Luciferian Trinity*". The hermaphrodite, or the soul as a whole, is carrying a huge pair of wings, showing its volatile nature, and even the dragon or the Body, bears a small pair. The Body has become sublimable, which is expressed by assigning a smaller pair of wings to the dragon. The picture is labelled *Luciferian Trinity* with the dragon bearing four heads, with open mouths spitting out flames of fire. The Body is obviously "in heat". Now animals ripe for the procreative act, show their bodies "in heat" so that the Luciferian Trinity= Procreative Trinity, which also means the Creative Trinity and the Immortalizing Trinity. The male half of the hermaphrodite is carrying a sword and the female half a crown. The alchemist's endeavour has been a success, his initiation was no less than a conquest, shown by the sword, and the end no mean achievement, fully deservant of a crown. Fig. 3 has been already mentioned before. It can be equated with Fig. 4. The male and female halves of Fig. 4 become the serpents in Fig. 3, as Spirit and Soul, and then in their procreative pose being intertwined. Serpents symbolize souls, and when male and female souls unite another soul is generated which animates a body, or reincarnates the dead, the bird in Fig. 3 is the generated soul of the immortal.

11. *The essential of creation.* While considering, Procreation=Creation, we found that Hindu philosophy had recognized each as the achievement of their respective authors, thus equating Prajapati=Creator. These nevertheless represent

two concepts, hence there must be a common virtue which makes them both creators. It is the property of growth. In a previous article (2) it has been explained that, Life-essence=Growth-soul. There is etymological evidence supporting the origin of such a conception. Brahma, the word for the Creator, is derived from Brahma, to grow, and its other derivative, Brahman, signifies the cosmic soul, the creative force behind everything that exists. Now if anything grows it implies the existence of something that was capable of growing but did not grow before. It is another phase of the same problem which in the end tries to identify Creation with the Creator. Thus the inert substance and the power of growth must also be identified as one. But when Brahma made something grow out of nothing, it merely means our having assumed Growth=Creation. Once we realize how man got to this conception the problem becomes much easier. He first observed a seemingly dead tree in winter and later the same springing forth into foliage, and *thinking backwards* he made a sort of predated achievement which meant, to grow is to create, Brahma really made the *individual* grow. Prajapati made the *species* grow, hence Brahma=Prajapati. Once we factorize Life = Growth +Reproduction, we at once understand how Brahma and Prajapati both must become creators.

The conception that Creative-force = Growth-soul is capable of confirmation. Man observed that without sunshine there is no plant life, hence also no animal life, which is dependent on vegetation. Accordingly the sun became the donor of Growth-soul or of life-essence, explaining the world-wide existence of

sunworship. G. K. Chesterton (13; p. 165), who would have never said a word to support paganism, makes the pregnant observation that, "the test of a sun is that it can make something grow," a virtue which qualified it as the creator in the eyes of the primitive observer. Quite independently O. S. Marden(14), has also stated that, "*Sunlight* is a powerful rejuvenator and force producer. *Darkness* and shadows are death-dealing." There could be no better independent interpretation of the dualistic conception of Yang/Yin as they literally mean Light/Darkness. The sun, as the donor of growth-soul, easily becomes the Creator; while Prajapati, the donor of fertility, making the species grow, becomes another Creator.

Here, at Pabna, I received an invitation card to attend a Hindu marriage. In a similar instance from a Muslim side the card would read at the top, "in the name of God." The Hindu custom instead invokes the blessings of Prajapati, with butterfly as his emblem. Now butterfly, as a fast growing insect, represent fertility, which can be also confirmed from Chinese symbolism. Thus Prajapati, with his emblem butterfly, clearly appears as the donor of procreative power, thereby promising a fruitful marriage. We therefore find that Prajapati has become a creator, not by virtue of donating life and growth, but by denoting fertility and reproductivity. The accompanying picture of the butterfly, coming from the invitation card is reproduced, as Fig 5.

12. *The alchemist's conception of perfection, opposites and unity.* These belong to one and the same category, in so far as, when two

opposites unite as one, that stage automatically acquires the property, not perceptible before, of procreation and as such of creation, which qualifies it as perfection. The alchemist was no ordinary thinker, like a gold-smith, to trade in words like perfection and unity. Indeed he came to alchemy as a professed thinker, making his art applied philosophy or better still applied mysticism. He actually styled himself a philosopher. In an age when he could have easily called himself a physician, since he dabbled in pharmacy, and pharmacy and medicines were no separate professions then, he nevertheless preferred to be known as a philosopher. The Muslim alchemists, therefore, particularly called themselves *Hakims*, philosophers, and never Tabibs, physicians. A reference to the Alexandrian alchemists, to be mentioned later on, also speaks of them as philosophers, a designation never taken seriously so far. In as much as alchemy tried to imitate creation or really generating a soul, its special technique was the outcome of applied mysticism. The alchemist, as a philosopher, ransacked all sources of information to get an insight into the spring of life, into the birth of the soul, to learn the know-how of life. One system of philosophy which was not ignored by the Alexandrian alchemists was that of Aristotle, a fact given due importance, for the first time by Hopkins(15), though as late as 1934. The Arabian alchemists did the same. But I have shown that, what they apparently owe to Aristotle and other Greek philosophers, is nothing outside Animism and Dualism, both of which flourished far better in China. One term which has been used by Aristotle and found in alchemical literature is

perfection. This, however, follows the notion of opposites. Opposites mean joint creators, nothing less. They are joint-partners in procreation with procreation as the means of creation. The opposites are like the two poles of a magnet where magnetism stands for life. The opposites are not like the pair brother and sister, but instead like brother and sister-in-law, man and wife. One who cannot equate the opposites as Yang and Yin cannot appreciate what the opposites mean.

It has been mentioned before that alchemy descends from mysticism via herbalism. A mystic, rather than a philosopher, not excluding Aristotle, would be best qualified to interpret what perfection signifies. The following commentary by St. Thomas Aquinas, taken from Underhill (16; p. 428), will reveal what the alchemist, essentially a mystic, would heartily endorse. The Saint means that, "the last perfection to supervene a thing is its *becoming the cause of other things*. While then a creature tends by many ways to the likeness of God (the Creator), the last way open to him is to seek the divine likeness, by being the cause of other things (or in turn a creator of some other creation)." Thus perfection means generating an endless series of cause and effect, source and issue, Creator and creation, as two links repeating themselves to constitute the chain, immortality. If something grows unhampered it is destined to transcend time and space. A bacterium or ferment is theoretically capable of becoming such an all-pervading entity. Likewise a soul, which is ever-increasing, is on the pathway of immortality and has reached perfection. No other attribute can supersede such a virtue. The motion of unity is fairly simple to

paraphrase. In the first instance it is an element or one which challenges factorization. Unity further means fusion of two and of only two constituents into one. And in alchemy it means unity between male-soul and female-soul and again between soul as a whole and the body. When the ratio between Spirit: Soul is one, it becomes a hermaphrodite by form and a self-generating entity by function. An immortalizing soul produces such an impact upon the body that the two become one, and the body becomes soul-like and sublimable. Unity is exemplified by the hermaphrodite, by Prajapati, two as one, who is ever active, whereas Brahma remaining one, has long since creation been a spent volcano.

13. *Genesis of the idea of a Creator.* We have just dealt with three philosophical terms found in alchemical vocabulary. There are many others. Above all no end of allegorical pictures which are being reproduced in books and magazines more to entertain the readers by their quaint appearance than to reveal any significance. The solution lies in properly interpreting them and this requires knowing the basic concepts on which alchemy is founded. When a chemist is interested in a substance he analyses it as also others when he finally gets to several ones which become elements. Only with their help he can understand the nature of any substance later on. Moreover the chemist traces a product to earlier substances from which the main one has been naturally evolved. This is recognized as biogenesis and now-a-days in the more important phase of chemical study. To apply the same to the evolution of ideas would be psychogenesis. And it is

advisable to introduce such a technique in the study of the history of alchemy.

We are interested in the phenomenon of creation as the alchemist interpreted it. Yearning after immortality man found himself in a closed system of reasoning with three links of a ringed chain as sketched below:

Creation

Procreation<---Immortality

We have to see how exactly the idea of a creator was evolved and how far back it can be traced.

Experience begins soon after birth. The infant's first experience, which keeps on recurring ever after, is the feeling of hunger. This results in the recognition of a mobile, all-round, impressive object, its mother. She, and not her milk, is recognized as the pacifier of its hunger, like the container for its content. An infant, before it is a year old, also feels thirsty, another feeling which remains for the rest of the life. Now feelings of hunger and thirst come close enough to become one. Likewise the objects that satisfy these two-feelings, namely food and water, also become one, and the mother, that provides food and water, becomes its preserver. The infant is otherwise physically dependent upon its mother, but for whose protection its future existence is inconceivable. Then Mother=Preserver. When the

child is about five it comes to learn that it was delivered into this life by its mother who, as the source of its birth, becomes a creator, or Mother= Creator.

Later on, say at about ten, the boy becomes aware of the biological role of his father in his origin. Further he finds his father busy in outdoor life trying to provide food for the family. His earlier notion of his mother as Preserver-Creator now undergoes modification when both Father-Mother=Preserver-Creator. We see then that the feelings of Hunger-Thirst, satisfied by Food-Water, were provided by Father-Mother, when all these dual conceptions as each pair became one.

By the time an individual become a youth he can work as well as his father and realize for himself the factors responsible for food production. There are two, Soil and Water. Soil is permanent, Water, or rather rain, its source, capricious. Now what is variable and yet essential becomes the more important, and such was rain, in the eyes of the earlier man, in fact, in many countries even to-day. The result was that life's support now depended upon Fertility, and Fertility =Earth +Water.

Attaching far more importance to rain, Fertility= Water. At this stage the original feeling of Hunger+Thirst as one was ultimately removed by the supply of Food+Water which depended upon Earth+Water. Accordingly the concept of Father+ Mother as Preserver+ Creator gave in to Earth+ Water instead. Briefly the important concepts can be better visualized as the following pairs of series:

Mother/Father = Earth /Water =Preserver/Creator.

14. *Water, the nature of its source.* In the series just considered the last pair of concepts represents deductions from the other two. And of the four factors, Mother, Father, and Earth all are stable, whereas Water, which comes as rain, is variable. Now if water comes as rain and rain descends from clouds, the problem is to establish the origin of clouds. As a hunter man saw animals losing blood when he came to believe that Life=Body +Blood. The concept, Blood = Soul, is found also in the Old Testament. Later on it was observed that only fresh Blood is red so that Life=Body+Redness. The notion that, Redness= Soul, has induced man to smear bones of the dead with a red pigment in order to revive them with it. This has been found in Europe as also in China. As a relic of this belief the alchemist looks upon vermilion as the most important substance, in fact as life-donor, only next to his Elixir; and this because vermilion is the nearest approach to blood in its colouration. At a later stage it was established that warm blood loses a constituent as vapours which rise as clouds and disappear upwards to become clouds in heaven. The word which represents Blood-Vapours=Soul, in Greek, is Thymos, which was current upto the time of Homer. Clouds then represent the souls, of dead ancestors, which descend as rain to bestow fertility upon the soil and provide food for the surviving generation. The deity who was the custodian of the souls of dead ancestors was the Dragon being thus in charge of clouds. Accordingly Dragon worship is both ancestor-worship and fertility-worship, hence its great importance in China. And the

seat of clouds is in Heaven. Heaven, as the container of clouds, got identified with its contents the souls, when Heaven = Clouds=Souls. Most people believe that when man dies he goes to Heaven. They have become clever enough not to speak accurately like the pagans, and state that dead souls are merged into the clouds which we see in Heaven. Thus arose the series of conceptions, Heaven =Clouds=Souls of ancestors= Donors of rain.

We again revert to, Food production= Earth+Water, to confirm Earth as a stable and water as a variable factor. The origin of water has been traced while that of the earth remains to be established. The early man was an Animist, he believed Life =Body+Soul. Soul goes to Heaven and Body naturally becomes dust and mingles with the Earth. He thus distributed his two constituents, Soul and Body, between Heaven and Earth. The conceptions, of Heaven and Earth, were the products, so to say, of a centrifugal thinking, with human life at its centre. Heaven and Earth became the final source of life and thus the highest benefactors of the human race. The previous conception of Father-Mother as Preserver-Creator became extended to Heaven-Earth. Since these dual terms are equal of one another they could be easily duplicated to produce the most emphatic expression that has been coined, being found in Brandranyaka Upanishad, and quoted by Radhakrishnan (10; p. 128) as, "Father Sky and Mother Earth." Thus arose the belief in Heaven/Earth as the Creator, and in China, where Dualism predominates, Heaven and Earth are actually worshipped in lieu of the Creator. What others have done

is to merely reduce these two to one, giving all importance to Father, in domestic life, and correspondingly to Heaven, and to soul, under-valuing the other elements, Mother, Earth and Body respectively.

15. *Genesis of the idea of cosmic elements.* Earth is a vast expanse while Heaven high above human reach. Man wanted agencies useful rather than ideal or impressive. Such an urge finally resulted in the subdivision of the joint creators into deities who, so to say, became "servile" creators. Man again started with life and established factors on which such concepts depend. The subject deserves a special study but has been partially handled before(17). We have realized the series of concepts, hunger, food and fertility all terminating with water. In fact man saw that wherever there was life there was water at least in the form of vegetation. Man's first phase of civilization was represented by the hunter. Next followed pastoral life. Without rain and water for the pastures there was no food for flocks and herds. At this stage life depended upon water. Lands subjected to drought and famine have impressed the importance of water upon every observer. Even in Rig Veda Water is the first element to be mentioned. Not before 1001 years Thales introduced it into Greek cosmogony at about 588 B.C.

When life became more settled observations on death became more minute. It was established that, to breathe was to live, and life became the interval between the first breath a baby inhales and the last breath that the dying exhales. The Arabic word for

Breath is *Nafas* from which is derived *Nafs*, the Soul. Air became the second important factor. As element Air was introduced into Greek philosophy by Anaximenes c 546 B.c. In Dualism everything has to be male and female. Air and Clouds, both are celestial, but clearly air is the finer of the two, hence air became male and clouds female. As Chinese deities they are Red-Bird or the Phoenix and the Dragon, male and female respectively. Heaven or the sky, as Yang, could then be represented by a pair, Red-Bird and Dragon, as male and female celestial deities, like two children of a father.

We have seen that hunger finally brought the human mind to accept water and earth as the final producers of food. Earth, or rather the soil, is the joint contributor of fertility. Man's body finally becomes dust or earth so that this is an important factor contributing to life. Earth was introduced as the third element in Greek philosophy, through Xenophanes at about 540 B.C.

Another important symptom of human life is warmth. Respiration may be suspended to return later, but once the body becomes cold it is dead for ever. Heat, represented as fire, became the fourth element in Greek cosmogony, due to the efforts of Heraclitus c. 502 B.c. The elements of the body came later than those of the soul. In Chinese mythology the deities in charge of earth and fire are called the Black-Warrior and the Tiger, the former as female and the latter as male, both being terrestrials. Thus Heaven/Earth, as male/female gave rise to four deities, a pair of celestials and another of terrestrials. That there should be

only four deities in China, shows how the Greeks also got their four cosmic elements later on. It is important to note that water was the first to be recognized in India as also in Greece. Even in China, Dragon the deity of clouds, is worshipped more than the deities of the other three elements. Summarizing we can say that Creative Force = Yang/Yin = Heaven/ Earth = (Air + Water)/(Fire + Soul). The word Soil has been used for Earth which had otherwise to be repeated in the same equation.

16. *The three phases of creation and the place of alchemy among them.* We have seen that the Hindu conception of Brahman-Prajapati, as two creators becoming one, arises from our realization of Growth-Reproduction as the two phases which constitute life. But then there are other factors which go to characterize life as a whole. Existence comprises of the following factors:

- (i) Matter, or "dust", as creation of nothing, with an unknowable past.
- (ii) Soul, or life-essence, with an unknown constitution and an unknowable past.
- (iii) Birth, including conception.
- (iv) Growth.
- (v) Reproduction.

Items iv and v present the real life of man.

- (vi) Death, is the separation of the soul from the body.
- (vii) The future of the body is a heap of "ashes".
- (viii) The future of the soul lies in a possible post-mortem life.

Neither creation out of nothing, in the past, nor a post-mortem life, in the future, depending upon the soul, can be imagined. Since the mind clamours for some kind of explanation

predated growth became creation. To create out of nothing means to make something grow, when there was nothing which could grow at all. Post-mortem life was relatively easier to imagine. Body, which ends as "ashes", could be re-animated, much like the original clod of "dust" before. Man nevertheless could realise a sharp difference between the original creation and the subsequent growth which is life. A case of pure creation would be the birth of a child which takes a few breaths and expires. Such would be the work of the creator without the cooperation of the preserver. Any intelligent man would prefer the work of a preserver of life to that of a mere creator. This, in fact, accounts for the paucity of such temples in India where Brahma is specially worshipped. If I am right there are no more than three temples to Brahma, whereas there is no scarcity of them where Vishnu, the preserver, is worshipped.

Life means growth of the individual and growth of the species. Both these phases must continue if life is to be preserved. It has been explained that the first conception of the preserver was in the person of the mother and the last in that of the sun. The sun god became the preserver and his Indian name is Vishnu. Sun worship in time spread all over the world. Here is an example of pre-Islamic worship of the sun. The Holy Kaaba of the Muslim peoples was originally a temple of Arab heathenism. The word Allah, before the advent of Islam, was the name of the most popular god who naturally was the sun-god. Al-Lah was Al-Rah, with Ra, the sun-god, the same as that of the ancient Egyptians. Sun was worshipped wherever land was fertile, like the plains of

the Nile or Euphrates, of the Ganges, and even in ancient Southern and Central America. In India Vishnu became one of the Hindu Trinity. I remember reading *a* discourse differentiating Brahma and Vishnu. It contained a rejoinder from a critic who protested questioning, "who says that Vishnu is not a creator." And in fact we have seen that, creation means growth with retrospective effect. The difference between a creator and a preserver is merely subjective: whom we *think* as the creator is Brahma, whom we *know* as the creator is Vishnu. And the act of knowing precedes that of thinking. We have only to recall our first conception of the preserver, in the person of the mother, who also became the first creator. Thus the conception of the creator actually arose later and as an extension of that of the preserver.

The importance attached to growth, and thus to sun worship, has also taken an intensive form. A plant has been deified as a live image for being worshipped. This is Tulsi, which is dedicated to Vishnu. Its scientific name is *Ocimum sanctum*. Upon it Sanyal and Ghosh(18) note that, according to K. L. Dey, "the holy basil, is the most sacred plant of the Hindus, being dedicated to Vishnu, the preserver of the world." Thus sun-worship has permeated every Hindu household and represents its most intensive form ever instituted by man.

Life's first phase, growth, has its limitations. No child grows to be a giant, nor a cocoanut tree ever touch the clouds. Growth gradually gives rise to reproduction. If growth was initiated by Brahma, reproductively was initiated by Prajapati. A glance at the

diagram below will help to visualize where actually their respective activities supplement each other as a continuous whole:

Brahma: the
Creator

Vishnu: the
Preserver

Shiva: the
Resurrector

Rama

Krishna

Birth

Death

Creation

Growth

Reproduction

Resurrection

Prajapati: the

Creator

The Spectrum of Life immortal

The knowable phase, between birth and death, with growth and reproduction as the main portions, itself between the unknowable phases, the infra-natal or creation, and the ultra-mortem or resurrection. In one case creation begins as growth, in

the other as reproduction. But once initiated growth-reproduction become continuous life and come under the care of Vishnu, the preserver, who thus has to preserve both. But he has subdivided his responsibility, creating two portfolios, assigning one to Rama and the other to Krishna, and these have become incarnations of Vishnu, the preserver. Thus growth, initiated by Brahma, and preserved by Rama, leads to a well-nourished prosperous life; while reproductively, initiated by Prajapati, preserved by Krishna, ends in an enlarged family; and an increasing prosperous family is all that life in this world means. This makes Vishnu the preserver.

Sometimes later reproductively also ceases and life finally comes to an end. The body becomes a heap of ashes. In fact, "ashes" projected backwards, into a remote past, became "dust", or the original material from which man was created. Man however would easily grant that his ashes could be spread all over but never destroyed. They are evidently assimilated by plants, eaten by animals, and may be some people enjoy the meat of these very animals. Matter thus keeps on changing in form: it is eternal and there is *Unity of Matter*. Since this is true of the body the same must be the case with the soul, for $\text{Life} = \text{Body} + \text{soul}$. *Soul is also immortal* and keeps on circulating from body to body; it is present in man and in herb. This theory is well known as the transmigration of the soul. However it ignores the material remains of the body. Another attempt tried to keep the association of the body with the soul in postmortem life, on the same plan as it exists in present life. The disembodied soul rests in heaven, but on the day of judgment the ashes will be recollected

by the power of the creator and each soul would return to its respective heap as ashes. This theory, called resurrection, is nothing else than post-mortem creation, this time from "ashes" in place of "dust". In some religions the power to create and the power to resurrect both rest with one Creator, but in Hinduism, recognizing division of labour, Brahma is the creator of life from "dust", Shiva the creator, from "ashes." Thus Shiva becomes a creator, and has a place in the Trinity, along with Brahma and Vishnu.

The early man was fully convinced of the reality of resurrection. The sun goes down in the evening and rises next morning, the same as before. It was imagined that this represents an ideal case of death and resurrection. Winter seems to take the life of most plants and spring infuses it back into them all. Such seasonal changes were also accepted as examples of resurrection. A minor problem, now to be discussed, is the authority in charge of death; and a major problem, relative to the mechanism of resurrection. We want to know who destroys life, and then why, as also how is it revived.

Brahma created man as mortal. Later on Vishnu was benevolent to a fault. There prospered people who did not do justice to his gifts. Some forms of life had become powerful and hideous, briefly demons, and these became misfits in creation. The lives of the fit was at stake and the fittest could not be evolved in the presence of these dangerous elements. Thus selection of some, implied death of others. A proper scientific

explanation has been offered by Prof. T. H. Huxley(19), the famous champion of Darwinism. He writes that, "in whatever guise life takes refuge worm or man, the living protoplasm not only ultimately dies and is resolved into its mineral and lifeless constituents, but is always dying, and strange as the paradox may sound, *could not live unless it died.*" Likewise speaks Charles Minot(19): "Differentiation leads as its inevitable conclusion to death. Death is the price we are compelled to pay for our organization for the differentiation which exists in us. Death of the whole comes, whenever some essential part of the body gives way. Sometimes one sometimes another internal organ may be the first in which the change of cytomorphosis goes on so far that it can no longer perform its share of work, and failing, brings about the failure of the whole," which is death. We see both, life becomes hideous in some cases, and life becomes cumbersome in others, one has to be killed, the other dies automatically. Resurrection or its substitute must be there or life becomes extinct. Then our present position forces us to realize another dual conception, death-resurrection, as one, and therefore its authority, destroyer-creator as one. To visualize one such case we can consider that of a genuine reformer. He bitterly criticises a degenerate form of religion. He is called a dissenter and a protestant; while several of his colleagues are actually sacrificed as martyrs. Yet what he does is to substitute something nobler and superior. Here we see clearly that he could not but be a destroyer first and a reformer afterwards. So is Shiva the destroyer-creator. Hinduism has conceived incarnations of Shiva which are called

upon to destroy different forms of unhealthy over-growths, or demons. When there is over-growth, pruning becomes the proper work of a creator, who has planned to substitute something superior instead. Once life gave birth to life-forms, there was to be progress in life-forms as such. If Brahma created life, Shiva created species; if Brahma created mortals, Shiva created immortals. And there is no immortality without death. Practically in all religions the heroes, really the dead benefactors, are looked upon as immortals or assigned a post-mortem existence. If we can imagine a wall to our left as birth, shown in the diagram, the spectrum of immortal life, paragraph 16, (p. 97) looking over it towards the past, growth becomes creation. Likewise looking ahead over the wall to the right, reproductivity is seen as immortality. We meet here with other dual concepts, as pairs of synonyms, death-resurrection, reproduction-immortality and procreation-creation. Life is a dynamic phenomenon and progress, as Croce points out, is the beginning of a new cycle. Where one cycle ends, there is the beginning of another: Destruction-Creation go on repeating themselves to infinity. Thus there are two sides to Shiva's activity, Destruction and Procreation, and Procreation=Creation. Many an incarnation is ascribed to Shiva which depicts, each deity full of rage, trampling over a demon. In days of epidemics or of similar diseases, which make life most precarious, Shiva is the god to be invoked. He gets rid of such demons and becomes the real preserver. Then for a family, which has been barren and yearns for an issue, it is again Shiva to destroy their sterility. These are such inborn needs of

man that one cannot conceive an earlier form of worship than the one which may be termed, the Shivite; Shiva worship is the oldest of all.

Coming to Shiva's creative activity, which is an extension of the procreative phase, it is of vital importance for the appreciation of alchemy. The worship of immortality has been directly expressed as the worship of procreation. One of the earliest images to be worshipped by man have been the sex organs. Shivite temples contain sculptures depicting love-scenes, *similar to those of alchemical symbolism*. Among the latter, as mentioned before, there can be nothing more revealing than a nude pair on a nuptial bed. Temple art can easily offer such parallels. Even fig. 1 represents a pageant of resurrection of the same category, for the serpentine deities are depicted in their procreative activity. On any road-side in India a stone image can be found with such figures of serpents intertwined. Fig. 2 is a corresponding symbol from an alchemical manuscript, and Fig. 3, the emblem of medical science, which is but another version of the same. They all convey the idea that, to reproduce is to generate a life-essence, which can then donate life to the sick, or even revive the dead. Above all there is a regular system of Yoga both in China and in India according to which a special technique of sexual intercourse imparts longevity. The act of procreation generates a life-essence and this is absorbed back by the producer to prolong his own life. The principle is the same, as the creator, having created the universe, finally enters into it as its soul. If the soul can be generated for the good of others, it can be absorbed for the benefit of the generator

as well. At least in one case Reproductivity does the work of an Elixir. A family which is getting old, and has remained barren, now gets a child which is also their first born. One has to know such a pair to realize the psychological difference between those suffering from sterility and later enjoying the fruits of reproductivity. Such a couple does feel that life's mission has been fulfilled and before they die they have planted a tree that promises to grow for ever and confer immortality in advance. Hindu religion has therefore made reproductivity a means of obtaining Heaven.

No less an authority than Huxley maintains that what we call life represents the paradox, to live is to die. Life comprises of cycles, and one cycle can begin only when another ends. Thus immortality can only follow death of the mortal. Every religion promises immortality but only to the heroes that have fallen as benefactors of mankind. Alchemy also promises immortality to its candidates who are prepared to taste death, be it for a very short time; in fact it must be within three days before the body shows any decomposition. The resurrection of Jesus also took place on the third day of his death. The special attraction about alchemy is that it promises immortality in this world. This evidently appeals so strongly to the human mind that alchemy could spread far and wide and history shows enough credulous people to risk their lives in the hope of gaining positive immortality. In as much as China is the home of alchemy no other country shows a greater record of people who have unwittingly committed suicide. Amongst those who have lost their lives in this way have been

three emperors of China. Since the making of Elixir was a costly affair hunting for rare herbs, followed by lengthy processes, it could be financed only by the well-to-do or undertaken by ascetics, whom time and labour were of no consideration. We shall see later that when alchemy found its way to Alexandria it also received royal patronage there. We can now summarize the three phases of creation before proceeding further:

- (1) Pure creation out of nothing, the work of Brahma, the creator.
- (2) Creation *as growth*, initiated by Brahma and continued by Vishnu, the preserver.
- (3) Creation *as reproduction*, initiated by Prajapati, the creator, continued by Vishnu.
- (4) Creation *as resurrection*, the work of Shiva, the destroyer of mortality and creator of immortality.

There are three aspects of existence, one before birth, another as life-span, and third as post-mortem life. Life-span is subdivided between growth and reproduction but represents a continuous change.

17. *Chinese alchemy reaches Alexandria.* The promise of immortality in this world seems to go home in spite of the danger of risking present

life. When this aspect is kept secret its progress becomes even faster. Such must have been the case for soon after Alexandria was founded Chinese alchemy reached there. It went along with the Chinese name for Elixir, Kim-Iya. This term means gold-making-juice and we have seen that in the preparation of synthetic gold, as a drug of immortality, a juice like Soma was the real

ingredient. Arab sailors before Islam traded between China and Alexandria and modified Kim-Iya into Kimiya, and with the Arabic definite article Al made it Al-Kimiya, hence the word alchemy. Now Kimiya was transliterated into Greek by an Egyptian speaking the Bocharic dialect when KIMIYA = XHMEIA. This was before Christ. It was pronounced at the time exactly as Kimiya. Later on XHMEIA was transliterated into Latin as Chemeia and pronounced differently. Thus arose subsequently a confusion on making two separate terms when there was originally one. With the rapid popularity of alchemy in Alexandria the loan word, Chemeia, was replaced by the connotative Greek word, Chumcia, from the root Chumos, the juice, and not from Chew to melt, as ascribed to it by Wilson(20). The Sanskrit word for Elixir is Rasayana, again from the root Rasa, the juice. Thus Kimiya-Chemeia = Chumeia = Rasayana, all meaning essentially a substance, in fact a juice, and next knowledge pertaining to such a substance, as the container being identified with the content. Here the interested reader is recommend to consult a previous article(21).

18. *Essential features of Alexandria and Chinese Alchemy.* The active principle of Kimiya, or of Elixir, was the soul, the creative element, and the art depending upon it was concerned with the immortality of man. This explanation is entirely different to the one which Hopkins (15; p. V) has imagined. He states that, "in the beginning alchemy was far from being philosophical. It was just an ordinary art like that of the carpenter or black-smith. It was on this primitive side of its character that it was derived from Egypt."

As mentioned before alchemy took its birth as pharmaceutical chemistry trying to prepare medicaments which did not exist in nature. A drug of immortality could be made only in the light of some theory and alchemy originated when mysticism entered herbalism. Alchemy actually began by "being philosophical", for before then there was only herbalism and pharmacy, but no pharmaceutical chemistry or alchemy.

We have now to compare the special preparations of Alexandrian and Chinese alchemy which would indirectly indicate a common philosophical back-ground. Taylor (1; p. 58) has translated an Alexandrian text entitled, the Dialogue of Cleopatra. To begin with, one is asked, "to look at the nature of plants", for without selecting a herb, like Soma, nothing could proceed further. The passage further refers to "divine water", a substitute for Soma-juice. Then Cleopatra addresses the philosophers, or the alchemists who called themselves as such, and asks them, "how the blessed waters (the divine waters) visit the corpses in the Hades and the Medicine of Life (which the philosophers made) reaches them." The text ends with the unequivocally worded sentence, "when the tomb is opened (the dead) issue from Hades as the babe from the womb," which is brought about by the Medicine of Life.

The conception of "the Medicine of Life", a self-explanatory term for Kimiya or Elixir, is the real equivalent of the Chinese drug, likewise explained as "the King of Medicine". Chao Yun-Ts'ung(22) has translated a Chinese treatise on alchemy where we

read that, "the substance (and Kimiya was a substance) which enables you to return to the origin (birth) and go back to the initial state (as a babe just born) is the King of Medicine." Thus we can safely equate the Alexandrian Medicine, of Life with the Chinese King of Medicine, both promising resurrection of the dead.

19. *The real Alexandrian alchemy.* In the light of its objective attributed above, alchemy was concerned with the preparations of drugs of longevity. This notion still persists in many a legend which thus speaks of what alchemy has been in ancient days. Whereas so much has been spoken of metal-foundry and of bronze-gilding as the occupation of the early alchemists, the real activity of Alexandrian alchemist has never been touched. It was therefore a relief to read what Draper(23) did suggest long ago but unfortunately has never been quoted by any authority on the history of alchemy. His book served as a classic on the History of Conflict between Religion and Science, having undergone 19 editions, by 1888, a copy of which accidentally came into my hands at Pabna, in 1967. He refers to the reign of Ptolemy as follows: "The Museum of Alexandria (proved to be) the birth of modern science" (p. 33). "In connection with the Museum there was a botanical and zoological garden" (p. 20), so that there could be no scarcity of herbs. Finally we read that, "Philadelphus (Ptolemy, reigning B.C. 285-247), who toward the close of his life was haunted with an intolerable dread of death devoted much of his time to the discovery of an Elixir. For such pursuits the Museum was provided with a chemical laboratory. There flocked

to this great intellectual centre students from all countries" (p. 20). The statement sounds as though it was well documented but on trying to trace its source it appeared not to be a historical fact. However Draper was an authority in his times and even his suggestion deserves some respect, above all it fully harmonizes with the fact that, the Alexandrian alchemists tried to make "Medicine of life". Alchemy, born in China, required some time before it could appear at Alexandria. We have now to calculate what the lag time could have been. The earliest historical record, mentioned by others, as also by W. Enfield, in his *History of Philosophy*, Vol. I, London, 1819, p. 87, maintains that, "We find no account of any attempt to effect the transmutation of metals, earlier than the time of Constantine," the Roman Emperor, 306-337 A.D. The phase of alchemy that tried to make gold for the sake of wealth was a degenerate form of it while it really aimed at making Elixir and this must have started much earlier. When we look for an authoritative work on Chinese alchemy, it is by Ko-Hung, who also lived in the fourth century A.D. Here again we have to grant a lag period between the birth of alchemy and the classical work in the field which is dated as 4th cent. When such a comparison is made even superficially it appears that alchemy did travel fast enough and the explanation is also easy to offer in as much as the promise alchemy offered of conferring immortality in this World appeals strongly to human nature, to the rich and the poor alike. Another reference which speaks in favour of Chinese origin and unknown to me before, is that of E. Underhill (16; p. 148), who, as early as 1930, clearly mentioned that, "it is from

China that alchemy is supposed to have reached the European world."

20. *The test symbols of alchemy.* Symbols are riddles, to solve them here properly is to interpret what alchemy has actually been. Since there is no scarcity of them only a few have been selected as test symbols ; there are others but none better than the ones offered here. It is with this confidence that the composition of Jamsthaler, dated 1625, is being presented in the first instance, and reproduced as Fig. 6. It is taken from Jung(24), who could merely recognize the four cosmic elements being depicted in the symbol. The point is not to rename other parts of the symbol in mysterious terms but to explain the entire composition in common language. Now in the first instance there is an enclosure, with an oval outline, which obviously represents an egg. This is entirely overlooked by him. It is the Brahma-Anda, the creator's egg, of Hindu mysticism. It is usually rendered as the cosmic egg, and represents existence in an egg-shell, rather than in a nut-shell. Mrs. Strong (25; p. 130), while analysing the details of a piece of funerary sculpture of Greek origin, of about 500 **B.C.**, observes that, "offerings were brought by the survivors" with the hopes of reviving the dead. There is a man who carries a cock and an EGG, a woman, the flower and the fruit of the pomegranate, all of them symbolic of the powers of *fertility* and *rebirth*," since Procreation=Resurrection. Further (p. 257) she explains that, "the egg is an apparently inanimate substance but contains a potent principle and has a special vital power which must perforce *awake the vital power to whom it is offered.* The pomegranate which contains in

its myriad seeds the principle of life, like the EGG, became an easily understood *instrument of rebirth.*" Thus the Egg is condensed creative force ready to explode into existence, much like the fishermen's pot in Arabian Nights with its compressed spirit which developed into a giant. In fact the idea of a hermetic seal, was borrowed from alchemy, which tried to preserve volatile active principles, like souls, from being lost.

But the creator of Brahma-Anda has created it out of nothing and even "nothing" has to be depicted. "Nothing" could have been represented as blank paper, but more explicit is a dark background *where anything must mean nothing.* Thus in Fig. 6, Nothing = Darkness (the background) and from "nothing" emerges the creator's egg. The contents of the Egg represent, Existence = Creator + Creation, with Creator = Four cosmic elements, and Creation = Macrocosm + Microcosm. The Creator forms the foundation, supporting creation above. The heaviest element is Earth, also the lowest shown in the picture. The opposite of Earth is the lightest of the four, which is Air, depicted as a pair of wings. Air is male, earth female; but air is celestial while earth terrestrial. A celestial male uniting with a terrestrial female gives a union of extreme opposites and these go to constitute an immortal. We have seen earlier that the proper impact of Spirit upon Body makes the latter buoyant and sublimable. A celestial male with celestial female will go to make an ordinary soul, as also a terrestrial male with a terrestrial female, the mortal body; but then the celestial pair can easily separate from the terrestrial pair, which means the soul can separate from

the body. On the contrary, Fig. 6 reveals the constitution of the immortal, with the combination of Air/Earth, as a celestial male with terrestrial female, which once united are inseparable from each other ; Water/Fire likewise a celestial/terrestrial, female/male pair. The globe as Earth is bearing the dragon, the element Water, and its opposite, Fire, is being spitted out as flame, by the dragon. Water is celestial female, Fire terrestrial male, as extreme opposites. The elements are so shuffled here that all the four should become one and inseparable. They are otherwise present in every constitution though in different ratios. Every activity in the universe depends upon them with varying speeds, here the combination promises eternity.

The four elements, as the creative force, have given rise to Microcosm as autonomous creation, the immortal human race, symbolized as the hermaphrodite. In discussing Fig. 4 the hermaphrodite has been sufficiently analysed. In as much as the hermaphrodite marks the stage of "perfection" this is because the same in turn represents a Creator. It can be otherwise called Prajapati, the creator. In Fig. 6 the hermaphrodite does appear with the insignia of a Creator bearing a pair of Compass and Mason's Square. The right, or male half, is holding, in the right hand, a Yang instrument, the Compass, and the left or female half, in her left hand, the Mason's Square, an angular Yin instrument. This pair of instruments serves, like the magic wand which can create a life-essence, and confer life upon the dead and the dying. It is the same pair of weapons of resurrection wielded by the deities in Fig. I (a). Since it is of the utmost significance in

tracing the origin of alchemy to China they have been shown enlarged in Fig. 1 (b). The same pair of instruments intertwined has become the emblem of Freemasonism which goes to show that it also descends from some cult of mysticism and can be traced to China. At any rate the Compass and Mason's Square are found on a Chinese grave, in alchemical symbolism, and as emblem of Freemasonism ; hence there must be some significance common to them all and it can only be the creative force.

An exhaustive treatment of the subject requires explaining how such importance came to be attributed to these common instruments. Earlier in this paper it has been explained that Heaven/Earth=Creator, and Chinese paganism knows no other conception of God. Heaven is dome shaped, but what we see is only half of what we should know, for there must be a similar half under the earth. This makes Heaven a hollow sphere. Such an object can be produced by a circle turned around its axis. Then the hollow sphere and the circle both become male, with Compass as the source of the series, and Heaven as the final end. The relation between the two is that between the source and its full expansion, between Atman and Brahman, between the individual soul and the cosmic soul of Vedantic philosophy. And the Vedantist is never tired of emphasizing their identity and thus of the importance of Atman. Such is the importance also attached to Compass.

We now come to Earth. It is a flat expanse, with the four directions idealized, thus making earth a regular square. In this form it is not a convincing deduction, and needs confirmation. A square projected upwards becomes a cube which, like the earth, is likewise a Yin or female element. Now the Holy Kaaba was formerly the temple of heathen Arabs and they dedicated it to their most favourite god, which was the sun-god, Allah. In Arabic, as in German, the sun is female. Kaaba, literally cube, being a female, was selected as the ideal form of a temple building to house a female god. And the instrument used by the Mason in shaping angular walls and in drawing a square is the Mason Square. Thus the cube, square, and Mason's square are all Yin elements. Mason's square is the exact opposite, the energized Yin element, the contrary of the Compass, its Yang. Compass/Mason's square become the equivalents of Heaven/Earth, in their generative form or as weapons of creation. Such must be the essential paraphernalia of the Creator, seen in Fig. 6.

Macrocosm, the other creation, is shown as the heavenly bodies at the uppermost limit of the symbol. Of them Sun/Moon again represents Heaven/Earth and as a pair of symbols must be familiar to every reader. Sun/Moon can be equated with Day/Night or Lightness/Darkness, from which the Chinese terms Yang/Yin have been derived. We can see now that Sun/Moon=Heaven/Earth=Creator.

The hermaphrodite, in Fig. 6, bear the label REBIS, in bold letters, which can only be the designation of the hermaphrodite itself. It is interesting to note that Jung (26; p. 197) not only confirms this but expands its significance properly by offering the series of equivalents: Rebis= the philosopher's stone — Hermaphrodite. On p. 306 he states that the alchemists further, "employ the symbolic qualities of the Christ-figure to characterize their Rebis." And we have independent evidence from Chinese sources to show that Elixir makes man not only immortal but also endows him with the power to ascend to heaven exactly as Christ did, in broad day light. Thus it is in order to equate, Rebis=A Christ like immortal. Now the container and the content can be identified with each other, the more important or the more familiar being given preference. Here the immortal consumer is the better known than the immortalizing drug or Elixir. Hence Rebis=the Immortal Christ=the immortalizing drug—Elixir—Philosopher's stone.

Summarizing our observations on the contents of the Creator's Egg, we find that it contains two creations, Micro-and Microcosm, and each in turn is a creator, with the four cosmic elements as the primary initiator of creation. The hermaphrodite thus means a creator and it is Elixir incorporate, the donor of an immortalizing creative soul.

21. *The oldest symbol of Alexandrian alchemy.* The serpent biting its own tail is Ouroboros in Greek. As a symbol it is most ancient and universal, being found in ancient Egypt, China and India

where it is called Kundalini. It is typical of mysticism, and alchemy borrowed it because it belongs to the same school. It is mentioned in Alexandrian literature on alchemy but the earliest illustration comes from a MSS of medieval ages, now in Venice. It was discovered by Berthelot and first reproduced in 1888. The original picture shows a red anterior half and a white posterior one. A red head and a white tail can well represent a pair of opposites, or Yang/Yin as head/tail. But as usually reproduced in black ink, it depicts a black head and a white tail which upsets its real significance. The head should have been white instead, to signify a Yan element, and for the first time such an improved version is being offered in Fig. 7. It suffices to show that the white half represents the creator, and the dark half creation, and creator/creation, as one, represent in the first instance, Unity of Existence, a doctrine on which mysticism is founded. It automatically becomes, to quote P. Carus, a "Symbol of the Source of Existence", as also of eternity, where there is no beginning and no end. Berthelot interpreted it as symbolizing Unity of Matter. Since matter is eternal his explanation can hold true. But it transcends this conception, it symbolizes Unity of Existence. Moreover the symbol contains a Greek text. It has to be interpreted as signifying the content for which the symbol stands. The three Greek words, incorporated in Fig. 7, mean: All is one. This is nothing else than what the Persian Sufis believe as Hame-Ust, All is He. We can therefore safely state that, All is He=All is One =Creator/Creation =Unity of Existence=One. We have only to realize that if an entity becomes ever-increasing

this one grows without check, and, as all-pervading, becomes all, when One is All. An increasing soul is one of the pathway to immortality and is destined to merge with the Creator, to make the Creator and creation as one. This is what the mystic imagined when they also tried to identify the individual soul with the cosmic soul, Atman with Brahman. What they wished to emphasize was the growing nature of a soul, as compared with another lacking this virtue. The growing soul was bound to reach the end, and thereby share immortality with the cosmic soul.

22. *The Ouroboros compared with the Chinese symbol of Yin/Yang.* Another symbol of creative force, as also, of the Source of Existence, is the Chinese presentation of Yin/Yang, fig. 7. Here the disc is the creator, the circumference its creation, and the two appear as one whole. The disc is the main content, showing the creator to be all in all. The disc is divided between two halves, Heaven Earth, as the creator. Each half represents an idealized serpent bearing an eye. The serpents are chasing each other, the head of one touching the other by its tail, both in whorl, representing eternal motion. Creation is the circle outside, without revealing a beginning or an end, and thereby also conveying eternity. The creator represents the dynamic phase, and creation the relatively static phase, which thus makes Creator = Creation. The disc, with its two major halves as serpents, and the two minor units as eyes, together reveal the four cosmic elements. The White/Black serpents are Air/Earth, and their eyes Water/Fire. Air is celestial, hence white, and Earth is terrestrial, hence black. Air is the most important of all and accordingly the white half of

the disc; it cannot appear larger because it is to be in perfect balance with its female, or Earth, which thus appears as the black serpent of the same size. Water is shown as the white miniature disc, or the *eye* of the white serpent. Water is like a "sister" of the Air and, being likewise celestial, also appears white; but as a minor element, or a "sister", and not as its "opposite", it is given a smaller form. Fire, the fourth element, is terrestrial and is seen black on that account. It is, however, a male, like a "brother" of Earth, and is placed as a miniature disc, the eye of the black serpent. Between themselves Fire/Water are Male/Female as husband/wife but terrestrial/celestial like Earth/Air.

The problem now is to offer reasons for assigning the relative importance to these four elements, for none of them is the equal of any other, differing on considering size and colour together. The symbol, Fig. 8, represents immortality and thus life in the first instance. Life means Breath: to live is to breathe. In fact the Arabic word for the individual soul, *Nafs*, is derived from *Nafas*, meaning breath, as mentioned before. The white half represents Breath of microcosm and Air of macrocosm. Breath is not dry air, hence there must be Water enough to contribute to its humidity: Breath is humid Air. Air, the white half, is provided with the white, smaller eye-like disc, as Water. And Water cannot vaporize unless there is heat. Heat must be, as a trace, which is the innermost black dot, as Fire, in the white eye. Briefly we find the following items:

Air=White half, or White serpent.

Water = White eye, the smaller disc.

Fire= Black dot in the eye.

Water+Fire=Humidity.

Air+Water+Fire=Breath=Soul=Heaven. And the ratios between Air, Water and Fire are in a decreasing order of importance as shown by their size in the symbol. Life=Body+Soul, and soul =Breath, which has just been dealt with. Now remains the Body of the microcosm, or the Earth of Macrocosm. This is the black serpent or the black half of Fig. 8. Body is no corpse, which is cold; a living body must be warm. The black serpent accordingly has a dark eye, which is Fire, the source of heat for warming the living body. To keep Fire within control there is a touch of Water at hand, and this appears as the white pupil of the dark eye of the black serpent.

The terrestrial series runs as follow:

Earth = Body =Black serpent, the dark half.

Fire =Dark eye, the smaller disc.

Water= White spot in the dark eye.

Fire+Water=only mild Heat.

Earth+Fire+Water=Living body =Earth, the opposite of Heaven. The word Earth used here first, is the cosmic element, while the same, as the last, is the opposite of Heaven. Water and Fire serve as minor elements to convert Air into Breath, as also to

make cold Earth, into a warm Body. Then Breath/Body=Heaven 'Earth, so that Individual soul=Cosmic soul, or Atman=Brahman. If Breath/Body is creation, Heaven/ Earth is creator, and the two pairs are seen above as identical. In fact the disc implies a circle, for to create a disc is to ascribe a circle also. The designer of the symbol, Fig. 8, has represented the creator as the disc and its circumference as creation; the circle, being nothing outside the disc, the two represent the creator and creation as one, depicting One is All. Further the White/Black disc of Fig. 8, is the White/Black serpent of Fig. 7, with its motto, One is all. Fig. 7 represents Heaven/ Earth; Fig. 8 the two pairs of Celestials/Terrestrials, as major and minor elements. Heaven/Earth, or the Celestial/Terrestrial pairs, represent the creator first and their creation next, the latter incorporated in the creator.

In an earlier paper(17) I have explained that life's four physiological processes can be equated with the four cosmic elements as follows: Air = oxidation; Water = hydration; Earth = reduction; Fire = dehydration.

Oxidation is the most important life's process, so is Air in the symbol, Fig. 8, as white and as half. Reduction is its exact opposite, to check oxidation as soon as it goes beyond a limit. Oxidation-Reduction processes go together as Respiration, just as the disc in Fig. 8 is half/half of one where celestial/terrestrial, or Heaven/Earth is One as Creator/ Creation. Addition of water helps the formation of many a compound and its additive quality

makes it "celestial," being represented as the white eye of the white serpent in Fig. 8. Too much water prevents respiration, or oxidation-reduction, and its removal, with dehydration and condensation, depends upon the system getting heated, which, as fire, is shown as the dark eye of the black serpent in Fig. 8. Earth, as the body, does not represent frigidity ; it is positively warmed by fire, and this in turn is not allowed to scorch, being kept within bounds by Water. The symbol, Fig. 8, is one of the most superficially interpreted, nevertheless a most important one, and to make it quite clear the following details are given :

1. White half=Air ; white eye=Water ; black dot=Fire.
2. Black half =Earth; dark eye=Fire ; white spot=Water.
Male/ Female =Air/ Water = Celestials. Male/Female =
Fire/Earth= Terrestrials.

Celestials/Terrestrials = Heaven/Earth = Creator. Air/ Water + Fire/ Earth= Four elements=Creator. In Fig. 8 the four elements, as major and minor, are properly represented, none equal among one another, differing either in size or in colour, but the Celestial/Terrestrials-- Heaven/Earth=White/Black. The measure of interpretation is in terms of dualistic standard, with Heaven/Earth being resolved into smaller units, but the units remaining as pairs, and each pair composed of opposites and thereby endowed with creative power.

Summary and Conclusions

Dante's pregnant observation, that the alchemist tried to imitate creation, forms the basis of the present thesis. Alchemy

aimed, not at changing one metal into another, but dead matter into living one, dead copper into live or ferment gold. The full spectrum of creation has been offered to show where exactly alchemy tried to imitate it. Creation starts with "nothing", out of which the Creator created creation, beginning with matter as "dust", then life, starting with birth, appearing as growth, merging gradually into reproduction, when, these two phases make life proper. Life implies death, but post-mortem existence continues, not only of matter as "ashes", but also of the soul, with rebirth and resurrection leading to immortality. Both, the beginning as "nothing", and the end as immortality, are unknowable. This vacuum is filled by extending the states known immediately after the beginning, which is growth, and before the end, which is reproductivity. Thus creation becomes growth with retrospective effect, and immortality postdated reproduction. In Hindu philosophy the Creator, producing growth from nothing, is Brahma, and the Creator, initiating reproduction, is Prajapati. In as much as growth and reproduction together mean life, their authors, Brahma and Prajapati, were identified with each other as Creator. Further Brahma had created man as mortal, but Prajapati, starting reproducing himself, created everything out of himself, laying the foundation of immortality. It is this creation, through reproductivity, that the alchemist tried to imitate aspiring for immortality.

In an age when spontaneous generation was accepted as a form of creation this was explained in the light of Dualism. Some subtle matter was conceived as Yang or the cosmic male element,

and another as Yin, its female, while their accidental union resulted as reproduction in

secrecy, when a soul was generated. As this soul entered the bodies of the generators these were fused into one body and further enlivened to become some form of life, be it as worm or scorpion. On the same plan the alchemist took a herb, as the donor of a male-soul or Ruh, and a metal, as the donor of a female-soul or Nafs, and by his technique, he arranged, what he called a "marriage", and generated a self-reproductive or ever-increasing soul, which entered the body of its generators, by now one as hermaphrodite, and made the same eternal. An everlasting form of a metal, which was the vehicle in this case, is gold. Thus the herbometallic complex became gold. Harboursing a soul synthetic gold was animated gold. The alchemist called it a ferment for it could grow into mercury to make it all gold. As a drug a single dose of it could confer immortality upon man for its soul, the active principle, was self-reproductive being well balanced and dual-natured, as coming from a herb and a metal.

When man was created dust was there, it was his soul that was the enlivening agency. Likewise all alchemical preparations depend upon their soul contents. It becomes necessary to inquire what all can go to generate the soul and to fortify its strength. In principle it is recognized, as is announced in a leaflet by a famous firm of Unani Medicines in Karachi, that, "the strength of a medicament is passed on to its consumer." We may here consider the active principle of a drug, like Nux Vomica, which contains strychnine ;

this is of a material nature and only indirectly proves to be beneficial. On the contrary the "strength" of a drug would be its "soul" which directly goes to constitute it. Thus on blood transfusion the strength which passes to the recipient is the "soul," for even in the Old Testament blood is conceived as soul. Accordingly strength = soul. In this light non-material constituents can merge into the soul, above all thoughts and prayers. An insight into the "strength" of a beneficial drug is offered by the opposite case of strengthening a poison. In connection with the latter, Pazzini(27) explains that, " to reinforce the lethal action of arsenic and to make its effects more diabolical it would be blended with distillates (and distillates in alchemy are souls) obtained from the flesh of hanged person and many other things which conjure up the most gruesome thoughts, since it was supposed that these thoughts then become the essential parts of drugs' toxicity. In fact the brutality used in obtaining the constituents were expected to contribute to the drugs' potency." By their very nature thoughts cannot constitute a material element like the active principle of a drug. But they can add to the strength of a soul, if there be one even in a drug, and this is precisely what the alchemist believed. Thus if evil thoughts can strengthen a poison pious thoughts can strengthen an Elixir. Just as man became animated by the divine WORD producing an impact upon a cold of dust, PRAYER was the creative force which the alchemist substituted for the word while trying to transform dead copper into live gold. The share Prayers occupied in the synthesis of alchemical preparation has been effectively sketched by Jung

(26; p. 195), who writes that, "nothing gives a better picture of the psychological state of the alchemist than the division of his work-room into a Laboratory, with crucibles and alembics, and an Oratory where he prays to God." His imitation of creation was essentially dependent upon the powers of his prayers. History of alchemy clearly reveals that its masters in the Muslim world were otherwise well respected for their piety, in fact they were Sufis, like Al-Arabi and Jabir bin Hayyan. In medieval Europe they were mostly monks or highly religious personalities, like von Helmont. In India and China they were invariably recluse devotees. But just as there are quack doctors and bogus saints there were false alchemists whom Dante rightly assigned a place in his Inferno. While his observation is correct that alchemy imitates creation he however overlooked the nature of the spiritual creative force upon which the alchemist depended.

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PAKPATTAN AND SHAIKH FARID⁸¹

by

Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai

Introduction. A study of the life of Shaikh al-Islam Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265) leads us to believe that he was constantly in search of a place where he could carry on his meditations and missionary pursuits undisturbed by the public. Ultimately he shifted from Hansi to Ajudhan which is today known as Pakpattan, the Tahsil of the Sahiwal (Montgomery) district. He lived here for about twenty-four years till the last moment of his life. It was then inhabited by backward Hindu tribes and aborigines who were mostly illiterate, bad-tempered and superstitious. There were deserts all round, snakes and wild animals were to be found everywhere.⁸² The Baba himself was

⁸¹ On the invitation of Mr. Shamim Ahmad Khan, C.S.P., I had read this article under the title of "The Importance of Pakpattan," on 12th December 1966, at the Seminar on "Sahiwal in History" held at Sahiwal. The Centenary of the Montgomery District was celebrated when the original name of the district "Sahiwal" replaced the present name Montgomery. The function was presided over by Mr. Hammad Raza, C S.P., Commissioner, Multan Division. It is being published here by the courtesy of Mr. Muzaffar Qadir, C.S.P., Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Sahiwal Festival.

⁸² *Siyar al-'Arifin* by Maulana Fazlullah Jamali, Rizwi Press, Delhi, A.H. 1310.

once bitten by a snake, while his mother was devoured by a wild animal in the vicinity of Ajudhan.⁸³ Even no regular food production was carried out here because in the account of Shaikh Farid it is mentioned that he had to live on the monkish bread available at Ajudhan like the *pelu*, *karir* and *dela* trees.⁸⁴ It is also a fact that the Shaikh preferred this place to any other and was contented here.

Since then Ajudhan, on account of Shaikh Farid's shrine (*Khanqah*), began to be called Pakpattan, developed into an uptodate town and became very popular. We shall describe briefly the importance of Pakpattan as a town as well as the Shrine of the Shaikh, along with a sketch of his life. Almost all the relevant sources have been utilised, particularly the recent book by Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar* (Muslim University, Aligarh, (1955), which has proved indispensable.⁸⁵

Pakpattan Town. At present it is the Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in the Montgomery (Sahiwal) district, West Pakistan. It is situated in 30° 21 N, and 73° 24 E, 29 miles South of Montgomery (Sahiwal) Railway Station.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid. p. 38.

⁸⁴ *Fawaidal-Fuwad*, by Amir Hasan Sajazi, ed. Muhammad Latif Malik, Lahore 1960, p. 125.

⁸⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has given very useful and large Bibliography in this work which may be consulted for a more detailed study.

⁸⁶ Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, pub. by the Punjab Government.

The name " Montgomery " was given to this district after Sir Robert Montgomery, who was Governor of the Panjab (February 1859 — January 1865). In 1865 when the railway was started, a village formerly known as Sahiwal, was thus re-named as Montgomery, which became the capital of the district, though this district was then known as Gogira, a name which is almost unknown. The headquarters then moved from Gogira to this new town.⁸⁷

Historically speaking, this ancient village, Sahiwal, took its name from the early rulers of the Sahya dynasty of Jaipal who was defeated by the Ghaznavid Sultan Sabuktigin⁸⁸. Originally Sahi people descended from one Salar Rajput who later on embraced Islam. At present there are two villages with this name Sahiwal, one in the Shapur district and the other here in Montgomery.⁸⁹

Pakpattan is connected by a Railway link with Lahore via Kasur while the Grand Trunk road passes through it linking Lahore, Montgomery and Multan. Physically Pakpattan town is situated on the high bank of the Sutlej river, 24 miles to SW of Divalpur and ten miles from the present course of the river. The centre of the town, where the shrine of Baba Farid exists, holds a

⁸⁷ Ibid. and *Jugrafiyah-i-Punjab* (Urdu) by Maulvi Karim-ud-Din, 2nd Ed., Lahore 1861, pp. 62-64.

⁸⁸ *The Ancient Geography of India* by A Cunningham, London 1871, pp. 214-19; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes in the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces* by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Lahore 1914, Vol. III, pp. 342-43.

⁸⁹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Oxford 1909, Vol. XVIII, p. 419, Vol. XXI, p. 482.

natural mount about 150 feet high from the level of the ground. This old town is traversed by six main streets from north to south and from east to west; they are in many places narrow, crooked and steep, but they have mostly been paved in the past. The arrangements of the drainage are rudimentary and the suburbs at the foot of the town receive and retain all the waste water from the houses and streets above. Water is generally obtained within the city from wells dug within and without the town.⁹⁰

The Shrine of the Baba attracts crowds of visitors not only from all over Pakistan but also from India, Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, who specially visit the Shrine on 5th Muharram (1st month of Islamic calendar) to pay homage to the saint.

Today Pakpattan is an up-to-date town having almost all the facilities

of life and most popular owing to the Shrine of the Baba. In the course of the last few years, it has spread still farther to the north and in other directions.

Geographical Importance of Pakpattan. According to the *Fawā'id al-Fuwād* of Amir Hasan 'Ala Sajazi and other contemporary sources, the ancestors of Baba Farid originally belonged to Central Asia.⁹¹ Though a foreigner at Ajudhan, he was fully aware of the importance of the location of this ancient town which he selected as his residence. In ancient days two great western roads from

⁹⁰ *District Gazetteer*, opt. cit.

⁹¹ Nizami, opt. cit., pp. 10-14; *Fuwad*, opt. cit., pp. 124-25.

Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan, used to meet here, the first via Mankera, Shorkot and Harappa; the second via Multan. In those days these two roads were the grand routes which connected the sub-continent of India with Central Asia. A careful study of the mediaeval history and especially the account of the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna, Timur and others will establish the truth of this assertion.⁹² But the writers generally forget to mention these important roads, one leading from Ajudhan through Multan towards Delhi and the other towards Rajputana to Western India, the route which was actually adopted by Mahmud of Ghazna and later invaders.⁹³

When Muhammad bin Qasim finished with the conquest of Sind in the first century of Hijra, he turned his attention towards Hindustan. He marched towards Multan which also fell to him and then came up to Dipalpur. We should not, however, forget that he had to make his first halt after Multan at Ajudhan, although history does not explicitly mention any place name between Multan and Dipalpur in the course of his activities. It is, however geographically obvious.⁹⁴

At Pakpattan even to this day there is an imposing domed mausoleum towards the south of the shrine of Baba Farid which lies at a distance of about two furlong; locally it is known as the shrine of *Sahabi* (Prophet's companion) Sayyid Abdul Aziz

⁹² Eliot and Dawson, *The History of India*, London, 1877, Vols. II and III.

⁹³ "The Road Between Delhi and Multan" by A. M. Stow, *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 26-37.

⁹⁴ Cunningham, *opt cit.*

Alambardar Makki (Fig. 5). Many attempts have been made to trace his origin from the time of the Prophet which have not so far succeeded in establishing its authenticity. However, the local tradition exists even to this day that at Ajudhan there were Arab settlers from the very early times.⁹⁵

Arnold writes in his *Preachings of Islam*⁹⁶ that the Muhammadans of Multan succeeded in maintaining their independence, and kept themselves from being conquered by neighbouring Hindu princes, by threatening, if attacked, to destroy an idol which was held in great veneration by the Hindus and was visited by pilgrims from the most distant parts. But in the hour of its political decay, Islam continued to claim missionary successes.

Arab Geographers of the 10th or 12th centuries mention the names of many such cities, both on the coasts and inland, where the Musulmans built their mosques, and enjoyed the privilege of living under their own laws.⁹⁷ The Arab merchants at this time succeeded in establishing commercial communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India and the out-side world. Farishta has mentioned in the account of Baba Farid, on the authority of Shaikh Nizamud'Din Auliya, that once when he

⁹⁵ *Anwar al-Farid* by Sayyid Muslim Nizami, Pakpattan, pp. 131-38.

⁹⁶ *The Preachings of Islam* by T. W. Arnold, London 1896, pp. 272-73.

⁹⁷ *Maruj az-Zahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawahir*, Cairo, Bolaq ed., Vol. I, pp. 382-83; "Mosques in Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent during the first Century of Islam and their Architecture," by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai, *Iqbal*, Lahore, Jan. 1962, pp. 42-54.

was sitting in the society of Baba Sahib, he saw that five *darwishes* from Turkistan — simple and unsophisticated type — came to Ajudhan. They declared to Shaikh Baba Farid that they had never come across a pious person such as he whom they had been craving to meet. Baba Farid replied, "Please wait for a while, I shall present you a real *darwish*." But they did not agree to it; they departed and perished on the way.⁹⁸

It is, however, evident that Ajudhan after Multan, was actually connected with other great centres, both in the sub-continent and Central Asia. The places which these holy people selected for their residence were no doubt geographically most strategic and very soon, as a result of association with their name and activities of converting local people to Islam, acquired social and political significance. History records all ups and downs about Ajudhan's role through the ages. It is, thus, ultimately admitted that the whole credit goes to Baba Farid, who selected this place as his centre of activity.

A study of the system of land routes, during the mediaeval period, shall reveal that a man coming from the north and intending to reach the Indian capital Delhi, after traversing other various towns of strategically position, shall experience that the route from Multan to Delhi that lay by way of Ajudhan and Abohar was less difficult though less direct. This route was constantly traversed by the royal armies and it was by this route

⁹⁸ *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Lucknow Persian ed., Vol. II, pp. 383-391.

that Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (A.H. 669), returned to Delhi from Multan,⁹⁹ where he had gone for forwarding his royal gifts to his ancestral home in Khurasan. Ziaud-Din Barni has mentioned in his *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* that for the last sixty years the roads were ever free from robbers.¹⁰⁰ Ibn Battutah reached Delhi from Multan through Ajudhan crossing Abohar. On his setting out from Abohar, about midway, his caravan was attacked by a band of robbers.¹⁰¹ It shows that after paying a visit to the shrine of the Baba, Ibn Battutah travelled from Ajudhan to Delhi by the route of Abohar; and from Abohar he came to Delhi via Hansi and Palam. At the end of 1397 A.C. a force under Timur's grandson Pir Muhammad Jahangir was despatched to capture Multan. Timur himself came to know that the people of Dipalpur had fled to Bhatner. Timur advanced towards Ajudhan to capture Bhatner. After a halt at Ajudhan, to pay homage to the shrine of the Baba, he marched to Bhatner. But Timur's army had marched from Ajudhan through Dipalpur and Abohar to Bhatinda, Samana and then to Delhi.

In short, Ajudhan geographically always served as a central point from where the travellers and invaders, after Multan, went towards India. At Ajudhan some other roads branch off to reach Delhi via other routes and thus its strategical position is quite obvious.

⁹⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.

¹⁰⁰ *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* by Ziaud'Din Barni, pp. 347-48, 58.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Battutah, opt. cit

Aborigines of Pakpattan. On the authority of General Cunningham, it is alleged that Pakpattan, ancient Ajudhan, is probably a town inhabited by people variously mentioned by Alexandar's historians and other classical writers as: Ohyrake, Sydrakae, Sudarakae, Surakasae and Hydrakae, whose country extended up to Sutlej, to the north of Malli. Ajudhan probably derived its name from the Yaidhaya tribe (modern Johiyas).¹⁰²

It was, however, destined by the Almighty God that a pious man like Baba Farid would settle at Ajudhan in the 13th century and change the whole out-look of this part of the world. All the aborigines of this place gradually embraced Islam. The author of the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* has beautifully described all the non-Muslim tribes then living before Baba Farid settled there, among whom more prominent were the Jats, Raj-puts and local agriculturists such as Sial, Sar Khankwanian, Pholian Odhkan, Jhakarwalian, Bakkan, Hakan, Sian, Khokaran, Dhudhiyan, Tobiyani etc.¹⁰³ As this part of the country extending towards Rajputana on the South, Multan on the West and Delhi on the East, was full of nomadic people, there was a lot of scope for the propagation of Islam among these people. Many prominent families began to embrace

Islam and gradually it penetrated to all levels of population. Naturally the credit for this goes to Baba Farid who employed all the members of his shrine and family in the propagation of Islam.

¹⁰² Cunningham, opt. cit., p. 217.

¹⁰³ *Jawahir*, opt. cit., pp. 448-50 (Urdu ed.)

Moreover, there was a natural attraction for Islam, whose simplicity and lack of caste system appealed to their imagination. It is also related that intermariages among the tribes played an equally important role.

It shows that Baba Farid succeeded in establishing conciliation and concord between the various cultural groups of this area. He was the first Muslim saint who tried to establish contacts with Hindu religious thinkers. Hindu Jogis used to visit his *Jama'at Khana* very frequently and the inmates sometimes discussed interesting problems with them.¹⁰⁴ We come across a reference to *Kafran-i-Sihab Posh*, which shows that non-Muslims used to come to his Khanqah for discussion.¹⁰⁵ The study of the *Fawa'id al-Fuwad* shows that Nizamud-Din Auliya had twice met Hindu Jogis in his *Jama'at Knana*. Here a question arises: in which language did the Shaikh converse with those Hindu Jogis? It was obviously the earliest form of the local vernacular which was Hindwi, i.e., Urdu.¹⁰⁶ We have sufficient evidence to prove that the Khanqah of Baba Farid was one of the cradles of Urdu language.

Ibn Battutah, in the account of Ajudhan, relates an interesting episode: "As I returned to the camp after visiting some pious personages, I saw people hurrying out, and some of our party along with them. I asked them what was happening and they told

¹⁰⁴ *Fuwaid al-Fuwad*, opt. cit., p. 417.

¹⁰⁵ Nizami, opt. cit., 106 and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Nizami, opt. cit. 106 and *Siyar al-Aulya* of Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani Amir Khurd, Delhi, Dec. 1302, pp. 183-5, 194.

me that one Hindu had died, that a fire had been kindled to burn him, and that his wife would burn herself along with him. My companions later told me that she had embraced the dead man and burned herself along with him. Later on I used often to see a Hindu woman, richly dressed, riding on horseback, followed by both Muslim and infidels, preceded by drums and trumpets, and accompanied by Brahmans. In the Sultan's dominions they ask his permission to burn her, which he accords them. The burning of the wife after her husband's death is regarded by them as a commendable act, but is not compulsory; only when a widow burns herself, family acquires a certain prestige through it and gains reputation for fidelity. A widow who does not burn herself, dresses in coarse garments and lives with her own people in misery, despised for her lack of fidelity, but she is not forced to burn herself.¹⁰⁷

It shows that even during the eighth century of the Hijra or about seventy years after the death of Baba Farid, the Hindu religious practices were duly observed by the permission of the State.

Political Role of Ajudhan. It is noted in the Ancient Geography of India that the fort of Ajudhan is said to have been captured by Sabuktigin in 367/978 in the course of his expedition in the Panjab and again by Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi in 472/1080 who had crossed the Southern border of the Panjab and captured the

¹⁰⁷ Ibu Battutah, *Travels in Asia and Africa* 1326-54, trans. H. A. R. Gibb London 1963, pp. 190-93.

town. We have noted above that the old name of the town, where today Montgomery exists, was known as Sahiwal, after the aborigines of this region, who were called *Sabis*. It is also alleged that Sabuktigin had deputed Jaipal, the then king of the Panjab, who belonged to the same *Sabi* tribe.¹⁰⁸ Therefore I should infer that this whole area was brought under Muslim rule just after the Ghaznavid conquest.

In 796/1393 Rai Zulji Bhatti and Rai Daud Kamal Main, having arranged the forces of Multan, crossed the river Satluj near the village Barhara, and then near the village Dohali they entered Lahore, having crossed the river Biyas. When Shaikha came to know that Sarang Khan was coming towards him, he made preparations to meet him on the outskirts of Dipalpur. He besieged the village Ajudhan and he was informed that Sarang Khan had plundered the village of Bhandovit. So he marched towards him quickly. In the place named Samothala, about twelve *kos* from Lahore, both the armies faced each other. Shaikha Khokhar being badly defeated returned to Lahore and from Lahore he hurriedly left for Jammun. On the second day Sarang Khan entered the fort of Lahore and took it into his possession.

¹⁰⁸ Cunningham, opt. cit., pp. 217-18. During the reign of Sultan Balban, Sidi Maula, a disciple of Baba Farid, was advised not to meddle in politics, but he did not care and ultimately he was murdered. (Vide *Cambridge History of India* Vol. III, p. 95).

He gave the title of Adil Khan to his brother Malik Kundhar and entrusted the fort of Lahore to him.¹⁰⁹

In 801/1398 news were received that Amir Timur Badshah of Khurasan had attacked Talamba and entered Multan. The prisoners of Sarang Khan's army had been put to death by Pir Muhammad, the grand son of Timur. This incident terrified Iqbal Khan very much. Farishta has mentioned in detail this incident and the visit of Timur to the shrine of Shaikh Farid¹¹⁰: ". . . All of a sudden Amir Timur Sahib Qiran came on the banks of the Bayas river and the Prince Jahangir Khan with his army joined him on Friday 11th. Safar, year A.H. 801 (A.c. 1398). He put up before him whatever he had so far achieved in India and it was divided among his men who had participated in the struggle. As the prince had complained against the ruler of Bhatner to the Amir, he marched towards Ajudhan at the head of ten thousand selected warriors, because it was considered necessary that the complaint be met with. He divided the men at Ajudhan into three groups. One part took shelter in Bhatner and did not go any where and the rest of them stayed in Ajudhan and they depended upon the circumstances. The Amir himself after reaching Ajudhan went straightaway to the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakar Ganj to pay his respects. And after giving full assurance of all protection to the residents of Ajudhan, he marched to Bhatner and crossing the Ab-i-Ajudhan (the Satluj river), encamped in Khaliskol; and

¹⁰⁹ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya bin Ahmad as-Sirhindi ed. by Hidayat Husain, Calcutta 1931, pp. 151, 157-58

¹¹⁰ Farishta, op. cit., pp. 156-57.

Bhatner was then at a distance of fifty *kos* (about a hundred miles) from there. They covered that long distance within one day. The fort of Bhatner was one of the famous forts of India and it was situated on a sidetrack from the thoroughfare. As no foreign army so far had encamped there, the residents living around Ajudhan and Divalpur had taken refuge there. As far as it was possible the fort contained people therein and the rest stayed outside the fort on the ditch. Amir Timur slaughtered all those who were outside the fort and took them into his possession along with their bag and baggage. The ruler Rai Zulji Bhatti of that place was one of the great infidels and there was no match of him in India in the principles of administration and for the same reason he was called the *Rai* or hero. He came in person out of the fort while the army of the Amir fought very bravely against him and Amir was declared victorious and he took the town into his possession and a large number of the population was annihilated and those who had remained, were taken prisoners. And thus the Amir captured a large booty and he advanced towards the fort and effected breaches. Rai Zulji was obliged to beg for protection and demanded one day's respite to arrange his affairs to appear before the Amir, who after granting his request entered his tent-enclosure. Rai Zulji in spite of his promise, did not appear there but began to dig up the ditches. But the besieged ones appeared on the tower of the fort and beseeched Amir Timur to grant them protection. The son of Rai Zulji came there with a heavy tribute. On the next day Rai Zulji himself came there hurriedly with the consent of Shaikh Sa'dud Din, the grand son of Shaikh Farid

Shakar Ganj of Ajudhan. He came to Amir Timur and he was honoured with the kissing of his feet. He had also brought with him a large variety of birds and three hundred horses of Iraq and along with it was the presentation of many kinds of Indian textile-fabrics. Amir Timur granted him a robe of honour showing respects on account of Shaikh Farid Sakar Ganj. Then Amir Suleyman Shah and Amir Allah Dad were appointed to control the gateway of the fort to bring out the persons who had taken shelter in the fort and those who had murdered Musafir Kabuli, one of the men of Pir Muhammad Jahangir, should be punished. And the rest of them were released after receiving ransom money from them. Thus after dealing with the affairs of Ajudham and Divalpur, Amir Timur Sahib Qiran came to Delhi after marching through Samana and other places."

It is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that in 803/1400, Taghi Khan Turk Bachcha Sultani, who was the son-in-law of Ghalib Khan, the Amir of Samana, assembled a large army with the intention of attacking Masnad-i-Ali Khizr Khan. When Khizr Khan came to know of it he became careful and with a large army came to Ajudhan. On 9th Rajab 803/1400 there was fight in which Taghi Khan was severely defeated. This was the starting point in the career of Khizr Khan who later became King of India, and established the Sayyid dynasty which had its rise at Ajudhan.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ *Tarikh Mubarak Shahi*, opt. cit., pp. 168-70.

Mallu Iqbal Khan defeated Nusrat Khan and ascended the throne of Delhi in 802/1400. He came towards Multan against Masnad-i-Ali Khizr Khan, who was then governor of Multan and the Makhdumzada Alamu'd-Din, the grandson of Qutb al-Aqtab Makhdum Sayyid Jalal al-Haq Bukhari of Uchcha intervened and thus the fear of fight was averted. But Iqbal broke his promise and he went to the border of Dhandoh, a village near Ajudhan in 808/1405. When Masnad-i-Ali Khizr Khan came with a large army to face Iqbal Khan, the latter was crushed to death and defeated. After it Khizr Khan ascended the throne of India at Delhi in 817/1414 as the first monarch of the Sayyid regime.¹¹²

Since the flight of Humayun, Fath Khan Jat had been in rebellion and had preyed upon travellers on the high road between Delhi and Lahore while the Baluch had been governing the city and district of Multan solely in their own interest. Haibat Khan dealt first with the Jat, who had established himself in Ajudhan-Pakpattan, but fled and retired into a mud fort where he was besieged. In a few days' time he surrendered himself and was imprisoned, but there still remained, in the fort, Hindu Bloch and Bakshu Langah. Haibat Khan in the meantime marched on to Multan and reported his success to Sher Shah, who rewarded him and advised him to adopt the practice of the Langahs in land

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 170-75

systems. It means that this whole area remained with Sher Shah who maintained the old system of the local people.¹¹³

In 978/1570 Akbar went to Ajmer on pilgrimage. Afterwards he came to Nagaur where he got the old town repaired and also received the Rajput chiefs of Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur etc. Direct from Nagour, Akbar made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Faridu'dDin Shakar Ganj at Ajudhan, amusing himself on the way by hunting the wild ass in the desert, of which rare quarry he shot thirteen. From Pakpattan he marched away by way of Dipalpur to Lahore. Akbar stayed at Ajudhan for some days and paid a special visit to the shrine of Baba Farid.¹¹⁴

Abu'l-Fazl mentions in *Ain-i-Akbari* that Pattan had a brick fort under the Sarkar Dipalpur, in Multan province. Later on, it began to be called *Pakpattan* (holy ferry) which still continues. The name *Pattan* also signifies that it was a ferry during the early period and it has never been a seat of the government. It remained in the jurisdiction of Dipalpur.¹¹⁵

LIFE SKETCH OF BABA FARID

Family migrated from Central Asia. Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar (Ac 1175-1265), popularly known as Baba Farid, is one of the most popular and revered saints of the sub-continent.

¹¹³ *The Cambridge History of India* (Mughal period) by Sir Richard Burn, Vol. IV, pp. 53-4.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

¹¹⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari* (Persian text), Calcutta 1868, p. 552 and Vol. III under his account of saints (Urdu), p. 329.

Owing to political situation in Central Asia, Qazi Shuaib, the grand father of Baba Farid, left Kabul and reached Lahore with his three sons.¹¹⁶ The Qazi of Lahore received him cordially and informed Khusrau Malik, the last Ghaznavid Sultan at Lahore, of the arrival of Qazi Shuaib, who did not desire any wordly office, and rather said with a mystic indifference that they did not want to run after a thing which had been lost to them.¹¹⁷

He was, however, entrusted with the Qaziship of Kahtewal where he settled. It is today known as Chawli Mashaikh in the Tehsil Mailsi of Multan district which undoubtedly had some political significance at that time.¹¹⁸ One of the three sons of Qazi Shuaib was named Jamalud-Din Suleyman, who married, in Kahtwal, a daughter of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Khojandi. The girl was named Qarsum Bibi.

Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Masud was the second son of Shaikh JamaludDin Suleyman who was born sometimes in 571/1175.¹¹⁹ This was the period when the Ghaznavid Empire of Lahore was fast declining. But Qarsum Bibi, the mother of Baba Farid, was a lady of fervent piety. It was she who had kindled that spark of love in Farid'ud-Din Masud and under whose motherly care, he developed a spirit of intense devotion to God.

¹¹⁶ Amir Khurd, opt. cit., p. 50; Farishta, opt. cit., pp. 583-91.

¹¹⁷ Nizami, opt. cit., p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Multan District Gazetteer. Kahtwal is differently spelt in different works.

¹¹⁹ Nizami opt. cit., p. 11.

Early Education. Shaikh Farid's fame as a saint starts at Kahtwal while he was still quite young. Shaikh Jalau'd-Din Tabrizi, an eminent disciple of Shaikh Abu Saeed Tabrezi, on his way to Delhi through Kahtwal, enquired from the people whether there was any pious person in that town. He heard people say about Qazi Jamalu'd-Din's son Faridu'd-Din that he was a man always busy in his prayers in the mosque behind the city. He met him while Shaikh Farid was fasting and his trousers were in shreds. He was known even outside Kahtwal and Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya of Multan wished to see him.¹²⁰

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrezi was associated with Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardy and a very close friend of Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Zakariyya of Multan and Khawaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. When Shaikh Jalau'd-Din Tabrezi reached Delhi after leaving Kahtwal, he was received by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, who showed a great respect to him. But he soon left Delhi for Bengal because Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Sughra., the Shaikhul Islam of Delhi, grew jealous of him.¹²¹

Disciple in Chishti Order. After finishing his early education in

Kahtwal, Baba Farid went to Multan while he was only 18 years old.¹²² He joined the Madrasa in the mosque of Maulana Minhaju'd-Din Tirmizi and learned the holy Quran by heart which

¹²⁰ *Khair al-Majalis* pp. 219-20; Mir Khurd, opt. cit., pp. 62-63.

¹²¹ Amir Khurd, opt. cit., pp. 62-63.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 60

he used to recite once a day.¹²³ One day when Baba Farid was studying the *Nāfi*, a book on Fiqh, Khawaja Qutbu'd Did Bakhtyar Kaki by chance came to that Mosque from Ush and busied himself in prayers. Baba Farid sat near by, with his book. After his prayer Khwaja asked, "Maulana, what book is this?" "It is Nāf'a'," replied the Baba. "May there be *nafa`* (benefit) for you in its study," said Khwaja Bakhtyar.¹²⁴ Baba Farid submitted and placed himself at the feet of the Khwaja. Khwaja Bakhtiyar Ushi left for Delhi and Baba Farid accompanied him. At Delhi many other saints of higher piety joined them. But according to Jamali's *Siyar al `Arifin*, Baba Farid completed his education in Multan and for higher studies he stayed for five years in Qandhar.¹²⁵ Baba Farid continued to live with Khwaja Qutbud Din Kaki and under his guidance traversed the difficult stages of the mystic path.

At Delhi he met Khwaja Muinud Din Chishti who bestowed upon him spiritual gifts and blessings. It was a unique honour in the history of the Chishti Silsilah. Baba Farid passed through all the stages of discipline of the Chishti saints. It is, however, not clear how long Baba Farid stayed at Delhi and how many times he visited Delhi.¹²⁶

Ganj Shakar. Khwaja Bakhtyar Kaki ordered him to perform the *Chillah-i-Makus* which he performed in the mosque at Uchh

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ *Siyar al-'Arifin*, opt. cit., p. 86.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Amir Khurd, opt. cit., 70.

known as *Masjid-i-Hajj*.¹²⁷ It was a calm and quiet corner of that town where he performed his Chillah for forty nights. He had neither hope of heaven nor fear of hell. Whether in Kahtwal, Hansi, Delhi, Uchch or Ajodhan he was always absorbed in his prayers. Amir Khurd mentions in his *Siyar al-Auliya* that he used to fast almost every day as a result

of which he became very weak. In this state he would pick up a few pebbles and put them in his mouth. These pebbles turned into sugar. This was the reason for calling him *Ganj-i-Shakar*.¹²⁸

He intended to go for pilgrimage to Mecca. Once he went to Uchch but returned home with the plea that his master Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtyar Kaki had not performed the Hajj. His life at Ajodhan was a chequered one.¹²⁹

Discussions with Non-Muslims. *Fawa'id al-Fuwad* mentions that Hindu Jogis used to come frequently to the shrine of the Baba and discuss various problems of spiritualism. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din had seen the Baba discussing the problems of human nature as described by Islam and Hinduism and on another occasion a Hindu Jogi was seen discussing the character of children at the time of birth and relationship between wife and husband. It is evident that these discussions with the non-Muslim learned

¹²⁷ Nizami, op. cit., pp. 22-25; Amir Khurd, op. cit., p. 70.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

¹²⁹ Nizami, opt. cit.

people used to take place in the local vernacular with which Baba Farid was quite familiar.¹³⁰

Pakpattan was from early times the seat of ancient Hindu shrine. One tradition of Farid's life states that during his temporary absence from Pakpattan in the Caucasus, a Hindu Jogi, the original incumbent of the shrine occupied by Farid, attained ascendancy over his followers and perverted many of them. In the Panjab District Gazetteer (Vol. XVIII, part B, p. XXIX), in the account of Pakpattan, it is mentioned that some Jogi families are still found in Pakpattan.

Indifference to worldly Affairs. It is stated on the authority of the *Fawā'id Al-Fuwād* that Sultan Nasirud-Din Mahmud, while going to Multan, passed through Ajudhan, when Ulugh Khan (later on Sultan Ghiyathu'd-Din Balban) was the ruler of this part. The Sultan stopped at Ajudhan to pay his respects to the Shaikh al-Islam Faridu'd-Din and through Ulugh Khan offered some cash money and gave a *mithal* deed granting four villages to Shaikh Farid as gift. On enquiry Ulugh Khan replied, "The money is meant for the disciples (*darwishes*) and the grant of four villages is meant for the Shaikh al-Islam as maintenance." Shaikh Farid replied smiling, "The cash money may be given to me, the darwaishes will divide it equally among themselves but withdraw

¹³⁰ *Fuwaid al-Fuwad*, p, 417.

this grant of four villages because there are many others who deserve it more than I; you can give it to them."¹³¹

Disciples of Baba Farid. The *Fawā'id al-Fuwād* mentions that Sultan Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud marched towards Multan and Uchch in the month of Shawwal 651/1252 and on his way he stopped at Ajudhan. The soldiers flocked to the streets and bazars of Ajudhan to pay their homage to Shaikh Farid. The Sultan could hardly find way to see the Shaikh. A sleeve of the Baba's shirt was hung up on a thoroughfare. An ocean of humanity began to surge and the sleeve was torn to pieces. The Shaikh himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his *murids* to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public. But an old *Farrash*, who was not satisfied with merely offering salam from a distance, broke through the circle and fell on the Shaikh's feet, pulled them towards himself, kissed them and exclaimed, "Shaikh Farid, you feel annoyed and do not thank God for his blessings." The Shaikh began to weep. He thanked the *Farrash* for this admonition and asked for his pardon.¹³²

Travel Abroad. Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Masud travelled very widely even beyond India.

It is related on the authority of Shaikh Farid al-Haq himself that once the Mongols attacked Nishapur and the ruler of that town sent a messenger to Khwaja Faridu'd-Din Attar to pray to the Almighty God to redress the calamity. Baba Farid mentions

¹³¹ Ibid., 171.

¹³² Ibid., p. 247.

that once as a visitor he was staying at Baghdad in the mosque of Kanif in the company of Shaikh Auhi Kirmani along with another companion. It was being discussed that the people are not born having one and the same face and that every one is different from other. The Shaikh replied that he had come across a statement in the *Attar al-Auliya* quoted on the authority of Abdullah bin Abbas from our Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) how Adam was created and how his sons do not resemble one another.¹³³

Similarly Shaikh Farid was once in Bukhara, where he had seen a very old pious man busy in his meditation. He met him and he told Baba Farid that he was living in that den for the last sixty years. He advised Shaikh Farid that one should be always prepared to meet with any eventuality.¹³⁴

It is generally held that he travelled very extensively, although some writers attributed to him some unfounded stories of travels.

At Hansi. Hansi, an ancient town in the Hisar district, was occupied by Sultan Shihabuddin Ghauri in 1192. It was a place of great strategic importance. Baba Farid settled there after completing his mystic discipline at the feet of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtyar to hear the sermons of Maulana Noor Turk but the duration of his stay at Hansi is not known, although, according to some authorities, he stayed there for nineteen or twenty years. He dreamt at Hansi that his master was calling him to his presence, so

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 374-75.

he immediately started for Delhi. But in the meantime his master, Khwaja Bakhtyar Kaki, had died.¹³⁵

Last visit to Delhi. On reaching Delhi Baba Farid went straight to the home of his deceased master and sat in his place.¹³⁶ It is related on the authority of *Khair al-Majalis* that when Shaikh Farid reached

Delhi from Hansi to pay his homage to the deceased Shaikh Qutbu'dDin Bakhtyar Kaki, he asked Shaikh Badru'd-Din Ghaznavi, the successor of the deceased, "Had the Shaikh willed anything before his death?" He replied that he wished to hand over his *Sajjadah* (prayer carpet) to Maulana Masud (Shaikh Faridud Din) and if he wished, he could marry his widow. Shaikh Farid declined to comply with the second wish. He took the *Musalla*.¹³⁷ A large crowd assembled there but he managed to come out of the town quietly and reached Hansi where he could not stay long because Hansi was also a great town. He had a desire to stay in a town where he would not be disturbed by the people, because he desired to get himself busy in his mystic devotion without being interrupted. At last he came to Ajudhan where almost all the people were infidels, of bad temperament and did not believe in darwishes. Shaikh Farid decided to make it his resting place for he would not be disturbed. Outside the village there were the Karir, Pelu and dela trees and one of them

¹³⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Minhaj-i-Siraj Jurgani ed. by Nassau Lee, Calcutta 1864, p. 120; Nizami, opt. cit., pp. 31-32; *Siyar al-'Arifin*, opt. cit., p. 33.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

¹³⁷ Ibid and *Khair al-Majalis*, opt., cit. pp. 86-89.

was the largest one under which Shaikh Farid spread his *Kamli* and got himself busy in his devotions. He used to spend most of his time in the mosque where he felt himself fully contended. Here his children were born.¹³⁸

He lived at Ajudhan with his large family for about thirty years as an ordinary citizen. His dress was always very simple and sometimes in shreds. If any one presented him a new dress, he gave it to the needy. His food was very simple too and mostly he used to fast. He passed his time in prayers and in attending to visitors. His staple food was Jawar. Shaikh Badru'd Din Ishaq, his son-in-law, was his chief personal attendant. There was also Khwaja Ahmed Siwistani who used to fetch water for ablution and look to other requirements of his.¹³⁹

Death. He lived to the last moment of his life at Ajudhan and died there on Saturday, the 5th of Muharram, 664/Oct, 15, 1265. He died as he lived without any worldly means¹⁴⁰. There was nothing in his house with which to purchase shroud for him. Amir Khurd's grand mother gave a white sheet to cover his coffin. The door of his house was pulled down to provide bricks for his grave. He was buried out-side the town in the grave yard

¹³⁸ *Fuwaid al-Fawad*, opt. cit., p. 25.

¹³⁹ *Siyar al-Auliya*, opt. cit., p. 117.

¹⁴⁰ Nizami, opt. cit., pp. 56-58; Many writers say that the year of his death was **A.H.** 667.

of *Shuhada*, although some writers allege that he was buried in the same cell where he breathed his last.¹⁴¹

Annual Urs (Commemorations) of Baba Farid. It is stated in *Rabt al-Mubibbin* of Amir Khusrau (725/1325) that on Thursday 5th Muharram 715/1315 was the `Urs of Shaikh Farid al-Haq.¹⁴² Maulana Wajihu'd-Din Paili, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya, Maulana Burhanu'd-Din Gharib, Shaikh Uthman Sayyah, Shaikh Husain, the grandson of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtyar Kaki, Maulan Fakhru'd-Din Zarawi, Maulana Shihabu'd-Din of Meruth, Maulana Nasiru'd-Din Goyahi, Hasan Ala Sajazi and many others were present while Khwaja Zikirullah Bil-Khair was describing the greatness and amiable manners of Shaikh Farid al-Haq which had really affected all those who were present. He related that the Baba died on 5th Muharram and it so happened that on the night when he was to die, he specially called him and said that Maulana Nizamu'd-Din was not present nor was he himself when Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtyar Kaki (Baba's spiritual leader) was to die; after it he rose and recited the Quran upto 10 a.m. and after it he got absorbed in his prayers and recited a Persian couplet. In the night he repeated his *Asha* prayers four times after which he loudly cried that he entrusted himself to the Almighty God which was heard by the inhabitants of Ajudhan. Ultimately he breathed his last. When Khwaja Zikrullah finished this account, a loud cry arose from the assembly which affected the audience very much.

¹⁴¹ *Siyar al-Auliya*, opt. cit., pp. 89-91 and *Fu'waid al-Fu'wad*.

¹⁴² *Rabt al-Mubibbin*, attributed to Amir Khusrau (Urdu), Lahore 1957, pp. 63-64.

After it Malik Yamin al-Mulk came with some nobles as well as Maulana Alau'd-Din (the grandson of the Baba) and Maulana Kamalu'd-Din. After it twenty darweshes entered and Khwaja welcomed them all. One of them related some other anecdotes of Baba Farid.

This account, describing the annual Urs of Shaikh Farid at Ajudhan, which incidently records the fifth death anniversary of the Shaikh, shows that this had become a permanent feature at Ajudhan in the shrine of the Farid and particularly on this occasion many pious people from far and near assembled there to celebrate it and revive the memory of the Shaikh by describing the biographical events of the saint. Accordingly the tradition of celebrating the annual commemoration of the Baba still continues. However, it is evident that this practice of holding the annual Urs at the shrine of Shaikh Farid had begun just after his death.

DESCENDANTS OF BABA FARID

Baba Farid had five sons and three daughters. Khwaja Nasiru'dDin was the eldest who was a pious and devoted person but was mostly inclined towards cultivation. His second son Khawaja Shihabu'd-Din was an erudite scholar. He lived in the Jama'at Khana and when he died, was buried near the tomb of the Baba (Fig. 6). His third son Badru'dDin Suleman occupied the Sajjadah of the saint, and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Alau'd-Din while he was only sixteen. For more that half a century he graced the Khanqah of his grand father Shaikh Faridu'dDin. He was a pious person and his fame had travelled upto Alexandria

(Egypt) which is obvious from the *Travels* of Ibn Battutah He has been praised by Amir Khusrau, Amir Khurd, Zia'ud-Din Barni and others. He used to fast continuously with the exception of the two Id days and the days of Tashriq. He generally used to live in his Khanqah. His reputation for his spiritual greatness spread in the world during his life time.

Zia'ud-Din Barni calls him an embodiment of virtue and devotion.¹⁴³ Sultan Muhammad Tughluq was deeply impressed by his piety and he had become his disciple. It was mostly due to the relations of the Tughluq dynasty with the shrine of the Baba; because this dynasty flourished in Dipalpur which was its ancestral home. The Jama'at Khana of the Shaikh at Ajudhan had become a haven of refuge for the victims of cruelty and oppression. When Alau'd-Din died in 734/ 1334 he was buried on the north eastern side of the tomb of the Baba and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq built a magnificent domed tomb over his grave (Figs. 9,10,11).

Zia'ud-Din Barni mentions in his history on the basis of authoritative sources that Shaikh Alau'd-Din was one of the unique persons of his days, who was always seen either within the tomb of Shaikh Farid or attending prayers or reciting the Quran and studying the Traditions of the Prophet. In short, he was entirely devoted to the worship of the Almighty God.

¹⁴³ *Tarikh Feroz Shahi* of Ziya-ud-Din Barni, Calcutta 1862, pp. 347-348, 518.

Shaikh Alau'd-Din had two sons, Shaikh Muizzu'd-Din and Alamu'd-Din who are also mentioned as Muizzul Haq and Alam-al-Haq. Both are considered as men of great piety. The elder, who had received his education from Maulana Wajihu'd-Din Paili, succeeded his father, and occupied the Sajjadah. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq invited him to Delhi and requested him to take interest in state affairs, because both the state and the religious matters are one and the same.

After some time, the Sultan sent him to Gujarat in the capacity of Naib-al-Saltanat or Deputy Governor of Gujarat under Malik Muzaffar.¹⁴⁴ According to the author of the *Siyar al-Auliya*, a great mausoleum of Shaikh Muizz al-Haq existed in Gujarat. His brother Shaikh Alam al-Haq, who was very much popular among the masses as a most sacred person, was made Shaikh al-Islam of Hindustan. He was buried in the mausoleum of his father Shaikh Alau'd-Din at Ajudhan .¹⁴⁵

Shaikh Afzalu'd-Din Fuzail succeeded his father Muizzu'd-Din as his Khalifa at Ajudhan and after him his son Munawwar became his successor. But Shaikh Mazharu'd-Din, the son of Shaikh Alamu'd-Din, succeeded his father as Shaikh al-Islam of India after the death of his father.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.,

¹⁴⁵ *Siyar al-Auliya*, pp. 33-40.

¹⁴⁶ *Jamahir Faridi*, opt. cit.

In short, Shaikh Badru'd-Din Suleyman's family mostly lived at Ajudhan and its members held the Dewanship of Pakpattan shrine even to this day.

Ibn Battutah at Ajudhan. Numerous visitors and travellers from far and near came to the shrine of Baba to pay their homage. They belonged to Khurasan, Jurjan, Delhi, Uchch, Nagour, Multan, Ajmer, Bahar, Lakhnowti, etc. But of particular interest is the account of the famous traveller Ibn Battutah who on his way to Delhi from Multan, first went to Abohar and then from Abohar he returned to Ajudhan in 734/1334.¹⁴⁷ He found that Ajudhan was a small town and it was then known as the town of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din Badyuni. Before his departure from Alexandria Ibn Battutah was specially asked by Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din to pay a visit to Shaikh Faridu'd-Din, whom he had met at Ajudhan. As a matter of fact Ibn Battutah actually meant Shaikh Alau'd-Din, the grandson and successor of the Baba. Shaikh Farid had died about 70 years before.

It is clear from the account of Ibn Battutah that he met Muizzu'dDin, and Alam-ud-Din, sons of Alau'd-Din, the former of whom had succeeded his father. When Ibn Battutah after paying his visit to the shrine, was going to depart, he was asked by Alamu'd-Din to see his father who was then on the top floor of

¹⁴⁷ *Rabla Ibn Battutah — Tohfa turn — Nazzar*, (Arabic ed.) Cairo, 1346/1928,

the dwelling. He blessed Ibn Battutah with a supplication and honoured him with the sweetmeats.

KHANQAH OF BABA FARID

(Architecture)

The Khanqah (Shrine) of Baba Farid. After the burial of Shaikh Farid at Pakpattan, his mausoleum became a great attraction for the pilgrims and devotees from all over the country and gradually it developed into a group of tombs, apartments, etc., of the members of his family, successors and others. The Jami' Masjid which existed there even during the life time of the Shaikh¹⁴⁸ gradually extended and developed into an imposing monument. A careful study of these various buildings in this shrine unfolds a vast history of the family of the saint as well as of Pakpattan itself. They represent a great variety of architecture. However, an effort is being made here in describing these monuments. A ground plan of the Khanqah covering different apartments is reproduced here (Fig. 1) which will help greatly in understanding their arrangement:

1. The Mosque.
2. The Court Yard of the Mosque.
3. The Tomb of Shihabu'd-Din.
4. The passage to private houses.

¹⁴⁸ The Shrine of Baba Farid Shakerganj at Pakpattan" by Miles Irving, *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1911, pp. 70-77; *Siyar al-Arifin*, opt. cit., p. 36.

5. The Tomb of Baba Farid.
6. Bahishti Darwaza (Paradise door) and Baradari.
7. The Nizami Masjid.
8. The Mausoleum of Shaikh Alau'd-Din.
9. The Courtyard in front of the Tomb of Baba Farid.
- 10-11. The Dalans and Rooms.
12. The Main Entrance to the Shrine.

These monuments of architectural history are very important, for they represent the architecturae of the Pre-Mughal period, which have been so far ignored.

(1) *The Mosque.* The present congregational mosque is an imposing monument, having three cuspid domes on its *evān* — *praying* chamber. The central one is higher and larger than others on its right and left. It seems certain that a mosque at Ajudhan existed before Shaikh Farid settled here. It is possible that it might have been improved upon and enlarged later on. However, its present architectural set-up can easily be assigned to the later part of the 14th Century, although some suggest an earlier date. The massive domes stand on pendentive and squinch system as we generally find in the monuments of the Tughluq period (Fig. 2). Its *evān* is comparatively narrow, eighty five feet long and twenty three and a half feet broad. There are three deep mihrabs in the back wall towards Qibla under the three domes and the central one is proportionately larger than others, but there is no regular *mimbar* (pulpit) in masonry. This special feature of the mosque is of great significance for it helps us in determining that this mosque was built in the 14th Century. There are two ordinary minarets on the ends of the facade which I regard later addition. The three porticoes in the facade harmonise with the domes,

although at present they have been turned into ordinary wooden doors. It is a fact that this masonry arcuated building is a remarkable specimen of architecture of the pre-Mughal period. This mosque being built on the highest spot in the Khanqah, can be seen from all over the town. However, it is mentioned in the *Jawahir Faridi* (1623) that Sultan Muhammad Tughluq built one mosque in Ajudhan which was then known as the Masjid-i-Tughluq.¹⁴⁹

(2) *The Courtyard of the Mosque.* In front of the facade of the mosque, there is a spacious courtyard which is forty three feet wide on the north. We feel that the mosque is still higher than other apartments of the Khanqah. Thus we have reason to believe that when Baba Farid settled here, an ordinary mosque already existed here which he generally used for his prayers and he himself stayed near by. This spot was separate and one had to climb some steps, a height of about three feet, to come to the courtyard of the mosque. This mosque gradually developed and began to be called the Mosque of the Khanqah of the Baba. The physical position of this spot was then such that the mosque was naturally set up on the highest spot where there were several trees, as many exist even to this day.

(3) *The Tomb of Shihabu'd-Din*, the second son of Baba Farid, is a domed quadrangular building. He was generally called *Ganj-i-Ilm* on account of his great scholarship (Fig.6). He lived in the *Jama'at Khana* and died here perhaps in his own separate cell where he was buried which later on assumed the shape of a domed monument, although it is not of a very great architectural value.

¹⁴⁹ *Jawahir-i-Faridi Tazkira Farideyah* by Ali Asghar ibn Shaikh Maudud ibn Chishti Bahdalwi and Falhpuri, pule, at Lahore in 1301/1884, p. 305.

Perhaps Shihabu'd-Din lived here independently because Baba Farid's third son, Badru'd-Din Suleyman, succeeded his father and occupied the Sajjadah.

(4) *The passage* towards the north leading to private houses of the custodians of the *Khanqah* etc. This whole low level area covers the northern side of Baba Farid's tomb, back side of Alau'd-Din's tomb on the West, the northern side measuring forty three and a half feet, having a passage which runs along with the tomb of Shaikh AlauDin from its western side to its southern and eastern sides. It meets the No. 9 courtyard, etc.

(5) & (6). *The tomb of Baba Farid* himself is the central figure of this whole Khanqah (Fig. 4). I think that this was the original spot where he first lived and which later on became his tomb. This cubical domed building holds the most renowned *Babishti Darwaza* (Paradise entrance) on its south which remains closed throughout and opens only once on 5th Muharram every year, while the door of this cubical building on the east remains always open to the public. Thousands of people pass through the *Babishti darwaza* hoping that thus they would obtain paradise. People enter the domed tomb and come out from the eastern door after saying the *fatiah* (prayer and blessing for the dead). This small squared domed building, about twenty feet at its base and almost of the same height, may be presumed to have been built just after the demise of the Shaikh. Most probably the practice of passing through the southern door, known as paradise door, on the occasion of annual commemoration, might have been established just after his death. However, this small domed tomb of Shaikh Farid has been built on pendentive system having a cusped dome over it and a long pinnacle on its top which is quite conspicuous.

The long open roofed hall on the south known as the Baradari (6) (Fig. 3) is thirty nine feet long and about twenty feet wide, and is supported on piers. Qawwali can always be enjoyed here which is the chief feature of the Chishtia order and it is generally recited throughout the year in front of the closed *Babishti door*.

(7) *The Nizami Masjid* is a very small square space of about thirteen feet, between the tomb of Shaikh Alau'd-Din and the south-eastern corner of the tomb of Shaikh Farid. It is built of white marble without any formal dome and it is just like an enclosed pavilion having slender pillars on its north and south and latticed panels etc.(Fig7).According to local tradition Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya used to stay there and used it as a mosque. It developed into a mosque as we see it today. The Qibla wall and the *mihrab* within it are adorned with inscriptions of Quranic verses (Fig. 8). But the remarkable thing is that the *naskhi-thulth* style of writing is almost the same which we find on the contemporary monuments at Delhi and elsewhere. The main border of the wall bears the *Ayat-al-Kursi*. The pointed cinqufoil central arch also usually bears holy phrases and the central space has Quranic verse after *Bismillah*, "Wherever Zakariya went

into the sanctuary, where she was, he found that she had food" (iii.37).The use of this special verse representing the *mihrab* is generally found in the Muslim monuments in Turkey of the Saljuqs who had perhaps first introduced it. There is reason to believe that there is Saljuq influence on Muslim architecture.

Besides, there are decorative sun-flower patterns in the spandrils of the arch and in its centre.

(8) *The Mausoleum of Shaikh Alau'd-Din*, the grandson of Shaikh Farid, is just adjoining the Nizami Masjid on its eastern (Fig. 9) side and its actual face opens towards the south in the court yard (9) (Fig. 11). I regard it the largest monument in the Khanqah after the mosque (1) as well as the most imposing specimen of the domed architecture, the earliest dated architectural monument in Pakistan.

Inside the dome there is a midway regular, wooden band which runs on all four walls of the tomb. This band of teak wood contains a versific long Persian inscription, being carved most artistically in *thulth naskhi* characters. It is quite an unusual feature in architecture. Unfortunately this inscription, in the course of time, has been damaged in many places which has rendered it difficult to be deciphered. It is, however obvious that this most splendid and grand mausoleum was built by Muhammad Tughluq who held the Shaikh in great reverence. The words giving the exact year of its construction 737/1337 are quite clear and it is also evident that it was the month of Safar when it was finalised. It was built by the strenuous efforts of Shaikh Muizzul-Haq, the son of Shaikh Alau'd-Din, who is generally called Muizzu'd-Din (Fig. 10). There is another name of one Syed Omar which occurs in the last verses of the inscription. He was a very pious person and was either buried here simultaneously or he had some connection with this monument. This special feature of the

mausoleum reminds us of the similar art of wood-carving of the Saljuqs in Asia Minor and Central Asia.

It can be mentioned here with confidence that the use of wood in construction at this stage of our history in Muslim monuments is really very rare, because it is not very common in the early monuments of the sub-continent. However, it is a fact that it is confined to this region of Pakistan where, perhaps owing to the non-availability of stone, wood had been introduced. But the use of wood in Muslim monuments of pure masonry, was perhaps first used in Ghazna by the Ghaznavide Sultans in their monuments such as the minarets at Ghazni which still stand there. I have observed that the massive wooden rafts have been used in these minarets at Ghazna at every stage of the building and similarly heavy wooden rafts can be seen in the interior of the dome of Rukn-i-Alam and other monuments at Multan which I regard as a unique peculiarity of the architecture of the Tughluq period. I think that the use of wooden rafts are technically a great help in sustaining the sudden vibration and shock with the result that these most splendid monuments have stood several severe earthquakes and survive to this day.

This splendid mausoleum, wholly built of brick masonry, being of an extra-ordinary importance in the history of Indo-Pakistan architecture, holds a unique characteristic of slope walls, although we find the same features in the Multan monuments. It reminds us of the tomb of Sultan Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq (1325) at Delhi which holds similar type of slope walls, although its walls

are more conspicuously slope and is wholly built of stone. Here the walls inside the tomb are perpendicular and at the bottom they are about nine feet thick. The main passage on the south is also of the same width and there is a recess inside the dome in the centre of the northern wall. But on the west there is a *mibrab* (niche) which is about five feet wide and is adjusted with a pointed arch and it is very beautifully embellished with carvings in bricks and bears Quranic verses to harmonise with its whole artistic set-up. Unfortunately, the walls inside the dome are not in good condition at present. There are some traces of stucco work too. I think the dome's squinches forming octagon and above them higher squinches forming multi-polygonal shapes support the round hemispherical dome which internally stands on a diametre of about forty feet. But the outer octagonal base on its upper square end rises in the shape of a neck about ten feet high and then the roundness of the dome starts upward with a beautiful projecting band. The dome ends in a beautiful finial. The corners of the octagon hold turrets which are five feet in height and have regular bouquets as tops or small pavilions. This system of turrets on the corners of the octagon came to the sub continent direct from Sultaniya where the most splendid mausoluem of Sultan Khuda Banda Oljyatu was built. We do not find any monument with this particular characteristic prior to the tomb at Sultaniya built in A.C. 1305. The pinnacle of the dome is also very artistically arranged which makes it look beautiful. The same characteristic of turrets on the corners of the octagon of the

tomb, is also found in the tomb of Rukni-Alam at Multan (1335). The upper parapets of the octagon are decorated with cogs.

The walls of the tomb are very gracefully divided into decorative bands having geometrical friezes in relief and specially the entrance of the tomb is an oblong masonry arched construction which holds double parallel margins, the central part of this margin bearing an inscription having the beginning verses of the Sura al-Mulk of the Quran (lxvii. 10). This inscription in relief represents a very highly finished workmanship in stucco and the style of writing is *thulth naskhi*. There is also a novel use of decorative motifs on the walls just like hanging lamps. But it all depends on the genius of the artist who designed these embellishments which have afforded a great charm to this whole construction.

It can be said with confidence that this masonry monument at Pakpattan stands at the top of our Muslim architecture in Pakistan, although just after it, some more superb monuments were built at Multan or else. where which undoubtedly show great improvement over the previous ones, especially the mausoleum of Rukn-i-Alam of Multan excels al such previous efforts, which I shall describe separately in an independent monograph.

In short, at present there are few old buildings in the Khanqah, which really can claim to be old. According to *Jawahir Faridi* (1623) Muhammad Taghluq requested Shaikh Alau'd-Din, the grand son of Baba Farid, to be allowed to erect a Mausoleum for the Shaikh. The Shaikh replied that if at all it was necessary it

could be done after he died. After the demise of Shaikh Alau'd-Din, the Sultan appointed two nobles viz, Qabul Khan and Basharat Khan, to undertake the building of the mausoleum of the saint, which was done in due course of time.¹⁵⁰

(9), (10) and (11). *The main courtyard* of the shrine, which measures about sixty feet into fifty four, formerly contained some graves and possibly it might be an ancient graveyard. Some writers have said that Baba Farid was buried in the graveyard of *Ganj-i-Shuhada*¹⁵¹. The apartments on the east (10-11), serving as guest houses for the visitors, do not possess any architectural value.

(12) *The main entrance* to the shrine from this gateway on the east holds the offices of the Keeper of Dargah on its upper storey and they have recently been renovated.

(13) *The Southern side of the main passage* contains a vast variety of so many houses, kitchens and other apartments. Just within the main entrance on the south the flower sellers and booksellers sit.

The architectural value of the mausoleum of Shaikh Alau'd-Din is really remarkable, which has so far escaped notice of the scholars and no one has even described it.

Conclusion. After giving a short account of the importance of Pakpattan's various aspects, we come to the conclusion that it all centered round the personality of the Shaikh al-Islam Faridu'd-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, who selected this town as his residence and ultimately was buried here. After him, his *Khanqah* (shrine)

¹⁵⁰ *Jawahar Faridi*, opt. cit.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*; Nizami. opt. cit.

became the place of pilgrimage where an annual commemoration takes place every year on 5th Muharram. Since Baba Farid settled here, this town became a great centre for the propagation of Islam. This town established direct and active relations with Central Asian countries and India because it had direct routes leading to these countries, as well as to Rajputana and Western India. It always held a great strategical position during the mediaeval period which is obvious from some political activities which took place here. Ibn Battutah had the knowledge of this town's importance even before his visit during the life time of Shaikh Alau'd-Din, the grandson of Shaikh Farid. The Tughluq Sultans held the family of Shaikh Farid in great reverence, because Dipalpur, being the home of the founder of Tughluq dynasty, was not very far from Pakpattan. The author of the *Jawabir Faridi* asserts that Malik Ghazi, the founder of the dynasty, got Kingship of India through the blessings of Shaikh Alau'd-Din. This is the reason why Muhammad Tughluq built a grand mausoleum of Shaikh Alau'd-Din just within the shrine of Baba Farid. We can regard it as the first standard dated monument of Muslim architecture all over the West Pakistan which has not so far been duly studied. Muhammad Tughluq took away Muizzu'd-Din and Alamu'd-Din, the sons of Shaikh Alau'd-Din, to his court; the first was made governor of Gujarat at Bharoach and the second was made Shaikh al-Islam of India, although before this the family had avoided to meddle in the affairs of the State. Some people will regard it as a departure from the routine of the Chishtiya order of mysticism.

REVIEW

Studies in Iqbal by Syed Abdul Wahid, xxi+364, published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1967

price 20.00

After *Iqbal: his art and thought*, this is the second book by Mr. Wahid on Iqbal dealing with his poetry and thought. The book is divided into nine chapters (1-304) and the last fifty pages are devoted to Bibliography on Iqbal.

A book on Iqbal by a person like S. A. Wahid is indeed a boon to all lovers of Iqbal. He has dealt with almost all the aspects of Iqbal's art and thought in a way which is peculiarly his own. It is indeed a contribution of a high merit to Iqbal studies.

The second chapter entitled "Main Trends of His Thought" (pp. 32-50) deals with Iqbal's philosophy. On p. 38 he says:

"The two principles of classical physics which led to Determinism were:

- (1) It was believed that matter and energy were two different entities. The Theory of Relativity and the Quantum Theory have established that matter and energy are two different aspects of the same entity. Matter and energy are mutually convertible according to a formula known as Einstein's mass-energy relation.
- (2) Newton's Laws of Mechanics laid down that if the state of a dynamical system is known at the present moment,

it can be calculated for any instant either in the past or in the future. But Heisenberg's discovery in 1927 of Principle of Indeterminacy in Quantum Mechanics demolished completely Newton's mechanical determinism.

Iqbal had no knowledge of these discoveries of modern Physics. . . ."

I think, this is contrary to facts. It seems that Mr. Vahid has relied upon the statement of others instead of going through Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought* himself. A perusal of lectures 2 and 3 would be sufficient to refute this statement. You will find reference to Eddington's book *Space, Time and Gravitation* (pp. 62-63)¹⁵² and quotations from him in other places while references to Einstein are too many to be quoted. Iqbal's article "Self in the Light of Relativity" tells its own tale. The private library of Iqbal, at present in the Islamia College, Lahore, contains, besides others, books of Eddington and Einstein. The books of Eddington and Whitehead, to which Iqbal refers time and again in his lectures, deal with the new theories of modern physics which knocked the bottom out of classical physics and therefore nineteenth century materialism based on it and opened the way for a new system of philosophical thought.

I was a student of philosophy in Government College, Lahore, during 1932-33 and Eddington's book *Nature of Physical Reality* was included in our course. This book deals with the philosophical implications of these very new theories of Physics

¹⁵² References are to the Oxford edition of *Reconstruction*

of which Mr. Vahid says, Iqbal was unaware. This book was published several years earlier and could not have escaped Iqbal. Anyhow, convincing proof is a perusal of Iqbal's lectures 2 and 3.

2. On p. 43, Mr. Vahid states: "The universe itself is a Self or an Ego." There is a confusion here between 'universe' and 'Reality'. This confusion will be clear from the following quotations from Iqbal's lecture 2. He says, "On the analogy of our conscious experience universe is a free creative movement" (p.48).

"A critical interpretation of the sequence of time as revealed in ourselves has led us to a notion of the ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose interpret to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self. . . ." (p. 53).

"Thus the facts of experience justify the inference that the ultimate nature of Reality is spiritual, and must be conceived as an ego" (p.58).

It is not the universe but Reality that is to be conceived as self or ego. This confusion runs, of course, throughout the second chapter of Mr. Vahid's book.

On p. 47, Mr. Vahid introduces a term "Elan vital Impetus" which he translates into English as "the will to live." The word 'elan,' means, according to the Oxford Dictionary, an impetuous rush, ardour, dash. It means that the word "Impetus" in the phrase used by Mr. Vahid is redundant.

3. The second chapter "Iqbal and Goethe" (pp. 51-83) is one of the most important chapters and deals exhaustively with the subject. But I would like to make certain comparisons, which, as the saying goes, are odious but in the interest of truth and clarification it cannot be helped. The comparison is between certain passages of Mr. Vahid's book and those of my book *Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism* which was published by the Bazm-i Iqbal, Lahore, in 1956 (1st ed.).

Mr. Vahid's book (p. 56)

As is well known the eighteenth century in Europe was characterised by rationalism in philosophy. This was mainly a reaction to religious bigotry, and the result of this reaction was that religious dogmas began to be questioned, and reason became the sole standard of judgement. But it was left to Kant and Rousseau to bring down the whole edifice of rationalism, although Kant's position in this revolt was only preparatory. His *Critique of Pure Reason* clearly demonstrated the limitations under which the human intellect worked, and beyond which it was incapable of going. But it was

My book (pp. 114-5)

The eighteenth century in Europe was characterised by rationalism in philosophy. Reason became the sole standard of judgment and religious dogmas therefore began to be questioned this intellectualism was negative in its effects. It started only as a reaction against the religious exclusiveness and theological bigotry of the Church. . . . In the last decade of the century, Kant (1724-1804) and Rousseau (1712-78) succeeded in bringing down the whole edifice of rationalism. . . . Kant's position in this revolt against intellectualism was only preparatory His *Critique of Pure*

left to Rous- seau to give some positive content to this revolt. Rousseau pleaded strongly that emotions, passions, instincts and intuitions should be given a due place along with reason in man's life

Reason clearly demonstrated the limitations under which human intellect worked and beyond which it was incapable of going. . . . But it was left to Rousseau to give some positive content to this revolt. . . . He pleaded strongly that emotions, passions, instincts and intuitions should be given a due place along with *reason*.

I leave the conclusion to the judgement of the readers. The similarity of the sentences and their sequence is too mainfest to need any comment from me.

I would quote only one more instance:

Mr. Vahid's book (p. 65)

In another place Iqbal says:

پرسیدم از ب لند نگاہے حیات چیست؟
گفتا مئے کہ تلخ تر او نکو تر است
گفتم کہ شیر بفطرت خامش نہادہ اند
گفتا کہ خیر او نشناسی ہمں شر است

I asked a sage : "What is life ?"
He replied : "Wine whose bitterest is the best."
said : "They have put evil in its raw nature."

He answered : "Its good is in this

My book (pp. 137-138)

پرسیدم از ب لند نگاہے حیات چیست؟
گفتا مئے کہ تلخ تر او نکو تر است
گفتم کہ شیر بفطرت خامش نہادہ اند
گفتا کہ خیر او نشناسی ہمں شر است
(پیام مشرق، ص ۱۴۵)

I asked from a wise man,
"What is Life?"
He replied. "It is a wine whose bitterest drop is the best."

very evil".

(PM, p. 145)

In the apparent evil lies the secret of all good : no evil, no good. No life is worth living where there is no evil and no struggle against evil.

I said, "Evil lies hidden in its nature."

He replied, "You do not know, its good lies in this evil."

In this apparent evil lies the secret of all good. No evil, no good. No life is worth living where there is no evil and no struggle against evil.

4. The seventh chapter "Iqbal and Browning" (191-224) was published in "Iqbal Review" of April 1965. This fact is not mentioned by Mr. S.A. Vahid anywhere in the book. He was handsomely paid for it and the copyright of the article therefore lies with the Iqbal Academy. He has not the courtesy to mention this fact: perhaps, he thought, it would lower the value of his book.

As regards quotations from certain books, inadequate references has sometimes been given in the footnotes. I would have, for instance, much preferred if detailed information had been given in the footnote (p. 63) about H.H. Joachim's book *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*. No reference to the press where this book was published and the year when it was issued, is given while in almost all other cases such references are supplied. Why complete reference is missing in this particular case, Mr. Vahid alone can explain.

In spite of these, the book deserves serious attention from the students of Iqbal. It is from the pen of a person who has devoted the best part of his life to the dissemination of Iqbal's message throughout the world.

B. A. DAR