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Muhammad Moizuddin

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IQBAL, MUSLIM UNITY AND ISLAMIC SUMMIT

M. Moizuddin

Iqbal's philosophy has two aspects: (i) particularity, (ii) universality. He believed in the reality of individual ego and he argued as well for life in a higher, comprehensive, all-embracing spiritual world. These philosophical thoughts provide two premises for Iqbal's political thought. He believed, on the one hand, in the emancipation and freedom of the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and on the other, he argued for the unity of Muslim nations. His politics became both national and international. This also shows that Iqbal's political philosophy is not atomistic but organic in that it implied the formation of an association of Muslim countries to better their own lot and be the upholder of peace and justice throughout the world. It has been argued in this paper that the recently held Islamic Summit, at Lahore, was in fact the translation of Iqbal's abstract thought into the language of practical international politics.

In the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal writes:

"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 republic...Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a League of Nations which recognizes artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not restricting the social horizon of its members."¹

In these lines, Iqbal suggest:

1. Muslim nations should have the capacity to undertake an introspective analysis and assessment of their conditions.

¹ 1. Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Sh. Mohammad

2. Their geographical national boundaries are merely matter of convenience and not an occasion for hostile acts.
3. He further believes that this self-identity will show these nations their objectives for self-realization.
4. This will in the years to come make Muslim nations strong and
5. Finally will lead them to form a "family of republics" or a "League of Nations."²

The Summit declaration voices the same Iqbalian thoughts. At this historic conference it was solemnly proclaimed by the Head of Muslim States: "Determination to preserve and promote solidarity among Muslim countries, to respect each other's independence and territorial integrity, to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs and to resolve their differences through peaceful means in a fraternal spirit."

The Islamic Summit not only made it possible for the Muslim nations to sit round a conference table, but also gave them confidence and self-respect. Iqbal has argued all along that the particular has value and significance and self-identity is the clue to existence. Whether we are talking about individuals or small nations, we must accept the principle of self-identification. The Summit declaration correctly emphasised this fact.

Iqbal believes that once the level of self-identification is achieved, the Muslim nation ought to look for strength through social ends and objectives. Iqbal has said that territorial boundaries should not cloud the 'social horizons of its members'.

The task of the Redeemer of unity was not an easy one.

Having lain long in their own lain of ignorance, the Muslims had forgotten the glories of Islam--forgotten the golden era of their ancestors when they ruled more than half the known world. To arouse such masses he had to infuse in them the will to survive. He exhorted them to give up mental slavery and derive the inspiration from Islam.

O trustee of the wisdom of the Qur'an, Find thy lost unity again !

² Ibid., p. 159.

We; who keep the gate of the castle of Islam,

Have become unbelievers by neglecting the watchword of Islam.

During his stay in Europe he acquainted himself with the ideas and thoughts of the West. The absence of religious sentiments on the one hand and the presence of hollow materialism on the other nauseated him. Greedy and selfish competition between man and man and between nation and nation could not be the basis of a society of which Iqbal was dreaming:

O residents of the West, God's earth is not a shop;

The gold that you are thinking to be genuine will now prove to be of low value,

Your civilization is going to commit suicide with its own dagger ;

The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot but be insecure.

He is concerned with the entire world of Islam which knew no bounds of territory, race or caste. It is non racial and non-spatial and cuts at the root of nationalism which is based on the race and territorial affiliations:

Our essence is not bound to any place,

The vigour of our wine is not contained

In any bowl;

Chinese and Indian

Alike ore the shards that constitute our jar,

Turkish and Syrian alike the clay.

Forming our body ; neither is our heart

Of India, or Syria. or Rome,

Nor any fatherland do we profess

Except Islam.

His efforts bore fruit. His spiritual poems infused new blood, new vigour and new vitality in the veins of a sleeping race. Muslims all over the world struggled for their independence and broke away the chains of slavery. His fervent zeal and unbounded enthusiasm for Islam fired the imagination of Muslim world. His firm conviction that "Islam is itself destiny and will not suffer a destiny " stirred the Muslim intelligentsia. Apart from inspiring the Muslims of the sub-continent he guided them to the path of salvation with his prophetic vision he could see the future course of history. In the words of Quaid-i-Azam, "he was the interpreter and voice of Islam. Although a great poet and philosopher, he was no less a practical politician." Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar also paid him a high tribute. "He", said the Maulana, "was the poet of Islamic reawakening in the 20th century, and to no man does Muslim India owe greater debt than to this modest, shy and retiring barrister of the Punjab."³

He believed that the Muslims all over the world must unite together to achieve their lost glory.

Right from Nile's banks to Kasghar's Soil

Let Muslims all united stand

Of Islam's faces designs to foil

And guard haram in holy land;

He prayed to Almighty and sought Divine Guidance in the success of his mission.

O thou that art as the soul in the body of the universe,

Thou art our soul and thou art ever feeling from us.

We are dispersed like stars in the world;

Though of the same family, we are strange to one another.

³ Clause 4 of Summit Declaration.

Bind again these scattered leaves.

Revive the law of love!

Give us the strong faith of Abraham!

Make us know the meanings of 'there is no God.'

The dawn of Friday the 22nd February, 1974 was perhaps an answer to these prayers — a realization of these dreams, when hand in hand the Heads of the Muslim states, foreign ministers and high dignitaries pledged unity, amity and solidarity. This marked a new epoch in the annals of the world history--the beginning of a new era for the Muslims. The start of one of the greatest marches of civilization which will yet teach the world--in his own words — "so long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded Imperialism are not shattered, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life and the beautiful ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise."⁴

Iqbal, the champion of the oppressed must indeed be satisfied with the discussions and deliberations considering the Middle East problem—the evacuation of territories acquired by force, the restoration of Muslim rights over Jerusalem and the restitution of the rights of the Palestinian people. Ever since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, he was keenly interested in the affairs of Palestine and wanted it to be a separate home-land for the Arabs of Palestine.

Buried beside the Historic Badshahi Mosque, Iqbal's soul must have experienced the Divine Grace at the Heads of states offering their Friday prayers together and perhaps murmured with approval and reminded them his universal message once again:

نه افغانيم و نه ترک و تتاريم چمن زاديم و ازيک شاخساريم

تميز رنگ و بو برما حرام است که ما پرورده يک نو بهاريم

⁴ Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, Lahore, Al-manar Academy, p. 146.

Called whether Tartars, Turks or Afghans, we
Belong to one great garden, one great tree,
Born of a spring tide that was glorious,
Distinction of colour is a sin for us.

IMAGERY IN IQBAL*

S. Rahmatullah

It is both a pleasure and a privilege for me to address this gathering of distinguished scholars, students and admirers of Iqbal, and I must at the outset express my gratitude for the honour done to me in having invited me to read this paper to you. It is an important occasion, since the poet's birthday is being celebrated for the first time throughout the country, on a date having been, after all, correctly determined.

At this meeting today I propose to pay my tributes to the poet by pointing out that Iqbal was outstanding not only as a philosopher-poet who wrote poetry with a purpose, but also as one who produced poems containing some of the most artistic, vivid, living and emotional pieces of imagery in the whole range of Urdu poetry, and excelled even in ghazal-writing in its purest form. These reveal the superb imaginative quality of his mind and poetic talent of the highest order and attraction.

I, therefore, wish to present in this paper very briefly some glimpses of imagery in Iqbal, through my own translations in English, for better understanding and enjoyment of these by persons who do not know Urdu and Persian well enough to appreciate fully the beauties of the original. I do feel intensely that English-knowing people the world over, particularly in Muslim countries, could be made increasingly interested in Iqbal, Pakistan, universal brotherhood and peaceful co-existence, if the obvious masterpieces of Iqbal could be effectively presented to them through such translations as retain the fire and fervour, inspiration and imagery in addition to ecstasy and emotion of the original.

To start with, I refer to the poem, Himalaya, in which Iqbal presented his picture of a calm and colourful evening and sunest thus:

When the Night's Darling doth

Unfold her fresses long;

* A paper read on the occasion of observance of the birth anniversary of Iqbal under the auspices of Iqbal Academy Pakistan, in Karachi on 9th November, 1974,

When hearts pulled out by sound
Of cataracts far off;
When Evening's silence reigns
And prettier seems than speech,
And meditating trees
Present a sight to see!
The Sunset-colours lo!
Thus quivering on Hills
The rouge doth lovely look
On cheeks of evening Sky.

Allama Iqbal rose to great heights of imagination in his poem, *Mab-i-Naw* (*The New Moon*) wherein he sang:

Perhaps the Barge of Sun
Deep down the Nile did sink—
A piece from it now floats
On river's surface, lo!
Now red blood flows into
The Salver of the Sky?
Has Nature cut the veins
Thus of the setting Sun?
The Sky did steal the rings

From ears of Evening's Bride,

Or swims a Silver-fish

In waters of the Nile?

In his poem, *Love and Death*, Allama Iqbal so artistically revealed what the Sun, the Moon and the plant of Life looked like at the Dawn of Creation, and how the flowers got their smiles:

So pleasant was the hour

Of World's creation then;

All Buds of Life *en bloc*

Beamed forth their sylvan smiles!

The Sun was being blessed

With Crown made of pure gold,

And Moon was beauteous made

With what is moon-light called

At places leaves did sprout

To branches of Life's Plants,

And then of Life the Buds

Too blossomed here and there.

The Angels taught the Dew

To shed some drops of Tears,

And for the first time did

The Rose learn how to smile.

The poem entitled, *Taswir-i-Dard* (Portraiture of Pain) is full of pathos, and even in his couplets written with the obvious objective of warning the people against coming dangers, Iqbal presented some exquisite background imagery thus:

To me my Heart the Mirror holds

The two world's Secrets which unfolds:

Just what I see therein I speak,

And in my Verse to sing I seek.

Know what the Sky holds in its Sleeves?

Sparks of Lightning, I conceive,

Which may strike thy garden-Nest—

O Nightingales ! feel not at rest!

The poet seems to have splashed the evening-red in his poem, *Beside the Ravi*, whilst presenting a sunset scene by the river thus:

Behold ! the Evening's skirts

Thus tainted with red Wine:

The Old Man of the Sky

Holds Wine in trembling hands!

Allama Iqbal, as I have already remarked, excelled also in *ghazal* writing in purest form, and his imagery therein reminded us of Ghalib and Dagh. Iqbal sang:

From whence, Say, could I pick and take
To build my Nest such magnet-straw
As shall the lightning restless make
And straight to strike and burn it draw?

O Friends of this Assembly know
That any moment I may go;
For like the Lamp at Dawn no doubt
I am about to be put out!

Allama Iqbal's poem entitled, *Muhabbat* (Love), is remarkable for his most beautiful presentation of a pre-creation scene, and identifying the elements which were fused by a clever alchemist to produce what was named, Love, by God's decree. How exquisitely and emotionally Iqbal sang:

The Tresses of the Bride of Night
With Curls had not been blessed,
The Stars in Skies by no means knew
Their roving's pleasures then.
The Moon in its attire all new,
Indeed, so queer looked,
And of Revolution had not learnt

The established Law still then.

And, of the Alchemist the poet said:

He from the Stars their brilliance took,

And from the Moon its Heart's Scars.

Got from the Lightning restlessness,

And warmth from breath of Mary's son.

He then dissolved these elements all

In water from the Nectar Pool—

The Elixir was then christened "Love"

From God's seat in the highest Heaven!

The Sun and Stars in skies thus learnt

Their gait of coquetry, and then

All flower-buds their blossom got

And Tulip-fields received their Tints!

Also, unique in imagery is Iqbal's poem, *Haqqiqat-i-Husn* (The Reality of Beauty) wherein he has most vividly and dramatically described how the reply which Beauty received from God expansion and pervasiveness in the skies, and the channels by which it reached the Earth, and the effect it had on the delicate sentiments of budding beauties, spring-time and youth. He sang:

The Moon which happened to be close

The Talk did overhear;

On Skies it was the common talk

Which the Morning Star did hear.
The Dawn then having heard from Stars
Conveyed it to the Dew.
Thus did the Earth's confidant know
The Dialogue in the Skies.
Ah! at the Message of the Dew
The Flowers were in Tears
And of the Buds the tiny Hearts
In pain profusely bled;
And shedding Tears did Spring-time go
Youth too that for sight-seeing came
So sad at Heart, went out!
Writing in ghazal form, Iqbal warned the Western nations in 1907 thus:
Your Civilisation, this New Age
Is all in Turmoil and in Rage,
And with the Dagger of its make
It shall its own life take.
When Nest's built on a Bough that's frail
Disater cannot but entail!
And, of his own song he said:
Hark! of Iqbal the Song

Sounds like the marching Gong:

Our Caravan is Lo!

A-foot and on the Go!

One of the greatest amongst the poems of Iqbal produced after 1907 is his: he *Shikwa* (Complaint to God) which was followed by the *Jawab-i-Shikwa*. These present vivid pictures of the glorious achievements and traditions of Muslims in the past, their subsequent downfall and recipe for reconstruction. The imagery in many a couplet therein is superb.

As for example:

The Nations through their Faith do live;

Without it nowhere wouldst Thou be:

Their mutual gravity doth give

To Stars eternal Assembly!

And, speaking of the new age he stressed the need for regenerating what he called, Ibrahim's Faith, Allama Iqbal wrote:

A Thunder-bolt is this New Age;

No Harvest can escape its Rage;

Secure is not the Garden's bloom,

And Deserts too may meet their Doom!

To this new Fire the Nations old

Do Fuels add as I behold:

The last of Prophet's Race of fame

Is clothed in mantle made of Flame!

Ibrahim's Faith alone could make

This Fire the form of Flowers take!

As for the secrets of life, how beautifully Iqbal revealed these in simple and charming words, when in his poem, the *Shama aur Shair* (The Candle and the Poet), he says:

A Drop of water lives

As Tears, Pearls or Dew,

And thus lo ! out it gives

Life's Secrets known to few.

And, to presented his message of hope and good-cheer to Muslims thus:

A glorious Sun is bound to rise

To put the Night at last to flight ;

And this the Garden that we prize

Shall gleam with tunes of *Tawhid's* light:

In another poem Iqbal insisted:

Do with thy Millat march along,

And keep thy Bonds with it all strong:

Do to thy Plant securely cling

Thus hope to live and see the Spring:

Indeed. one of the most charming and life-like poems of Iqbal is *Khidr-i-Rab* (Khidar of the Way) in which he presents the array of his

imagery his thus:

Engrossed in view by river-side one Night,
I held a restless world within my Heart.
The Night was still, the breeze content and slow
The river-flow—I wondered if I saw
A river of its picture in a Dream.
Just like a Suckling in its mother's arms
The restless Waves in depths were fast asleep,
The spell of Night kept Birds to Nests confined
And Stars were stunned by Magic of the Moon!

I saw the Trotter of the World, Khidr
With Dawn-like signs of Youth in his old age.
He talked to me and said, "O Seeker of Creation's Secrets!
Thou shouldst know now—
That if thy Heart's the Eye wide-open be.
Man's Destiny would stand revealed to Thee!"
Later, in the same poem, Iqbal presented some picturesque scenes thus:
And Lo ! the Stag on dunes of Sand,
How unconcerned he moves about:

His Home's without a Leaf or Straw,
His mileless Track without a Stone!

Behold ! beside the Pool the sight
Of Caravans at halting place
It seems the Faithfuls gathered are
In Paradise round Salsabil!

Allama Iqbal's poem, *Tulu-i-Islam* (The Dawn of Islam), contains, some highly inspired couplets which are amongst his masterpieces from the point of view of imagery and poetic beauty. As for example:

Alas! for many a thousand Years
In Garden Narcissus forlorn
On its Sightlessness sheds its Tears—
A seeing-Eye's not easily born!

Beyond the Blue we call the Sky
A Muslim knows his Goal doth lie:
Of Stars this Galaxy is just
His Caravan's the pathway Dust!

On Thee there's Dust of Colour and Creed;
O Bird of Haram! Thou dost need

Polluted Plumes of thine to fling

Aside — ere Thou dost take to Wing:

Some of the couplets even in A llama Iqbal's "*Prayer*" for Muslims have impressive background imagery.

As for example:

To Stag that's gone astray

Show now the Haram's way,

And grant the Desert vast

To one town-sick at last!

Am wailing Nightingale—

A ruined Garden's Trail:

What in my Song I say

Be fruitful Lord ! I pray.

ENGLISH RENDERING OF GHAZAL IN BAL-I-JIBRIL

A. A. Shah

The tracts in space are not enough
To hold my passion great and strong:
The guess about the desert wide,
By my craze, perhaps was wrong.
With help of Self we can break
This talisman of hue and smell,
But firm belief that God is One
The Muslims have not followed well.
Get eyes to see, o heedless man;
Its glories Nature must reveal;
For the Ocean can't remain
Oblivious of its surge's weal.

12

The rift between the Priest and Saint
is to pulpit's error due;
For the gibbet of Hallaj
Appears a rival in its view.
Trust in God alone can shield

The holy folk from worldly harms,
Be they in chains or be they free,
Like a sturdy coat of arms.
Try not, Gabriel, to emulate
My frenzy great and rapture strong:
Prayers and worship only suit
The ease-inured angel's throng.

24

Many a tavern have I seen
Both in the East and in the West:
No Saqi here the taverns have,
There the wine imparts no zest.
The like of early Muslims true
No more the Muslim lands can show—
To thrones of Caesars and Chosroes
By faqr they dealt a fatal blow.
The things have come to such a pass
That the Elder of the Shrine
Steals and sells to feed himself
The robes of persons most divine.

36

To God did Israfil complain
That this slave by fiery rhyme
The Judgment Day might bring about
Long before the appoint'd time.
A Voice was heard that said, "No less
It is than Last Day's tumult deep:
Ready the Chinese for pilgrimage,
In Batha Meccans lie asleep".
The bowl of wine the West confers
Blights the roots of true belief.
But the Saqi holds no cup
Of antidote to give relief.
Weak and low are still in tone
The cries and shrieks of Western Lands,
For stifled are the cries as yet
By the fiddler's crafty hands.
From the self-same ocean rise
The angry waves with mighty sweep
That bring about the ruin of dens
Where dwell the monsters of the deep.

The state of bondage means to be
Without the sense of good and fine:
That is nice and good alone,
Which as such the free define.
On the wit and sense of slaves
No one ever can rely,
For only brave and free possess,
In this world, the seeing eye,
He is the master of his Time
Who by dint of hard assay
Picks out Tomorrow's precious pearl
From the ocean of Today.

The Man of West who blows the glass
By art to liquid turns the rock:
Glass can turn as hard as flint
By the charm I, hold in stock.
The breed of Pharoahs lies in wait,
As of yore, to bring me low:
I do not grieve, for in my sleeve

1 have the hand with dazzling flow.
Beneath the heap of straw and dust
How can that spark its fire lose,
Which the Mighty Lord of World
For the bed of reeds did choose?
Love on Ego keeps a watch
And knowledge of the Self bestows:
With utter scorn it turns its gaze
From halls of Caesars and Chosroes.
No wonder, if the Pleiades and the Moon
My noose may pull down to the ground:
To saddle of a Gracious Lord
My meek and humble head is bound.
The Lord of all, the Prophets' Seal,
The Guide to path that does not err:
Radiance of the Mount Sinai
On way-side dust he did confer.
He is the First and He the Last,
With love enraptured gaze, if seen:
He the *Quran*, He the *Furqan*,
He the *Ta'Ha* and He the *Yasin*.

Out of regard for Ghazna's Sage
From further diving back I keep,
Though gems lustrous still abound
At the bottom of this Deep.

100

Who be the bard that sings the song
So full of fire and rapture sweet:
A tinge of madness it imparts
To all who claim to be discreet?
Though Faqr and kingship seem alike,
And keep the regal wont and way,
Yet without the help of arms
A monarch cannot hold his sway.

No trace of Faqr can now be seen
In the cells where mystics dwell—
The brand of Faqr that by its might
The hearts of mighty lions can quell.
O Darwesh band, that man of God
Alone is noble, true and best,
Who keeps the stir of Judgment Day

Conceal'd within his manly breast.
His praise of God such heat imparts
That like a flame he burns and glows:
His wit in grasping subtle facts
Far swifter than the lightning shows.
Kingship, no doubt, to brain imparts
Signs and symptoms of insane:
The mad man's swelling to reduce,
God's lancets prove, men like Tamerlane.
The men who dwell in Muslim Lands
My fiery songs extol and say,
"Lo, this heathen born in India,
Without the spear and sword can slay!"

42-43)

(Bal-i-Jibril P.

The breath of Gabriel
If God on me bestow,
I may in words express
What Love has made me know.

How can the stars foretell
What Future holds in store?
They roam perplex'd and mean
In skies that know no shore.

To fix one's mind and gaze
On goal is life, in fact:
To Ego's death do lead
The thoughts that mind distract.

How strange! the bliss of Self
Having bestow'd on me,
God Mighty wills that I
Beside myself should be.

By Holy Prophets Ascent
This truth to me was taught:
Within the reach of man
High heavens can be brought.

I neither like nor claim
Plato's thought or Croesus' gold:
Clean conscience, lofty gaze
And Zeal is all I hold.
This Life perhaps is still
Raw and incomplete:
"Be and it becomes"
E'er doth a voice repeat.

The West hath cast a spell
On thy heart and mind:
In Rumi's burning flame
A cure for thyself find.

Through his bounty great
My vision shines and glows.
And mighty Oxus eke
In my pitcher flows.

43-44)

PAN ISLAMISM

On road to goal thou art as yet,
For long at one site do not pause:
Forget the lands of Pers. and *Sham*.
Forgo the thought of Egypt and Hijaz.

A different meed is due to him
Who acts not out of lust for gain:
Give up the hope of cup and wine,
From thoughts of tents and Hour's refrain.

Though the beauty of the West
Is winsome much and charming, yet
Thou art high-soaring bird and must
Shun this lowly grain and net.
Thy stroke can cleave the rock in twain
Before thee bow the East and West:

Like the sword of crescent moon,

Come out of sheath, eschew its rest.
Thy guide no firm conviction holds
No rapture thine prayers impart:
Such vain and useless worship quit,
Company with such leaders part.

NOTES

15. Hallaj: The celebrated mystic Martyr, executed on a charge of blasphemy in A.D. 922.
21. Gabriel: It is the name of the angel who according to Muslim belief to deputed by God to convey His messages to the Prophets.
31. Titles adopted by the Roman and Sassanian emperors respectively.
37. Israfil The name of an angel who will blow on his trumpet on the Last Day.
44. Batha It is the name of the river-bed of Mecca.
73. Pharoah: It is the generic name of the ancient kings of Egypt.
76. Hand with dazzling glow: The White Hand first manifested in Moses is a symbol of the miraculous power of Prophets.
87. Gracious Lord: It refers to Muhammad, the Holy Prophet of God,
91. Mount Sinai: It was on this mountain that the Prophet Moses witnessed the effects of Divine Epiphany.

95. Koran and Furqan: These words mean Muhammad who is the speaking Koran.
96. Ta'ha and Yasin: Titles by which the Holy Prophet has been addressed in the Koran,
97. Ghazna's Sage: Hakim Sinai, a celebrated mystic and poet, This poem was inspired by Iqbal's visit to the tomb of Sinai at Ghazna.

IQBAL'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

Hafiz Abbadullah Farooqi

Epistemology or the theory of knowledge is an enquiry into the nature, conditions, origin, limits, and validity of human knowledge. It presupposes factual knowledge of the physical world arrived at by various sciences and tries by reflection upon it to determine its nature etc. It is thus not prior to science.

Broadly speaking, a theory which distrusts the capacity of reason to give us knowledge of reality and relies on some other source for it is called intuitionism. It is chiefly associated with the names of Henry Bergson and Iqbal. Bergson holds that our intellect or reason which work with its concepts is not fitted to reveal reality, as it is in itself.

If we wish to have an insight into the true nature of reality, we must get rid of this practical bias of our intellect and resort to intuition in its original purity. Intellect gives us an abstract and false account of reality. The following are the reasons why knowledge yielded by intellect is held to be unsound and inadequate.

(1) Intellect working with its concepts gives us an external view of things and cannot throw any light on its inner nature.

(2) The knowledge yielded by the intellect is relative. It is relative in a double sense. It is relative because it is based on classification, because it gives resemblances and dissimilarities between objects. It is also relative because it is determined by our selective interests and purpose. Intuitive knowledge is free from these objects ; here we know the object as it is in itself and know it directly and immediately.

(3) Intellectual knowledge is necessarily abstract and partial.

(4) Intellectual knowledge is static. Knowledge given by concepts fails to do justice to the living, growing and changing aspects of things. Concepts are unchanging, static and inert entities. Reality, on the other hand, is organic, it is living and developing.

(5) Lastly, knowledge yielded by our discursive intellect is analytical. Iqbal therefore says:

نشان راه ز عقل ہزار حیلہ میسر

(پیام مشرق صفحہ ۱۹۴)

Do not seek guidance from the intellect which has a thousand wiles.

Come to love which encells by the singleness of its purpose.

A thorough study of Iqbal's system of philosophy will reveal that Iqbal cannot be classed under any of the three schools of philosophical thought: Empiricism rationalism or intuitionism. In his theory of knowledge sense perception, reason and intuition are all combined within an organic whole.

Rationalism as held by Iqbal is not based upon logical Categories or mere abstract representation. He says rationalism if not divorced from concrete reality represents the truth. Thus while Iqbal embraces rationalism, he is not prepared to justify it at the cost of sense-perception. He, consequently criticizes Socrates, Plato and the Mutazilites on account of their abstract thinking. He appreciates Kant's approach to the problem in so far as he tried to effect a compromise between rationalism and empiricism by maintaining that whereas the matter of knowledge comes from experience, its form is contributed by reason.

Locke and Kant came to the conclusion that the range of real knowledge is strictly limited. Kant held that our knowledge is limited to phenomena. Against this view of Kant, Iqbal holds that reality is knowable and one can know it through intuition, Iqbal vigorously maintains that reality is an organic whole. The visible world with its flux and shifting phenomena is organically related to the ultimate reality. Therefore for the purpose of knowing one cannot depend on purely contemplative circuit, ignoring the world of matter, because it is the mental phenomena of the concrete that makes it possible to pass beyond the concrete.⁵

Iqbal thus adumbrates neither reason nor sense perception exclusively. Sensation, according to him, being a chaotic jumble, cannot lead to reality. It is reason that imparts harmony to the chaotic jumble of sensations and moulds it to knowledge yielding patterns. Thus sensible reality is only a

⁵ Lectures, p. 131.

symbol of the ultimate reality and the empirical attitude would bring us into contact with it. Iqbal thus considers sense-perception of the first importance. No doubt, these are to be supplemented by the perception of heart. According to the Quran:

The Quran, recognizing that the empirical attitude is an in-dispensable stage in the spiritual life of humanity, attaches equal importance to all the regions of human experience as yielding knowledge of the ultimate Reality which reveals its symbols both within and without. One indirect way of establishing connexions with the reality that confronts us is reflective observation and control of its symbols as they reveal themselves to sense perception; the other way is direct association with that reality as it reveals itself within. The naturalism of the Quran is only a recognition of the fact that man is related to nature, and this relation, in view of its possibility as a means of controlling her forces, must be exploited in the interests, not of unrighteous desire for domination, but in the nobler interest of a free upward movement of spiritual life. In the interests of securing a complete vision of Reality, therefore, sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of, what the Quran describes as "fuad", or "Qalb" i.e. heart."⁶

Thus knowledge according to Iqbal is a progressive ideal, starting from the knowledge provided by sense, perception and ending with the knowledge provided by the heart.

گذر جا عقل سے آگے کہ یہ نور چراغِ راہ ہے، منزل نہیں ہے!

(بال جبریل، صفحہ ۱۱۹)

⁶ Lectures, p. 14,15.

علم را مقصود اگر باشد نظر می شود هم جاده و هم راهبر

علم تفسیر جهان رنگ و بو دیده و دل پرورش گیرد ازو

بر مقام جذب و شوق آرد ترا باز چوں جبریل بگذارد ترا

(جاوید نامه، صفحہ ۲۳۲)

عشق کس را کہ بخلوت می برد آوز چشم خویش غیرت می برد

اول اوهم رفیق و هم طریق آخر او راه رفتن بے رفیق

(جاوید نامه، صفحہ ۲۲۲)

If vision is the goal of intellect,

It becomes both the path and the guide;

Intellect elucidates this world of smell and colour:

It nurtures the eye and the emotions;

It brings you to the stage of absorption and ecstasy;

And, then, Gabriel, leaves you alone:

Love never guides any one to solitude;

Its every perception of self acts as a screen;

In the early stage it yearns for fellow-Travellers;

Ultimately it means travelling all alone.

In fact it never ends, for the ultimate reality cannot be grasped in full by the self. Iqbal has conveyed the idea in the following couplet.

علم حق اول حواس آخر حضور
آخر اُو می نگنجد در شعور

(جاوید نامہ، صفحہ ۲۳۸)

"The knowledge of truth is gained first through the senses and then through direct realization. The ultimate stage cannot be encompassed within consciousness."

Thus, intellect infused with intuition gives celestial and divine knowledge. Therefore an attempt is made throughout his poetry to maintain harmony between intellect and intuition. Intuition in itself to Iqbal was a kind of higher intellect. Man in the development of his self-hood has to equip himself from both the aspects of knowledge, one cannot be separated from the other.

عقلے کہ جہاں سوزد، یک جلوۂ بے
بکش
از عشق بیاموزد، آئین جہاں تاب

(پیام مشرق، صفحہ ۱۵۶)

The Intellect, whose impetuous flame burns up the Universe, learns from Love the art of lighting up.

علم تا از عشق برخوردار نیست
جز تماشا خانہ افکار نیست

(جاوید نامہ، ۱۰۴)

Till Intellect is blest by Love,

It is naught but a kaleidoscope of ideas.

عقل و دل و نگاہ کا مرشد اولین ہے
عشق
عشق نہ ہو تو شرح و دین بتکدہ
تصویرات

(بال جبریل، ۱۵۳)

Love is the perceptor of the Intellect and the Heart and the Vision.

If there is no Love, religion and its precepts.

Are nothing but an idol-house of vain imaginings.

It is in the synthesis of ilm* and Ishq that one can realize the completeness of life.

Iqbal therefore maintains that knowledge is essential for the establishment of connection with external reality. It is not of much use to man if not employed for the purpose of advancement of his self; for if knowledge gained is not used in the development of the self, the self is bound to lose its richness and the spirit is sure to be hardened within itself.

علم از سامان حفظ زندگی است
علم از اسباب تقویم خودی است
علم و فن از پیش خیزان حیات
علم و فن از خانه زادان حیات

(اسرار خودی، صفحه ۱۸-۱۷)

Science is an instrument for the preservation of life.

Science is a means of establishing the self.

Science and Art are servants of life.

Slaves are born and bred in its house.

* Note.– Knowledge is divided by Iqbal into two parts:

- a) Knowledge gained through sense preception is termed by Iqbal as Ilm.
- b) While knowledge achieved by heart or intuition (or love) is the real knowledge of the ultimate reality. Iqbal has made an attempt to maintain harmony between the two aspects of knowledge.

INTELLECT AND INTUITION

Both Iqbal and Bergson are unanimous in holding that intuition unfolds to us new spheres of all illuminations. In contrast, the knowledge yielded by intellect is sectional, piecemeal and fragmentary because it is involved in the labyrinth of space and time. Thus knowledge through intuition is grounded in the deeper and higher self of man. It is incorporeal and eternal and leads directly to eternal reality. Knowledge through intuition means knowledge through the heart, wherein we have change but no succession, pure duration but no serial time.

می نداند عشق سال و ماه را
دیگر و زود و نـزود و دور راه را
عقل در کوپے شگافے می کند
یا بگرد او طوافے می کند
کوه پیش عشق چوں کاپے بود
دل سریع السیر چوں ماپے بود
عشق شـبخونے زدن برلا مکان
گور را نا دیده رفتن کز جہان

(جاوید نامہ، صفحہ ۱۸)

Love knows not the months and the years,

Nor the slow or the quick, nor the nearness or the distance of path!

Intellect bores a hole through the mountain,

Or goes around it by circumlocution!

But, Love makes the mountain light like a blade of grass

And the heart quick moving like the moon!

What is Love? An attack on the Infinit!

Leaving the world without a glimpse of the grave.

Iqbal warns us that it should not be construed that intuition is antagonistic to intellect. Both aim at the knowledge of Reality and differ only in the course they adopt. The intellect grasps and views certain parts of Reality as abstracted from the whole. It gives only the temporal aspect of reality. Intuition reveals the reality in its wholeness and fulness. In *Zabur-e Ajam* Iqbal visualises intuition as a double edged sword in man's hand with one edge he invades the ultimate reality, with the other he invades the universe.

Intuition is the higher form of intellect and in order to view reality as a whole it is necessary that we supplement intuition with intellect. Unless intellect is supplemented by intuition, the knowledge would become narrow, partial and lifeless.

It is thus evident from the above that knowledge as held by Iqbal is not merely the basis of his moral and ethical system, but the foundation stone of the whole life-seen and unseen, real and ideal.

But the important point which is to be taken note of is Iqbal's improvement of the genetic account of knowledge. A genetic approach to the problem of knowledge, e.g. a study of the conditions enables us to lay aside the historic rivalry between Rationalism and Empiricism and to perceive how reason and experience cooperate in building up the edifice of knowledge. Looking at the problem from the genetic point of view, we find that we have to start with a living organism or self and our environment to which it is related. The environment is full of stimuli which evoke varied responses from it. Every one of these responses is accompanied by some sort of awareness which we may call experience.

As the individual organism grows its experience also grows. This organised experience is what we call knowledge. According to this account, senses are not gateway to knowledge. They are rather the instruments with which the organism deals with the environment. Sensations are not part of knowledge but incitements to activities that terminate in knowledge. Knowledge is not the gift of any special faculty, *i.e.*, experience or reason. It

is the result of interaction between a self endowed with certain powers and the environment.

A serious drawback of genetic account of knowledge is that it only emphasises the practical character of knowledge and ignores the distinguished nature of mind and heart that we value. One cannot deny that Iqbal is sceptical of the value of academic knowledge which often saps the students of vitality and fails to equip him properly for life of active striving in the service of worthy causes.

من آن علم و فراست با پرکاهے نمی گیرم
کہ از تیغ و سپر بیگانه سازد مرد عازی را

(زبور عجم، صفحہ ۱۴۸)

I hold that knowledge and intelligence to be cheap as takes away the crusader's sword and shield!

It is the active quest, the yearning for achievement which give vitality to knowledge and wings to life. Yet all knowledge is not practical, there is knowledge which is contemplative, reflective and intuitive. Iqbal being fully conscious of this very significantly remarks that intuition is the developed form of intellect. The significance of intuition has been the theme of his poetry. According to him, the higher aspects of knowledge, which should be the ultimate aim of man, is based on intuition. Iqbal is conscious of the fact that with the true yearning and correct striving of the self, inspite of insurmountable difficulties, the vision of such knowledge becomes reality:

وادی عشق بسے دور و دراز است ولے
کہ از تیغ و سپر بیگانه سازد مرد عازی را

در طلب کوش و مدہ دامن امید زدست
دولتے هست کہ یابی سر راھے گاہے

"Far distant from the value of love, and yet sometimes, ever in that age-long path a solitary sign will bound;

In strife and constant search lose not thy grasp upon the skirt of hope because, sometimes, riches by the way are found".

In his letter to K. G. Saiyidain⁷, Iqbal elucidates his point of view:

"I have generally used the word "knowledge" in the sense of knowledge based on the senses. It gives man Power which should be subordinated to Religion. If it is not subordinated to religion, it is a satanic force. This knowledge is the first step to true knowledge, as I have pointed out in the *Jawid Namah*:

7علم سے میری مراد وہ علم ہے جس کا دارو مدار حواس پر ہے۔ عام طور پر میں نے علم کا لفظ انہیں معنوں میں استعمال کیا ہے اس علم سے ایک طبعی قوت ہاتھ آتی ہے جس کو دین کے ماتحت رہنا چاہئے اگر دین کے ماتحت نہ رہے تو محض شطنیت ہے۔ یہ علم علم حق کی ابتدا ہے جیسا کہ میں نے جاوید نامہ میں لکھا ہے:

علم حق اول حواس آخر حضور آخر او می نگنجد در شعور
(جاوید نامہ ۳۸)

وہ علم جو شعور میں نہیں سما سکتا اور جو علم حق کی آخری منزل ہے اس کا دوسرا نام عشق ہے علم و عشق کے تعلق میں جاوید نامہ میں کئی اشعار ہیں!

علم باعشق است از لا ہوتیاں
(جاوید نامہ ۳۸)

علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں

مسلمان کے لئے لازم ہے کہ علم کو (یعنی اس علم کو جس کا مدار حواس پر ہے اور جس سے بے پناہ قوت پیدا ہوتی ہے) مسلمان کرے ”بو لہب را حیدر کرار کن“ اگر یہ بو لہب حیدر کرار بن جائے۔ یا یوں کہیے کہ اگر اس کی قوت دین کے تابع ہو جائے۔ تو نوع انسان کے لیے سراسر رحمت ہے۔“

"The knowledge of Truth is gained first through the senses and then through direct realization. Its ultimate stages cannot be encompassed within consciousness".

"Knowledge, which cannot be circumscribed within consciousness and which is the final stage of Truth, is also called Love or Intuition".

"Intellect, divorced from Love, is a rebel (like Satan) while Intellect, wedded to Love, has divine attributes".

A Muslim should try to convert such knowledge, which is based on senses and is the source of limitless power, to Islam i.e., transform this (unbeliever), Bu Lamb, into (the perfect *Momin*), Ali. In other words, if the power of knowledge is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind.

It is this intuitive perception which gives meaning to life and makes the Intellect a source of blessing for mankind.

Intuition brings about a concentration of powers and in the case of great individuals, it may lead to a complete identification of the self with God's purpose. It is thus affirmed by Iqbal that when the cold analytic intellect is suffused with the warm life-giving glow of love, it becomes the greatest power for good both in the life of an individual and of the community:

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود
قوتش فرمانده عالم شود

(اسرار خودی، صفحہ ۶۲)

When self is fortified by love,

It becomes the law-giver to the world.

The same idea is expressed thus.

خودی ہو علم سے محکم تو غیرت جبریل
اگر ہو عشق سے محکم تو صور اسرافیل

(بال جبریل، صفحہ ۹۲)

When the self is fortified by intellect,

It is the envy of Gabriel; when it is fortified by Love.

It becomes the trumpet call of Israfil.

The practical explanation of Love is contained in Iqbal's Philosophy of the Self, and its systematized exposition is contained in the letter sent by the poet to Dr. Nicholson and incorporated in his introduction to 'The Secrets of the Self', the English translation of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* Iqbal says about Love.

The word is used in a very wide sense and means the desire to assimilate, to absorb. Its highest form is the creation of values and ideas, and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved.

Intellect the power of the mind on the other hand conceives, judges and infers, marks the differences, agreements and concomitant variations, travels from the particulars to the general and from the general to the particular. In the same letter Iqbal has laid stress on the true function of intellect. He says, "For the purpose of its preservation and expansion it (life) has invented or developed out of itself certain instruments, e.g., senses, intellect, etc., which help it to assimilate obstruction.

Love again, acts as the purgative that effects the perfection of soul by purging it of all spurious matter accumulated by intellect. Iqbal says:

خرد از در سـرم بتخانـه ریخت
خلیل عشق دیرم را حرم کرد

(پیام مشرق، صفحہ ۲۳)

Intellect founded a temple in my head,

But the Abraham of love has turned it into the House of God.

Thus according to Iqbal, intellect is desirable but love is more so. The former is necessary because it preserves the self and puts salutary checks on the stray ramblings of the heart. But to Iqbal love's worth is great. He glorifies love or Intuition in his following verses. Says he

گرچه متاع عشق را، عقل بهائے کم نهد
من ندهم به تخت جم، آه جگر گداز را

(پیام مشرق، صفحه ۱۵۷)

Although intellect puts little value upon the goods of love,

Yet I have no intention of exchanging the heart-melting sigh for Jamshid's throne.

The reason why Iqbal praises love or intuition so much is that in-tuition catches the glimpses of the ultimate reality while intellect fails to achieve that goal on account of its inherent imperfection. Love according to Iqbal is able to know the unknowable

هر معنی پیچیده در حرف نمے گنجد
یک لحظ بدل درشو، شاید که تو دریابی

(پیام مشرق، صفحه ۱۵۲)

Every complicated thought cannot be expressed in words,

Dip a while into the heart, thou mayst find it there.

Again:

نگاه می رسد از نغمه دل افروزے

بمعنی کہ برو جامہ سخن تنگ است

(پیام مشرق، صفحہ ۱۷۸)

Through the heart illuminating melody our eye catches meaning.

That cannot be contained in the narrow span of words.

Iqbal, no doubt, gives the first place to love yet he does not fail to render intellect its due.

AN OUTLINE OF THE CULTURAL RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN TURKEY, IRAN AND PAKISTAN*

Prof. Dr. Abdulkadir Karahan

The lively cultural relations existing between various nations are certainly one of the most important factors bringing them close to one another, influencing their moral destiny for hundreds of years, shaping their attitudes as well as the foundation and functioning of their institutions.

We hope this unpretentious INTRODUCTION would be useful as a presentation and a reminder of this and we consider it necessary and helpful to mention briefly the cultures and similar historical traditions of those nations which use in speech and writing three great languages of the Islamic world. We consider it so since Dr. Muhammed Iqbal wrote his poems in Persian and Urdu; furthermore this book deals with Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's biography and an evaluation of his works, his literary personality, his art, his philosophy of life and concentrates mainly on the chapter entitled *Selections* from his works, including the original text and its Turkish translation.

1. The historical and cultural ties between the Muslim India Pakistan peninsula, Iran and Turkey are very old and exist on a broad scale. To begin with, they had a religious character, and they developed in that direction. A great part of Iran and a portion of territory on the outskirts of the Himalayas (Karachi and its surroundings in today's Pakistan) was conquered during the days of the Umayyid caliphs and later on these conquests continued up to Gujerat and Moharashtra. The Turks accepted Islam of their own free will at an early date when the Islamic faith spread. For this particular reason, the

* This is a translation by Dr. L. M. Kermenli of the Introduction of Prof. Dr. Abdul Kadir Karahan's work on Iqbal in Turkish.

people living in these various countries were in possession of the same religious culture, and this continued from one generation to the next.

These various people formed congregations who acted according to the teachings of the Qura'n and the *Hadith*. Although various sects and religious orders sprang up (for instance, Turkish and Pakistani people are generally Sunnite and Iranians are Shi'ite), these differences could neither undermine nor destroy the essential unity and complete system existing at the very basis of Islam, even if it seemed to weaken it from time to time — this is so, with the exception of the discussions and fights that were the result of personal activities of some statesmen and commanders, and of the exploitation of such activities.

Sufism developed alongside Muslim jurisprudence or *fiqh*: sometimes they seemed to be opposed to one another; it had an important influence upon cultural relations existing among the three countries. Sufism developed particularly in Iran, and from this centre it spread to the Indo-Pakistan peninsula and to Turkish territory. Sufism and religious orders existing in the continent on the outskirts of the Himalayas were strengthened above all by ideas coming from Iran, and they developed accordingly. It is possible to say that the *Subrreardiya*, *N'kshbanrdiya*, and *Chishtiya* Schools of mysticism existing in Pakistan developed in that particular way. However, some religious orders such as the Qadiriya have an Arab origin.

In Turkey — although the vestiges of Sufi teachers from Central Asia, and the influence of the wise men of Khurasan still exist - one observes clearly the influence of Iranian Sufism, particularly in poetry. Sheikhs from Central Asia, such as Ahmed Yesevi (deceased, 1166), their disciples, and the wise men of Khurasan played an important part in the development of Islam and Sufism in Anatolia - sometimes their influence was felt indirectly. It is well known that if Anatolia adopted Sufism. this is due to a great extent to Anatolian saints such as Mawlana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (1207-1273), Haji Bektash (1210-1270), and Emir Sultan (1368-1429).

The fact that Sufi teachers in Iran, Pakistan and Turkey shared the same beliefs and opinions helped to strengthen cultural ties towards a synthetic end. In other words, one might venture the opinion that such spiritual ties paved the way for the people to adopt the same mystical attitude, and to become part and parcel of an integrated whole.

Contacts lasted for centuries not only among religious and Sufi orders, but also between literary circles these relations go back as far as the Ghaznavids and particularly to the time of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, (970-1030); they became very strong during Taymur's era (1405-1506): Husayn Baykara (1438-1506) and Ali Shir Nevai (1441-1501) helped a great deal in that direction. During this period, in Herat, masters of the Iranian language and literature such as Abdurrahman Cami (1414-1492), and Huseyin Vaiz Kashifi (deceased: 1505) were writing classical works, while masters of the Chughtai dialect were creating masterpieces. The rich products of these cultural activities can be seen in the Turco-Indian Empire (1526-1737) founded by Babar (1483-1530), and later on in the sub-continent on the outskirts of the Himalayas.

Literary and cultural contacts were quite lively in regions under Ottoman administration-- Ottoman literary circles studied carefully the Shahnamah, Hamse, and the diwan of well-known Iranian personalities such as Firdawsi (934?-1020?), Attar (1119?-1193), Nizami (1150?-1214), Sa'di (1213?-1292), Hafiz (deceased, 1390), and Saib (1591-1671). These works helped to some extent the development of classical Turkish literature. Furthermore, some rulers wrote books using the language of neighbouring countries with whom they shared an identical religious faith and similar cultural values. While Shah [small (1487-1524) was writing delightful poems in Azeri Turkish language using the pseudonym of Hatai, Yavuz Selim (1466-1520) wrote so many poems in Persian that they could make up a diwan, i.e. a collection of poems. These poems awoke the interest of the people, not only of the intellectuals, in Iran and Turkey. For instance the poems of Shah Ismail (Hatai) were very popular among the Anatolian people. Furthermore, works written in Arabic,

Persian and Turkish by the great poet Fuzuli (1480?-1556), and particularly his masterpieces written in Persian and Turkish, were among the books that the educated class enjoyed in Iran and Turkey. On the one hand, classical Ottoman poets (i.e., Nef'i (1572?-1635). Nabi (1642-1712) and others) enjoyed the works of well-known Persian poets and found, to some extent, a source of inspiration in their poems-[e.g., Urfi (deceased: 1591), Feyzi (1547-1595) and others]; on the other hand, some Iranian poets (i.e., Saib), read constantly the diwan of some Turkish poets (i.e., Fuzuli). Almost all intellectuals who lived in the Indo-Pakistan peninsula and the Ottoman empire and studied poetry, mastered Arabic and Persian; it was deemed fashionable to write poetry in Persian. Poets who lived in the Indo-Pakistan peninsula, beginning with Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253-1325), Ghani Kashmiri (deceased, 1669). the great poet, Mirza Abdal Qadir Baydil up to the time of Asadullah Khan Galib (deceased, 1869); and Ottoman poets, beginning with Gelibolulu Ali (1541-1600) and Nef'i up to the time of Nabi and Sheikh Galib (1757-1799), were stylists who used the Persian language with exquisite taste and great facility, thus giving proof of the ties existing among Iranian, Pakistani and Turkish cultures .

In the beginning, Persian was popular not only as a literary language, but also as the language used in official correspondence and political life during the consecutive periods of the Ghaznavids, the Karahanl and the Seljukians. Therefore, Persian became the common language used by the three kindred nations, and kent this special characteristic for a long time Furthermore, Persian had the privilege of becoming the literary and official language, even the language used for educational purposes until the nineteenth century in the Indo-Pakistan peninsula—for almost '000 years. It was deemed fashionable to write in Persian until the destruction of the '1 urco-Indian empire, if a different development took place later from the point of view of style, it is evident that this is due to geographical conditions, the way of life, intellectual currents and other factors. The works of this region are more original - to some extent- because they are different.

A change began to take place when the British came to power in 1858. For a while the British had to use Persian in official correspondence, but English superseded Persian — gradually. However, there are great poets who mastered the Persian language and wrote in Persian: Mirza Asadullah Khan Galib (deceased, 1869) during the last century, and Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) in this century; it proves that Persian is still a language of great promise for those who love it and for intellectuals in the sub-continent on the outskirts of the Himalayas.

At this point one should make the following remark. The Arabs brought Islam to the Indo-Pakistani peninsula, and, for a while Arabic was the official language. After various invasions and particularly the

conquest of the Ghaznavids from north to south, Persian superseded Arabic—although the administrative class was Turkish. Afterwards, a new system was established in army headquarters, when Hindus who were not Muslims offered their military service. When Hindus who had a different culture spoke various languages came in contact with Muslim intellectual members of the army who spoke Turkish and Persian, various difficulties arose and the language problem had to be solved. As a result, Urdu language developed in military circles, a language possessing many words and expressions in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. This language called *zaban-i mu'alla-yi* Urdu goes back to the seventeenth century.

Urdu language, of military origin, became popular: the Sufis started to use it when they delivered sermons to the people, or gave advice, thus helping to make it popular. Urdu developed and became a popular language in various regions. As a result, Urdu superseded regional languages (*i.e.*, Bengali, Punjabi). The British followed a different policy and encouraged the use of regional languages; but this policy was not successful, except in some cases; however, it became necessary to use English as an official language in schools for civil servants, government offices, the administrative body and

the army; as a result, English was used together with Urdu. In spite of this official change in language in British India, independent states such as Kashmir, Hyderabad, and Bhopal adopted Urdu instead of English as an official language. For instance, Hyderabad and Bhopal improved Urdu; furthermore, Hyderabad transformed Urdu into a language used at the University level for scientific purposes.

The Indo-Pakistani people loved and adopted Urdu; many writers wrote in Urdu: as time went by poetry and prose written in Urdu and translations made in that language increased; therefore Urdu became an important literary language used extensively, and acquired a distinguished position in cultural and literary history.

At this point, it would be appropriate to remember the intimate historical knowledge that some cultural centres in Pakistan, Lahore in particular, had of the Iranian language and culture, and the active part they played to keep up this tradition. Sheikh Ali Hujviri (Data Genj-Bakhsh) (deceased, 1072), the author of *Kashfu'l-mahjub*, the oldest important work written in Persian, about the Sufism of Islam, wrote this remarkable book in Lahore; the famous writer Muhammad Avfl (1171?-1233?) wrote also some of his books in this city. Beginning with Mes'ud-i Sa'd-i Salman (1046-1121) up to the time of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), many poets had mastered Persian and had close relations with Lahore. One should remember also that the Oriental College attached to Punjab University has become an important centre — for the last hundred years — studying the Iranian language and literature. This college published many classical texts in Persian; furthermore, if Pakistani intellectuals still love Persian language and enjoy Persian literature, this is due above all to the activities of the Oriental College.

One might say that after Arabic, together with Persian and Turkish, Urdu has become one of the greatest and most important languages of the Islamic world and occupies a distinguished position in the literature of the

Islamic people. When they became independent, both India and Pakistan wished to proclaim one of their regional national languages the official language of the country. A language of Urdu origin with Sanskrit characters called *Hindi*, became official in India — a greater use is made of Sanskrit words, Arabic and Persian words are being suppressed. Urdu, with Arabic characters, has been proclaimed the official language in Pakistan. However, if one compares it with the use of English, one might not say that Urdu has fulfilled its promise. One might not very well say that under various names and with different characters, Urdu has become the full-grown official language in India and Pakistan — this is so for several reasons and because many provinces still use different languages.

It would necessary to emphasize once more the high position occupied by Persian in the culture and literature of the Islamic world. Because of the superior qualifications of this language in poetry, its subtlety, loveliness and sweetness, because of its wealthy literary heritage, its attractive and colourful delicacy and beauty special importance was given to Persian in Turkish and Urdu. Many Persina works were translated or adapted into Turkish and Urdu. From time to time many Turkish and Indo-Pakistani poets imitated the Persian masters or produced similar works. It would be quite right to say that

Persian can be rated among world languages with a magic power, particularly as far as lyrical poetry is concerned. Furthermore, apart from this attractive literary genre: lyrical poetry, it would be a realistic attitude to praise Persian for being used successfully in another literary genre: epic poetry. *Persian sings beautifully songs of love and heroism, with a rich imagination, a subtlety one might envy, a perfect harmony, a lively and powerful style; it has been a literary and cultural influence — for centuries — in Turkey, Afghanistan, the Indo-Pakistani peninsula, and even Central Asia.* Apart from its various qualifications, Persian has been successful and influential because of its easy grammar, the great facility with which one could express its feelings and ideas, and other similar characteristics. Another factor that helped to popularize the study of Persian,

and its adoption as a literary and artistic language by various nations was the fact that sublime poetical geniuses such as Hafiz (deceased: 1390) and Mawlana Rumi, (1207-1273) who was born in Balkh in the present day Afghanistan wrote their works in Persian.

Indeed, the result was rewarding: as a matter of fact, and abundant crop followed the promise of flowers. *It would be an accurate statement to make that Islamic literature has indeed an aesthetic and artistic taste, great intellectual value, echoes of a delicate spirit full of excitement: that the golden key to the treasures of Islamic literature was entrusted to history by those who created masterpieces in Persian.*

At this point we should dwell a little more upon relations existing between Turkish and Iranian literatures. We have no intention of discussing the middle Turkish period of the language and literature of Muslim Turks; or the literary works produced in Chaghatay and Azeri dialects. We would only stress once again the important influence of Persian language and Persian writers during the classical period of Ottoman literature and the birth and development of Turkish language in Turkey,

At the beginning, *the Turkish Literature of Anatolia was simple and addressed itself to the people at large; as time went by, Ottoman Turkish developed Ottoman Turkish had taken many words and expressions from Arabic and Persian: therefore, a literary language that was in fact made up of three languages came into existence.* We would like to observe that a group of languages that might be called Islamic languages was created in Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Urdu, through the continuous, persistent and useful influence of Islam; as a result, one witnessed the appearance of *common literary arts, a common technique, common expressions, and even a mutual feeling and a mutual literary taste to some extent.* However, classical Turkish literature developed some new literary genres, apart from those taken from Persian; furthermore, some new forms came into existence as far as versification was concerned. In addition to what exists in common, one should not forget national and regional characteristics.

Turks settled in the West when Seljukians conquered Anatolia (*as from* 1071), after Khurasan and Iran; they encouraged the flowering of a national Islamic new culture. It would not be an overstatement to add that in such a new cultural atmosphere, Turkish and Iranian Sheikhs, scholars and artists who came from Khurasan and Iran held important positions; for that particular reason, their influence was felt not only in religious beliefs and theology, but also in literature and language. As regards cultural history, it is most important to observe on that particular subject that the Mawlana wrote the *Mathnawi* in Konya; the famous *Mathnawi* is probably the best known and most widely read book in Iranian Sufi literature. In the days of the Mawlana, Seljukian intellectuals in Anatolia read fluently, understood and enjoyed books written in Persian. The prestige of Iranian literature continued when Ottoman Turks took the place of Anatolian Seljukians, Persian poetry, in particular was taken as an example during the first period of development of Ottoman poetry, and was a source of inspiration that shaped the technique of versification, subject-matter, and *genre*. But it would be wrong to assume, as some did, that it was a complete imitation. Nevertheless, one should not forget that in these centuries (13th-15th), Iranian literature was considered a guide and was taken as an example by Ottoman literature; many Turkish artists thought highly of Iranian literature. It served as a source of inspiration for them when they created new works.

The above characteristics can be observed in Sufi and lyrical poetry first written in Anatolia. These remarks are quite objective — as far as one can be objective in social sciences and literature — as might be seen if we study carefully the works of *Seyyad Hamza* (XIII the century), *Gulshabri* (deceased, 1317), *Ashik Pasha* (1272-1333), *Hoja Mes'ud* (deceased, second half of the 14th century), *Sheikhhoglu* (1340-?), *Ahmedi* (deceased, 1413) and *Ahmedi Da'i* (deceased, first half of the 15th century); and of famous great poets of Ottoman literature, better known as *Divan Literature*, *viz*, *Ahmed Pasha* (deceased: 1497), *Necati* (deceased: 1509), and particularly *Fuzuli* (1480-1556) and *Baki* (1526-1600).

In the middle of the 16th century we observe that some writers belonging to classical Turkish Literature wish to compete with Iranian literature, and write in Persian works as successful as those produced by well-known Iran poets. The following point should be emphasized: most libraries in Istanbul are extremely rich in Persian manuscripts — no other library could compare with it — and particularly in manuscripts completed in the author's hand-writing; furthermore, rare gilded copies or editions decorated with miniatures can be found in Istanbul Libraries. From a different angle, this is evident proof of the relation and continuity existing between Iranian and Turkish literatures and cultures.

Iranian language and literature has certainly played a part in the development of successful artists who wrote either in Ottoman Turkish language or in Urdu, and helped them, to some extent. In later periods, writers wandering in the realm of the imagination and using Ottoman Turkish Language or Urdu, discovered at last their national and regional identity and became self-sufficient; therefore, they secured a place in history to their respective literature that had become independent, and was decorated with local colours.

It would be useful to lay emphasis on some other points, now that we are about to wind up this outline of cultural relations existing among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan:

- (a) For instance, these three countries used the same alphabet during the Islamic era, namely, the fact that Arabic characters were used for many centuries in these countries created a cultural intimacy among the people — and in some cases, this amounted to cultural unity. It would be appropriate to add that forms of writing were also close to one another. Although most of the forms of writing such as *sulus*, *nesih*, *ta'lik*, *nesta'lik*, *rik'a* are of Arabic origin, they were developed to their utmost perfection in Iran and particularly in Turkey. We observe in manuscripts that Iranians preferred the *ta'lik* and

nesta'lik, whereas Turks chose the *nesib* and *ta'lik*: but this is not so important. The same forms of writing were used and improved in Urdu, with some changes. Other subjects should be mentioned within the frame work of these cultural relations: viz, book-binding, decorations; miniatures; and the preservation of books.

- (b) A similar motif might be observed in architecture as well as in fine workmanship pertaining to handicraft; this might not be evident at first sighs, but in spite of different styles there are common points, and a common motif exists, even when a slight modification occurs. *We observe some fundamental common principles characterizing Islamic architecture. They can be seen in memorial buildings such as mosques, palaces, fountains, caravanserais, inns and Turkish baths.* Similarities exist in porcelain industry which symbolizes an important artistic achievement. Examples of historical and aesthetical common features existing among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, as Muslim nations, could form a rich repertoire, from the point of view of culture, taste and aesthetics; — of course, one should always remember relations existing with Arabs and other Moslem people.
- (c) The three kindred nations are close to one another from the point of view of clothes, kitchenware, gardening, etc. Resemblance in clothes is striking among Iranian, Pakistan and Turkish people; such a resemblance existed already many centuries ago. This can be readily observed, particularly in some religious clothes (robe, turban, baggy trousers etc.)

When Turkey turned towards West and made several reforms, many changes took place in the alphabet, forms of writing, decorative arts, clothes and even architecture. But it is a fact that traditional similarities continue to exist, because revolutions cannot change history and reconstruct the past. Spiritual values and beliefs are still alive to some extent in villages and towns, together with faint vestiges of past civilizations. In Iran and Pakistan, most of the people still preserve their traditional clothes.

Such similarities exist in kitchenware, food, and bed-spreads. Doubtless, some national differences are preserved in each country. However, striking similarities still exist. For instance,— because Muslim religion forbids it — pork is never cooked in Turkish, Iranian and Pakistani kitchens — exceptions confirm the rule. Some dishes have the same name: soup, pilaw, kebab, dates; the sweetmeats are alike.

Common features pertaining to kindred cultures can be seen in birth rejoicings, circumcisions, weddings, and in ladies' adornments. Such similarities go as far as gardening, and keeping in check excessive heat through the use of devices as fountains and pools.

The above statements suffice to prove that strong ties and vestiges of a common culture, centuries old, exist among Turkey, Iran and Pakistan in their way of life, their thoughts and feelings: this common culture developed and produced a rich crop; its power can still be felt to some extent.

Under the light of these remarks, we can understand and explain readily why Dr. Muhammad Iqbal wrote his poetry in Persian and Urdu, but mostly in Persian — although his mother tongue was Punjabi. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal wanted to reach distant Islamic communities, to share with them his feelings and ideas; he wanted them to read his books; he believed that Muslim people should have faith in their own strength and their bright future. For him, it was not enough to be the leader or one nation at a particular time in history. He considered himself a poet, a thinker, and the guide of Muslim people who had a common cultural heritage and centuries old cultural relations; therefore, he began to write in Urdu: this language expressed the feelings and ideals of Muslim people and of the intelligentsia that lived in the continent on the outskirts of the Himalayas. Afterwards, he chose Persian, a common language for poetry and culture among Islamic people, when larger communities read his books and loved him. Consequently, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal reached high spheres in spiritual development: indeed, he became the poet, the seer guiding the people who were united by common historical,

religious, traditional and cultural ties; he widened their horizons and taught them how to be ultimately successful.

IQBAL'S TULIP OF SINAI:

Prof. A.J. Arberry's Translation

Reyazul Hasan

Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge University set the pace of translating Iqbal's poetical works in the West by first turning into English medium his *Asrar-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self) in 1922. He found the poem "so powerful and original" that he sought Iqbal's permission to dress it into an English garb.

Twenty-five years later Prof. A. J. Arberry, then Professor of Persian in the University of London, undertook the translation of the Persian quatrains from the first part of Iqbal's *Payam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East), written in reply to Goethe' S *West Oestlicher Divan*. Prof. Arberry published his translation under the title *Tulip of Sinai*.

In making the translation Prof. Arberry says: "I have sought to be as faithful to the letter of original as possible and have imitated the stanzas used by Iqbal...Iqbal is not an easy writer to understand, as Prof. Nicholson himself confessed and the form of the quatrain he uses in the *Tulip of Sinai* further augments the difficulty of grasping his full meaning. But think I have made out his intention and have endeavoured to compress it into the version."⁸

Persian is a language of symbols and in poetry these symbols are profusely used to denote a certain meaning. In a literal translation of symbolic words the reader will catch only the peel but the kernel inside will escape his understanding. Thus in a literal translation the whole range of meaning will fall flat upon the ears of the English readers and will be a source of puzzlement to them.

It is true that Iqbal is a difficult writer to understand. The difficulty lies in the fact that he uses the traditional symbolic expressions. imparting a new meaning to them. I quote an Urdu verse of his to explain this point:

ٹپک اے شمع! آنسو بن کے پروانے کی آنکھوں سے

⁸ Prof. A. J. Arberry: *Tulip of Sinai*, Introduction.

سرآپا درد ہوں، حسرت بھری ہے داستاں میری⁹

O Candle! fall in tears drop by drop from the eyes of the moth, For I am ever so full of pain and my story is so full of anguish and deep yearning.

Now the moth and the candle are one of the important and familiar traditional symbolic themes of Persian poetry. In it the moth is so fond of the light of the candle that it burns itself in its fire. This theme is also well expressed in the famous poem, *Sehensucht* of Goethe included in his *West Oestlicher Divan*.

Now Iqbal in invoking the candle has put the stress not on the moth traditionally put on it, but on the candle which is made to melt into tears and flow from the eyes of the moth due to the pain and strong yearning of the poet. This transferred epithet gives a new meaning to the verse and deepens its effects. This may cause difficulty even in the minds of those most well versed in the symbols of Persian poetry.

Now I give below a few quatrains of Iqbal in original along with Prof. Arberry's translation and shall try to show how a literal translation has deviated from the meaning of the verse and may cause confusion in the mind of English readers. Such readers may even find Iqbal an extravagant poet.

دارین گلشن پریشان مثل بویم نمی دانم چه می خواهم چه جویم

بر آید آرزو یابریا نیاید شہید سوز و سآز آرزوم¹⁰

A spent scent in the garden I suspire,
I know not what I seek, what I require,
But be my passion satisfied, or no,
Yet here I burn, a martyr to Desire.

⁹ *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 63.

¹⁰ *Peyam-i-Mashriq*, p. 14.

The word *parishan* (پریشان) has been translated as spent and the idea behind the word, "spent" is "consumed or exhausted," while the proper idea of *parishan* (پریشان) here is scatteredness like the spread of the fragrance in the garden.

دلا نـارائی پروانہ تاکہ نگیـرہ شـیوہ مردانہ تاکہ

یکے خود را بسوزِ خویستن سوز طواف آتش بیگانہ تاکہ¹¹

How long this fluttering of the moth, my heart?

When wilt thou take at last the manly part?

Why honest thou about another's flame?

Go, burn thyself within the Fire thou art!

The word *narai* (نارائی) has been translated as "this fluttering" but it does not indicate the character of fluttering. The word *narai* (نارائی) shows, however, the immaturity and lack of sobriety of the moth because it burns itself in the fire of others.' It would have been proper for it to burn itself in its own fire.

I have before me the German translation of the same quatrain by Prof. Annemarie Schimmel which reads as follows:

Herz, schwach gleich Schmottrlingen-wirlangenoch?

Willst Mannheit nicht essingen-wie langench?

Its literal translation reads as follows:

O, heart, frail like a moth—how long such a course?

Will you not attain manhood — how long such a course ?

¹¹ *Op.cit.* p. 17

In German the adjective "frail" gives only a partial idea of narai (نارائی) which the English version totally fails to convey. As I have said before, the proper sense would be immaturity or a senseless act.

تنہ پیداکن از مشت غبارے تنے محکم تر از سنگین حصارے

درون او دل درد آشنائے چوئے جوئے در کنار کوهسارے¹²

A hand of dust a Body fortified

Firmer than rocky rampart shall abide,

Yet beats therein a sorrow-conscious Heart,

A river flowing by a mountain side.

The phrase *dil-i-dard ashnai* (دل درد آشنائے) has been translated as "sorrow-conscious" which does not convey the complete idea of the phrase. Properly it is a tendency to share another person's emotion or mental participation in another's trouble — i.e, a sort of sympathy with another person's misfortune. This is what Heine has called "Heiligkeit der Schmerzen" (holiness or sanctity of pain).

شنیدم در عدم پروانه می گفت
دسے از دنگی تاب و تبیم بخش¹³

Thus in annihilation, spoke the moth;

Give me a while the glow and fever of life.

¹² *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 18.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

The word 'adam (عدم) has been translated as "annihilation". When a living being is annihilated, it is no more able to do or to speak anything. But the word "adam" (عدم) has a whole philosophy behind it. It means the world beyond where the soul lives, although the body is annihilated. The proper meaning of the word "'adam" (عدم) would be the world beyond.

In quatrain 22 the word *adharniyaran* (آذرنیاران) has been translated as the "sons of Fire". In Arab tradition Adhar was the father of the Prophet Abraham and he was an idol maker. Thus *adharniyaran* (آذرنیاران) would mean those who possess a tendency to shape idols and not the sons of fire.

بگو جبریل را از من پیامے مرا آن پیکر نوری نداند

ولے تاب و تب ما خاکیاں بین بنوری ذوق مہجوری ندادند¹⁴

Speak this my message unto Gabriel:

My body was not made with light aglow:

Yet see the fervour of us sons of earth,

This joy-in-grief no child of light can know.

Here *paikar-i-nuri* (پیکر نوری) has been translated as a body made with light aglow. In fact it means here the angels who are supposed to be made of light. In the last line the "child of light" becomes ambiguous and it gives no clear indication as to whom it refers. *Zauq-i-mahjuri* (ذوق مہجوری) has been translated as a joy-in-grief. It gives a sort of sadist meaning while the real connotation is the joy in separation. Iqbal's entire theory of mysticism deals not with the final merging of the human soul into God but in its remaining separate. And in this separation there is a desire and yearning to be near God

¹⁴ *Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 34.

but not to merge into Him. The phrase "joy-in-grief," becomes a contradiction in terms and perplexes understanding. Here lies the difficulty in literal translation.

میارا بزم بر ساحل که آن جا نوائے زندگانی نرم خیز است

بدریا غلط و باموجش در آویز حیات جاوداں اندر ستیز است¹⁵

Take not thy banquet on the shore; for there

Too gently flows the melody of life;

Plunge in the sea, do battle with the waves,

For immortality is war in strife

The word *bazm* (بزم) has been translated as banquet which is generally associated with dinner. But *bazm* (بزم) may or may not mean a dinner. It is a meeting of people for merry-making and enjoyment. If we take the meaning of dinner, then it would be improper to ask the people just to jump into the sea after having a good dinner. However, the poet gives a contrast between merry-making and doing battle with the waves and considers the latter act as proper for life for lies immortality in it.

In quatrain 141 *rah-i-kehbabida* (راه خوابیده) has been translated as "the way sleeps long," while the proper sense is the lonely way.

تو می گوئی که من هستم، خدانیست جهان آب و گل را انتها نیست

هنوز این راز بر من ناکشود است که چشم آنچه بیندهست یا نیست¹⁶

"I am, and God is not": thou sayest,

¹⁵ *Op.cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁶ Payam-i-Mashriq, p. 89.

"Water and clay into the boundless god";

Yet I have not resolved this mystery

Whether it is mine eye that sees or no.

Here the last line is rather completely inverted. Its literal translation would be as to whether what my eye sees exists or not. The emphasis is on the transitoriness of the objects seen but the seer is always there. Prof. Arberry's translation changes the object into subject and is made to question the observer's vision; i.e, whether it is the observer's eye that sees the object or somebody else's. This world is in flux and every moment some change is taking place. The old Greek idea that you cannot step twice in the same stream has been the subject matter of philosophy both in the East and West for long. And Iqbal mentions this flux in a poetic way.

به برگ لاله رنگ آمیزی عشق بجان ما بلا انگیزی عشق

اگر ایس خاکدان را وا شگافی درونش بنگری خونریزی عشق¹⁷

The love that paints the tulip petal's hue,

"This Love that stirs the spirit's bitter hue;

If thou couldst clear this carrier of clay,

Thou shelt behold, within, Love's bloodshed too.

The word *khakdan* (خاکدان) has been translated as "carrier of clay". Perhaps the translator means by it the human form itself when it is dead and becomes a carrier.

But *khakdan* (خاکدان) is not a "carrier". It means the "form or house of dust", pointing to this universe.

¹⁷ *Op.cit.*, p. 13

Describing the function of Love, the poet first mentions its effect on the tulip leaf, then he goes to speak of its influence "on our own soul". And then he goes a step further and includes the entire world of matter which bears inside itself the tumult of love.

Yet these are many beautiful quatrains beautifully done in English. There is no doubt that it had been rather a difficult job for Professor Arberry to translate into English metre Persian verses with all their implications and symbolic pitfalls. And again to compress them within the metrical length was even more difficult. The attempt was praiseworthy but at places it has been done at the expense of meaning, perhaps due to metrical necessity.

IQBAL: TOWARDS AN ETHICAL THEORY OF POETRY

Kamal M. Habib

Urdu crystallized out as a language proper during the eighteenth century and it is therefore a comparatively modern language as compared to other living languages, e.g., Italian, French, and Spanish. It was non-existent when Chaucer wrote his *Canterbury Tales*. Since it coalesced from a mixture containing primarily two ingredients, Persian and Hindi or Brij Bhasha, it was but to be expected that the norms it would adopt for critical appraisal would also derive from the two: this actually happened. The supremacy of the *ghazal* as a genre derived from the Persian heritage left to it and the emphasis on *mahawrah bandi* (or strict conformity to the idiomp was passed on to it from its Hindi component. The reforms made by Nasikh might be therefore said to correspond to Wordsworth's stress on poetry expressed as the medium of spoken language and not as a heightened stylized expression, as out-lined in his *Preface to Lyrical Ballads*.¹⁸

And yet there perhaps the correspondence ends. Persian, the most abstract of languages, is particularly suited to apophthegms and pithy expressions, of which the *Bustan* of Sa'di, the *Mantiqat al-Tayr* (The Parliament of Birds) of Shaykh Farid al-Din Attar, *Sikandar Namah* of Nizami of Ganjah and the *Mathnawi* of Rumi should serve as the cogent examples. The *ghazal*, an offshoot of this tendency towards abstraction, became a very convenient medium for the elaboration of one idea or of a few related ideas in about eleven or twelve couplets. It could serve also as a medium for reflection upon life, with one couplet depicting one and the other another aspect of it: alternatively, it could expand the same idea through a series of analogies and images. And, as the *ghazal* began to gain ascendancy in both Persian and Urdu, the norms for literary criticism also began to follow upon the footsteps of the *ghazal*. The ghazaleer, in effect, became the poet. Aristotle the father of literary criticism in the West, similarly regarded the drama, and particularly the tragedy, as the centre-piece of all poetry, because through *catharsis* (purgation) it washes away *hubris* (insolence) generating *saphrosyne* (humility)

¹⁸ Published 1800.

instead.

With human life progressively gaining in complexity, it was found that no one literary norm could serve as a guide while Shakespeare and Schiller could be, with drastic modifications, examined from the concepts and guidelines laid down by Aristotle, could the same guide-lines be applied to Calderon or Goethe or the Romantic poets of the early nineteenth century? Norms established nearly two thousand and five hundred years ago can definitely serve as guides — for this much Aristotle's remarkable or "universal" genius deserves - but can no longer be treated as absolute. There are also certain developments such as the allegory which are definitely post-Aristotelean and could even be called modern.

It could also be contended that in order to reappraise the new bearings of Urdu poetry we shall have to remove the surcircle of the *ghazal* and to appraise a poet according to *what and how he has said rather than whether he has said so through the medium of the "ghazal" or not*. The *ghazal*, I believe, gained in ascendancy because it was not for every poet to be equally good a plot-maker. If he happened to be a good plot-maker, he being a good poet, he gravitated towards the mathnawi or the epic; if not, he confined himself to *ghazal*. For the *ghazal* offered him several vantage points: he did not have to particularize or weave a plot or even a unified theme ; he could keep it timeless as far as he was concerned (take a *ghazal* of the nineteenth century and one of today and but for stylistic nuances there is no difference whatsoever between the two so far as the age is concerned; it did not have to be long (*ghazals* of the Lucknow schools running into 29 couplets or more were exceptions than the rule); it could be discursive, polythematic, and could pour in stray thoughts; and it was easier far to recite at the *musha'irahs* (poetic gatherings). By the end of the last century its triumph was so complete that the other genres were underrated, even if not looked down upon. A typical instance of this approach is provided by the adage:

بگڑا شاعر مرثیہ گو، پکڑا گویا مرثیہ خواں

(An elegaic poet is a spoilt one and a singer of elegies is a one who has deviated from his profession)

But the *ghazal* posed one very serious limitation, at least for one who was aware of that limitation. It could not permit the specification or the

particularization of the problems of the age or even of an individual as the drama would. When a poet needs to outpour his feelings, either euphoric or gloomy, he cannot do so in a *qata' band ghazal* (a *ghazal* with a fixed rhyming arrangement), for that would generate monotony, something not very unlike the rhyming couplets of the Augustan poets of England. Such an arrangement of the iambic pentameter was particularly useful in the satire, as in the *Rape of the Lock* by Pope and the satires of Dryden (e.g., *Absalom and Achirophel* and *MacFlecknoe* in which he ridicules the poet, Shadwell; but the succeeding Romantic Age which wanted greater freedom broke through these confines of metre, rhyme, and measured contrasts so suited to the satire.

This is a point which does not have to be elaborated upon by the citation of very many examples. However, a particular event *when universalized*, for obvious reasons, exercises a far more overpowering effect than an *already universalized* experience. I shall just quote one example of this. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Husayn Munir Shikuhahadi, a major poet of the Lucknow school, embodies his agonies suffered during incarceration in the Andamans for seven years owing to his complicity in the murder of an Englishman, H. Cockvale in 1858, in a long *qata'band ghazal*, one couplet of which is:

موت کے پنچے میں شیرانِ دلاور پھنس گئے
صید افگن ایک دو شیرِ نیستان ہوں تو کیا

(The brave ones find themselves inexorably clutched in the fangs of Death, What if there be one or two lions in the forest that lurk to kill to face the challenge?)

Iqbal, while aware like Munir Shikuhabadi of the disintegrating world around himself, makes the fourth Counsellor of Satan in *Iblis ki Majlis-i-Shura'* (The Advisory Council of Satan) say:

خال خال اس قوم میں اب تک نظر آتے ہیں
کرتے ہیں اشکِ سحر گاہی سے جو ظالم وضو

(I still descry within that nation (i.e., the Muslims) a few persistent ones who with the tears of the morn consummate their ablution.)

The first couplet by Munir admits of nothing else (his clichés are such as have been worn threadbare in the *ghazal*) but verbal ingenuity with a leaven of sadness while reflecting on the times gone by. He has not *universalized* his particular experience; what he has presented is an *already universalised* observation or *speculation*, howsoever we might choose to regard it. Iqbal not only adds the strength of irony but also of hope: for there are still some left who would dare. Their puissance is greater far than of the lurking lions of the forest. Note also that Iqbal conveys sublimity and a sense of direction, unlike Munir. In one there is an unmistakable strain of pessimism; in the other, a strain of faith, of meliorism; in fact, one too many. The one could pertain to any age; the other concerns a specific age, reflecting its *zeitgeist*, its altered *weltanschauungen*. The one has no *brio*, no *panache*; the other has both.

This is not to decry the value of the *ghazal* as a genre, but merely to state that changed times demand new modes of appraisal, and that therefore we cannot accept that *ghazal* should be the only form of poetry suitable for highest consideration, although of the four most major Muslim poets of the subcontinent — Amir Khusraw, Naziri, Mirza 'Abd al-Qadir Baydil, and Iqbal — Iqbal is the only exception insofar as the genre of the *ghazal* is concerned, in that he wrote very little of it — at least in its accepted form. Even sociologically the acceptability of the *ghazal* as the absolute norm would generate what Emile Durkheim calls anomie or dissociation in the collective social consciousness of the people; for the *ghazal* deals with the seething problems of the age only indirectly and cannot argue as powerfully and as cogently as the *nazm* or other genres like the *Mussadas* or poetic drama or poetic dialogue would. The *nazm* unlike the *ghazal* brings in variation in rhyme, pace, and cadence and removes thereby the monotony that the fixed rhyming pattern of the *ghazal* would generate.

None of these observations, I am afraid, are such as have not been made in one form or the other before. But perhaps from my point of view in relation to Iqbal's approach towards poetry it is essential that they should be recapitulated and formulated or even reformulated with elaboration, if needs be; for Iqbal is either thought to be primarily a "philosophical poet" (as if there could be a poet who has no framework of thought of his own), a non-lyrical poet (lyricism is the expression of the poet's thoughts which need not

be concerned with physical love at all), and a "political poet" (sad indeed would be the predicament of a poet who remains unconcerned with all but his own self). Love in Iqbal is there, but in an altogether different context.¹⁹

Iqbal, like any other major poet of the world, began to fold out the intellectual convolutions of his thought-processes gradually and from the *Bang-i-Dara* onwards tended to adopt, again like any other major poet, symbolization of thought. He discarded the flute to take to the accordion, the mere black and the mere white to take to chioroscuro. I will not say that Iqbal was the first to initiate this change in Urdu poetry. This was already visible even in what we class as the members of the Lucknow school, such as Muhsin Kakurwi, Nazm Tabataba'i, and Ahmad Ali Shawq Qidwai, let alone Shibli and Hall. Indeed, Hall himself who has written far too many ghazals compared to Iqbal, writes in the *Muqqadimah-i-Sha'ir wa Sha'iri* (Prolegomena to Versification and Poetry) rather brilliantly about the *ghazal vis-a-vis* Urdu poetry in general:

In short, the ghazal both in respect of rhyme and theme, should be, as far as possible, expanded. People do not require poetry as they require their daily pabulum. Nan can manage to subsist, day in, day out, on the same type of food, even though it be bereft of variety. He would be, however, seized by ennui if the music or the poetry does not have versatility or variableness. A musician who from morn till eve only sings the same tune would tire out his listeners. Similarly in poetry, if one keeps on listening to identical or similar themes, he would feel disinclined to hear any more:

مکرر گرچہ سحر آمیز باشد
طبیعت را ملال انگیز باشد

(Even though repetition might be magical, yet one's spirit becomes bowed down by it.²⁰)

¹⁹ See *Iqbal Kay Kalam mayn Jamalyati 'Unsur: Ayk Ijmali Ja'izah* (Aesthetics in Iqbal: A Brief Survey) by this writer (*Iqbal Review*, 15, 12, pp. 34-60).

²⁰ Op. cit., Urdu Academy, Sind, September 1962; pp. 151-52.

He then gives the example of the collection of a famous poet in which the theme of *chak-i-giriban* (rending of the collar) has been treated in twenty-three different ways, and further proceeds:

The *divan* from which we have reproduced these patterns comprises over two hundred pages. In his is the instance of a rather short *divan*, what to speak of the others in which this theme has been tackled in different ways. If, on top of this, we include the Persian *divans* also, then, I should imagine, we could compile several thick volumes on this single theme alone, even though it is so narrowly circumscribed by its very nature that it admits of little more than one or two variations. We can well surmise the extent to which themes having a greater number of associations, such as the cruelty of the be-loved, envy of the rivals, desire for union, dishevelled tresses or hair, the bewitching eye, temptation to violate expiation, non-conformism, and drunkenness have been stretched.²¹

Hali's observations are entirely correct and very acute. Indeed, this exercise in seeking far-fetched and remotely removed similes made some poets not only trip but to come cut with nauseating similitudes and images

ہوا جوین فزوں خط سیہ سے روئے جانار کا
بڑھا اس آبنوسی رحل سے حسن اور قرآن کا
بگڑ کر اس نے چلمن سے جو ہم کو آنکھ دکھلائی
غزال چشم پر دھوکا ہوا شیر نیستان کا

(The black down of my beloved has made his youth stand out all the more. This ebony-like bracket has adorned the Qur'an still further.

When in the flush of fury, he stared at me from behind the curtain, I thought for a moment I was looking not into his doe-like eyes but into those of a lion that roving in the cane-brake).

²¹ Ibid., pp. 152-53.

These couplets by Khwajah Wazir of Lucknow show how sterile the whole exercise in poetry had become. We speak of breaking Priscian's head with bad grammar; one is at pains to know how we should treat such wanton and profligate use of simile. If both Plato and Aristotle are agreed that poetry is an "imitative art" and that it gives pleasure, then Wazir's first couplet gives neither. The Qur'an is eternal, the Word of God; the human face folds into wrinkles and disintegrates. To bring in the Qur'an in a couplet clearly reeking of pederasty is the very nadir of artistic turpitude. What was thought to be ingenuity turns out to be nothing but sacrilege.

The poetry of the Delhi school was given to less hyperbole--but only just. The following couplet by Shah Nasir is almost as hyperbolic, if not equally inane:

وہ مئے پئے گر جام بلوریں میں تو ساقی
بن جائے حبابوں سے بھی دریا ہمہ تن چشم

(When my beloved tipples wine in the crystal (glass), the bubbles on it appear like a river to the eyes of the gazer wherever he casts his sight)

The convention of the *ghazal* had collected like patine on Urdu literature which it was very difficult to scrape away. Hali's *Mussodas* in this sense represents a unique and epoch-making achievement. It was written with a remarkable degree of sublimity; it followed no circuitous routes, no prolegomenon to justify the theme; it went direct to the heart of the reader, painting before his eyes the pristine glory of Islam and juxtaposing it with its downfall in general and in the subcontinent in particular. His *ghazals* also become coloured by introspection and get suffused by the *zeitgeist*. We might take the following three couplets as an instance:

منہ نہ دیکھیں دوست پھر میرا اگر جانیں کہ میں
ان سے کیا کہتا رہا اور آپ کیا کرتا رہا
تھا نہ استحقاقِ تحسین، پر سنی تحسین صدا
حق ہے جو دو ہمتی کا وہ ادا کرتا رہا
شہرت اپنی جس قدر بڑھتی گئی آفاق میں

کبر نفس اتنا ہی یاں نشوونما پاتا رہا

(My friends would never deign to look at me ever again should they know what I have been telling them about myself and how (unknown to them) I have been violating every utterance about myself.

This was not only so in the subcontinent but in other parts of the Muslim world also Take, for instance, *Tazyyanah-i-Ta'dib* (The Scourge of Chastisement) by 'Abd al Rauf Fitrat, of Tajkistan who very movingly wrote in 1914:

جامع به ناوِ زلفِ پرِ چہرہ گان اسیر یادِ نگاہِ مست بتان را پیالہ گیر
گاہ از نشاطِ صبحدمِ وصل در غریب گاہ از بلائے نیم شبِ ہجر در نفیر
ہر قامتی کہ دیدہ ہمہ سرو را شبیہہ ہر چہریۂ دیدہ ہمہ ماہ را نظیر
روئے وطن ز ناخنِ غفلت جریح دار آنہا بیادِ روئے بتان کردہ جاں نثار

(Some (poets) are bound by the shackles of the tresses of the beloved,

Some are drunk from the languid eyes of idol-like beauties;

Now they would clamour for the dawn heralding the joy of reunion,

Now they would bewail the pain of separation's midnight;

Some ever liken all figures to a cypress,

Some even liken all faces to the moon;

The face of the Watan (homeland) is scratched by the fingernails of neglect;

(While) they bestow their lines on the face of the sweetheart

And so the revolt against the timelessness of the *ghazal* was shared by the perceptible ones in the subcontinent, Iran, and Central Asia, the homelands of the *ghazal*

And so it became impossible for the *ghazal* to remain unaffected and impervious to the changed times and thought-processes. Iqbal went further than Hali in two ways: in the first place, he demolished the citadel of the spell of pessimism or fatalism which had informed Urdu poetry up to his own time²²; in the second, he accelerated this process of transformation of the emphasis from the *ghazal* to the other poetic genres. Like all thinkers with a broad perspective on the past, present, and the future, he realized that degeneration had as its corollary petrification of thought and unidirectional action, for mere adherence to convention could not dictate otherwise. Did he not do it, we would have been far off from achieving a breakthrough in our approach to literature. Urdu was still a young language. True enough, its poetry was fairly developed but had yet to — metaphorically speaking — detach itself from its umbilical cord to derive independent nourishment on its own, by fixing its own norms, standards, and evaluation.

Iqbal, in fact, for quite sometime had to defend himself on two counts. One attack was launched by the exponents of conventionalism and the so-called eloquence; the other was from those who questioned the very nature of his poetry. His *Shikwah* and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* came in for attack, because it was not considered proper that Iqbal should have said in the *Shikwah*:

اے خدا! شکوہ ارباب وفا بھی سن لے
خوگر حمد سے تھوڑا سا گلہ بھی سن لے

(Hear, O Lord, some plaint from those that have been all through faithful to Thee; hearken to the lamentation that pours out from those that have always praised and exalted Thee.)

This author had the occasion to read Mirza 'Ashiq Husayn Akharabadi's rejoinder to the *Shikwah* and the *Jawab* written in the same manner a few

²² For a detailed discussion see this author's *Iqbal and Tagore: An Essay on Two Contrasting Poetic Sensibilities*, Part II, Vision, Karachi, November 1967.

years ago. The literary viewpoint from which Iqbal was criticized is, however, too trivial to detain us. He has tackled many of these in his essay, *Urdu Panjab Mayn* (Urdu in the Panjab).²³

This, however, was but to be expected. Every innovator manages, against his own wish, to find enemies who go scampering to the opposite camp in order to mount an organized attack against him. By this time Iqbal had come to attach an ethical bias to poetry and poetry for the sake of poetry had ceased to have any meaning for him. His short essay, *Janab Rislat Mab ka Adabi Tabsarab*²⁴ (The *Hadith* of the Holy Prophet with Respect to Poetry; is of central significance to his approach towards poetry, and in our understanding of his approach to it. Iqbal writes:

The views expressed by the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) from time to time upon the different aspects of poetry have the status of a line that cuts diagonally through the pages of history. But the two sayings of his especially would be of great benefit to the Muslims of India for the reason that their literature is a product of unregenerate times and they are in search of a new axle to which to fix the wheel of their literature. The revelatory experience of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) has resolved the issue of what poetry should and should not be.' Imra' A'l Qays preceded the birth of Islam by forty years. The Tradition has that the Holy Prophet said about him: اشعر الشعراؤ اقايدهم الى النار "Leader of the poets he may be; but so shall he also command their contingent in Hell").

The question that presents itself before us, then, is what were the characteristics in the poetry of Imra' Al Qays that led the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) to formulate this view. When we read Imra' A'l Qays' poetry, we find it abounding in the passing of cups brimming with crimson wine from hand to hand, narrations of sensuous

²³ *Maqalat-i-Iqbal*, ed. Savyid `Abd al-Wahid Mu`ini; Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1st ed., Lahore, May 1963, pp. 19-38; originally published in the *Sitarab-i-Subh*, Lahore, 1917.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-92.

encounters between men and women, passion-filled emotions, threnodies upon tents uprooted by desert storms, portraiture of desolate sand dunes;— and this would be the sum total of the cosmic view of the pre-Islamic Arabia. Imra' A'l Qays, instead of prodding his people by awakening within their minds the chords of striving casts a spell of inebriation and otiosity upon them. The Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) in his *hadith* has therefore pointed to the inalienable fact that it is not necessary that the *virtues of art and craft and those of life should be identical*. It is quite conceivable that a poet may turn out very good verses (sic), but his poetry may take his readers to the nethermost depths of Gehenna instead of lifting them upwards towards edification Poetry, in fact, is a spell, but woe to the poet who instead of preparing his people to defy the challenges of the times generates in their midst a feeling of fatalism and negation, thus taking them and his nation to the sure path of self-destruction. What he should do is to make the others share his discoveries of the unageing aspects of Nature, and to persuade his readers to partake in his joy in the energy and life that froth and the sparkle out of it. He should not be like a robber who appropriates even that which is his to give to the others.

Once a couplet by the famous poet, 'Antarah, of the tribe of Banu 'Ays, was recited before the Holy Prophet:

والقد بييت على الطوى واطلّه
حتّى انال به كـريم الماكل

(Many a night have I expended on sedulousness and hard work so that in the end I may be capable of earning my bread by honest means.)

The Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him), whose opinion on poetry suggests he wished to make human life more edifying and more exalting and to enable man to face the ordeals and tribulations of life more equanimously, was overcome by the direct impact of these verses.

Addressing his Companions, he said: "No other Arab that has been praised before me has aroused such a desire in me to meet him. But I tell you this truly: I should like to see the writer of this verse."

God is Great! That Exponent of the Unity of the Godhead, one fleeting vision of whose beatific and noble countenance was an assurance sufficient unto all the futurity for blessings and redemption here expresses the wish to meet an idolatrous Arab. What was it that 'Antarah had said that evoked such appreciation from the Holy Prophet? The praise accorded to 'Antarah by the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) stemmed from the fact that 'Antarah's couplet epitomizes a healthy, wide-awake, and active life. The ordeals that a man has to suffer in the prosecution of an honest and clean life have been graphically condensed by the poet within the span of a couplet The Lord of the World (*Babe ant wa Ummi*), the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him), has praised the verse also for another reason which also derives from it namely, *artifact or art is not independent of but subservient to life*. Every kind of capacity that God has vouchsafed to us and all that has been endowed to us in the form of energy to the heart and the mind have as their ultimate end only one objective: that life should shine sun-like; that it should be full of energy and zeal; and therefore all art should subserve this cardinal rule. Every (object of the art) should be measured from the standard norm of how much of life-giving attributes it has. All that (art) that makes us lapse into slumber, ignoring the realities around us (life consists in overpowering) and blindfolding ourselves portends the message of decline and death. The poet should not turn himself into one of the lovers of China Baygam.

Sarah XXVI (*Al-Shura*, The Poets) from verse 224 if. distinguishes between the poets and the Prophets; the former say what they do not mean, while a prophet is one who practises what he preaches

الم تــــرأــــنهم في كــــل واد يهيمــــون ٢٢٥
وأنهم يقولون مــــالاً يفعلــــون ٢٢٦

الا الذين آمنو و عملو الصلّحت و ذكر والله كثيراً و انتصروا من بعد ما ظلموا و سيعلم
الذين ظلموا أى منقلبه ينقلبون

(As for poets, the erring follow them. Hast thou not seen how they stray in every valley, and how they say that which they do not? Save those who believe and do good works, and remember Allah much, and vindicate themselves after they have been wronged. Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they are overturned!)

This elaboration of the *Surah Al-Shu'ra* and the *Hadith* of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him) is interspersed all through Iqbal's latter-day poetry. The *Asrar* and the *Rumus*, for instance, celebrated for their attacks upon Khwajah Shams al-Din Hafiz Shirazi (later withdrawn in the light of the furore which arose) and Plato had, if only for that reason, become *causes celebres*. About Plato, for example, Iqbal says:

راهبِ دیرینه افلاطون حکیم
از گــــروه گوســــفندانِ قــــدیم
آنچنان افسونِ نا محسوسِ خورد
اعتبار از دست و چشم و گوش برد

(That ancient recluse, that philosopher we know as Plato, be-longed to the ancient tribe of the sheep.

He fed himself upon a spell that went unfelt, and made reliance upon the hands, eyes, and ears retire (into the limbo of oblivion)

Elsewhere also he cautions his compatriots to beware of being lulled into inertia by surrendering themselves to forces that generate it and which

slow down the quantum of the momentum of activity as in the following couplet which is ironic in its motif:

اسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترکِ جہاں کی تعلیم
جس نے مومن کو بنایا مہ و پرویں کا امیر

(And now we are told that the selfsame Qur'an which has made the *manmin* the master of the moon and the Pleiads directs us to renounce the world!)

It is indeed my belief that, considering the influence of the Qur'an and the *Hadith* on the poet, had he even wished to evolve some other kind of theory—bated on, say, hedonism, imagism, Stoicism and so on — it could not have been possible. His poetry cannot survive or sustain itself without the Qur'an and the *Hadith* which serve as the very foundations of the structure of his poetry. Nothing in Urdu poetry symbolizes this influence upon him so typically as his poem, *Taswir wa Mussawir*, which would repay a somewhat more detailed study.

تصویر

کہا تصویر نے تصویر گر سے نمائش ہے مری تیرے ہنر سے
و لیکن کس قدر نامنصفی ہے کہ تو پوشیدہ ہے میری نظر سے

مصور

گراں ہے چشمِ بینا دیدہ ور پر جہاں بینی سے کیا گذری شر پر
نظر سوز و غم و درد و تب و تاب تو اے نادان قناعت کر خبر پر

تصویر

خبر عقل و خرد کی ناتوانی نظر دل کی حیات جاودانی
نہیں ہے اس زمانے کی تگ و تاز سزاوارِ حدیث لتراتنی

مصور

تو ہے میرے کمالاتِ ہنر سے نہ ہو نوמיד اپنے نقشِ گر سے
مرے دیدار کی ہے اک یہی شرط کہ تو پنہاں نہ ہو اپنی خبر سے²⁵

The Portrait

(Said the portrait to its Painter: "My manifestation attests to Thine unbounded Skill.

"And yet what a violation of justice it is that Thou shouldst remain hid from my sight!)

The Painter

"(The vision endowed to those that observe find it oppressive. See for thyself how the spark burnt itself out when it saw the world! What aught is sight but sadness, gloom, feverishness, and self-torment: Rest, O thou ignorant of the mysteries), upon report."²⁶

The Portrait

(What aught is report but the impotence of ratiocination and wisdom? Vision is the eternal springtide of life.

²⁵ The *Armughan-i-Hijaz*, pp. 2 31-32.

²⁶ Iqbal has used the word, *khabar* (report), in a purely religious connotation in the sense of narration as implied in the Qur'an and the *Hadiith*.

The hustle and the bustle of the present age does not permit one to express oneself melodiously.

The Painter

Thou doth exist because of the Perfections of My Art. Do not, then, feel cast out in disappointment with Him that hath drawn thee.

I only put one condition if thou wishest to see me: Never disappear from thine own sight.)

This is one of the most perfect pieces of poetry in Urdu — something like the classical verse of Sophocles. The mature Iqbal has chiselled and hammered each word into its proper niche. The distinction between what is heard and is actually seen has been underlined in the *Surah Al-Ta'Ha* (ayah 58) and the Holy Prophet himself has said:

ليس الخبر وكا لمعاينه

("What is heard is never like what is actually seen").

It is quite possible, in fact, that this *hadith* might have set the train of Iqbal's thought in this direction.

Iqbal in this poem specifically alludes to the present age. He consolidates the doubts and the affirmatives of the age into a whole and then embarks on quest for the Infinite. But the Infinity he searches for lies within himself and this leads one to suspect that he too, in the end, had come to believe that monism and panentheism or adumbration (*wahdat al-shahud*) as Shah Waliy Allah had said much earlier, are only two different semantic approaches towards an identical object: deep down they both coalesce.²⁷ Similarly, the cleavage between wisdom (*Bu Labab*) and love or 'ishq (*Mustafa*) was at last brought down, and *danish* (wisdom) and ' *binish* (perception or vision) should work together for the uplift of man.²⁸

Let us now see how Iqbal's approach towards the ethical content of poetry fits in within the overall framework of other ethical theories

²⁷ This is rather elegantly and persuasively argued by Maykash Akbarabadi in his *Naqd-i-Iqbal*, Ainah-i-Adab, Lahore, 1970, pp. 299-305, 306-08.

²⁸ In the *Hadrat-i-Insan*, his last Urdu poem.

formulated about poetry. This is too elaborate a subject to be attempted here and I am only considering one particular theory. I here propose to outline the Infection Theory of Literature as developed by one of the most creative minds of the present age, "Tolstoy. In *Vision and Design*²⁹ he says:

Art becomes more or less infectious in consequence of three conditions:

- (i) In consequence of a greater or lesser peculiarity of the sensation conveyed.
- (ii) In consequence of a greater or lesser clearness of the transmission of this condition.
- (iii) In consequence of the sincerity of the artist, that is, of the greater or lesser force with which that artist himself experiences the sensation which he is conveying.

This theory is in contradiction to his early views expressed in his *What is Art?* There he had rejected Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe as these writers did not preach the union of people, with their appeals limited to cultured and aristocratic circles. I believe when I.A. Richards says that "special" experiences are not always palatable, such as the experiences of the dyspeptics, amateurs of psycho-analysis, fishermen, and golfers, he is rather stretching the analogy too far. Iqbal personally would have agreed with Tolstoy when the latter said: "The more the sensation to be conveyed is special, the more strongly does it act upon the receiver; the more special the condition of the mind is to which the reader is transferred, the more willingly and the more power-fully does he blend with it."

Iqbal would have conceded this approach, for an already *universalized experience* is at best an *apophthegm* and at worst a *nauseating and tiring platitude*. A *peculiar* or "special" experience has the *potentiality* of being *universalized*, the *individual* becoming a part of the cosmic flux. Considered from this viewpoint, Iqbal's contribution to the bearings of Urdu criticism through his poetry, let alone his prose works, remains unique and unrivalled. He echoes Tolstoy's Infection Theory when he says:

جس سے دلِ دریا متلاطم نہیں ہوتا

²⁹ This is partly based upon I.A. Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism*, pp.186-90.

اے قطرہ نیاں! وہ صدف کیا، وہ گہر کیا

(What good would, O Spring Drop, a pearl produced by thee be if it fails to generate storms in the heart of the ocean?)

This is a view not unlike Tolstoy's Theory of Infection Iqbal, unlike Dante and Shakespeare, on Tolstoy's earlier analogy, makes the grade, because in formulating his ideas about Pan-Islamism, he did try to bring about union between people separated from each other geographically, politically, and economically. For this reason his theory or approach (because he never meant it to be stated as a theory) becomes all the more important. Quite recently Professor Ahmad Ali (*Self into Action: An Examination of Iqbal's Philosophy*)³⁰ wrote that Iqbal attributed the decline of the Muslim Oecumene "to the loss of orthodox belief," and that: "It is the law of Nature that whatever has a rise must also have a fall; and destruction lies in the very nature of creation."

My personal impression about Iqbal is that he had a very sharp sense of history — indeed, one of the sharpest that a poet of this age has possessed. Among the major poets of this century, only T.S. Eliot besides him happened to have been a student of philosophy. He was aware of the flux which we know as history. He himself has said:

حکومت کا تو کیا رونا کہ وہ ایک عارضی شے تھی
نہیں دنیا کے آئینِ مسلم سے کوئی چارا

(Let alone complaints over the hegemony gone by! What else was it but a transient phenomenon? There is no escape from the inexorable laws of the universe).

Deep down, however, he felt life should be made worth living for all human beings — be they Muslims or the Coptic Christians of Ethiopia. Nor could it be said that his approach was utilitarian, for in the later morals become subject to prudence and ethical codes are merely the expression of the most general scheme of expediency to which an individual or a race has

³⁰ *The Sun*, Karachi, 1974.

attained. What he desired was that the individual as well as the people should not dissipate their energies. One does not cease to be a Muslim by living in the *Dar al-Harb* or by losing the reigns of governance. Moreover, a purely secular poet is a mere figment of the imagination; for his connotations belong to his particular religious heritage or to the civilization he represents. Iqbal had no panacea to offer nor any eirenicon apart from that which was offered by the Qur'an and the *Hadith*. What he believes to be the duty of poetry is that it should distil the individual experience in the light of the Qur'an and the *Hadith* to universalize that individual experience — in this case, his own experience. That even this approach should appear out of the way to some shows how far we stand dissociated from our back-ground, our past, and our real moorings.

IQBAL

Dr. Yahya Al-Khashshab.

Al-Abram of May 26, 1972, published an article on "Iqbal" by Dr. Yahya Al-Khashshab, the translation of which follows.

Iqbal is the most prolific among the contemporary Muslim poets. He composed his poetry in Urdu, Persian and English.

Iqbal is the most prominent personality in his country. There is an academy and a periodical in Pakistan both of which carry his name. Moreover, his death anniversary is regularly observed all over Pakistan. Tens of books and hundreds of articles are written on him by his fellow-countrymen and his private letters to his friends and followers have been compiled in the form of books.

Iqbal was the most cultured among the contemporary Muslim poets. He learned literature and Islamic subjects in Lahore and went to England to study law and philosophy. He obtained a doctorate from Germany and had contacts with Western intellectuals. They exchanged writings about each other. He learned a lot from his tours of the East and the West and is one of the mystics who talked of heaven's secrets.

Iqbal had dedicated his poetry and oratory to the awakening of the Indian Muslims because he felt that he himself had been awakened and that his duty, therefore, was to awaken others. He has also involved himself in politics, which was not his profession. He was the first politician who drew the attention of the Muslims to the necessity of establishing an independent Muslim state in India as a solution to the problems of the Muslim minority there.

Though he was a "Sufi", he strongly condemned "sufism" which put people to sleep whatever the "Imam" might be. For this reason, Iqbal unhesitatingly criticised the poems of Hafiz Al-Shirazi which is at the top of Persian mysticism. Iqbal wanted man not to be lost in his self and he should always try to lead a better life. If such a man creates for himself an ego, he would be worthy of being God's regent on earth. Iqbal also criticised the "Mullas" who gathered a following and traded with religion without trying to discover the needs of any nation which wants to lead a better and pure life.

To Iqbal, Jalaluddin Al-Rumi was a master. From him he knew love and intoxication in life as well as the secrets of both life and death. Iqbal saw Rumi in his dream and asked him to wake and work. It was this active and practical sufism which Iqbal admired.

As Rumi liked Shams Tabriz, Iqbal liked Rumi. From Rumi Iqbal got his inspiration.

Iqbal delved into the secrets of man's existence, his own self, another man's self, and, lastly, Allah's Light. He also discussed the "Ascension" and made himself go up with Rumi to the heavens. There he listened to the angels' hymns and met "Ztruwan", the god who was introduced by Ardshir in Persia before the advent of Islam. He had talks with him after which Iqbal and Rumi went to the Zodiac to meet "Wishvamitra", the Indian sage. The sage asked Iqbal about the world, man and god, and to this question Iqbal replied, "Man is a sword, God is a sword-player, and the world is the touchstone of the sword."

Later, Iqbal and Rumi had audience with Buddha. Zoroaster, Jesus and Muhammad. He read all the divine Scriptures and to him Buddha and Zoroaster were prophets.

Near Mercury, Iqbal and Rumi met with Jamaluddin Al-Afghani and Saeed Halim Pasha who were, to Rumi, the best two that the East had produced. From Afghani Iqbal listened to words condemning all forces of imperialism, and from Saeed Halim he knew what difference there was between East and West. Halim reaffirmed to Iqbal that man would never get his salvation unless he imbibes from the civilisation and culture of both East and West. Iqbal was convinced that Islam was a law, a social system and a culture. If the Muslims follow their true religion, they would certainly become "the best nation raised among all peoples "

Afghani went on to explain to Iqbal the Quranic picture of the world and how man has become God's regent on earth. Later, Afghani gave Iqbal a message and asked him to deliver it to the Russians. The message exposed the basic defects of communism.

Then Iqbal went to Venus and to Mars where he met a man and woman who talked like prophets.

In the heavens, Iqbal did not forget the Muslim woman; he talked of Hazrat Fatima and Aisha. Iqbal wanted all the women to follow the path of these two great ladies so that they would promote the Muslim family and society. The Muslim woman has to be an assistance to man, not a liability.

Then, Iqbal went to Jupiter where he met two "sufis", Al-Hallaj and Tahira, who were martyred for the sake of righteousness.

He had also a meeting with Ghaleb, the greatest of the poets of Delhi in the 19th century. Iqbal admired Ghaleb immensely.

Then, Iqbal and Rumi went to Saturn where he saw the souls of the criminals who betrayed the nation. The scene was terrible.

In the seventh heaven, Iqbal saw Nietzsche who tried to know God but failed because in this he depended only on reason.

Later, Iqbal and his companion visited Paradise where he found, among others, Sharafun Nisa, Waliullah Hamadani and Taher Ghani, Kashmir's poet. Ghani gave Iqbal a message asking him to deliver it to the League of Nations which "sold" the peasants, the harvests, the rivers and the gardens and even whole nations. In Paradise, Iqbal met Nadir Shah, who ruled Persia in the 18th century and invaded India, capturing Delhi.

Before leaving Paradise, the "Huris" asked Iqbal to recite before them some of his verses. This he did.

Iqbal was permitted to go near Allah and beseeched Him to inform him of the nations, and India in particular. Allah's Light showed Iqbal all that was hidden, but "it deprived me of my power of speech."

Iqbal, the "Sufi", wrote 9 books in Persian, 5 in Urdu and 2 in English. He had a big following among the Indian Muslims. Describing him as a politician, the Quaid-i-Azam said that to him he was a friend, a guide and a philosopher.

Explaining the reason why he involved himself in politics, Iqbal said that he did so when he realised that the attempt to apply Western democracy to the whole of India taking the status of Muslims as a minority into consideration would certainly affect the Muslim society which was bound by Islamic culture, traditions and beliefs, and make it impossible for this minority to co-exist with the majority in one nationalism. For the cause of man's belief and culture, one has to strive either to survive or to die. The belonging to land did not count in this respect and the basic dispute in India was not between the Indians and the British, but between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority.

It was Iqbal who first called for an Islamic state in India. This proposal was made by him when he presided over the annual session of the All-India Muslim League in Alahabad in 1930. He asked for the creation of an Islamic state of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. The idea was old and was

proposed at the Commons by John Bright in 1858. In 1883, Blunt also proposed that the northern Indian states should be placed under an Islamic government, and the southern states under an Indian government. Again, in 1907, two Turkish leaders, who were on a visit to India, frightened by fighting between the Hindus and Muslims, proposed that India should be divided into a Hindu India and a Muslim India. Later, there were so many such proposals, but Iqbal's suggestion was the first political suggestion of its kind which was made by an India Muslim. The proposal had created a sensational reaction at that time but it was not taken as a basis for the solution of problems except after 10 years during which time the name of "Pakistan" had never been spelt out either by Iqbal or by any other politician. The name of Pakistan was coined by Rahmat Ali in a memorandum he circulated in Cambridge under the title "Now or Never".

Iqbal, as a Sufi poet, is unique and has no parallel among the contemporary Muslim poets. Till now, his works are being studied. He belongs to a type which should always remain at the top ; he is second to none.

Iqbal's Persian poetry had been selected by Dr. Safa, professor of the Persian literature at the Tehran University to be kept by the Unesco among the best of world literary masterpieces. Iqbal's poetry is a match to those of Hali, Saadi and Rumi. His Urdu works occupy the highest place in that language.