Concept of Allama Iqbal's philosophy and influence of modern Bengali literature

Dr. Mohammad Abu Tayyub Khan

ABSTRACT

The concept of dynamism in Iqbal's Philosophy is closely related to scheme of Islam, dignity and responsibility of man. Iqbal the philosopher poet and modern interpreter of Islam gave supreme importance to the status, dignity and responsibilities of man and also influence of modern Bengali Literature. According to him man is the center of the universe. The scheme of Islam as provided by Al-Quran comborates it. The distinguished position of man in the universe, due to his status and responsibilities, has been declared through the divine announcements.

Iqbal is also not a philosopher of history in the technical sense of the term. He has not attempted at an explanation of the process of history as had been done by the Ibn Khaldun Kant, Harder, Hegel, Comte, Karl Marx and Toynbee, nor has he attempted to find out the meaning of history in a single principle and has established it as key to unlock the door of historical mystery. From his writings in various fields of disciplines, one can however gather his ideas about the trend of history. Through the views he held were not absolutely original and has been to a large extent influenced by this beliefs in the Quran and Islam, yet these can be studied apart from his inclinations to the teachings of the Quran and might be considered to have contributed new elements to the intellectual world. In fact he had

studied the Quran with an eye fully starched with all the lights of the sciences and philosophies of the modern era and his theory has taken a quite new shape. One can allafford to forget that he was as great as philosopher as a theologian.

IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY:

Wala Qad Karramna Bani Adama, i.e. Sons of Adam have been honoured. Indeed mankind is created in the best of moulds. They have been made His (God's) agents and inheritors on this planet. They have also been specially declared as His vice-gerents on the earth. For the purposes of enabling mankind to maintain their status and to develop them properly for qualifying themselves for the onerous task of vice-gerency, God not only taught Adam nature of all things but also directed the angels to admit the superiority of Adam. Men were not only placed by Him with authority on this earth but also were provided with the means for fulfillment of their lives. Man is repeatedly ensured: It is He (God) Who created for you (Mankind) all things that are on the earth.

Apart from declaration of authority of man on everything on this planet his right to control and utilize all species of creation in the universe as a whole is also declared: So Al-Quran makes mankind conscious: Do you not see that God has subjected to your (use) all things in the heavens and on earth, and He has Since in the scheme of Islam a man has been given a special place and made the center of the creation so the entire universe is designed for his purpose. Everything is subjected to them (mankind). To enable mankind to discharge their responsibilities as God's vice-gerents, they have been given, unlike to other species of creation, special faculty of rationality and quality of understanding things. God fashioned Adam (in due proportion) and breathed into him His spirit i.e. the faculty of God-like knowledge and will, which, if rightly used, would give man superiority over other creatures. Man, according to Al Quran, is endowed by God with the

Ouarterly Al- Tafseer Vol. 6 No.18-19 Allama Iqbal's philosophy.......

potentialities of doing good not only to himself but also to his fellow beings. He can score the highest degree of moral, material, and spiritual development.

RESPONSIBILITES:

In the context of the status of man, and in fitness of things, he has to be not only, conscious of his status but also of this responsibility and duty towards God, his fellow man and other species of creation. Since God has subjected the entire universe at the disposal of men so they are to establish control on nature and utilize its forces for the service of humanity. Man, therefore, has to be continuously active, mobile and dynamic to fulfill his mission. In fact, nothing in the whole universe is static. According to the law of nature each planet including the sun, other celestial bodies: the moon, they galaxy of stars swims along in its own orbit. 11 Even God Himself, after the creation of the universe, has been continuously on the move and working to fulfill His divine mission. Every day in (new) splendor doeth, He shine (Kulla Yaumin hua fi Shan). 12 God is still the directing Hand in all affairs. He does not sit a part, Careless of mankind or any of His creatures. His working shows new splendor every day, every hour and every moment. The commentators interpret Shan as Splendor, aim, work, business and momentous affairs. 13 In fact dynamism inn nature and human affairs is the exposition of God's own Fitrat.

MAN'S PARTICIPATION WITH THE SCHEME OF HIS CREATOR:

Man alone, according to Iqbal, is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Maker.¹⁴ He, in Asrar-i-Khudi, says that the process of creation is still now going on and man has to share the burden with the creator in that process.

Man has been declared, in the context of his status and responsibility, as an ever toiling one towards God, in other words, man has been made laborious. Over and above, man as God's vice-gerent should strive continuously to establish His rule on this earth. God Himself desires the co-operation and assistance of man as His helper to implement his plan of establishing His kingdom here. He directs man to be His helper: "Kunu Ansar Allah". Men should not forget that God made them heirs in the land to see as to how they behave. They have a challenging duty as His viceroy. The purpose of creation of (man) death and life, by Him is to test as to who is best in deed. So in the scheme of Islam itself role of man is inextricably connected with dynamism. Iqbal in Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, deals with it in a masterly way in the article. The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam.

IJTIHAD:

To accommodate dynamism in Islam the revelation with divine foresight, the basis of Al-Quran, makes it convenient to meet the exigency of time, without any obstruction of rigidity of Shariah. Over and above, Ijtihad is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam which ensures the mobility of Quranic law. The term 'Ijtihad' as an Islamic terminology signifies exertion to form and independent judgment on legal matters. Famous Hadith of the Prophet is another important basis, apart from Quranic provisions, on this issue Maadh bin Jabal, while going to Yeman as ruler, was questioned by the Prophet while the former was given a send off: "What would you do to solve problem?" the former replied: "I shall follow guidance of Al Quran." Being asked by the Prophet as to what he would do if there was no guideline there. He replied: "I shall follow the Sunnah of the Prophet." In case there is no guideline there to what he would do was the next question by the Prophet. Maadh replied that he would exert to form his own judgment (with an eye to the basic principles of Quran and Sunnah). The Prophet was happy and appreciated it most. Since the

days of the Prophet was happy and appreciated it most. Since the days of the Prophet Ijtihad has been playing a role as an important source of law with the passage of time and changing circumstance. Although for a short period of time Taqlid disturbed the continuity of Ijtihad, but in modern time Ijtihad has been playing its role again which ensures dynamism in Islam.

Muslim Ummah, having followed the teachings of Al Quran, durig the early period of their history rose to the pinnacle of gory, as the true representative of God. They scored unparalleled achievements in all spheres of life: individual, social, political, economic, national and international. They established Equality and Brotherhood of men, Human Dignity and even handed justice. In political sphere they, under the Sovereignty of God, established democracy (Islamic) and the best form of administration ever known to the world. In economic field they materialized the concepts of equitable distribution of wealth and exploitation free society. They also showed path to other nations in the fields of science and arts, culture and civilization.

Contribution of Islam towards the welfare of mankind, particularly to the renaissance movement of Europe is undisputed. M.N. Roy says: Learning form the Muslims, Europe became the leader of modern civilization. Even today here best sons are not ashamed of the past indebtedness.¹⁹

Thomas Carlyle, H.G. Wellls, H. Lammens, J. Chacht, Von Kremer, Bebel, George Bernard Shaw, Philip K. Hitti, Williamm Draper, Edward Gibbon, H.A.R. Gibb, Arnold Toynbee, James Henry Breasted, Chairs Waddy, Keith Callard, W.C. Smith, Michael H. Hart, Maurice Bucailee and other western scholars and historians unambiguously admitted the specialties of Islam and its contributions to world civilization. But unfortunately after the decadence of the Muslim Ummah, due to the departure from the teaching of Al Quran and due to impact of abstract Greek philosophy and mystic Suifism that encouraged renunciation of

material life, they were led to Rauhbaniyyat, inaction, lethargy, stagnation, inertia and ultimately to absolute surrender to fate. Iqbal was conditioned by the teachings of Islam. His great purposes were to emancipate the Muslims minds to remind them of their past glory, to inspire them to shake off their lethargy and to make them active.

Iqbal, in Armugan-i-Hidjaz, advises those who want to stand up in this world to attach their heart to God and to follow the path of Mustafa (Prophet Muhammad, PH). He warns the Muslim Ummah that they are captives in the traps of sol called Sufis and Mullas whose only advice is that the Muslims by reciting Sura Easin may die peacefully. He regrets that the Muslims do not take wise lesson (Hikmat) of Al Quran, rather they decorate their shelves with Al-Quran (without understanding and acting on it) as the Brahmins decorate their shelves with idols. He urged upon the Muslims Ummah to take life seriously. He disagreed with the maxim: Art for arts sake. He rather, advocated Art for life sake and interpreted Islam as the most dynamic system of life. He waged war against Fatalism. His slogan was to go back to Al-Quran. He addressed the Muslim Ummah:

Oh Jamane me Muazzas the Musalman ho Kar

Ab tom Khar hu-e Tarek-e Quran ho kar.

You had been commanding respect those days being Muslims Now having shun the (teaching of) al-Quran you are (mis guided and) disgraced.

He put great importance on ceaseless struggle and action to rehabilitate them to their original and ever-vigilant dynamic life. He told that the Muslims rose with Al Quran and sword but fell down with Table and Sitar. He was convinced that the Muslims could not survive except with Quran which provides a complete code of life and emphasizes action and dynamism. He prays:

Ya Rab dil-e Muslim Ko oh Jindah tamanna d-e

O God! Grant a burning desire to the Muslim's mind that warms the heart and stires the soul.

He directed them to read again the lesson of Truth, Justice and Gallantry which would entitle them to take again the leadership of the world.

(Sababk fer Parh Sadaqat K, Adalat Ka Sujwaat Ka Lia Jaiga tuj Se Kam Duniaki Imamat Ka)

He, in Bal-i-Jibril, inspired the moribund Muslims to strengthen their Khudi in the following terms.

Khudi Ko Kar Buland etna, Ke har takdirse pahl-e

Khoda Bandes-e Khod Paunch-e- Bata teri reja ka a hai"

Exalt Selfhood to such a height that before each dispensation God Himself would ask the servant as to what is his desire. Teaching of Al Quran is that: Man is the architect of his own fortune: Man achieves that for which he strives.²⁰ Allah does not change to condition of a nation unless they themselves change it.²¹ so Iqbal gave a clarion call to the Muslim Ummah to be the architect of its own destiny. He says:

A'mal se jindegi banti hai

Jannat bhi jahannam bhi

E-a Khaki Apni fitrat me Na nuri ha-i

Na Nari Ha-i

It is action that make life, Heaven and Hell too.

This man (made of earth) by nature is neither from light nor fire (originally)

He says in Asrar-e-Khudi: The Pith (essence) of life is contained in action. The delight in creation is the law of life.

"Arise and create a new world!

Wrap thyself in flames, be an

Ahraham!"

"If the world does not comply with his humour

He will try the hazard of war with heaven,

He will dig up the foundations of the Universe

And cast its atoms into a new mould

By his own strength he will produce

A new world which will do his pleasure".

He inspires:

He inspires:

Abide in Self, like Joseph

Advance, from captivity to Empire.

Iqbal not only emphasized continuous motion and ceaseless action but also directed the Ummah to be above conventional Islam. Since, dynamism is inherent in Quranic system of life itself so according to him decadent and conventional Islam in the absence of dynamism is itself a Jahiliyyat.

The Sun and the Moon are destined by the Creator to follow the same course and repeat it. But Iqbal emphasizes that man, unlike the sun, the moon and other species of creation, is endowed with Creative Power and he has to undertake ventures to achieve glories one after another. His journey is unending. He has no time for rest. He compares his Insan-e-Kamil (perfect man) with Shaheen (eagle), who continuously fillies without rest, since the high sky is before him.

"Tu Shaheen hai parwaz hai Kam tera Ter-e Samne Asman aur Bhi hai".²² Iqbal inspired the Muslims for non-stop and undaunted motion without caring the fate (destiny)²³

Muqaddar Ka Na Kar Parwa Don't care destiny (Fate)
Muqaddar ajma Ta-ja Go on testing destiny

Na dar Monjil Ke Duri S-e Don't fear the distance of the

destination

Kadam apna barha taja Go on advancing your

footsteps"

He further said.24

Don't seek the end of the journey, for you have no end;

As soon as you reach the end, you lose your Soul.

At every destination we are perfect and imperfect.

Not to reach the end is life;

Immortal life for us lies in constant traveling.

The whole world from the center of the earth to the moon is within our reach.

Time and Space are like dust in our Path.

He says in Payam-i-Mashriq that nature of man is averse to rest. He has no desire for goal, for him rest spells death. With the impatient eye and a hopeful heart he seeks for the end of that which is endless. In Asara-e-Khudi he emphasizes that 'desire' makes the blood of man run warm and by the lamp of desire this dust is enkindled. Life is occupied with conquest alone. Iqbal emphasizes the unlimited potentialities and greatness of man. In Bal-e-Jibril he is optimist that because of upward march of man, the starts tremble, in their course lest the fallen stars (man was once driven away from heaven) becomes perfect moon.

He encourages the self forgotten Muslim that he is a sword and he is to come out of the sheath, to pout off his veil and catch hold of the moon, the Sun and the Stars.

He warns those who ceased to be dynamic and says:

Those on move have gone a head

And those who waited a bit got crushed.

He, in Javid Nama, prefers an infidel awaked in heart before his idol to that of a believer sleeping in the mosque. He says in Asrare-Khudi: Life springs from perpetual movement. Motion constitutes the wave's whole existence.

He says: One wild wave passed by the shore

With great speed, 25

Told: I am alive the moment

I move;

When I don't

I am not.

The idea has been rendered in Bengali by poet Farrukh Ahmed

Durbar taranga ek bo-e gelo tir

Tibra b-e g-e,

Bal-e gelo: ami asi je muhurt-e

Ami gotiman,

Jakhan-I Harai goti sh-e muhurt-e

According to Iobal: Life is a perpetual motion. New goals and new victories are to achieved through continuous journey. In Bal-i-Jibril he says that movement gives colour and meaning to life. Motion is reality rest is an illusion. Every instant this universe is in flux. Life is changing at every intake of breath. For it is every in the quest of a new world. Whatever you see is restless with motion. In his poem 'Moon and Stars' (*in Bang-e-Dara), Iqbal says that everything in the Universe has been hanging on motion eternally, so he directed man to go ahead continuously since there is no scope for so called rest and peace. In Bal-e-Jibril also he emphasizes that the moon, the stars, the sky and all creatures in the ocean are on motion. In Asrar-e-Khudi he emphasizes that life is progressive and in a movement for adjustment, so all obstacles on the way of progress must be removed through aspiration. According to him life is preserved by purpose and violent desire which make one dynamic. Denial of desire amounts to death. Desire is to be kept alive in heart which is the soul of this world of hue and scent

Iqbal is of the view that tension is the essence of life. He welcomes danger to overcome it. He explains that he did not start for K'ba since there was no danger on the way. He advises the Muslims, in Payam-e-Mashriq, to be brave and face danger and difficulties. Iqbal directs not to consort with friends on the shore since there too flows softly the melody of life. He rather encourages to punge in the sea to fight with the dancing waves. He further says that even if one's effort, though achieved something rare, even though it were a sin, it would bring its own reward. The goal of dynamic philosophy of Iqbal is to emphasize the development of latent forces inherent in man so that his personality may be manifested for ultimate achievement of greatness as Khalifatullah on this planet.

His views on the processes of history can be gathered from three sources.

- His ideas about evolution/
- His ideas about politics.
- His ideas about the movement of Islam.

Evolution which has been accepted as a fact of Biology, has been the bone of contention since Darwin propounds it as a theory. Though Darwin did not dare to divest his theory of the activity of Godhead, he could hardly accommodate Him either in this theory which was out and out mechanical. Darwinism interpreted literally leaves no room for end or purpose and may safely be characterized as a reflex of Materialism in biological sphere. But in spite of all its achievements, it may be said to be a delineation of the order of evolutionary process the how of it but not its explanation or the why of it. Though the supporters of Darwin in later period tried to give an explanation of it with reference to a purpose, it was also out of joint with the main organism of the theory.

Darwin's main objective also did not permit him to go beyond the 'descent of Man'. He forgot that the Descent is not the final step in Evolution even if it were accepted as a principle. The Descent might have its own Ascent and the process might run on till eternity. His supporters particularly Herbert Spencer wanted to enlarge the concept of Evolution and began from the cosmic phase and drew it right upto the society. He tried to synthesize the findings of Laplace with that of Darwin. But so far as development is concerned, the categories used for explanation were almost the same and the end was envisaged to be more complexity. The process of Evolution according to them is a passage from homogeneity to be Reterogeneity from simplicity to complexity.

But the difficulty that appears in human level can hardly be solved in this way. At human level can hardly be solved in this way. At human level there emerge some phenomena which can only be understood through the concept or choice, initiative, enterprises which have no parallel in other fields of existence.

As a matter of fact, we find a marvelous progress of a particular people in science and technology, in arts and crafts, in literature and philosophy. How all these are t be interpreted? Why and how all these developments take place in nations (both in its secular and religious meanings)? Neither from Darwin nor from any other supporter of mechanical evolution can a satisfactory answer be found.

The attempt to explain the development of man his postdescent period had been made by Kant even before the contribution of Darwin started humanity. The keys were found in human psychology by Kant. As he had been a rationalist in philosophy in pursuance of his inclination towards it, he had set his theory as a directive in course of enquires into the historical processes.

As has already been pointed out, Kant found in human psychology two opposite traits which lead to the progress. One social and another anti-social

His successor Herder's contribution is, in a sense an improvement upon his. Herder not only takes the psychological characteristics into account but also takes notes of geographical and biological conditions.

It is evident therefore in the interpretation of history Kant accepted a heuristic people, the purpose, to which he was very much opposed in Metaphysics. Herder also relied on a hypothesis of an organizing force which drives all elements forward for the emergence of a spirit.

But he also does not specify the activity of the organizing force nor can he attributes any motive behind it.

Iqbal had very rightly taken up this task and had delineated the stages as well as the end of Evolution Though his conception of them clearly attributes full consciousness to Nature or to the organizing principle. Iqbal with the fullest conviction conceived this force to be self-conscious. Here he supports Aristotle in the

sense that for the production of thing four causes are needed of which the final cause is as important as the others are.

According to Iqbal the reality of the universe is an all powerful consciousness which is conscious of itself. This entity which he denotes by the name of self-consciousness of self (Khudi) is the Creator of the world."²⁷

"The central and the most fundamental attribute of this selfconsciousness or self of the world (of which full reflection is to be found only in human being who alone of all the creation has acquired self-consciousness) is to love ideal and to act and strive for its realization." ²⁸

"The universe is the result of the creative activity of the world-self and the ideal that the world-self is realizing through this activity is the perfect Man i.e. the perfect human society of the future." ¹⁹

It is of course very difficult to conceive of this process of evolution. For it is in a sense inverted Darwinism. According to Darwin, man appears at the last stage of evolution. Consequently his consciousness also appears at the last state. But here not only consciousness but a fully developed self-consciousness is accepted to be the root cause of evolution of which the emergence of man is supposed to be the end towards which the entire course of evolution is moving. Self-consciousness therefore is the beginning as well as the end of this process. The question naturally turns up: how can consciousness which is immaterial bring into existence matter which is diametrically opposed to it? Iqbal's answer to this question is: Matter as conceived in popular thought to be some thing hard, indestructible and standing on its own foot is not to be found anywhere. What it really means is that there is something which evokes under such and such conditions such and such sensations in us. The gulf between matter and mind has further been bridged by the recent researches of Sir Arthur Eddington, Sir James Jeans and the philosopher Whitehead, Eddington and Jeans have showed that there is ample evidence to prove that material

bodies or atoms have affinities which human mind and White head have shown that "Nature is not a static fact situated in a dynamic void but a structure of events possessing the character of a continuous creative flow which though outs up into isolated immobilities out of whose mutual relations arise the concepts of space and time.³⁰

If nature be a creative flow then there can be no difficulty for the creative consciousness to have it in existence out of his own will. In fact the stages through which evolution passes will speak for themselves the plausibility of their actuality in experience.

"The whole of the creative activity of the world-self which occurred in the past now belongs permanently to history and we have no means of reproducing it......But since the process of creation is still going on and a portion of this creative activity is stretched before our eyes into the present, we are eminently in position to study it and to understand its nature as a whole "The fact that the creative activity of the world-self in the universe has a single purpose, the perfection of man and this driving force is love. It has its concomitant of Hate since the creator loves everything that is favourable to his ideal. He hates everything the unfavourable to it. The result is that the driving force of evolution expresses at early level of creation in particular forms of attraction and repulsion which are suitable to that level. During the repulsion of the particulars of matter on account of which matter continued to develop in complication and organization till all the physical laws came into existence and matter became ripe for further production of the first living cell.....on reaching the biological stage the driving force of evolution expressed itself in the animal's instinctive attraction for everything that is favorable to its existence and repulsion from everything that is unfavorable to it. As the animal expressed its instincts of attraction and repulsion in its activities, its biological construction became more and more complicated and organized & its instinct too developed in number

& quality, till man, the most highly organized animal came into existence..... As living creatures strove to realize their

efforts or struggle brought the driving force of the desire of the world-self more and more into play with the result that they developed new characters and capacities needed by them for the realization of their ends and thus actualized a little more of the potentialities of life and came a step nearer to the final objective of evolution namely, the human form of life, with all its qualities and characteristics. It is by effort or struggle that birds have grown wings and learnt to fly or walk or sing and we, on our part have developed such complicated organs as the eyes, the ears, the hands, the teeth and the brain and such useful faculties as thought intelligence, imagination and memory. In man life has come to its own and regained its quality of self-consciousness with its fundamental attribute of love for a ideal i.e. an idea of the highest beauty and perfection, i.e. an idea which has all beautiful and admirable attributes that he can imagine and is free from all the defects and shortcomings that he can think of."32

"To say, that struggle is necessary for evolution means that life meets at every step, with some resistance which it has to overcome. This resistance comes in the way of life for life itself, it comes form the whole of life's past. The reason is that the tendencies of life are not only hormic but memic. Life not only strives for the realization of ends but also safeguards and preserves the ends it has already achieved."

"During the ideological stage of evolution is now going on, life is meeting resistance not only form the physical laws but also from the instinct which like physical laws it has itself developed for its own protection....The past of life at every distinct step of its ideological evolution includes not only the physical laws and the instincts in man & other species but also the ideals of all the ideological communities which had come into existence pervious to that step., Hence at this stage of evolution every ideological

community meets resistance not only form the physical laws and instincts but also form the objectives of all the contemporary ideological community. The struggle of an ideological community proceeds in accordance with a moral code which exists potentially in its ideal and becomes actualized gradually in the life of the community. In due course of time it becomes fixed, automatic and permanent and is known as the constitutional, the civil and military law of the community. At this stage, if the members of the community desire to change over to a higher ideal they have to struggle against this law in order to shatter its resistance. If they succeeded, the event is known as a Re3volutin otherwise, a Rebellion.

This is in nutshell iqual's theory of evolution. His idea of the struggle is here much in conformity with Lamarck's idea. Efforts and struggles are necessary in order to create new values. But whereas Lamarck confined it to Biological sphere. Iqual has extended this concept to Ideological sphere also.

But as we find here, the struggles are very man. In history we find so many struggles to record with awe and dismay. Clans fought against clans, tribes fought against tribes and nations fought against nations. The world has been termed as under by two global warfares which broke out in 1914 and 1939 respectively. If the tendency of the world soul is to produce perfect man who will be attracted towards the ideal through love all

that retards that progress must therefore be counted as evil and the foremost amongst them is the sense of nationality fostered during the uptodate period. As a matter of fact it has been noticed in history that sooner or later clans have to be merged into tribes and the tribes have to be amalgated in order to form nations. The basis of nationality which has been bolstered up in the recent and up-to-date periods has been found to be very obscure. It is neither race nor language, nor ethnic consideration evolved form all or any one of the factors which bind together a group of people for a pretty

long time and enable them to resist aggression from outsiders. This is really a negative aspect of the national spirit. But in its positive aspect. It glorifies its father land and finds a fair justification to exploit others in or there land. Nationalism based on geography had the worst effect on different nations and has been denounced by all right thinking man on humanitarian grounds. The principal opponent of geographical nationalism in our time is Bertrand Russell who has exposed both is recent growth and pernicious effects in unparalleled language.

Iqbal's own conception of geographical nationalism tallies with that of all the great humanitarians of our age. But his conception of Nationalism differs from other s in this that he believes in ideological nationalism which brings all the members of a people together. He give us a full account of the growth of Ideological nationalism. Soon after the revolutions were received by the Prophet (Salam) and Islam was preached, the Quraishites who were the kiths and kins of the Prophet rose against him and wanted to extirpate Islam from the Arabain Peninsula. The cause is known to all. The Prophet declared in unequivocal terms the abolition of priesthood and aristocracy which were the cornerstone of the Arabian life particularly of the Qurashites. They therefore could not brook the abolition of the principles they imbibed from their fathers. Islam preached the sovereignty of Alllah and the Vicegerencay of men. It abolishes distinctions of race, colur, geography and language and unites them on a platform of humanity.

The call of the Prophet (Sm.) though, resented by his own people was responded to by foreigners who joined either his rank and file or supported him indirectly. Bilal form the Negro land of Afrika and Salman form Fars accepted this ideological nationalism and joined the Prophet (Sm.) as his lieutenant; whereas Negius the first willingly housed the fugitive who migrated from Mecca as a result of persecution. So, Negius the ffirst may rightly be characterized as a member of the Muslim fraternity though he was not physically

Quarterly Al- Tafseer Vol. 6 No 18-19 Allama Iqbal's philosophy......
converted, while even the uncle of the prophet, the affectionate
Abu Talib cannot be ranked as a member of the Muslim fraternity.

To Iqbal therefore the world process and with it the process of history in moving towards the production of Insan-e-Kamil wh will have fraternity amongst themselves and who will have federation of states build on ideological nationalism. But this is now thwarted by the obnoxious growth and rise of geographical nationalism which according to Iqbal's conception of Evolution was once a step forward for fostering a sense of homogeneity amongst the members belonging to it. So in order to have that advance every nation has to outgrow this limitation and move forward towards higher stage.

As a consequence the ideas of modern nationalism which are by themselves pernicious have been imbibed by the Muslim only to drag themselves downward-towards a lower stage. Iqbal has condemned this evil spirit of the age in clear language. His language sounds like the notes of a lament. "Is this going to be the end of all this progress and evolution of civilization, they ask, the man destroy one another in mutual hatred and make human habitation impossible on this earth. Remember, man can be maintained on this earth only be honouring mankind and this world will remain a battle ground of ferocious beasts of prey unless and until the educational forces of the whole world are directed to inculcating in man respect for mankind. Only one unity is dependable and that unity is the brother hood of man which is above race, nationality, colour or language. So long as this so called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world, is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour and geographical nationalities are not wiped out and the beautiful ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialsies."15

'Not only the deadly spirit of geographical Nationalism but also the respect for so-called Democracy is a cause of the retardation of the progress of the universe towards its highest goal. Democracy which is so much extolled in modern times without regard to the highest values of life, is nothing but a counting of heads which are more inclined to acquire something for their own personal ends, or for the sake of their won nations. Democracy divested higher values means to Iqbal as step no better than a blind and mechanical counting of heads and political wisdom and justice are not to become more function of a numerical majority."

There are other grounds from which modern Democracy may be assailed. Lasky has very nicely criticized the sovereignty of numbers which couple with the sovereignty of wealth leads to a contradiction. Even from a purely secular and non-ideological view, modern Democracy is full of so many contradictions of which the one referred to above is the most damaging. On the one side in democratic atmosphere every body is free to cherish his own views on any political creed, he is also free to cast his vote in favour of any person he likes. But in practical life where even in so-called democratic countries, people are divided into the rich and the poor and in some extreme cases into the 'haves' and 'havenots, poor So, democracy, divested as it is now of all higher values of life, is not a progess towards the highest good which Iqbal conceived to be the final stage in human evolution. As a deduction from this view, we have the further consequence of exploitation of men by men, of nation by nation and of country by country.

The value of Democracy as evolved against autocracy and despotic rule during the French Revolution are then some of the aobastacles or to use Iqbal's own expression resistances to further progress.

The resistance thus far mentioned are more clear in Iqbal's estimation of the movement of Islam within its own structure. As is well-known Iqbal conceives ultimate Reality to be the spiritual

basis of all life. It is to him "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal

principals to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothood in the world of perpetual changed. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of changed which according to the Quran, is one of the greatest signs of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of Europe in political and social science illustrates the former principle, the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years illustrates the latter. What then is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam? This is known as Ijtihad."³⁷

Though he has taken Ijtihad to be the source of movement in Islam he is inclined to accept it as a complete authority in legislation which is practically confined to the founders of the schools. Here he exposes the faults of the extremists in a very crucial manner. Islam has been interpreted and practised in different periods of history in a different way for no other reason than the extremist views which the Muslims held with regards to the static and dynamic attitude in Islam.

"Conservative thinkers like later Rationalists and the Sufis wanted to make the structure of their legal system as rigorous as possible." Whereas the Turkish people in our times are trying to separate the church from the state by all means. The rise of the Tarks in an indication of the awakening of the Muslims in one part of the world from their slumber. Iqbal heartily welcomes this liberal movement in Islam but he also finds a danger in it. For liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration, and the ideas which have evolved among the Turks, of nationalism and race may tend to disintegrate the Muslims as had been done earlier by Reformation amongst the Christians. The question which is most important in this connection is whether the laws of Islam are

capable of further evolution? It is a fact of history that, the Muslim has always adjusted his religious outlook to the elements of culture which he assimilated from the people that surrounded him. From 300 to 1100, says Horton, not less than one hundred systems of theorology appeared in Islam, a fact which bears ample testimony to the elasticity of Islamic thought as well as the ceaseless activity of our early thinkers. Turning now to the ground work of legal principals in the Quran, it is perfectly clear that far from leaving no scope for human thought and legislative activity the intensive breadth of these principles virtually acts as an awakener of human thought"39. So in his opinion- "the teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problem."+0. Here also Iqbal's views of the movement of Islam is in line with his idea of evolution. As in each successive stages there are two forces which either lead to progress or retard it, similarly in the progress of development of Islam there are opposing forces-one that leads to progress and the retards it. Here the values evolved in the Ouran is the basis and the values which have further evolved in this world and require implementation are progressive elements. But the die-hard opposition to it by the most conservative elements are the retarding forces. As there can be no evolution simply by change, so there cannot be any evolution in Islam if there were no nucleus from which the development must start. The concept of development in this evolution, as in biology, is the fullest realization of the inner potentialities of men as individuals with a sense individuals and to create a society of free individuals who will be bound together with

a sense of love and fraternity with each other and there will be a confederation of states without any sense of separation from and animosity with each other.

As he was an optimist he belived that thought it has not been realized in the past due to the bifurcation of man's nature into political and religious in Europe, it is sure to be realized by the Muslimjs in future. As a criticism of Iqbal's views on the process of history two points may be raised. (1)- Whether the trend of evolution is really the production of perfect man or Insan-i-Kamil? (2)- Wheather the values evolved in the Ouran are really eternal in character? The trend of evolution as we have indicated above, shows a tendency towards that. The descent of man as propounded by Darwin is really the ascent of an animal fully equipped with an apparatus of body which may with successive tails and errors unravel the mysteries of the universe and also be a master of it. The progress of humanity from the life in the cave to sputnik age is a clear indication of the truth of this theory. This is also a postulate of all the sciences. It its accepted as a postulate that man is after all the only animal, who can determine his position along with others in a universe which is full of so many beings. It is he and alone who can command Nature to obey him. To him alone Nature reveals all her secrets. Without this postulate not a single step in science and philosophy is possible. As to the second point doubt has been expressed in many Quarters as to the eternal principles of Islam. Even a disinterested political thinker like late M.N. Roy has indirectly cast a shadow of doubt on it. In the 'Historical role of Islam,' he has brought forward the contributions of Islam during the dark mediaeval period but has not given us only hope about Islam's future achievements. That indirectly means that the values of Islam have long been outmoded in the present context and that any progress in the up-date period is not possible in and through the values of Islam. Equality of woman, abolition of different strata of society, share of each in the production of the state and also contribution according to capacity to it are also supposed to be the newest values which have evolved and are also supposed to have superseded the Islamic ones.

One thing which may be pointed out in this connection is that these acutest minds never identified Islam with the Muslims. The forget

that Islam had a history which should be differentiated from as a principle of life. Though after the mediaeval period Muslims have ceased to be the pioneers in any walk of life. Islam as a force comprised of so many lofty ideals still works forcefully. The rise of so many sects after the revolt of Imam Ibn Taymia testifies to the vitality of Islam. Moreover the values that Islam have set up had been wrongly interpreted in the past due either to the conservatism or over liberalism as pointed out before.

Interpreted in the light of the modern world Islamic values are synthetic in character and are based on the fundamental nature of man which demands satisfaction in all its sphere. Modern values are either found to be dehumanizing or despiritualising man. For example Freud in his psychological interpretation has used some concepts which give a direct lie to all higher values. Socialism on the other hand is laying great emphasis on the economic equality of man has conceived him to be divested of any sense of spiritual values such love, generosity, feeling of kinship etc.

As a matter of fact however, it is found that man is a combination of an unlimited number of propensities which require co-ordination and synthesis which reference to an ideal which is to be achieved. Without this attracting force of this ideal thee would have been chaos and disorder in a man's life. Similar is the case of nations. They have been guided by one-sided propensity and the history of civilization may very successfully be interpreted economically as well as psychologically. The ancient world was ruled by power which is supposed by Adler to be the supreme moving force in man. Since Renaissance there was a tendency to extol the freedom of the individual which culminated in French Revolution. The Revolution in Russia in 1917 has ushered in a new era of thought and has demanded equality in the share of production which is quite natural in us the gregorians animal. The votaries of different creeds have forgotten altogether that besides these propensities there are other equally important phases in man's life which require satisfaction. These also require fullest co-ordination in

order to enable man to lead a harmonious life. The existence and activity of the ideals also cannot be gained. The ideals are sometimes misinterpreted. Sometimes physical pleasure, sometimes physical torture are counted to be the ideals which lead men from one contradiction to the other. Unless the ideals be comprehensive there will be one experiment after another without leading to al good result.

History therefore, to Iqbal has made experiments after experiments and has not been able to achieve anything substantial. What it requires is the keen insight into evervitalising force working within men and driving him on towards the realization of his fulles nature which alone can set right the order which has been topsy-turvied by the false gods.

INFLUENCE OF IQBAL ON BEGALI LITERATURE

The influence of a poet of one language on the poetry of another language, especially when from the points of view of sense, feeling, tone and intention these two languages are different from one another? The words that a poet uses to present to his hearers or readers some items for consideration are words with the tradition and inheritance of his language. Therefore, the thoughts that the poet expects to excite in his hearers, are the peculiar thoughts compatible with the tradition of his language. Secondly, the poet uses language to express his individual feelings about these items for consideration. Therefore, in his use of words always, there is definitely an acute individuality not common in other poets. His special sensibility expressing his nuance of interest through the personal use of words makes him different from other poets even of the same language. Thirdly, if we judge a poet in relation to his hearers or readers. We find that this relation varies as his audiences vary, and therefore the poet changes his tone of utterance with the variation of audience 'in deliberate consequence of his relation to them⁴¹

This subtle change in tone cannot successfully be transferred to another language. Unless this change in tone reflecting his relation to those he is addressing is transferred, with all its subtleties to another language which wants to imbibe the tradition of the poet. The influence cannot be assessed. The tone of the poet reflecting his relation to those he is addressing, grows and develops within certain social and cultural traditions which are untransferable, and because of this, true poetry defies translation and transformation. When we speak of influence, we speak of the thought- content and its transference also, but we speak more of words, images and the poetic

pattern. Thought-content should not be isolated from the poetic pattern, it should be correlated to it. Words in a poem 'take their significance from their context, through juxtaposition to other terms with which they are equated, contrasted, correlated, or combined 12 These words with their sense perceptions sound and rhythm form the poetic pattern. Finally, there is the intention. In judging a poem, we should always consider the effect the poet is endea vouring to promote. The purpose for which he speaks, modifies his speech. This purpose varies according to the change and variation and social conditions and national attitudes. Our first business is to apprehend his meaning, we must first of all know what he is trying to do and then we can estimate the measure of his success. Now, so far as influence is concerned, with reference to intention, it is very difficult to assess unless the purpose of the poet is no more than to state his thoughts in clear, simple terms. As for example. Hali's 'Mossddas'. Here the thoughts matter most, and not the poetic-pattern. Hali uses the most general words, because his emotion is never particular, to use a phrase of T.S. Eliot used with reference to Swin-burne, his emotion 'is never in direct line of vision, never focused; it is emotion reinforced, not by intensification, but by expansion' 43

Whenever we talk about the influence of iqual on Modern Bengali poetry, we talk about this influence in the most general terms referring it to the ideas and the philosophy of the poet. I shall

come to this type of influence later on Let us first of all think of this influence with reference to the poetic-pattern. Ire-ferred to above certain difficulties in assessing such an influence. It will be evident from my argument that poetry, as poetry, can only be judged from the points of view of sense, feeling, tone and intention, and not of thoughts only. This extreme reliance on thoughts expressed in a poem may sometimes lead us to wrong conclusions. I shall cite an example. Hafiz was rendered into Bengali verse by Krishna Chandra Majumdar, a Bengali poet of the late nineteenth century, in the traditional quantitative 'payar'** with the fixed caesura, resulting in an unhappy monotony. Words and images used by the poet were in line with the accepted tradition of Bengali verse. As a result, when we read Krishna Chandra Majumdar's "Sadvaba Sataka". We do not read anything new, we only get an additional book in the set-pattern. Krishna Chandra Majumdar was content to take the Bengali Language as he found it without quite knowing what was happing. He had not the vision and resource to make a new form, similar in effect to that of the original. He was not convincing in making the Persian poet's world his own. The original poet's attitude of mind did not pass through his words, that was because he could not understand the sense, feeling, tone and intention of Hafiz. Something correspondingly new was not made to happen. He only added a new book in he already existing stock without giving a new effect.

Similar disturbing examples were repeated in the case of iqbal also. His 'Shikwah' is written in a style which I perfectly adequate to his experience, it is an instrument of extra-ordinary delicacy in revealing his emotional states. But some of our Bengali poets. Without a proper understanding of this style, translated the words of 'Shikwah' in Bengali rigidly following the metrical pattern of the original poem, and created some colorless and inexpressive Bengali poems. Bengali Poetry is remarkable for the richness and variety of its vocabulary, whereas Urdu poetry has a conventional

vocabulary like Persian poetry, and in 'Shikwah' especially, there is often simply bare statement. But the simple conventional words of 'Shikwah' seem somehow to penetrate into the furthest layers of he mind. In Bengali, only Ashraf Ali Khan achieved a remarkable success in rendering 'Shikwah' ⁴⁵ in Bengali verse. Ashraf Ali Khan actually wrote a poem of his own by following the contours of the original poem. In him we get a rendering with out deformation of something which he had clearly apprehended and seized in his mind. The success of Ashraf Ali Khan is partly due to the following facts: 44 When Nazrul Islam was extremely popular in Bengali with the younger generation for his revolt against traditional values, Ashraf Ali Khan translated "Shikwah" in Bengali. He found an echo of revolt against established practices in Iqbal. The initial popularity of Iqbal in Bengal was due to an apparent parallelism of his ideas with Nazrul Islam. Igbal brought to the people of Bengal a sense of restlessness and questioning. In his 'Kankal' or 'Skeleton' Ashraf Ali Khan was greatly influenced by Iqbal in the sense that Iqbal gave him courage to question the highest authority, and the power to appreciate conflict and turbulence. In his translation of 'Shikwah' Ashraf Ali Khan created a new poem of his own in the Bengali syllabic metre but with significant variations in line with the contour of the original poem.

Other translators of Iqbal's 'Shikwah' who came after Ashraf Ali Khan were moved by Iqbal's religiosity, piety and philosophic magnificence. As a result they created something, not in line with the tradition of Bengali poetry, in an extravagant tedious monotony. Dr.Shahidullah's translation can be cited as an example. There is no accumulation of sense-perceptions, no richness in vocabulary but only a matter of-fact and word for word rendering of Iqbal. Nothing correspondingly new was made to happen. There is pedagogy in his translation but no reorientation. Be sides Mohd. Shahidullah, other translators of 'Shikwah' are Moh Sultan, Aminddin Ahmed and Mizanur Rahman.

Another reason for the popularity of Iqbal in Bengal was political. We gave him spiritual and political leadership when he clearly stated that Indian Muslims were different from the Hindus ethnologically, culturally and above all from the point of view of aspirations. In his presidential address to the Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930, Iqbal narrated his scheme for the solution of the political deadlock on the sub-continent of India. He said.

"Man" 47, says Renan, 'is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is call a nation'. Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teachings of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various cast-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individuals in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation f the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the people of India are not prepared to pay. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage."

Iqbal's ideas ultimately gave rise to the Pakistan movement, and in Bengal it gave rise to a significant literary movement. After the adoption of the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League in 1940, Muslim poets and writers of Bengal, specially of Calcutta and Dacca met at two conferences and resolved to create a new Bengali literature compatible with Islam ideology but deeply rooted in the soil. In poetry three trends were evidenced, firstly, the trend f Islamic history, secondly, Islamic faith, truth and conviction; and thirdly, the unsophisticated fold-tradition of rural Bengal Iqbal's

influence was noticeable in the first two trends. Here the influence was strongly ideological and not technical, that is, Iqbal's influence had nothing to do with the sense, tone and feeling in Bengali poetry, it was matter as distinct from the poetic pattern. And therefore, not an influence on poetry as such, as on the minds of the poets. It did not matter much because the poets of Bengal felt that the time had come when they should concentrate on directness without a shadow of deflection, on what the poem points at and on what the poet is saying and not on how he says it.

It is true that there was Islamic ideology in Bengali poetry in the Middle ages, but Iqbal's influence brought about a change in approach. Syed Sultan, the sixteenth century poet threw light on Islamic theology in his 'Jnan-Choutisha, '+8 The seventeenth century poet, Alaol was an authority of Sufism, the evidence of which can significantly be found in his translation of "Tohfa" 19 The eighteenth century poet Ali Raza had demonstrated a very deep insight into the spiritual aspect of life. In other words, the germination of Islamic philosophy and its development had taken place in Bengali poetry much earlier. But it look as if there was some amount of coarseness about it. In these early treatments, religion had been the regulator of life in crude form, but no connection had been maintained with emotions and feelings of ordinary life. Of course, there is no indication of self -analysis or emotional expression of heart in pre-nin-teenth century Bengali poetry.

Its literary value lies in the greatness of story or sometimes in the devotion to natural phenomena, material embodiment of gods, or God Himself. Whatever it mightbe, we find limitless use of Islamic history as material for poetry in the literary luminaries of the nineteenth century and of the following period, such as Mir Musharraf Hussain, Muzammel Huq, Kaikobad and Ismail Hussian Shirazi. There is an evidence of their acquaintance with history in their writings. What appears to be wanting understands of history and appreciation of the values thereof. It was left to Nazrul Islam,

as a much later period, to prove that this history of Islam was not only the background or material for poetry, but also the nursery of feelings, the nerve-centre of beauty and the dream and realization of life. But in Nazrull Islam's poetry, there was something which appeared to be missing, and that was 'Towhid' and reflection of Islamic beauty and conviction. There is a vivid picture of agony born of misery and there are fiery notes of revolt, but for want of self-analysis there has not been

determined and antidote for the sense of wretchedness and frustration. Iqbal has painted the picture of lethargy and disappointment of the Muslims in a very able manner, and for this state of downfall and stagnation, his feelings are very profound. The indication of the rout that we find in 'Jawab-e-Shikwah' gives the proof of his deep appreciation of eternal struggle of Islamic values. He has asked every Muslim to hold fast to the eternal truth of Islam and to the never-failing life-giving Sayings of the Holy Quran. Thus he has said in one place: 'In time of crises in their History it is not Muslims that save Islam, on the contrary, it is Islam that save Muslims.''⁵⁰

Of course, one should bear in mind that, to Iqbal, the meaning of Islam is not the submission of a dying heart, but mental vigour, justice and devotion all at once. This vigorous emotion of Iqbal stirred the minds of young Muslims violently. Indication of this stir is first visible in the literary field in 1942-43. Those who were ridiculed by Kazi Abdul Wadud as 'Self-determination-Group; made their appearance though tow literary societies of this time. 'Purba Pakistan Renaissance Society' and Purba Pakistan Sahitya Sansad' attempted to point to new directions for Muslims literary ventures. Farrukh Ahmad came to the political arena about this time. Farrukh Ahmad tried to follow closely the ideals of Iqbal. To him, the most valuable thing is the Islam of the early period. Perhaps to-day there is antagonism between confusion and environment on the one hand and the poet on the other, but in the path of faith and realization there was much enthusiasm and peace

in those pioneering days. The Royal Arch of Hera was his aim. To reach this Arch, there is the necessity of establishing universal Islamic fraternity, Islamic State and social framework and above all Caliphate.

But there are others who have not conflict in their minds, they accept, as the quiet-of-mind listener accepts the fable of a short story or a novel, the religious or the ethical idea expressed in a poem. For them there is no challenge, no confusion, no symbolism. Words to them seem to convey the meaning and the meaning is the meaning of words only. That is, for them there is not the sensuous and aesthetic continuum which 'connects poetry with music and painting'. They have philosophic and religious argument. They say that it is not important to know whether poetry organizes a pattern of words through the sequence of image, metaphor, symbol and myth, but it is important to know what the poet says. Specially in a poet like Iqbal, one should be moved by his philosophy and religious ardour. Ghulm Mustafa may be considered the leader of this group. There are others in this field, such as A.F.M. Abdul Huq, Kazi Akram Hussain and Syed Adul Mannan. In their renderings of Iqbal we do not get projections of the poet's senseimpression, but only literal reproductions. Of course, it is extremely difficult to achieve an intimacy with the experiencing self of Iqbal. Therefore, these poets are more interested in objective reality. But gradually the limits of investigation will be greatly extended, and, let us hope, that a time will come when there will be, not a mere comprehension, but a full realization of Iqbal's experience.

References

- 1. Al Quarent Benti-Isree-il, 70
- 2. AL Quran Tin 4
- 3. Al Queran, Aniam, 165
- 4. Al Queran, Bagara 30
- 5. Al Queran, Bagara, 40
- 6. Al Quecan A'raf. 10
- 7. Al Quran, Bagara 29
- 8. Al Quran Loquan 20
- 9. AL Queron, Nahl, 10 16
- 10. Al Quean a) AL-Hip 29
- Al Quran a)Ya'aseen 40
 Al Anbiya, 33
- 12. Al Quran, Rahman 33
- 13. Abdullah Yousuf Ali, The Holly Quran Vol. II Commentry, p. 5194, 1476
- Sir Muhamad Iqbal, Th Reconstruction of Religious Though in Islam, Published by Javid Iqbal, son of Sir Iqbal, Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, p. 72.
- 15. Al Quran hishqaq 6
- 16. AL Quran Saaf, 14
- 17. Al Quran Younus, 14
- 18. Al Quran, Midk 2
- 19. M N Roy, The Historical Role of Islam Vora & Co.
- 20. Al Quaran Norm, 39.
- 21. Al Quran Ra'ad, 11.
- 22. Allam Iqbal Sangsad Partika Published by Abdul Waheed Dhaka, p. 131.
- 23. Ibid p. 131
- 24. Ibid p. 132.
- 25. Allam Iqbal Sangsad Partika Published by Abdul Waheed Dhaka, p. 132.
- 26. Bid p. 131
- 27. Ibid p. 132.
- M Raffuddin Iqbal's Concept of Evolution Iqbal Review April, 1960, p.
 20
- 29. Ibid p. 132.
- M Reffueldin Iqbal's Concept of Evolution Iqbal Review April, 1960, p.
- M Raffuddin Iqbal's Concept of Evolution Iqbal Review April, 1960, p.
- 32. Ibid p. 132.
- M Raffuddin Iqbal's Concept of Evolution Iqbal Review April, 1960, p.

- 34. Ibid p. 21.
- 35. Iqbal Where Civilisation quoted from Iqbal Review April, 1960.
- 36. Iqbal as a thinker progressive Trends in Iqbal's thought -K G. Saiyiadain P. 89.
- 38. Igbal Reconstruction. p. 150
- 39. Ibid, p.p. 163-168
- 40. Ibid, p. 168.
- Syed Ali Ahsan, Essay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 40.
- Syed Ali Ahsan Essay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 40.
- Syed Ali Ahsan Wisay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Review Department of Bengali, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 40.
- Syed Ali Ahson, Essay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 40.
- Syed Ali Ahsan, Essay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 43.
- 46. Ibid, p 44.
- Syed Ali Ahsan, Wissay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 45.
- 48. Syed Ali Ahsan, Wissay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 45.
- 49. Ibid, p. 47
- Syed Ali Ahsan, Essay on Bengali Literature, Bengali Literary Society, University of Karachi, 1960, p. 48.