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There can be no doubt that if in provinces where the educational progress of the Muhammadan community is impeded by religious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as will induce that community to send its children to ordinary schools, the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency and much will be done to free the community from the handicap and the reproach of educational backwardness.

We are fully aware that such arrangements are not easy to make and that in other countries they have given rise to
much controversy.... But in our opinion the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans (pp. 204-05).
...If therefore special arrangements inside the public system were made now, and possibly for some time to come, to enable the Muhammadan community to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles. We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible. As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves, but since, in our belief they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Muhammadan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor changes afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy. (p.206)










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The Emergence of Life - Being a Treatise of Mathematical Philosophy and Symbolic Logic by Which New Theory of Space and Time is Evolved.
John Butler Burke
[Excerpt]
Whether indeed such an apparently fantastic notion, at any
rate, to the scientific mind, as to the resurrection of the body, the most wonderful and I should say, almost incredible mystery of theological teaching, one of the most outstanding tenets of the Christian faith insisted upon by St. Paul and firmly held even to this day by some of the most earnest and devout scholars of our time, would ever admit of a scientific explanation, seems to me in the light of this consideration to be not altogether eliminated from the class of possible and rational reliefs. Absurd as it may seem, to take an extreme case, as that tile atoms that compose the body of a person who had been shattered to smithereens by an explosion in the trenches, would by any possibility ever recombine, except what would truly be called a miracle, there is nothing in the light of these reflections, to hinder the monads from adopting the right "time and tune" that would enable it once more to respond to one and all of tile monads that had served as the chamber of its material environment.




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To Sir Francis Younghusband

[Excerpt]

...A great many of us here, including myself, believe that England is capable of leading humanity in that direction. The tremendous common sense of her people, her political wisdom based on a sound knowledge of human nature, the calmness and dignity of her people, her moral superiority over others in many essential respects, her wonderful control of the material forces at her command, the many humanitarian movements which are in existence in the country today and the general discipline which one observes in every department of British life are all facts which no outside observer can fail to recognise. It is the harmonious combination of these qualities of character in the British race which has been the cause of its ascendency in the world.

I am looking forward to the day when the disputes between England and India will be settled and the two countries will begin to work together not only for their mutual benefit but for the great good of mankind.

There is no need for pessimism on either side. There are people who seem to be overwhelmed by the strength and apparent universality of the bad feelings which exist between the two countries today. I am not one of them.

In my judgement they are normal and inevitable accompaniment of an age of readjustment and will pass away without irremediable disaster to anybody, if we keep our heads and our sense of humour and have the self-control to resist the appeal to hatred or pride, violence or intolerance to which they are always trying to allure us.

The periods of readjustment are the common-places of history. They have been going on ever since time began. The history of Europe deals with little
else. And readjustment is no less inevitable between the East and the West though the transition there has naturally taken longer to work out.

It is no doubt true that we in this country need readjustment between ourselves. We cannot look forward to international peace unless and until our own house is set in order and we learn to live in harmony with one another... While realising the seriousness and importance of the Hindu-Muslim problem, with which this country is confronted today, and the practical difficulties involved in finding a satisfactory solution of it, I cannot allow myself to believe, as many people unfortunately do both here and in England, that all human efforts directed to uniting the two communities are doomed to failure.

I am not ashamed to say that in solving this problem we may need the assistance of Britain guided by the best of motives.

Any attempt on the part of Great Britain at the next Round Table Conference to take an undue advantage of communal split will ultimately prove disastrous to both countries. If you transfer political authority to the Hindu and keep him in power for any material benefit to Great Britain, you will drive the Indian Muslim to use the same weapon against the Swaraj or Anglo-Swaraj Government as Gandhi did against the British Government.

Moreover, it may result in the whole of Muslim Asia being driven into the lap of Russian communism which would serve as a coup de grace to British supremacy in the East.

I do not myself believe that the Russians are by nature an irreligious people. On the contrary, I think that they are men and women of strong religious tendencies and the present negative state of Russian mind will not last indefinitely, for no system of society can rest on an atheistic basis. As soon as things settle down in that country and its people have time to think calmly, they will be forced to find a positive foundation for their system.

Since Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam, I should not be surprised if, in the course of time, either Islam would devour Russia or Russia Islam. The result will depend, I think, to a considerable extent on the position which is given to the Indian Muslims under the new constitution... I shall have no objection to be ruled by the Hindu if he has the tact and the ability to govern, but I cannot worship two gods. It must be either him alone or the British alone, but not the two together.
...I imagine that some people would say: "It is all very well to indulge in such pious hopes but look at the continual quarrelling and disturbance, at non-cooperation and civil disobedience, at the repression of the British authorities, at the terrorism by the extremists in Bengal and at the Cawnpore riots." Well, what do you expect? Democracy means rows. If anybody thinks that approach to democracy means sailing into a kind of lotus land, he cannot have read a word of history. The truth is exactly the opposite.

Democracy lets loose all sorts of aspirations and grievances which were suppressed or unrealised under autocracy; it arouses hopes and ambitions often quite unpractical and it relies not on authority but on argument or controversy from the platform, in the Press, in Parliament, gradually to educate people to the acceptance of a solution which may not be ideal but which is the only practical one in the circumstances of the time... We certainly have had the growing pains of democracy, but I do not think that there is a person in England or here who will not agree that as a result everybody in India and Britain alike understands what the real problems of Indian self-government are far better than they did ten years ago. And they have had all this painful but salutary education without destroying the structure of government itself.

Democratic government has attendant difficulties but these are difficulties which human experience elsewhere shows to be surmountable, It is, and has always been, a question of faith. Our faith too depends on affection and understanding... To the recognition of a common ideal and to the avoidance of friction in advancing along the path of self-rule let us here and in the West address ourselves.

The Cvil and Milltary Gazette, 30th July, 1931

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Javid Nama

The book (بورينام~) opens with a Munajat (مناجات) ) and begins with the Poet standing on the sea-shore about evening time, reading a few verses from Rumi. This makes the soul of Rumi to appear. The Poet puts all sorts of questions to the Spirit of Rumi, the principal question being as to how the Soul of Man passes beyond Space and Time. The idea is to give a kind of philosophy of Mi'raj (محر) (مر). Then appears the Spirit of Space-Time, which is pictured by the Poet as a double-faced angel, one of the two faces as dark and sleeping and the other as bright and awake. This spirit exercises some kind of charm on the Poet and carries him up. Both the Spirits of Rumi and the Poet swim in Space and continue to do so until the mountains of the Moon become visible. Here they hear a song from the Stars-a sort of welcome given to human beings who have the courage to pass beyond Space. They alight on the Moon and enter some of its caves. In one of the caves they meet the Spirit of the great Indian ascetic, Wishwamitra, whose name the poet translates as Jahan Dost (r (g) . The ascetic is found sitting absorbed in contemplation with a White Snake, circling round his head. Recognising Rumi, the ascetic asks as to who is the new comer. Rumi gives a short description of his companion. There-upon the ascetic puts some questions to the new comer in order to test his spiritual attainments. One of the questions, for instance is. "In what respect is Man superior to God?" The answer is: "In his knowledge of Death." Similarly he puts other questions and finding the answers satisfactory, he discloses certain truths about various things, entitled in the Poem:

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They leave the cave and pass on to the valley of the Moon where they find a huge rock on which four pictures are carved. They are called the tablet of Buddha, the tablet of Jesus, the tablet of Zoroaster and the tablet of Muhammad. Descriptions of the tablets are given in the Poem. So they pass on from planet to planet. In Mars is shown a woman-prophet originally stolen from Europe as a child by the Devil and who teaches the women of Mars a new view of evolution, which according to this woman-prophet tends to eliminate the male. Her message is that the world will, eventually, be ruled by woman and her practical advice to her sisters is, in the first place, not to marry and if they marry and have children to kill the male and retain the female children. This gives an occasion to Rumi to criticise some of the aspects of modern civilization.

In the planet Mercury they find the spirits of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and Saeed Halim Pasha, the head of the religious reform movement in Turkey. Afghani sends a message to the people of Russia wherein the Spirit of Islam is compared with the Spirit of Bolshevism, and Karl Marx is described as a prophet without an angel.

Passing on to another planet they find three spirits, Mansur Hallaj, Ghalib and Qurrat-ul-Ain. They are supposed to have been offered a home in Paradise, which they refused to accept, and preferred constant movement in the immensity of the Universe. Hallaj explains his position as a Muslim mystic. Certain questions of literary and religious nature arising from Ghalib's poetry are put to him. Qurrat-ul-Ain gives a song of her own. As a contrast to this in another planet two spirits are shown who went to seek a Home in the flames of Hell but Hell refused them admittance. They are Mir Ja'far of Bengal and Mir Sadiq of Mysore. In another planet underneath a transparent sea, are shown the spirits of the Pharaoh and Kitchener. Their conversation attracts the attention of the Mahdi Soudani from Paradise. It comes down, penetrates into the sea and has a talk with Kitchener. The Spirit of Mahdi works itself up and finally addresses the whole of the Arabic-speaking world.

Having passed through all the planets, the Poet enters Paradise and meets Saints as well as Kings. He finds there the palace of Sharaf-un-Nisa, daughter of Abdus Samad Khan, Governor of Lahore. One of the Saints whom the poet meets in Paradise is Shah Hamdan, the patron saint of Kashmir, who brings in
certain questions with regard to the history and people of Kashmir. The Poet further meets King Nadir Shah of Persia, Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan and Sultan Tip.

At the moment of leaving Paradise, the Houris of Paradise besiege the Poet and insist on his staying with them. The Poet refuses to stay. The real meaning of Muslim Paradise, which is not an end in itself but a stage in the spiritual development of man, is here explained. However, a compromise is arrived at, the Houris agree to let him go provided he gave them a song which he does. He then leaves the Paradise and gradually reaches the point where Rumi leaves him for man must enter the divine presence alone. Here the poet puts some very serious questions to God and finally wants a complete revelation of the destiny of his own people which is granted to him. The book ends, with a song from the Spirit of Universe.

At the end of the book the poet addresses his son, which is virtually an address to the coming generation.

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I do not know how the misunderstanding arose which caused the rumour that I was opposed to the establishment of any kind of university of Jerusalem. Renter sent out a wire to that effect. Actually I am a strong advocate of Arabic-speaking countries setting up not one but several universities for the purpose of transferring modern knowledge to Arabic which is the only non-European language that has kept pace with the progress of thought in modern times.

Sherwani

# McTaggart's Philosophy 

[Excerpt]
The point of interest in McTaggart's philosophy, however, is that in his system, mystical intuition, as a source of knowledge, is much more marked than in the system of Bradley. The need of such a direct revelation is the natural outcome of the failure of a purely speculative method. An Italian writer describes McTaggart's philosophy as mystical degeneration of English Neo-Hegelianism. Nothing of the kind. Some of the greatest minds of the world have felt the need of a direct contact with the ultimate Reality, and have indeed, in some cases, achieved such contact. Plotinus, Ghazali, Schelling, and Bergson are instances in point. In his spiritual evolution Kant himself reached that stage; but unlike Ghazali and others he was led to conceive the ultimate Reality as a regulative idea only. The result of his critical philosophy is that God cannot be proved to exist, but that we should act as if He does exist. Not William James but Kant was the real founder of modern Pragmatism. Will, then, the Italian writer referred to above describe Kant's philosophy as a pragmatic degeneration of German thought?

It must, however, be remembered in the case of McTaggart that the mystic revelation of Reality came to him as a confirmation of his thought. His system is deductive not in the sense in which the philosophy of Bergson and Plotinus is deductive. He started with a firm conviction in the power of human reason, and that Conviction remained with him to the end of his days. His illumination came, I think, as an accidental confirmation of what he had reached through pure reason. That is why he had such an unshakable faith in his philosophy. This is clear from the last words which he said to his wife: "I am grieved that we must part, but you know I am not afraid of death."

Sherwani


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Swami Shri Purohit. The Song of Silence. V. S. Chitale, Poona



I understand that the moderate leaders in London were badly advised on this matter by certain English politicians, that they listened too readily to their advice and rejected the great instalment of provincial autonomy. And the curious thing is that the Mahatma was apparently ready to consider this instalment sympathetically.










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# Presidential Address 

Delivered at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim<br>Conference, Lahore, 21st March 1932

[Excerpt]
Gentlemen, the Muslims of India have listened to so many addresses from their political platforms that the more impatient of them have already begun to suspect our deliberations which, they think, tend to enfeeble, and eventually to kill, the spirit of action that lies dormant in the heart of Islam... I am grateful to you for the confidence you have placed in me at this critical moment; but I certainly cannot congratulate you on your choice of a man who is nothing more than a visionary idealist. Perhaps you think you need a visionary at this juncture; for where there is no vision the people perish. Perhaps you think I am better equipped for the presidential chair of this assembly after my experiences at the London Conference. To reveal an ideal freed from its temporal limitations is one function: to show the way how ideals can be transformed into living actualities is quite another... However, I gladly accept the difficult position in which you have placed me, not because I consider myself fit for that position, but because the issues have fortunately become so clear that the whole thing now depends not so much on the guidance of one particular individual as on the force of all the individual wills focused on a single purpose.

Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or, if you like, a civic church. It is because present-day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics. I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens
to be temporarily associated. In view of the visible and invisible points of contact between the various communities of India I do believe in the possibility of constructing a harmonious whole whose unity cannot be disturbed by the rich diversity which it must carry within its own bosom... In so far then as the fundamentals of our policy are concerned, I have got nothing fresh to offer. Regarding these I have already expressed my views in my address to the All-India Muslim League. In the present address I propose, among other things, to help you, in the first place, in arriving at a correct view of the situation as it emerged from a rather hesitating behaviour of our delegation at the final stages of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. In the second place, I shall try, according to my lights, to show how far it is desirable to construct a fresh policy now that the Premier's announcement at the last London Conference has again necessitated a careful survey of the whole situation...
...It is obvious that our delegates did their best to arrive at a communal settlement. The only thing which is mystery to me, and which will perhaps ever remain a mystery, is the declaration made on 26th of November by our spokesmen in the Federal Structure Committee to the effect that they agreed to the simultaneous introduction of provincial autonomy and central responsibility... All that I can say is that the Muslim community considers the declaration a very grave error and I have no doubt that this Conference will give an emphatic expression to their views on this important matter.
...The next question is to explore the possibilities of shaping, if necessary, a new policy after the disappointing announcement made by the British Premier at the close of the last London Conference. Muslims have naturally grown apprehensive of Government's attitude towards the problem of communal settlement. They suspect that the Government will purchase Congress co-operation at any cost, and that its delay in conceding Muslim demands is only a cover for the possibility of finding some basis for negotiations with that body. The policy of trusting the Government in regard to political issues seems to be rapidly losing its hold on the mind of the community... The continuance of separate electorates and the status of the Frontier Province are no doubt assured, but complete provincial autonomy, transfer of power from Parliament to Indian provinces, equality of federal units, classification of subjects, not into federal, central and provincial, but into federal and provincial only, majority rights in
the Punjab and Bengal, unconditional separation of Sind, and one-third share in the centre, constitute no less essential elements of our demand. The Premier's silence on these points has only resulted in the unsound policy of war with the Congress and no peace with the rest of the country. Shall we then join the Congress in their present campaign? My answer without a moment's hesitation is "No". A careful reading of the underlying motives of this movement will make it perfectly clear.
...To my mind this movement has its roots in fear and resentment. The Congress leaders claim that they are the sole representatives of the peoples of India. The last Round Table Conference made it abundantly clear that they were not. This they naturally resent. They know that the British people and the rest of the world now fully realise the importance of communal settlement in India. They further know that the minorities of India have arrived at a pact, and that the British Government has given a notice to enforce a provincial settlement of their own, in case the Indians themselves failed to arrive at one. The Congress leaders fear that the British Government in their provisional settlement of the communal problem may concede to the minorities what they demand. They have, therefore, started the present campaign to bolster up a claim which has no foundation in fact, to defeat a pact which, they fear, may find a place in the coming constitution, and to force the Government to settle the matter of minorities with the Congress alone. The Congress resolution, in pursuance of which the civil disobedience campaign was launched, made it perfectly clear that since Government had refused to regard Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the country, the Congress decided on civil disobedience. How can then a minority join a campaign which is directed as much against itself as against the Government?
..Let me state the position as plainly as possible. The British undertook to give a provisional decision of the communal problem in case the communities of India did not arrive at a mutual settlement after their representatives had returned from the second Round Table Conference. This undertaking was thoroughly consistent with the claim and policy of the British as a third party, holding the balance between the contending communities of India. The British Government's present attitude, however, would show that they do not mean to function as an impartial holder of balance in India, and are
indirectly driving the Indian communities, which are mainly Hindus and Muslims, to a kind of civil war... The Muslim community is thus brought to face the question whether it is in the interest of the community that their present policy which has so far obviated British difficulties and brought no gain to the community shall continue for any further period of time. This is a question for the open Conference to decide. All that I can say at the present stage is that, if you decide to discontinue this policy, your immediate duty is to prepare the whole community for the kind of self-sacrifice without which no self-respecting people can live an honourable life. The most critical moment in the history of the Indian Muslims has arrived. Do your duty or cease to exist

Gentlemen, I now request you to turn for a moment to two matters of gravest concern to the Muslims of India-I mean the Frontier Province and Kashmir which, I have no doubt, are uppermost in your mind... [The] attitude of the British Government towards our demands and the gravity of the situation in the Frontier Province and Kashmir claim our immediate attention. But what claims our immediate attention is not our only concern. We must have a clear perception of the forces which are silently moulding the future, and place a relatively permanent programme of work before the community in view of the probable direction of events in the country. The present struggle in India is sometimes described as India's revolt against the West. I do not think it is a revolt against the West; for the people of India are demanding the very institutions which the West stands for. Whether the gamble of elections, retinues of party leaders and hollow pageants of parliaments will suit a country of peasants to whom the money economy of modern democracy is absolutely incomprehensible is a different question altogether. Educated urban India demands democracy. The minorities, feeling themselves as distinct cultural units, and fearing that their very existence is at stake, demand safeguards, which the majority community, for obvious reasons, refuses to concede. The majority community pretends to believe in a nationalism theoretically correct, if we start from Western premises, belied by facts, if we look to India. Thus the real parties to the present struggle in India are not England and India, but the majority community and the minorities of India which can ill-afford to accept the principle of Western democracy until it is properly modified to suit the actual conditions of life in India.
...These phenomena, however, are merely premonitions of a coming storm, which is likely to sweep over the whole of India and the rest of Asia. This is the inevitable outcome of a wholly political civilisation which has looked upon man as a thing to be exploited and not as a personality to be developed and enlarged by purely cultural forces. The peoples of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual, and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour, or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits, where an Untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. This superb idealism of your faith, however, needs emancipation from the medieval fancies of theologians and legists. Spiritually we are living in a prison-house of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries we have woven round ourselves. And be it further said to the shame of us-men of older generation-that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economic, political and even religious crises that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals. The Indian Muslim has long ceased to explore the depths of his own inner life. The result is that he has ceased to live in the full glow and colour of life, and is consequently in danger of an unmanly compromise with forces which, he is made to think, he cannot vanquish in open conflict. He who desires to change an unfavourable environment must undergo a complete transformation of his inner being. God changeth not the condition of a people until they themselves take the initiative to change their condition by constantly illuminating the zone of their daily activity in the light of a definite ideal. Nothing can be achieved without a firm faith in the independence of one's own inner life. This faith alone keeps a
people's eye fixed on their goal and saves them from perpetual vacillation. The lesson that past experience has brought to you must be taken to heart. Expect nothing from any side. Concentrate your whole ego on yourself alone, and ripen your clay into real manhood if you wish to see your aspirations realised. Mussolini's maxim was: "He who has steel has bread." I venture to modify it a bit and say: "He who is steel has everything." Be hard and work hard. This is the whole secret of individual and collective life. Our ideal is well defined. It is to win in the coming constitution a position for Islam which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country. It is necessary in the light of this ideal to rouse the progressive forces of the community and to organise their hitherto dormant energies. The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul. This requires earnest preparation and a relatively permanent programme. What then shall be our future programme? I am inclined to think that it should be partly political, partly cultural. I venture to offer a few suggestions for your consideration.

1 First, we must frankly admit that there is yet a sort of chaos in the political thought of those who are supposed to guide the activities of the Indian Muslims in the present-day political struggle. The community, however, is not to blame for this state of things. The Muslim masses are not at all lacking in the spirit of self-sacrifice when the question of their ultimate destiny in this country is involved. Recent history bears ample testimony to what I say. The fault is ours, not theirs. The guidance offered to the community is not always independently conceived, and the result is ruptures, sometimes at critical moments, within our political organizations. Thus these organizations cannot properly develop the kind of discipline which is so absolutely essential to the life and power of political bodies. To remedy this evil I suggest that the Indian Muslims should have only one political organization with provincial and district branches all over the country. Call it whatever you like. What is essential is that its constitution must be such as to make it possible for any school of political thought to come into power, and to guide the community according to its own ideas and methods. In my opinion this is the only way to make
ruptures impossible, and to reintegrate and discipline our scattered forces to the best interests of Islam in India.

Secondly, I suggest that this central organisation should immediately raise a national fund of at least 50 lakhs of rupees. No doubt we are living in hard times but you may rest assured that the Muslims of India will not fail to respond to your call if a genuine effort is made to impress upon them the gravity of the present situation.

3 Thirdly, I suggest the formation of youth leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country under the control and guidance of the central organisation. They must specially devote themselves to social service, customs reform, commercial organisation of the community and economic propaganda in towns and villages, especially in the Punjab where enormous indebtedness of Muslim agriculturists cannot be allowed to wait for the drastic remedies provided by agrarian upheavals. Things appear to have reached the breaking point as in China in 1925 when peasant leagues came into being in that country. The Simon Report admits that the peasant pays a "substantial portion" of his means to the State. The State, no doubt, gives him in return peace and security, trade and communication. But the net result of these blessings has been only a kind of scientific exactitude in taxation, destruction of village economy by machine-made goods and the commercialisation of crops which makes the peasant almost always fall a prey to money-lenders and commercial agents. This is a very serious matter especially in the Punjab. I want the proposed youth leagues to specialise in propaganda work in this connection, and thus to help the peasantry in escaping from its present bondage. The future of Islam in India largely depends, in my opinion, on the freedom of Muslim peasants in the Punjab. Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations. A community is not merely a purely present and numerable whole of men and women. Indeed its life and activity as a living reality
cannot be fully understood without a reference to that unborn infinity which lies asleep in the deeps of its inner being.

4 Fourthly, I suggest the establishment of male and female culture institutes in all the big towns of India. These institutes as such should have nothing to do with politics. Their chief function should be to mobilise the dormant spiritual energy of the younger generation by giving them a clear grasp of what Islam has already achieved and what it has still to achieve in the religious and cultural history of mankind. The progressive forces of a people can be roused only by placing before them a new task calculated to enlarge the individual to make him comprehend and experience the community, not as a heap of isolated fragments of life, hut as a well-defined whole possessing inner cohesion and solidarity. And when once these forces are roused they bring fresh vigour for new conflicts, and that sense of inner freedom which enjoys resistance and holds out the promise of a new self. These institutes must keep in close touch with our educational institutions-old and new with a view to secure the ultimate convergence of all the lines of our educational endeavour on a single purpose. One practical suggestion I can immediately make. The Hartog Committee's interim report, now apparently forgotten in the rush of other political problems, makes the following recommendation which I consider of the utmost importance for the Muslims of India:

There can be no doubt that if in provinces where the educational progress of the Muhammadan community is impeded by religious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as will induce that community to send its children to ordinary schools, the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency and much will be done to free the community from the handicap and the reproach of educational backwardness.

We are fully aware that such arrangements are not easy to make and that in other countries they have given rise to much
controversy.... But in our opinion the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans (pp. 204-05).

And again on p. 206, while discussing reservations, the Report says:

If therefore special arrangements inside the public system were made now, and possibly for some time to come, to enable the Muhammadan community to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles. We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible. As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves, but since, in our belief they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Muhammadan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor changes afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy.

The proposed cultural institutes or till their establishment the All-India Muslim Conference must see that these recommendations, based as they are on a clear perception of the present handicaps of our community, are carried into effect.

Fifthly, I suggest the formation of an assembly of ulema which must include Muslim lawyers who have received education in modern jurisprudence. The idea is to protect, expand and, if necessary, to reinterpret the law of Islam in the light of modern conditions, while keeping close to the spirit embodied in its fundamental principles. This body must receive constitutional recognition so that no bill affecting the personal law of Muslims may be put on the legislative anvil before it has passed through the crucible of this assembly. Apart from the purely practical value of this proposal for the Muslims of India, we must remember that the
modern world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, has yet to discover the infinite value of the legal literature of Islam and its significance for a capitalistic world whose ethical standards have long abdicated from the control of man's economic conduct. The formation of the kind of assembly I propose will, I am sure, bring a deeper understanding of the usual principles of Islam at least in this country.



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In the circumstances it is unfair to me to say that I acted as a dictator. According to my judgment, postponement was desired by a majority of members of the Conference. My personal opinion was the same. After giving the matter most anxious consideration I arrived at the conclusion that while it was the duty of the community to fight the Government in case the communal decision was not favourable to Muslims, I ought not to advise them to start any kind of direct action merely because the Government was guilty of not announcing the communal decision within a certain time-limit.

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I, therefore, consider it absolutely necessary to emphasise the fact that since no communal settlement prior or subsequent to the announcement can be acceptable to Muslims unless it provides for 51 per cent seats for Muslims in the provincial legislature as agreed to in the Minorities' Pact, it will only aggravate the situation if the announcement is allowed to be delayed by such negotiations.

It is obvious that Sir Joghendra's proposals recognise the principle of separate electorates to the extent of 150 seats in a total number of 175 . His calculations mentioned in his note further give a majority of at least one to Muslims in the total House. In the circumstances I see no reason why our Sikh brethren should not further try to remove Muslim fears of being reduced to a minority or an equality by agreeing to the minimum demands of Muslims which other Indian minorities have already agreed to.


Statement Explaining the Resolution Passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference regarding Sikh-Muslim Conversations

Issued on 10th August, 1932
I consider it my duty to make it perfectly clear why the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference at its last meeting in Delhi passed the resolution relating to the Sikh-Muslim conversations in Simla.

Firstly, while fully recognising the value of communal concord, the members of the Committee thought that such conversations at the present moment might delay the Government announcement and still further aggravate the Sikh-Muslim situation in the Punjab.

Secondly, in view of certain statements issued to the Press by some of the Sikh leaders, they felt that nothing was likely to come out of these conversations. This feeling is amply justified by the latest statement of Sir Jogendra published today. In his letter to me Sir Jogendra clearly mentioned the figures 88 and 87 for Muslims and non-Muslims respectively.

These figures were no doubt based on his calculation relating to special constituencies, but I hope he will excuse me for a bit of cruel psychology when I say that mention of specific figures was perhaps meant only to decoy me in the belief that he agreed at least to a majority of one for Muslims in the total House. Sir Jogendra accuses me of drawing unfortunate inferences from his proposals. I assure him that in the presence of the specific figures mentioned in his letter no inference was necessary.

On the other hand, in spite of these figures, I could not but understand him to mean what he has now plainly stated without the mention of any specific figures, namely, that he offered only a possibility to Muslims for securing more seats out of those allotted to special constituencies.

I agree that he offered only a possibility, but if this is the Sikh view of the
situation then the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference was right in thinking that there was no likelihood of any material settlement.

Again Sir Jogendra says that whatever the offer was, it was not made on behalf of the Sikh community. I do not pretend to know anything about the origin of his proposal. Nor was it necessary to hazard a guess. After giving some important details of his proposals Sir Jogendra himself says in his letter:

Muslims to give support to Sikhs to secure for them 5 per cent seats in the Central Legislature, 6 per cent in the Frontier Province and a seat in the Central Cabinet. The Sikhs will join the Minorities' Pact.

However, it is unnecessary now to enter into a controversy of the kind. My object in this statement is to make the position of the Working Committee as clear as possible and I hope I have done so.

As far as the Sikh-Muslim conversations at Simla are concerned, I must make it plain that although I would welcome any reasonable material settlement, which need not necessarily be prior to the announcement to be made on August 17, I cannot, as President of the Muslim Conference, participate in these conversations unless properly authorised by the Working Committee of that body.



Sherwani علامه اقبال كا بيان مجريه r er اگَست

The important question for Muslims, however, is: what is to be done? I believe that a perfectly constitutional method is open to Muslims to adopt in this connection. Bengal is one of those provinces which have demanded two Houses of Legislature. The constitution of an Upper House for it is yet to be framed and what the relations between the two Houses will be and whether the Government will be responsible to the Lower House only or to both Houses put together, are questions which are yet to be settled. If representation on a population basis is secured for Muslims in the Upper House and if Government is made responsible
to both Houses put together, Muslims may still have a majority in that province. In view of the fact that special interests have received full attention in the Lower House the above method will only do bare justice to Bengal Muslims.

I must add that mere allotment of seats to various communities is in itself of no great consequence. What is vital is the amount of power which may be transferred to the provinces of India. If real power comes to the provinces there is no doubt that the minorities of India, Muslims and non-Muslims will have an opportunity of improving their political position in the country and that in working out the coming constitution, Muslims in their majority provinces will, in view of their past history and traditions, prove themselves free from all pettiness of mind and narrowness of outlook. Their one duty, to my mind, is a war against illiteracy and economic slavery.

## Corporeal Resurrection

## [Excerpt]

...the Quran bases its arguments in support of resurrection, not on any events in history, but on the personal experience of every individual. This is exactly the argument which the modern scientific research as quoted above [from John Butler Burke (1931): The Emergence of Life - Being a Treatise of Mathematical Philosophy and Symbolic Logic by Which New Theory of Space and Time is Evolved] has advanced, viz, the same "time and tune" which brought the monads together the first time and caused his creation, may once more summon together after death the same monads and cause the second creation of man.

It may, however, be noted here that this return to life after death is

nothing in the sense of the cycles of births and rebirths as commonly understood. The Quran supports the scientific view that life is a forward movement. There is no coming hack... Just as the moon goes through various stages, from the crescent to the full moon, even so is man to advance from a lower to a higher form of life.

Muslim Revival (Lahore), September 1932

Gazette, Lahore, 21st April, 1952
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I consider it my duty to voice the community's strong opposition to the proposed Lucknow conference. In the absence of definite proposals from Hindu leaders I fail to see what we are asked to discuss in this conference.

The Muslims of India have always shown readiness for a mutual settlement with other communities, but the way which is now being adopted is not the way to a settlement with Hindus but to disunity in our own ranks which we have consolidated with great difficulty.

To treat the question of electorates lightly and reopen it in spite of the community's clear verdict, as embodied in the resolutions of the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League, is a most inadvisable course which may have far-reaching consequences for the community. In the wider interests of the community and the country this question should be considered as closed for the time being. There are before us other questions of far greater importance than that of joint versus separate electorates. Nor are separate electorates really contrary to nationalist ideas.

I consider the proposed conference harmful to the interests of Islam and India and an absolute waste of time. I hope that the sponsors of the conference will reconsider their position. The Muslim community should now be called upon to look forward to the solution of important constitutional problems lying ahead instead of being dragged back to the problems which have already cost us many bitter controversies but which we have now left behind.










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After reading the resolution of the Lucknow conference I feel that it is not without its saving grace... I think that on the whole the resolution brings our Nationalist Muslim brethren much nearer to the general body of Muslims than they have been so far. They have now agreed to abide by
the verdict of the Muslim community on the question of electorates. I am convinced that the resolutions of the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League already constitute such a verdict. But if another verdict is needed they are welcome to have it.

Sherwani, pp.269-270




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## Position of Women in the East

I wish to clear up a few points regarding the position of our women in the East, and how they compare with the women of the West. In London streets I see a lot which Londoners do not notice. They are too familiar with the sights to notice subtleties. But those who see a country after a long absence come with a fresh vision.

What strikes me most is that the courtesy towards the female sex, for which Europeans were one time famous, is becoming atavistic. In the underground men do not surrender their seats to ladies, or do so very seldom. In getting out of the car they have no thought of letting the ladies out first. I do not want to blame them. The women themselves have brought it about. They wanted emancipation, equal rights with the male sex. The change that has come was inevitable.

Perhaps I may here try and eradicate the totally erroneous notions which are held in Europe, about the Eastern, and first of all, Muslim women, their life
and the treatment they receive from men. European woman, according to her own wish, has descended from the pedestal on which she stood, but the Eastern the Muslim, woman has remained the recipient of the same honour as before.

In Europe the belief is still there that the Turkish woman plays an inferior role in Turkish life. They misunderstand many of our customs, especially the psychology of the veil. The origin of the veil is not men's jealousy but the feeling that woman is sacred, so much so that a stranger's eye should not fall on her. The meaning of the word "haram" in Arabic is "sacred ground," into which no stranger can enter.

There are other reasons for the practice of the veil. These are biological in nature; it is not possible to discuss them here. I can only indicate what lies at the back of this institution. The woman is predominantly the creative element in life, and all creative forces in nature are hidden.

The source and symbol of the greater respect which Eastern women enjoy is in that very veil. Nothing has happened to diminish the respect in which they were held for centuries, and the principle of protecting them from approaches of strangers and from all humiliations has been safely maintained. According to the Holy Book of Islam there are several rules relating to the segregation of women. The veil is only one of them. Another rule is that when men and women meet each other, they should not stare into the eyes of each other. if this were the universal practice, the ordinary veil would be unnecessary.

Many women of India and of other countries of Islam wear no veil. The veil is really the name of a specific attitude of the mind. In order to reinforce this attitude of mind, certain concrete forms are needed, which forms depend on the circumstances of each people, age, and country.

The harem is also maligned. It should be remarked, first of all, that only the kings had harems. When I am speaking of women and the respect that we show to them, you will think of polygamy. Polygamy is certainly permitted according to Muhammadan Law. It is only a method of evading a social evil, i.e. public prostitution. Monogamy is our ideal as well as your but the main defect of monogamy is that it has no outlet for surplus women.

The Middle Ages in Europe furnished the convent and the monastery for the absorption of surplus women. But you in Europe cannot follow this method today. The so-called industrial revolution-the parent of the so-called women
emancipation movement-has given both man and woman the kind of mentality which is apparently opposed to polygamy; but I am afraid the social evil is there. I am not suggesting that polygamy is the only cure, but I do mean to say that the state of affairs which drives women to her own livelihood is awful, and is likely eventually to deprive the woman of the best in her-that is to say the woman in her.

However, the institution of polygamy in Islam is not an eternal institution. According to the law of Islam, all legal permissions can be revoked by the State, if they lead to social corruption. According to Muhammadan Law, a woman has the right to the custody of her children even after divorce. She can trade, contract and litigate in her own name. According to some lawyers, she can even be elected as the Caliph of islam! She is entitled to maintenance from her husband besides the fixed dowry, to secure which she can hold the whole property of her husband.

The laws of divorce in Islam are also of great interest. The Muslim woman has equality of divorce with her husband. This, however, is secured in Muhammadan Law by the wife calling upon her husband at the time of marriage to delegate his right of divorce to her, to her father, brother or any stranger. This is technically known as "tafviz"-that is to say, handing over or transfer. The reason why this roundabout way of security is adopted I leave to the lawyers of Europe to understand.

The Liverpool Post. 1932
Light, Lahore, 24th July. 1933. ان كا ماخذ نـه Sherwani


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Swami Shri Purohit. The Song of Silence. V. S. Chitale, Poona
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Muhammad Siddique (1983)
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## Statement on the Constitution Emerging from the Round Table Conference

As far as the Indian Muslims are concerned, it is their duty to organise themselves for the coming elections and scrupulously avoid all causes of action which may lead to sectional differences among themselves. The proposed constitution clearly recognises the principle of protection of minorities. This is the only way of giving the minorities a national outlook. It is now for the minorities themselves, who were parties to the Minorities' Pact made in London, to take full advantage of the opportunities given to them.
Whatever else one may say about the results of the Round Table Conferences, nobody can deny that they have given birth to a people who are at once new and ancient. I believe it to be one of the most remarkable facts of modern history. Not even a farsighted historian can realise the full consequences of the birth of this "new-ancient" people. I only hope that their leaders will remain alert and not allow
the growth of self-consciousness among their people to be arrested by external forces, social or political.

## Statement on the Conditions Prevailing in Europe

After visiting different European countries and seeing the general moral chaos of the modern world, I am convinced that the great opportunity for Islam as a faith has come. Millions upon millions of men and women in Europe are anxious to know what Islam and its cultural ideals are. The sooner the younger generation of Muslims realises this fact, the better. European Muslims have already realised it. They are holding a conference in Geneva in August next, the object of the proposed conference being purely social and cultural. I hope the Muslims of Asia and Africa will generously respond to the promoters of the conference.
I visited Cordova, Granada, Seville, Toledo and Madrid and besides seeing the historic mosque at Cordova, and the Alhambra in Granada, I visited the ruins of Madinatuz Zehra, the famous palace built on a mountain by Abdur Rehman for his wife Zehra, where excavations are still going on. It was there that the first demonstration of a flying machine was given in the twelfth century by a Muslim inventor. I had the privilege of meeting, among others, the Education Minister of the Spanish Government, an exceedingly courteous gentleman with a breadth of vision hardly to be expected in a country like Spain, and Professor Asin, the well-known author of Divine Comedy and Islam. Under the directions of the Education Minister the department of Arabic in the University of Granada is being greatly expanded. The head of this department is a disciple of Professor Asin.
The Spaniards living in the south of the country areproud of their Moorish origin and of the great monuments of

Islamic culture which are to be found there. A new consciousness is steadily growing in the country and will further expand with the development of education. The movement of reform started by Luther has not yet exhausted itself. It is still working quietly in different European countries and the hold of priesthood, especially in Spain, is gradually loosening.

Sherwani, pp.271-273

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Sherwani, 272-273






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Sherwani, pp.276-277

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I do not mean to stigmatise anybody. A man is free to develop an attitude which intellectually and spiritually suits his mind best. Indeed I have every sympathy for a man who needs a spiritual prop and finds one in the shrine of a bygone saint or in a living pir... I have made an absolutely frank statement of the feelings which led me to resign my office. I hope this plain speaking will hurt nobody as there is no spirit of ill-will or mental reservation behind it.




Light, Lahore, 24th July. 1933.

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...Indian Muslims, who happen to be a more numerous people than the Muslims of all other Asiatic countries put together, ought to consider themselves the greatest asset of Islam and should sink in their own deeper self like other Muslim nations of Asia in order to gather up their scattered sources of life and, according to Sir Fazli's advice, "stand on their own legs."





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...No definite declaration has yet emanated from the Qadiani headquarters that in the event of the Qadianis joining a Muslim political organisation, their allegiance will not be divided. On the other hand, events have revealed that what the Qadiani Press describes as "Tehrik-i-Kashmir" and in which, according to the Qadiani newspaper Al-Fazl, Muslims were only courteously allowed to participate, has entirely different aims and objects from those of the All-India Kashmir Committee. Certain open letters addressed by the head of the Qadiani community to his "Kashmir brethren" - a phrase which appears to have been used in order to avoid the use of the term Muslim for non-Qadiani Kashmiris - disclosed at least some of the inner motives of this Qadiani "Tehrik-i-Kashmir".
In these circumstances I fail to understand how any Muslim can associate himself with a "Tehrik" which has revealed itself to be the instrument of a specific propaganda even though it seeks to cover itself with a thin veneer of non-sectarianism.

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## Statement on the Proposed Afghan University <br> Published on 19th October， 1933

An educated Afghanistan will be the best friend of India．The building of a new University at Kabul and the development of the Peshawar Islamia College into another University on the western border of India will very much help in the uplift of the shrewd Afghan tribes who inhabit the country that lies between our frontier and the Afghan frontier．

His Majesty the King of Afghanistan invited us to advise his Education Minister on matters connected with the proposed University at Kabul．We felt it our duty to respond to his call．It appears from the various publications emerging from Kabul that the younger generation of Afghans are thoroughly in earnest about modern knowledge，and its coordination with their religion and culture．The Afghans are a fine people and as Indians it is our duty to help them to advance as much as they can．There are very clear indications of the development of new consciousness in that people，and we hope we may be able to advise them on matters of education in the light of our Indian experience．

Personally I believe that complete secularisation of education has not produced good results anywhere especially in Muslim lands. Nor is there any absolute system of education. Each country has its own needs and its educational problems must be discussed and solved in the light of those needs.

Sherwani













Sherwani علامه اقبال، راس مسعود اور سليمان ندوى Sc مششتر كد بيان سـ ماخوذ

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# Statement on the Conditions in Afghanistan <br> Issued jointly by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Ross Masud and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi on 6th November, 1933 

The first thing which we noticed was that there is complete safety of life and property in the country. This is in itself a remarkable achievement for a Government which overcame a widespread rebellion only four years ago. Another thing which impressed us was the very earnest manner in which all the Ministers are discharging their duties. Even the orthodox party stands solidly behind these workers and consequently there is-as was stated in our presence by a leading Afghan divine-no difference between the mullas and the young men in the Afghanistan of today.

It is the intention of the Afghan Government to reorganise the entire department of Public Instruction on modern lines and at the same time to improve all roads which connect Afghanistan with neighbouring countries. A beautiful and commodious palace in Kabul has already been reserved for the new University which is gradually developing. Higher education is being imparted in medicine, this being the first faculty to be organised. The next faculty to he organised will be that of civil engineering. As regards the roads a new one joining Kabul with Peshawar will be completed within the next two years. This road has been carefully planned. A road leading to Russian frontiers has already been completed and is of obvious importance as it brings Central Asia nearer to Central Europe.

We had the honour of a long interview with His Majesty the King of Afghanistan whose sole desire is to see his country flourishing and living in peace and amity with its neighbours.

Thus Afghanistan represents today a united country where in every
direction one sees signs of a new awakening and where the authorities are engaged in drawing up programmes of well-planned work. We have come back from that country with a conviction that if those who are in power are given an opportunity of continuing their work for ten years, the future prosperity of Afghanistan will have been assured.



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I have never had the pleasure of meeting Pandit Jawahar Lab, though I have always admired his sincerity and outspokenness. His latest statement in reply to his Mahasabhite critics has a ring of sincerity which is rare in the pronouncements of present-day politicians in India. It seems, however, that he is not in full possession of the facts regarding the behaviour of Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conferences held in London during the past three
years... The offer which His Highness the Agha Khan made to Mr. Gandhi two years ago still holds good. If under Pandit Nehru's leadership the Hindus or the Congress agree to the safeguards which Muslims believe to be necessary for their protection as an all-India minority, the Muslims are still ready to serve, in the Agha Khan's words, as camp-followers of the majority community in the country's political struggle. If, however, he is unable to accept this offer let him at least not accuse Muslims of political reactionaryism but leave those who understand the motive and purposes of Hindu communalism to draw the conclusion that he is in essential agreement with the Mahasabha in the latter's campaign against the Communal Award.
...The present situation is only a necessary stage in the country's political evolution. A united India will have to be built on the foundation of concrete facts, i.e. the distinct existence of more than one people in the country. The sooner Indian leaders of political thought get rid of the idea of a unitary Indian nation based on something like a biological fusion of the communities, the better for all concerned.
...In conclusion I must put a straight question to Pandit Jawahar Lal. How is India's problem to be solved if the majority community will neither concede the minimum safeguards necessary for the protection of a minority of 80 million people nor accept the award of a third party, but continue to talk of a kind of nationalism which works out only to its own benefit? This position can admit of only two alternatives. Either the Indian majority community will have to accept for itself the permanent position of an agent of British imperialism in the East or the country will have to be redistributed on a basis of religious, historical and cultural affinities so as to do away with the question of

#  <br> electorates and the communal problem in its present form. 

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Muhammad Siddique (1983)
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# THE <br> RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT <br> IN ISLAM 

BY<br>SIR MOHAMMAD IQBAL<br>OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS<br>LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

# Statement on the Congress Attitude towards the Communal Award 

Issued on 19th June, 1934
The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities of India and declares that, in view of the sharp difference of opinion in India regarding the Communal Award, it can neither accept nor reject it; yet its comments on the Award amount to a rejection by implication. Consistently with its claim it ought not to have expressed any opinion about the Award. The Congress Working Committee has deliberately chosen to ignore the important fact that the Award, though it has been incorporated in the White Paper, does not stand or fall with it, but stands on an entirely different footing. While the other parts of the White Paper are proposals, the Award represents a decision given by the British Premier at the request of the very men who are now opposing it.

The Congress Working Committee has tried by this resolution to hide its inner communalism, but in the very act of doing so has unveiled its designs to such an extent that no Muslim will fail to see through the game. At this critical juncture I would advise the Muslims of India to stand boldly by the Communal Award even though it does not concede all their demands. This is the only course they can adopt as a practical people.

Sherwani











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## Afghanistan - A Brief Survey

by Jamaluddin Ahmed and Mohammed Abdul Aziz
published by Dar-ul-Taleef, Kabul

## Foreword by Muhammad Iqbal

I am asked to write a line or two by way of a foreword to this excellent book on modern Afghanistan. I have great pleasure in doing so, not only because I have always regarded the Afghans as a people of inexhaustible vitality, but also
because I have had the privilege of presonally knowing the late and lamented King Nadir Shah - that soldier-statesman, whose genius infused a new life into his people and opened their eyes to the modern world. The history of the Afghans has yet to be read and appreciated. Mere record of events is not history; it is only material for history. Events are like words and have meanings, which it is the duty of the genuine historian to discover. This work has yet to be done in regard to the history of Afghans both in India and Afghanistan. A people, who have produced such men as Muhammad Ghauri, Alauddin Khilji, Sher Shah Suri, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Amir Abdur Rehman Khan, King Nadir Shah, and above all Maulana Sayyed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani - in many respects the greatest Muslim, and certainly one of the greatest Asiatics of our times cannot but be regarded as an important factor in the life of Asia. For long periods in the past, Balkh, Bamian, Hadda, Kabul, Ghazni and Herat have been great centres of culture; and the earnestness of the present ruling dynasty does certainly hold out a promise that they may well revive their past glories again.

Whenever I think of Afghanistan, as I do quite often, my mind conjures up before me a picture of the country as I saw it last autumn. I sit in a simply furnished study, which overlooks a garden. Beyond the garden, a broad stretch of land rises in a gentle slope to meet the hills, which lie in ever-ascending waves one behind the other till they culminate in the towering range of the Hindukush. A line of huge pylons, that bring the high tension current from distant falls, lies to thwart the landscape. Overhead the sky is painted in gorgeous colours by the approaching sunset below the shadows move swiftly across the valley. Innumerable poplars, straight, slim and tall, sway gently in the gathering shadows as the soft evening breeze kisses their searing leaves. In the calm of that twilight, the valley, the trees, the distant villages and the mountains floating in a sea of hazy mist present a scene of dream-like beauty. Suddenly the hush of the evening is broken by the call to prayer. One by one all my companions leave their seats; transported beyond myself by the swelling chant of the Muezzin, I am the last to reach the prayer-room, where my fellow-guests are already gathered along with our Royal host and the humblest of his retainers!

This little episode reveals three of the most striking qualities of the Afghans - their deep religious spirit, their complete freedom from distinctions
of birth and rank, and the perfect balance with which they have always maintained their religious and national ideals. This spirit of conservatism has always been, and will always remain, a great source of strength to the Afghans. It keeps them in living contact with their past, without rendering them incapable of response to the calls of a new age. Their conservative wisdom makes them cherish their traditions; but the weight of these traditions does not in any way kill the forward movement of the soul within. Only the other day, I met in Lahore a remarkable old Afghan druggist, who had spent more than half a century in the West and had finally settled in Australia. He could not read and write, but spoke good Australian English. "Do you still remember your Pashto?" I said. My question went straight to his heart. His slightly bedewed eyes became brighter. The memories of the youth seemed to be crowding in his mind, until they found unrestrained expression in an old Pashto love-song which, for the moment, transported this hoary Afghan from the scorching heat of Lahore to the cool valleys of his fatherland. The Afghan conservatism is a miracle; it is adamantine yet fully sensitive to and assimilative of new cultural forces. And this is the secret of the eternal organic health of the Afghan type.

Afghanistan was a great commercial centre in the ancient world and remained so during the Middle Ages, till the development of sea-borne traffic in the modern world. She has occupied and will continue to occupy the key position in the politics and history of Asia. "Here" writes Professor Lyde, "we have one of the most important areas of Asia, full of fascination to those who believe in both the national and international, but do not believe that it is the destiny of the world to be for ever at war." So this plain, straightforward and unvarnished account of the country by two brothers, who during the long residence in that land, have supplemented the fruits of personal observation by a study of the best sources and have been able to draw upon the latest official information, is doubly welcome.

The authors of the book have rightly focussed their attention upon those periods, during which the arts of peace have flourished and not upon the periods of numberless wars, invasions and internal dissensions, which at first sight appear to be the most striking feature of the history of Afghanistan. Besides providing invaluable and authentic information regarding the country, the authors have raised some very interesting questions about the position of

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Afghanistan in relation to cultural advancement of the world. There is no doubt that archaeological and historical research in Afghanistan will throw a new light on our knowledge of the ancient world; but much work yet remains to be done, and I hope that Afghan scholars will diligently try to lay bare the past greatness of their country.

Lahore: Muhammad Iqbal
September, 1934.
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# (The Statesnman) كو (postscript) 



Islam and Qadianism
[Excerpt]
The issue created by the controversy between the Qadianis and the orthodox Muslims is extremely important. The Indian Muslims have only recently begun to realise its importance. I intended to address an open letter to the British people explaining the social and political implications of the issue but unfortunately my health prevented me from doing so. I am, however, glad to say a few words for the present on a matter which, to my mind, affects the entire collective life of the Indian Muslims. It must, however, be pointed out at the outset that I have no intention to enter into any theological argument. Nor do I mean to undertake a psychological analysis of the mind of the founder of the Qadiani movement; the former will not interest those for whom this statement is meant and the time for the latter has not yet arrived in India. My point of view is that of a student of general history and comparative religion.

India is a land of many religious communities; and Islam is a religious community in a much deeper sense than those communities whose structure is determined partly by the religious and partly by the race idea. Islam repudiates the race idea altogether and founds itself on the religious idea alone. Since Islam bases itself on the religious idea alone, a basis which is wholly spiritual and consequently far more ethereal than blood relationship, Muslim society is naturally much more sensitive to forces which it considers harmful to its integrity. Any religious society, historically arising from the bosom of Islam, which claims a new prophethood for its basis, and declares all Muslims who do not recognise the truth of its alleged revelations as Kaflrs, must, therefore, be regarded by every Muslim as a serious danger to the solidarity of Islam. This must necessarily be so, since the integerity of Muslim society is secured by the ideas of the Finality of Prophethood alone.

This idea of Finality is perhaps the most original idea in the cultural history of mankind; its true significance can be understood by only those who carefully study the history of pre-Islamic Magian culture in Western and Middle

Asia... In the modern world of Islam, ambitious and ignorant mullaism, taking advantage of the modern Press, has shamelessly attempted to hurl the old pre-Islamic Magian outlook in the face of the twentieth century. It is obvious that Islam which claims to weld all the various communities of the world into one single community cannot reconcile itself to a movement which threatens its solidarity and holds the promise of further rifts in human society.

Of the two forms which the modern revival of pre-Islamic Magianism has assumed, Bahaism appears to me to be far more honest than Qadianism; for the former openly departs from Islam, whereas the latter apparently retains some of the more important externals of Islam with an inwardness wholly inimical to the spirit and aspirations of Islam. Its idea of a jealous God with an inexhaustible store of earthquakes and plagues for its opponents; its conception of the prophet as a soothsayer; its idea of the continuity of the spirit of Messiah, are so absolutely Jewish that the movement can easily be regarded as a return to early Judaism... The intensity of feeling which the Indian Muslims have manifested in opposition to the Qadiani movement is, therefore, perfectly intelligible to the student of modern sociology. The average Muslim, who was the other day described as mulla-ridden by a writer in The Civil and Militaty Gazette, is inspired in his opposition to the movement more by his instinct of self-preservation than by a fuller grasp of the meaning of the ideal of Finality in his faith. The so-called "enlightened" Muslim has seldom made an attempt to understand the real cultural significance of the idea of Finality in Islam, and a process of slow and imperceptible Westernisation has further deprived him even of the instinct of self-preservation. Some of these so-called enlightened Muslims have gone to the extent of preaching "tolerance" to their brethren-in-faith. I can easily excuse Sir Herbert Emerson for preaching toleration to Muslims; for a modern European who is born and brought up in an entirely different culture does not, and perhaps cannot, develop the insight which makes it possible for one to understand an issue vital to the very structure of a community with an entirely different cultural outlook.

In India circumstances are much more peculiar. This country of religious communities, where the future of each community rests entirely upon its solidarity, is ruled by a Western people who cannot but adopt a policy of non-interference in religion. This liberal and indispensable policy in a country
like India has led to most unfortunate results. In so far as Islam is concerned, it is no exaggeration to say that the solidarity of the Muslim community in India under the British is far less safe than the solidarity of the Jewish community in the days of Jesus under the Romans.

## Postscript

I understand that this statement has caused some misunderstanding in some quarters. It is thought that I have made a subtle suggestion to the Government to suppress the Qadiani movement by force. Nothing of the kind. I have made it clear that the policy of non-interference in religion is the only policy which can be adopted by the rulers of India. No other policy is possible. I confess, however, that to my mind this policy is harmful to the interests of religious communities; but there is no escape from it and those who suffer will have to safeguard their interests by suitable means. The best course for the rulers of India is, in my opinion, to declare the Qadianis a separate community. This will be perfectly consistent with the policy of the Qadianis themselves and the Indian Muslim will tolerate them just as he tolerates the other religions.

The Statesman, Calcutta, 14th May, 1935


Yes: I am sorry I have no copy of the lecture in question either in the original English or in the Urdu translation which was made by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. As far as I remember, the lecture was delivered in 1911, or perhaps
earlier. I have no hesitation in admitting that about a quarter of a century ago I had hopes of good results following from this movement. Earlier still, even that eminent Muslim, the late Maulvi Chiragh Ali, the author of several English books on Islam, co-operated with the founder of the movement and, I understand, made valuable contributions to the book called Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya. But the real content and spirit of a religious movement does not reveal itself in a day. It takes decades to unfold itself. The internal quarrels between the two sections of the movement is evidence of the fact that even those who were in personal contact with the founder were not quite aware of how the movement would evolve itself. Personally, I became suspicious of the movement when the claim of a new prophethood, superior even to the Prophethood of the Founder of Islam, was definitely put forward, and the Muslim world was declared Kafir. Later my suspicions developed into a positive revolt when I heard with my own ears an adherent of the movement mentioning the Holy Prophet of Islam in a most disparaging language. Not by their roots but by their fruits will you know them. If my present attitude is self-contradictory, then, well, only a living and thinking man has the privilege of contradicting himself. Only stones do not contradict themselves, as Emerson says.



I fully agree with [Mr. Dinshaw's] main thesis that to the Persian element belongs a very rich role in the external as well as the internal history of Islam. This Persian influence is so extensive that Spengler has been misled by Magian overlaying of Islam and has practically taken Islam for a Magian religion. In my Reconstruction I have made an attempt to divest Islam of its Magian encrustations and I hope to be able to do further work in this direction in my Introduction to the Study of the Quran. Magian thought and religious experience very much permeate Muslim theology, philosophy and Sufism. Indeed there is evidence to show that certain schools of Sufism now known as Islamic have only repeated the Magian type of religious experience. I regard Magian culture as one form among other forms of human culture and did not use the term as a sort of stigma. It had its ruling concepts, its philosophical discussions, its truths and its errors. But when a culture begins to show signs of decay, its philosophical discussions, its concepts and its forms of religious experience become fixed and immobile. It was at that time in the history of Magian culture that Islam appeared and, according to my reading of cultural history, entered a strong protest against that culture. There is definite evidence in the Quran itself to show that Islam aimed at opening up new channels not only of thought but of religious experience as well. Our Magian inheritance, however, has stifled the life of Islam and never allowed the development of its real spirit and aspirations.

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The fact that the Qadianis have not so far asked for separation as a distinct political unit shows that in their present position they do not find themselves entitled to any representation in legislative bodies. The new constitution is not without provisions for the protection of such minorities. To my mind, it is clear that in the matter of approaching the Government for separation the Qadianis will never take the initiative. The Muslim community is perfectly justified in demanding their immediate separation from the parent
community. If the Government does not immediately agree to this demand, the Indian Muslims will be driven to the suspicion that the British Government is keeping the new religion in store, as it were, and delaying the separation because in view of the small number of its adherents, it is, for the present, incapable of functioning as a fourth community in the province which may effectively damage the already marginal majority of Punjab Muslims in the local legislature. The Government did not wait for a formal representation for separation by the Sikhs in 1919: why should they wait for a formal representation by the Qadianis?











Shihabuddin Suhrawardy Maqtul (translated and edited by Otto Spied S. K. Khattak). Three Treatises on Mysticism.

Muhammad Siddique (1983), p. 50










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Muhammad Siddique (1983)

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## Islam and Ahmadism

On the appearance of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's three articles in the Modern Review of Calcutta I received a number of letters from Muslims of different shades of religious and political opinion. Some writers of these letters want me to further elucidate and justify the attitude of the Indian Muslims towards the Ahmadis. Others ask me what exactly I regard as the issue involved in Ahmadism. In this statement I propose first to meet these demands which I regard as perfectly legitimate, and then to answer the questions raised by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. I fear, however, that parts of this statement may not interest the Pandit, and to save his time I suggest that he may skip over such parts.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that I welcome the Pandit's interest in what I regard as one of the greatest problems of the East and perhaps of the whole world. He is, I believe, the first Nationalist Indian leader who has expressed a desire to understand the present spiritual unrest in the world of Islam. In view of the many aspects and possible reactions of this unrest it is highly desirable that thoughtful Indian political leaders should open their mind to the real meaning of what is, at the present moment, agitating the heart of Islam.

I do not wish, however, to conceal the fact either from the Pandit or from any other reader of this statement that the Pandit's articles have for the moment given my mind rather a painful conflict of feelings. Knowing him to be a man of wide cultural sympathies, my mind cannot but incline to the view that his desire to understand the questions he has raised is perfectly genuine; yet the way in which he has expressed himself betrays a psychology which I find difficult to attribute to him. I am inclined to think that my statement on Qadianism-no more than a mere exposition of a religious doctrine on modern lines-has embarrassed both the Pandit and the Qadianis perhaps because both inwardly resent, for different reasons, the prospects of Muslims political and religious solidarity, particularly in India. It is obvious that the Indian Nationalist, whose political idealism has practically killed his sense for fact, is intolerant of the birth of a desire for self-determination in the heart of north-west Indian Islam. He thinks wrongly in my opinion, that the only way to Indian Nationalism lies in a total suppression of the cultural entities of the country through the inter-action of which India can evolve a rich and enduring culture. A nationalism achieved by such methods can mean nothing but mutual bitterness and even oppression. It is equally obvious that the Qadianis, too, feel nervous by the political awakening of the Indian Muslims, because they feel that the rise in political prestige of the Indian Muslims is sure to defeat their designs to carve out from the ummat of the Arabian Prophet a new ummat for the Indian 'prophet'. It is no small surprise to me that my effort to impress on the Indian Muslims the extreme necessity of internal cohesion in the present critical moment of their history in India, and my warning them against the forces of disintegration, masquerading as reformist movements, should have given the Pandit an occasion to sympathise with such force.

However, I do not wish to pursue the unpleasant task of analysing the Pandit's motives. For the benefit of those who want further elucidation of the general Muslim attitude towards the Qadianis, I would quote a passage from Durant's Story of Philosophy which, I hope, will give the reader a clear idea of the issue involved in Qadianism. Durant has in a few sentences summed up the Jewish point of view in the excommunication of the great philosopher Spinoza. The reader must not think that in quoting this passage I mean to insinuate some sort of comparison between Spinoza and the founder of Ahmadism. The
distance between them, both in point of intellect and character, is simply tremendous. The "God-intoxicated" Spinoza never claimed that he was the centre of a new organisation and that all the Jews who did not believe in him were outside the pale of Judaism. Durant's passage, therefore, applies with much greater force to the attitude of Muslims towards Qadianism than to the attitude of the Jews towards the excommunication of Spinoza. The passage is as follows:

Furthermore, religious unanimity seemed to the elders their sole means of preserving the little Jewish group in Amsterdam from disintegration, and almost the last means of preserving the unity, and so ensuring the survival of the scattered Jews of the world. If they had their own state, their own civil law, their own establishments of secular force and power, to compel internal cohesion and external respect, they might have been more tolerant; but their religion was to them their patriotism as well as their faith; the synagogue was their centre of social and political life as well as of ritual and worship; and the Bible, whose veracity Spinoza had impugned, was the "Portable Fatherland" of their people; under the circumstances they thought heresy was treason, and toleration suicide.
Situated as the Jews were-a minority community in Amsterdam-they were perfectly justified in regarding Spinoza as a disintegrating factor threatening the dissolution of their community. Similarly the Indian Muslims are right in regarding the Qadiani movement, which declares the entire world of Islam as Kafir and socially boycotts them, to be far more dangerous to the collective life of Islam in India than the metaphysics of Spinoza to the collective life of the Jews. The Indian Muslim, I believe, instinctively realises the peculiar nature of the circumstances in which he is placed in India and is naturally much more sensitive to the forces of disintegration than the Muslims of any other country. This instinctive perception of the average Muslim is in my opinion absolutely correct and has, I have no doubt, a much deeper foundation in the conscience of Indian Islam. Those who talk of toleration in a matter like this are extremely careless in using the word toleration which I fear they do not
understand at all. The spirit of toleration may arise from very different attitudes of the mind of man. As Gibbon would say:

> There is the toleration of the philosopher to whom all religions are equally true; of the historian to whom all are equally false; and of the politician to whom all are equally useful. There is the toleration of the man who tolerates other modes of thought and behaviour because he has himself grown absolutely indifferent to all modes of thought and behaviour. There is the toleration of the weak man who, on account of sheer weakness, must pocket all kinds of insults heaped on things or persons that he holds dear.

It is obvious that these types of tolerance have no ethical value. On the other hand, they unmistakably reveal the spiritual impoverishment of the man who practises them. True toleration is begotten of intellectual breadth and spiritual expansion. It is the toleration of the spiritually powerful man who, while jealous of the frontiers of his own faith, can tolerate and even appreciate all forms of faith other than his own. Of this type of toleration the true Muslim alone is capable. His own faith is synthetic and for this reason he can easily find grounds of sympathy and appreciation in other faiths. Our great Indian poet, Amir Khusro, beautifully brings out the essence of this type of toleration in the story of an idol-worshipper. After giving an account of his intense attachment to his idols the poet addresses his Muslim readers as follows:


Only a true lover of God can appreciate the value of devotion even though it is directed to gods in which he himself does not believe. The folly of our preachers of toleration consists in describing the attitude of the man who is jealous of the boundaries of his own faith as one of intolerance. They wrongly consider this attitude as a sign of moral inferiority. They do not understand that the value of his attitude is essentially biological. Where the members of a group feel, either instinctively or on the basis of rational argument, that the corporate life of the social organism to which they belong is in danger, their defensive
attitude must be appraised in reference mainly to a biological criterion. Every thought or deed in this connection must be judged by the life-value that it may possess. The question in this case is not whether the attitude of an individual or community towards the man who is declared to be a heretic is morally good or bad. The question is whether it is life-giving or life destroying. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru seems to think that a society founded on religious principles necessitates the institution of Inquisition. This is indeed true of the history of Christianity; but the history of Islam, contrary to the Pandit's logic, shows that during the last thirteen hundred years of the life of Islam, the institution of Inquisition has been absolutely unknown in Muslim countries. The Quran expressly prohibited such an institution: "Do not seek out the shortcomings of others and carry not tales against your brethren." Indeed the Pandit will find from the history of Islam that the Jews and Christians, fleeing from religious persecution in their own lands, always found shelter in the lands of Islam. The two propositions on which the conceptual structure of Islam is based are so simple that it makes heresy in the sense of turning the heretic outside the fold of Islam almost impossible. It is true that when a person declared to be holding heretical doctrines threatens the existing social order, an independent Muslim State will certainly take action; but in such a case the action of the State will be determined more by political considerations than by purely religious ones. I can very well realise that a man like the Pandit, who is born and brought up in a society which has no well-defined boundaries and consequently no internal cohesion, finds it difficult to conceive that a religious society can live and prosper without State-appointed commissions of enquiry into the beliefs of the people. This is quite clear from the passage which he quotes from Cardinal Newman and wonders how far I would accept the application of the Cardinal's dictum to Islam. Let me tell him that there is a tremendous difference between the inner structure of Islam and Catholicism wherein the complexity, the ultra-rational character and the number of dogmas has, as the history of Christianity shows, always fostered possibilities of fresh heretical interpretations. The simple faith of Muhammad is based on two propositions that God is One, and that Muhammad is the last of the line of those holy men who have appeared, from time to time in all countries and in all ages, to guide mankind to the right ways of living. If, as some Christian writers think, a
dogma must be defined as an ultra-rational proposition which for the purpose of securing religious solidarity must be assented to without any understanding of its metaphysical import, then these two simple propositions of Islam cannot be described even as dogmas; for both of them are supported by the experience of mankind and are fairly amenable to rational argument. The question of a heresy, which needs the verdict, whether the author of it is within or without the fold, can arise, in the case of a religious society founded on such simple propositions, only when the heretic rejects both or either of these propositions. Such heresy must be and has been rare in the history of Islam which, while jealous of its frontiers, permits freedom of interpretation within these frontiers. And since the phenomenon of the kind of heresy which affects the boundaries of Islam has been rare in the history of Islam, the feeling of the average Muslim is naturally intense when a revolt of this kind arises. This is why the feeling of Muslim Persia was so intense against the Bahais. That is why the feeling of the Indian Muslims is so intense against the Qadianis.

It is true that mutual accusations of heresy for differences in minor points of law and theology among Muslim religious sects have been rather common. In this indiscriminate use of the word kufr both for minor theological points of difference as well as for the extreme cases of heresy, which involve the excommunication of the heretic, some present-day educated Muslims, who possess practically no knowledge of the history of Muslim theological disputes, see a sign of social and political disintegration of the Muslim community. This, however, is an entirely wrong notion. The history of Muslim theology shows that mutual accusation of heresy on minor points of difference has, far from working as a disruptive force, actually given an impetus to synthetic theological thought. "When we read the history of development of Mohammadan Law," says Prof. Hurgronje, "we find that, on the one hand, the doctors of eery age, on the slightest stimulus, condemn one another to the point of mutual accusations of heresy; and, on the other hand, the very same people with greater and greater unity of purpose try to reconcile the similar quarrels of their predecessors." The student of Muslim theology knows that among Muslim legists this kind of heresy is technically known as "heresy below heresy," i.e. the kind of heresy which does not involve the excommunication of the culprit. It may be admitted, however, that in the hands of mullas whose intellectual laziness takes all
oppositions of theological thought as absolute and is consequently blind to the unity in difference, this minor heresy may become a source of great mischief. This mischief can be remedied only by giving to the students of our theological schools a clearer vision of the synthetic spirit of Islam, and by reinitiating them into the function of logical contradiction as a principle of movement in theological dialectic. The question of what may be called major heresy arises only when the teaching of a thinker or a reformer affects the frontiers of the faith of Islam. Unfortunately this question does arise in connection with the teachings of Qadianism. It must be pointed out here that the Ahmadi movement is divided into two camps known as the Qadianis and the Lahoris. The former openly declare the founder to be a full prophet; the latter, either by conviction or policy, have found it advisable to preach an apparently toned down Qadianism. However, the question whether the founder of Ahmadism was a prophet, the denial of whose mission entails what I call the "major heresy" is a matter of dispute between the two sections. It is unnecessary for my purposes to judge the merits of this domestic controversy of the Ahmadis. I believe, for reasons to be explained presently, that the idea of a full prophet whose denial entails the denier's excommunication from Islam is essential to Ahmadism; and that the present head of the Qadianis is far more consistent with the spirit of the movement than the Imam of the Lahoris.

The cultural value of the idea of Finality in Islam I have fully explained elsewhere. Its meaning is simple: No spiritual surrender to any human being after Muhammad who emancipated his followers by giving them a law which is, realisable as arising from the very core of human conscience. Theologically the doctrine is that the socio-political organisation called "Islam" is perfect and eternal. No revelation, the denial of which entails heresy, is possible after Muhammad. He who claims such a revelation is a traitor to Islam. Since the Qadianis believe the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement to be the bearer of such a revelation, they declare that the entire world of Islam is infidel. The founder's own argument, quite worthy of a mediaeval theologian, is that the spirituality of the Holy Prophet of Islam must be regarded as imperfect if it is not creative of another prophet. He claims his own prophethood to be an evidence of the prophet-rearing power of the spirituality of the Holy Prophet of Islam. But if you further ask him whether the spirituality of Muhammad is
capable of rearing more prophets than one, his answer is "No." This virtually amounts to saying: "Muhammad is not the last Prophet; I am the last." Far from understanding the cultural value of the Islamic idea of Finality in the history of mankind generally and of Asia especially, he thinks that Finality in the sense that no follower of Muhammad can ever reach the status of Prophethood is a mark of imperfection in Muhammad's Prophethood. As I read the psychology of his mind he, in the interest of his own claim to prophethood, avails himself of what he describes as the creative spirituality of the Holy Prophet of Islam and at the same time deprives the Holy Prophet of his Finality by limiting the creative capacity of his spirituality to the rearing of only one prophet, i.e. the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement. In this way does the new prophet quietly steal away the Finality of one whom he claims to be his spiritual progenitor.

He claims to be buruz of the Holy Prophet of Islam insinuating thereby that, being. a buruz, his "finality" is virtually the Finality of Muhammad; and that this view of the matter, therefore, does not violate the Finality of the Holy Prophet. In identifying the two finalities, his own and that of the Holy Prophet, he conveniently loses sight of the temporal meaning of the idea of finality. It is, however, obvious that the word buruz, in the sense even of complete likeness, cannot help him at all; for the buruz must always remain the other side of its original. Only in the sense of reincarnation a buruz becomes identical with the original. Thus if we take word buruz to mean "like in spiritual qualities" the argument remains ineffective; on the other hand, if we take it to mean reincarnation of the original in the Aryan sense of the word, the argument becomes plausible; but its author turns out to be only a Magian in disguise.

It is further claimed on the authority of the great Muslim mystic, Muhyuddin Ibn-al-Arabi of Spain, that it is possible for a Muslim saint to attain, in his spiritual evolution, to the kind of experience characteristic of the Prophetic consciousness. I personally believe this view of Sheikh Muhyuddin Ibn-al-Arabi to be psychologically unsound; but assuming it to be correct, the Qadiani argument is based on a complete misunderstanding of his exact position. The Sheikh regards it as a purely private achievement which does not, and in the nature of things cannot, entitle such a saint to declare that all those who do not believe in him are outside the pale of Islam. Indeed, from the Sheikh's point of view, there may be more than one saint, living in the same age
or country, who may attain to Prophetic consciousness. The point to be seized is that while it is psychologically possible for a saint to attain to Prophetic experience his experience will have no socio-political significance making him the centre of a new organisation and entitling him to declare this organisation to be the criterion of the faith or disbelief of the followers of Muhammad.

Leaving his mystical psychology aside I am convinced from a careful study of the relevant passage of the Futuhat that the great Spanish mystic is as firm a believer in the Finality of Muhammad as any orthodox Muslim. And if he had seen in his mystical vision that one day in the east some Indian amateur in Sufism would seek to destroy the Holy Prophet's Finality under cover of his mystical psychology, he would have certainly anticipated the Indian ulema in warning the Muslims of the world against such traitors to Islam.

## II

Coming now to the essence of Ahmadism. A discussion of its sources and of the way in which pre-Islamic Magian ideas have, through the channels of Islamic mysticism, worked on the mind of its author would be extremely interesting from the standpoint of comparative religion. It is, however, impossible for me to undertake this discussion here. Suffice it to say that the real nature of Ahmadism is hidden behind the mist of mediaeval mysticism and theology. The Indian ulema, therefore, took it to be a purely theological movement and came out with theological weapons to deal with it. I believe, however, that this was not the proper method of dealing with the movement; and that the success of the ulema was, therefore, only partial. A careful psychological analysis of the revelations of the founder would perhaps be an effective method of dissecting the inner life of his personality. In this connection I may mention Maulvi Manzoor Elahi's collection of the founder's revelations which offers rich and varied material for psychological research. In my opinion the book provides a key to the character and personality of the founder, and I do hope that one day some young student of modern psychology will take it up for serious study. If he takes the Quran for his criterion, as he must for reasons which cannot be explained here, and extends his study to a comparative examination of the experiences of the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement and contemporary non-Muslim mystics, such an Rama Krishna of

Bengal, he is sure to meet more than one surprise as to the essential character of the experience on the basis of which prophethood is claimed for the originator of Ahmadism.

Another equally effective and more fruitful method, from the standpoint of the plain man, is to understand the real content of Ahmadism in the light of the history of Muslim theological thought in India, at least from the year 1799. The year 1799 is extremely important in the history of the world of Islam. In this year fell Tippu, and his fall meant the extinguishment of Muslim hopes for political prestige in India. In the same year was fought the battle of Navarino which saw the destruction of the Turkish fleet. Prophetic were the words of the author of the chronogram of Tippu's fall which visitors of Serangapatam find engraved on the wall of Tippu's mausoleum: "Gone is the glory of Ind as well as of Roum." Thus in the year 1799 the political decay of Islam in Asia reached its climax. But just as out of the humiliation of Germany on the day of Jena arose the modern German nation, it may be said with equal truth that out of the political humiliation of Islam in the year 1799 arose modern Islam and her problems. This point I shall explain in the sequel. For the present I want to draw the reader's attention to some questions which have arisen in Muslim India since the fall of Tippu and the development of European imperialism in Asia.

Does the idea of Caliphate in Islam embody a religious institution? How are the Indian Muslims and for that matter all the Muslims outside the Turkish Empire related to the Turkish Caliphate? Is India Dar-ul-Harb or Dar-ul-Islam? What is the real meaning of the doctrine of Jihad in Islam? What is the meaning of the expression "from amongst you" in the Quranic verse: "Obey God, obey the Prophet and the masters of the affairs (i.e. rulers) from amongst you?" What is the character of the traditions of the Prophet foretelling the advent of Imam Mehdi? These questions and some others which arose subsequently were, for obvious reasons, questions for Indian Muslims only. European imperialism, however, which was then rapidly penetrating the world of Islam was also intimately interested in them. The controversies which these questions created form a most interesting chapter in the history of Islam in India. The story is a long one and is still waiting for a powerful pen. Muslim politicians whose eyes were mainly fixed on the realities of the situation succeeded in winning over a section of the ulema to adopt a line of theological argument which, as they
thought, suited the situation; but it was not easy to conquer by mere logic the beliefs which had ruled for centuries the conscience of the masses of Islam in India. In such a situation logic can either proceed on the ground of political expediency or on the lines of a fresh orientation of texts and traditions. In either case the argument will fail to appeal to the masses. To the intensely religious masses of Islam only one thing can make a conclusive appeal, and that is Divine Authority. For an effective eradication of orthodox beliefs it was found necessary to find a revelational basis for a politically suitable orientation of theological doctrines involved in the questions mentioned above. This revelational basis is provided by Ahmadism. And the Ahamdis themselves claim this to be the greatest service rendered by them to British imperialism. The prophetic claim to a revelational basis for theological views of a political significance amounts to declaring that those who do not accept the claimant's views are infidel of the first water and destined for the flames of Hell. As I understand the significance of the movement, the Ahmadi belief that Christ died the death of an ordinary mortal, and that his second advent means only the advent of a person who is spiritually "like unto him," gives the movement some sort of a rational appearance; but they are not really essential to the spirit of the movement. In my opinion they are only preliminary steps towards the idea of full prophethood which alone can serve the purposes of the movement eventually brought into being by new political forces. In primitive countries it is not logic but authority that appeals. Given a sufficient amount of ignorance, credulity which strangely enough sometimes co-exists with good intelligence, and a person sufficiently audacious to declare himself a recipient of Divine revelation whose denial would entail eternal damnation, it is easy, in a subject Muslim country, to invent a political servility. And in the Punjab even an ill-woven net of vague theological expressions can easily capture the innocent peasant who has been for centuries exposed to all kinds of exploitation.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru advises the orthodox of all religions to unite and thus to delay the coming of what he conceives to be Indian nationalism. This ironical advice assumes that Ahmadism is a reform movement; he does not know that as far as Islam in India is concerned, Ahmadism involves both religious and political issues of the highest importance. As I have explained above, the function of Ahmadism in the history of Muslim religious thought is
to furnish a revelational basis for India's present political subjugation. Leaving aside the purely religious issues, on the ground of political issues alone, I think, it does not lie in the mouth of a man like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to accuse Indian Muslims of reactionary conservatism. I have no doubt that if he had grasped the real nature of Ahmadism he would have very much appreciated the attitude of Indian Muslims towards a religious movement which claims Divine authority for the woes of India.

Thus the reader will see that the pallor of Ahmadism which we find on the cheeks of Indian Islam today is not an abrupt phenomenon in the history of Muslim religious thought in India. The ideas which eventually shaped themselves in the form of this movement became prominent in theological discussions long before the founder of Ahmadism was born. Nor do I mean to insinuate that the founder of Ahmadism and his companions deliberately planned their programme. I dare say the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement did hear a voice; but whether this voice came from the God of Life and Power or arose out of the spiritual impoverishment of the people must depend upon the nature of the movement which it has created and the kind of thought and emotion which it has given to those who have listened to it. The reader must not think that I am using metaphorical language. The life-history of nations shows that when the tide of life in a people beings to ebb, decadence itself becomes a source of inspiration, inspiring their poets, philosophers, saints, statesmen, and turning them into a class of apostles whose sole ministry is to glorify, by the force of a seductive art of logic, all that is ignoble and ugly in the life of their people. Those apostles unconsciously clothe despair in the glittering garment of hope, undermine the traditional values of conduct and thus destroy the spiritual virility of those who happen to be their victims. One can only imagine the rotten state of a people's will who are, on the basis of Divine authority, made to accept their political environment as final. Thus all the actors who participated in the drama of Ahmadism were, I think, only innocent instruments in the hands of decadence. A similar drama had already been acted in Perisa; but it did not lead, and could not have led, to the religious and political issues which Ahmadism has created for Islam in India. Russia offered tolerance to Babism and allowed the Babis to open their first missionary centre in Ashkabad. England showed Ahmadis the same tolerance in allowing them to
open their first missionary centre in Woking. Whether Russia and England showed this tolerance on the ground of imperial expediency or pure broad-mindedness is difficult for us to decide. This much is absolutely clear that this tolerance has created difficult problems for Islam in Asia. In view of the structure of Islam, as I understand it, I have not the least doubt in my mind that Islam will emerge purer out of the difficulties thus created for her. Times are changing. Things in India have already taken a new turn. The new spirit of democracy which is coming to India is sure to disillusion the Ahmadis and to convince them of the absolute futility of their theological inventions.

Nor will Islam tolerate any revival of mediaeval mysticism which has already robbed its followers of their healthy instincts and given them only obscure thinking in return. It has, during the course of the past centuries, absorbed the best minds of Islam leaving the affairs of the State to mere mediocrities. Modern Islam cannot afford to repeat the experiment. Nor can it tolerate a repetition of the Punjab experiment of keeping Muslims occupied for half a century in theological problems which had absolutely no bearing on life. Islam has already passed into the broad daylight of fresh thought and experience; and no saint or prophet can bring it back to the fogs of mediaeval mysticism.

## III

Let me now turn to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's questions. I fear the Pandit's articles reveal practically no acquaintance with Islam or its religious history during the nineteenth century. Nor does he seem to have read what I have already written on the subject of his questions. It is not possible for me to reproduce here all that I have written before. Nor is it possible to write here a religious history of Islam in the nineteenth century without which a thorough understanding of the present situation in the world of Islam is impossible. Hundreds of books and articles have been written on Turkey and modern Islam. I have read most of this literature and probably the Pandit has also read it. I assure him, however, that not one of these writers understands the nature of the effect or of the cause that has brought about that effect. It is, therefore, necessary to briefly indicate the main currents of Muslim thought in Asia during the nineteenth century.

I have said above that in the year 1799 the political decay of Islam reached its climax. There can, however, be no greater testimony to the inner vitality of Islam than the fact that it practically took no time to realise its position in the world. During the nineteenth century were born Syed Ahmad Khan in India, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani in Afghanistan and Mufti Alam Jan in Russia. These men were Probably inspired by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab who was born in Nejd in 1700, the founder of the so-called Wahabi movement which may fitly be described as the first throb of life in modern Islam. The influence of Syed Ahmad Khan remained on the whole confined to India. It is probable, however, that he was the first modern Muslim to catch a glimpse of the positive character of the age which was coming. The remedy for the ills of Islam proposed by him, as by Mufti Alam Jan in Russia, was modern eduction. But the real greatness of the man consists in the fact that he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. We may differ from his religious views, but there can be no denying the fact that his sensitive soul was the first to react to the modern age.

The extreme conservatism of Indian Muslims which had lost its hold on the realities of life failed to see the real meaning of the religious attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan. In the North-West of India, a country more primitive and more saint-ridden than the rest of India, the Syed's movement was soon followed by the reaction of Ahmadism-a strange mixture of Semitic and Aryan mysticism with whom spiritual revival consists not in the purification of the individual's inner life according to the principle of the old Islamic Sufism, but in satisfying the expectant attitude of the masses by providing a "promised Messiah." The function of this "promised Messiah" is not to extricate the individual from an enervating present but to make him slavishly surrender his ego to its dictates. This reaction carries within itself a very subtle contradiction. It retains the discipline of Islam but destroys the will which that discipline was intended to fortify.

Maulana Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was a man of a different stamp. Strange are the ways of Providence. One of the most advanced Muslims of our time, both in religious thought and action, was born in Afghanistan! A perfect master of nearly all the Muslim languages of the world and endowed with the most winning eloquence, his restless soul migrated from one Muslim country to
another influencing some of the most prominent men in Persia, Egypt and Turkey. Some of the greatest theologians of our time, such as Mufti Muhammad Abduhu, and some of the men of younger generation who later became political leaders, as Zaghlul Pasha of Egypt, were his disciples. He wrote little, spoke much and thereby transformed into miniature Jamal-ud-Din all those who came into contact with him. He never claimed to be a prophet or a renewer; yet no man in our time has stirred the soul of Islam more deeply than he! His spirit is still working in the world of Islam and nobody knows where it will end.

It may, however, be asked what exactly was the objective of these great Muslims. The answer is that they found the world of Islam ruled by three main forces and they concentrated their whole energy on creating a revolt against these forces.

1 Mullaism. The ulema have always been a source of great strength to Islam. But during the course of centuries, especially since the destruction of Baghdad, they became extremely conservative and would not allow any freedom of Ijtihad i.e. the forming of independent judgment in matters of law. The Wahabi movement which was a source of inspiration to the nineteenth-century Muslim reformers was really a revolt against this rigidity of the Ulema. Thus the first objective of the nineteenth-century Muslim reformers was a fresh orientation of the faith and a freedom to reinterpret the law in the light of advancing experience.
2 Mysticism.The masses of Islam were swayed by the kind of mysticism which blinked actualities, enervated the people and kept them steeped in all kinds of superstition. From its high state as a force of spiritual education mysticism had fallen down to a mere means of exploiting the ignorance and the credulity of the people. It gradually and invisibly unnerved the will of Islam and softened it to the vent of seeking relief from the rigorous discipline of the law of Islam. The nineteenth-century reformers rose in revolt against this mysticism and called Muslims to the broad daylight of the modern world. Not that they were materialists. Their mission was to open the eyes of the Muslims to the spirit of Islam which aimed at the conquest of matter
and not flight from it.
3 Muslim Kings. The gaze of Muslim Kings was solely fixed on their own dynastic interests and, so long as these were protected, did not hesitate to sell their countries to the highest bidder. To prepare the masses of Muslims for a revolt against such a state of things in the world of Islam was the special mission of Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani.
It is not possible here to give a detailed account of the transformation which these reformers brought about in the world of Muslim thought and feeling. One thing, however, is clear. They prepared to a great extent the ground for another set of men, i.e. Zaghlul Pasha, Mustafa Kamal and Raza Shah. The reformers interpreted, argued and explained but the set of men who came after them, although inferior in academic learning, were men who, relying on their healthy instincts, had the courage to rush into sun-lit space and do, even by force, what the new conditions of, life demanded. Such men are liable to make mistakes; but the history of nations shows that even their mistakes have sometimes borne good fruit. Is them it is not logic but life that struggles restless to solve its own problems. It may be pointed out here that Syed Ahmad Khan, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and hundreds of the latter's disciples in Muslim countries were not Westernised Muslims. They were men who had sat on their knees before the mullas of the old school and had breathed the very intellectual and spiritual atmosphere which they later sought to reconstruct. Pressure of modern ideas may be admitted; but the history thus briefly indicated above clearly shows that the upheaval which has come to Turkey and which is likely, sooner or later, to come to other Muslim countries, is almost wholly determined by the forces within. It is only the superficial observer of the modern world of Islam who thinks that the present crisis in the world of Islam is wholly due to the working of alien forces.

Has then the world of Islam outside India, or especially Turkey, abandoned Islam? Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru thinks that Turkey had ceased to be a Muslim country. He does not seem to realise that the question whether a person or a community has ceased to be a member of Islam is, from the Muslim point of view, a purely legal question and must be decided in view of the structural principles of Islam. As long as a person is loyal to the two basic
principles of Islam, i.e. the Unity of God and Finality of the Holy Prophet, not even the strictest mulla can turn him outside the pale of Islam even though his interpretations of the Law or of the text of the Quran are believed to be erroneous. But perhaps Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has in his mind the supposed or real innovations which the Ataturk has introduced. Let us for a moment examine these. Is it the development of a general materialist outlook in Turkey which seems inimical to Islam? Islam has had too much of renunciation; it is time for the Muslims to look to realities. Materialism is a bad weapon against religion; but it is quite an effective one against mulla-craft and Sufi-craft which deliberately mystify the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity. The spirit of Islam is not afraid of its contact with matter. Indeed the Quran says: "Forget not thy share in the world." It is difficult for a non-Muslim to understand that, considering the history of the Muslim world during the last few centuries, the progress of a materialist outlook is only a form of self-realisation. Is it then the abolition of the old dress or the introduction of the Latin script? Islam as a religion has no country; as a society it has no specific language, no specific dress. Even the recitation of the Quran in Turkish is not without some precedent in Muslim history. Personally I regard it as a serious error of judgment; for the modern student of the Arabic language and literature knows full well that the only non-European language which has a future is Arabic. But the reports are that the Truks have already abandoned the vernacular recitation of the Quran. Is it then the abolition of polygamy or the licentiate ulema? According to the Law of Islam the Amir of a Muslim State has the power to revoke the "permission" of the law if he is convinced that they tend to cause social corruption. As to the licentiate ulema I would certainly introduce it in Muslim India if I had the power to do so. The invention of the myth-making mulla is largely due the stupidity of the average Muslim. In excluding him from the religious life of the people the Ataturk has done what would have delighted the heart of an Ibn-i-Taimiyya or a Shah Wall Ullah. There is a tradition of the Holy Prophet reported in the Mishkat to the effect that only the Amir of the Muslim State and the person or persons appointed by him are entitled to preach to the people. I do not know whether the Ataturk ever knew of this tradition; yet it is striking how the light of his Islamic conscience has illumined the zone of his action in this important matter. The adoption of
the Swiss code with its rule of inheritance is certainly a serious error which has arisen out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead. The joy of emancipation from the fetters of a long-standing priest-craft sometimes drives a people to untried courses of action. But Turkey as well as the rest of the world of Islam has yet to realise the hitherto unrevealed economic aspects of the Islamic law of inheritance which Von Kremer describes as the "supremely original branch of Muslim law." Is it the abolition of the Caliphate or the separation of Church and State? In its essence Islam is not Imperialism. In the abolition of the Caliphate which since the days of Omayyads had practically become a kind of Empire it is only the spirit of Islam that has worked out through the Ataturk. In order to understand the Turkish Ijtihad in the matter of the Caliphate we cannot but seek the guidance of Ibn-i-Khaldun-the great philosophical historian of Islam, and the father of modern history. I can do no better than quote here a passage from my Reconstruction:

Ibn-i-Khaldun, in his famous Prolegomena, mentions three distinct views of the idea of Universal Caliphate in Islam: (1) That Universal Imamate is a Divine institution and is consequently indispensable. (2) That it is merely a matter of expediency. (3) That there is no need of such an institution. The last view was taken by the Khawarij, the early republicans of Islam. It seems that modern Turkey has shifted from the first to the second view, i.e., to the view of the Muttazilla who regarded Universal Imamate as a matter of expediency only. The Turks argue that in our political thinking we must be guided by our past political experience which points unmistakably to the fact that the idea of Universal Imamate has failed in practice. It was a workable idea when the Empire of Islam was intact. Since the break-up of this Empire independent political units have arisen. The idea has ceased to be operative and cannot work as a living factor in the organization of modern Islam.
Nor is the idea of separation of Church and State alien to Islam. The doctrine of the Major Occultation of the Imam in a sense effected this
separation long ago in Shia Persia. The Islamic idea of the division of the religious and political functions of the State must not be confounded with the European idea of the separation of Church and State. The former is only a division of functions as is clear from the gradual creation in the Muslim State of the offices of Shaikh-ul-Islam and Ministers; the latter is based on the metaphysical dualism of spirit and matter. Christianity began as an order of monks having nothing to do with the affairs of the world; Islam was, from the very beginning, a civil society with laws civil in their nature though believed to be revelational in origin. The metaphysical dualism on which the European idea is based has borne bitter fruit among Western nations. Many years ago a book was written in America called If Christ Came to Chicago. In reviewing this book an American author says:

The lesson to be learned from Mr. Stead's book is that the great evils from which humanity is suffering today are evils that can be handled only by religious sentiments; that the handling of those evils has been in the great part surrendered to the State; that the State has itself been delivered over to corrupt political machines; that such machines are not only unwilling, but unable, to deal with those evils; and that nothing but a religious awakening of the citizens to their public duties can save countless millions from misery, and the State itself from degradation.
In the history of Muslim political experience this separation has meant only a separation of functions, not of ideas. It cannot he maintained that in Muslim countries the separation of Church and State means the freedom of Muslim legislative activity from the conscience of the people which has for centuries been trained and developed by the spirituality of Islam. Experience alone will show how the idea will work in modern Turkey. We can only hope that it will not be productive of the evils which it has produced in Europe and America.

I have briefly discussed the above innovations more for the sake of the Muslim reader than for Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The innovation specifically mentioned by the Pandit is the adoption by the Turks and Persians of racial and nationalist ideals. He seems to think that the adoption of such ideals means the
abandonment of Islam by Turkey and Persia. The student of history knows very well that Islam was born at a time when the old principles of human unification, such as blood-relationship and throne-culture, were failing. It, therefore, finds the principle of human unification not in the blood and hones but in the mind of man. Indeed its social message to mankind is: "Deracialise yourself or perish by internecine war." It is no exaggeration to say that Islam looks askance at Nature's race-building plans and creates, by means of its peculiar institutions, an outlook which would counteract the race-building forces of nature. In the direction of human domestication it has done in one. thousand years far more important work than Christianity and Buddhism ever did in two thousand years or more. It is no less than a miracle that an Indian Muslim finds himself at home in Morocco in spite of the disparity of race and language. Yet it cannot be said that Islam is totally opposed to race. Its history shows that in social-reform it relies mainly on its scheme for gradual deracialisation and proceeds on the lines of least resistance. "Verily," says the Quran, "We have made you into tribes and sub-tribes so that you may be identified; but the best among you in the eye of God is he who is the purest in life." Considering the mightiness of the problem of race and the amount of time which the deracialisation of mankind must necessarily take, the attitude of Islam towards the problem of race, i.e. stooping to conquer without itself becoming a race-making factor, is the only rational and workable attitude. There is a remarkable passage in Sir Arthur Keith's little book, The Problem of Race, which is worth quoting here:

And now man is awakening to the fact that Nature's primary end - race-building - is incompatible with the necessities of the modern economic world and is asking himself: What must I do? Bring race-building as practised hitherto by nature to an end and have eternal peace? Or permit Nature to pursue old course and have, as a necessary consequence, War? Man has to choose the one course or the other. There is no intermediate course possible.

It is, therefore, clear that if the Ataturk is inspired by Pan-Turanianism he is going not so much against the spirit of Islam as against the spirit of the times And if he is a believer in the absoluteness of races, he is sure to be defeated by the spirit of modern times which is wholly in keeping with the spirit of Islam.

Personally, however, I do not think that the Ataturk is inspired by Pan-Turanianism, as I believe his Pan-Turanianism is only a political retort to Pan-Saavonism or Pan-Germanism, or Pan-Anglo-Saxonism.

If the meaning of the above paragraph is well understood it is not difficult to see the attitude of Islam towards nationalist ideals. Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslim's faith; it comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life. In Turkey, Persia, Egypt and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i.e. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam, are either "People of the Book" or alike the People of the Book" with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations including matrimonial affiances. It becomes a problem for Muslims only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in seeking self determination as a cultural unit. In either case, it is thoroughly consistent with itself.

The above paragraphs briefly sum up the exact situation in the world of Islam to-day. If this is properly understood it will become clear that the fundamentals of Islamic solidarity are not in any way shaken by any external or internal forces. The solidarity of Islam, as I have explained before, consists in a uniform belief in the two 'structural principles of Islam supplemented by the five well-known "practices of faith". These are the first essentials of Islamic solidarity which has, in this sense, existed ever since the days of the Holy Prophet until it was recently disturbed by the Bahais in Persia and the Qadianis in India. It is a guarantee for a practically uniform spiritual atmosphere in the world of Islam. It facilitates the political combination of Muslim States, which combination may either assume the form of a world-State (ideal) or of a league of Muslim States, or of a number of independent States whose pacts and alliances are determined by purely economic and political considerations. That
is how the conceptual structure of this simple faith is related to the process of time. The profundity of this relation can be understood only in the light of certain verses of the Quran which it is not possible to' explain here without drifting away from the point immediately before us. Politically, then, the solidarity of Islam is shaken only when Muslim States war on one another; religiously it is shaken only-when Muslims rebel against any of the basic beliefs and practices of the Faith. It is in the interest of the eternal solidarity that Islam cannot tolerate any rebellious group within its fold. Outside the fold such a group is entitled to as much toleration as the followers of any other faith. It appears to me that at the present moment Islam is passing through a period of transition. It is shifting from one form of political solidarity to some other form which the forces of history have yet to determine. Events are so rapidly moving in the modern world that it is almost impossible to make a prediction. As to what will be the attitude towards non--Muslims of a politically united Islam, if such a thing ever comes, is a question which history alone can answer. All that I can say is that, lying midway between Asia and Europe and being a synthesis of Eastern and Western outlooks on life, Islam ought to act as a kind of intermediary between the East and the West. But what if the follies of Europe create an irreconcilable Islam? As things are developing in Europe from day to day they demand a radical transformation of Europe's attitude towards Islam. We can only hope that political vision will not allow itself to be obscured by the dictates of imperial ambition or economic exploitation. In so far as India is concerned I can say with perfect confidence that the Muslims of India will not submit to any kind of political idealism which would seek to annihilate their cultural entity. Sure of this they may be trusted to know how to reconcile the claims of religion and patriotism.

One word about His Highness the Agha Khan. What has led Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to attack the Agha Khan it is difficult for me to discover. Perhaps he thinks that the Qadianis and the Ismailis fall under the same category. He is obviously not aware that however the theological interpretation of the Ismailis may err, they believe in the basic principles of Islam. It is true that they believe in a perpetual Imamate; but the Imam according to them is not a recipient of Divine revelation. He is only an expounder of the Law. It is only the other day (vide The Star of Allahabad, March 12, 1934) that His Highness
the Agha Khan addressed his followers as follows:
Bear witness that Allah is One, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah, Quran is the Book of Allah, Kaaba is the Qibla of all. You are Muslims and should live with Muslims. Greet Muslims with Assalamo-o-Alaikum. Give your children Islamic names. Pray with Muslim congregations in mosques. Keep fast regularly. Solemnize your marriages according to Islamic rules of nikah. Treat all Muslims as your brothers.
It is for the Pandit now to decide whether the Agha Khan represents the solidarity of Islam or not.

Islam(Lahore), January 1936




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Our nation has full confidence in Jinnah's integrity and political judgment. It is for this reason that reactionary leaders are flustered.
Article 'Iqbal and Jawaharlal Nehru' by Prof. Riaz Hussain in Iqbal Review

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Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. At the time I wrote in reply to your articles I... Ahmadis. Indeed the main reason why I wrote a reply was to show, especially to you, how Muslim loyalty had originated and how eventually it had found a revelational basis in Ahmadism. After the publication of my paper I discovered, to my great surprise, that even the educated Muslims had no idea of the historical causes which had shaped the teachings of Ahmadism. Moreover your Muslim admirers in the Punjab and elsewhere felt perturbed over your articles as they thought you were in sympathy with the Ahmadiyya movement. This was mainly due to the fact that the Ahmadis were jubilant over your articles. The Ahmadi Press was mainly responsible for this misunderstanding about you. However I am glad to know that my impression was erroneous. I myself have little interest in theology, but had to dabble in it a bit in order to meet the Ahmadis on their own ground. I assure you that my paper was written with the best of intentions for Islam and India. I have no doubt in my mind that the Ahmadis are traitors both to Islam and to India.

I was extremely sorry to miss the opportunity of meeting
you in Lahore. I was very ill in those days and could not leave my rooms. For the last two years I have been living a life practically of retirement on account of continued illness. Do let me know when you come to the Punjab next. Did you receive my letter regarding your proposed Union for Civil Liberties? As you do not acknowledge it in your letter I fear it never reached you.
 1960), pp.187-88

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I am still invalid and fear I cannot write to you a long letter giving you in detail my views on the Palestine Report and the strange thoughts and feelings which it has engendered or is likely to engender in the mind of Indian Muslims as well as the Muslims of Asia generally. I think it is time for the National League of England to rise to the occasion and to save the British people from the great injustice to Arabs, to whom definite promises were given by British politicians in the name of British people. Through wisdom alone comes power; and when power abandons the ways of wisdom and relies upon itself alone, its end is death.

Prince Muhammad Ali of Egypt has made a constructive suggestion which must receive consideration from the British people. We must not forget that Palestine does not belong to England. She is holding it under a mandate from the League of Nations, which Muslim Asia is now learning to regard as an Anglo-French institution invented for the purpose of dividing the territories of weaker Muslim peoples. Nor does Palestine belong to the Jews, who by the Arabs. Nor is Zionism a religious movement. Apart from the movement, the Palestine Report itself has brought out this fact in a perfectly clear manner. Indeed the impression given to the unprejudiced reader is that Zionism as a movement was deliberately created, not for the purpose of giving a National Home to the Jews but mainly for the purpose of giving a home to British Imperialism on the Mediterranean littoral.

The Report amounts, on the whole, to a sale under duress to the British of the Holy Places in the shape of the permanent mandate which the Commission has invented in order to cover their imperialist designs. The price of this sale is an amount of money to the Arabs plus an appeal to their generosity and a piece of land to the Jews. I do hope that British statesmen will abandon this policy of actual hostility to the Arabs and restore their country to them. I have no doubt that the Arabs will be ready to come to an understanding with the British and, if necessary, with the French also. If the British people are duped by propaganda against the Arabs, I fear the consequences of the present policy will be grave.

Sherwani








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# Statement on the Report Recommending the Partition of Palestine 

Read at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League at Lahore on 27 July 1937

I assure the people that I feel the injustice done to the Arabs as keenly as anybody else who understands the situation in the Near East. I have no doubt that the British people can still be awakened to the fulfillment of the pledges given to the Arabs in the name of England. The British Parliament, I am glad to say, have in the recent Parliamentary debates left the question of partition open. This decision affords an excellent opportunity to the Muslims of the world emphatically declare to that the problem which the British statesmen are tackling is not one of Palestine only, but seriously affects the entire Muslim world.

The problem, studied in its historical perspective, is purely a Muslim problem. In the light of the history of Israel, Palestine ceased to be a Jewish problem long before the entry of Caliph Umar into Jerusalem more than 1300 years ago. Their dispersion, as Professor Hockings has pointed out, was perfectly voluntary and their scriptures were for the most part written outside Palestine. Nor was it ever a Christian problem. Modern historical research has doubted even the existence of Peter the Hermit. Even if we assume that the Crusades were an attempt to make Palestine a Christian problem, this attempt was defeated by the victories of Salah-ud-Din. I, therefore, regard Palestine as a purely Muslim problem.

Never were the motives of British imperialism as regards the Muslim
people of the Near East so completely unmasked as in the Report of the Royal Commission. The idea of a national home for the Jews in Palestine was only a device. In fact, British imperialism sought a home for itself in the form of a permanent mandate in the religious home of the Muslims. This is indeed a dangerous experiment, as a member of British Parliament has rightly described it, and can never lead to a solution of the British problem in the Mediterranean. Far from being a solution of the British problem in the Mediterranean it is really the beginning of the future difficulties of British imperialism. The sale of the Holy Land, including the Mosque of 'Umar, inflicted on the Arabs with the threat of martial law and softened by an appeal to their generosity, reveals bankruptcy of statesmanship rather than its achievement. The offer of a piece of rich land to the Jews and the rocky desert plus cash to the Arabs is no political wisdom. It is a low transaction unworthy and damaging to the honour of a great people in whose name definite promises of liberty and confederation were given to the Arabs.

It is impossible for me to discuss the details of the Palestine Report in this short statement. There are, however, important lessons which Muslims of Asia ought to take to heart. Experience has made it abundantly clear that the political integrity of the peoples of the Near East lies in the immediate reunion of the Turks and the Arabs. The policy of isolating the Turks from the rest of the Muslim world is still in action. We hear now and then that the Turks are repudiating Islam. A greater lie was never told. Only those who have no idea of the history of the concepts of Islamic jurisprudence fall an easy prey to this sort of mischievous propaganda.

The Arabs, whose religious consciousness gave birth to Islam (which united the various races of Asia with remarkable success), must never forget the consequences arising out of their deserting the Turks in their hour of trial.

Secondly, the Arab people must further remember that they cannot afford to rely on the advice of those Arab kings who are not in a position to arrive at an independent judgment in the matter of Palestine with an independent conscience. Whatever they decide they should decide on their own initiative after a full understanding of the problem before them.

Thirdly, the present moment is also a moment of trial for the Muslim statesmen of the free non-Arab Muslim countries of Asia. Since the abolition of
the Caliphate this is the first serious international problem of both' a religious and political nature which historical forces are compelling them to face. The possibilities of the Palestine problem may eventually compel them seriously to consider their position as members of that Anglo-French institution, miscalled the League of Nations, and to explore practical means for the formation of an Eastern League of Nations.

## 

AGrajur.




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## A. Religion

Is it morality touched with emotion?
Is it belief in a God or Gods with some kind of worship?
Mithraism
Darkness
Mosque
(i) Is it wholly other worldliness?
()
(ii) Is it fear of the invisible?
()
(iii) Is it intimacy with the supersensible?

Partly yes, but supersensible opened to be approached in a scientific spirit-

Ibn Khaldun, and idea of finality.
(iv) Is it some secret teaching to be handed orally (mystery)?

All early Magian religions believed in it Islam-No. Spengler, p.246, Vol.II
(v) Religion (origin of the word) ()
not used in the Qur'an.
Words used in the Qur'an ()
What is the meaning of ()
(vi) Martiman, Vol.I.
B. Islam a protest against all religions in the old sense of the word.
(i) Abolition of Prophethood. Islam and time
()
(ii) The idea of Salvation in Islam

Is it a salvation-religion?
()is used only once in the Qur'an. What is Najat?
(iii) No secret teaching
(iv) Belief in God ()

Deracialisation of mankind
()

Economic Equality
C. Church and State.

Is Islamic community a juristic person?
Is Islamic State a juristic person?
Relation of Church and State.
What is State? Like marriage or contract.
The Amir and the Shaikhul Islam, etc.
Hereditary monarchy. History of Islamic Priesthood.
Kerbala? Effect of it.
D. Islam and the Woman.
E. Islam and Capitalism.
(i) To the Magian culture Revelation is a mystical process in which some spirit enters the body of a person who speak it.()

In Islam 'Wahy' (quote verses) is the universal property of life in which a man obtains contact with the ultimate springs of life. It manifests itself in 3 ways.

It is abolished as a source of knowledge. In Islam contemplation of Amir spreads into thought and action. It realises the immensity of the world in which old conception of races, community, creed vanish into nothing. It is light.
()

It draws the world from darkness to the open day-light ()
(ii) The word Salvation ()

What is Najat? Liberation from what?
Not from the limitations of idividuality?
Not liberation from the tension of consciousness.
It is relief of the Ego's loneliness in the Universe.
The conception of God ()
(Comrade).
(a) Sleep liberates ()
(b) Wine liberates. ()

Breaks the vigour of consciousness.
(c) Dancing too liberates ()

All these means of escape from space and time are discouraged.
You should overcome space and time by
()

Mastering actuality by understanding
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Fear of visible actuality, i.e. Space and Time is removed when we begin to understand things as causal relations.
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Knowledge of world as nature-actuality
Fear overcome not by charms but by formula
(d) Knowledge of world as movement-history, Sufism.
(iii) $\left(\right.$ à $\left.^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}{ }^{-}{ }^{-}\right)$Security

Reforms movement in Islam.
Ibn Taimiyya.
Abdul Wahhab.
Bab Ahmadiyya...\}Prophethood \{All more or less Magian
Syed Ahmad-Rationalism
The new movement.
The coming of the expected one ( $3 / 4 \mathrm{ul̀u}$ Ý MvTÝ)
(i) No return.(PÝ¥ $\mathfrak{~ U ̀ ~} \operatorname{RgFrp} \hat{U}^{-}$)

Traditions-Bukhari.
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I am very glad to see that the National League is taking a keen interest in the matter of Palestine and I have no doubt that the League will eventually succeed in making the British people realise the true meaning of the situation and the political consequences which may follow in case Britain loses the friendship of the Arabs. I have been more or less in touch with Egypt, Syria and Iraq. I also received letters from Najaf. You must have read that the Shias of Kerbala and Najaf have made a strong protest against the partition of Palestine. The Persian Prime Minister and the President of the Turkish Republic have also spoken and protested.

In India too the feeling is rapidly growing more and more intense. The other day 50,000 Muslims met at Delhi and protested against the Palestine Commission. It is further reported in the Press that some Muslims have been arrested in Cawnpore in connection with the Palestine question. It is now perfectly clear that the entire Muslim world is united on this question.

I have every reason to believe that the National League will save England from the grave political blunder and in so doing it will serve both England and the Muslim world.

Sherwani



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## Statement Urging the Creation of a Chair for Islamic Research Published on 10th December, 1937

I am very grateful to Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan for the many kind things he has said of me in his message to the Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood, Lahore.

I wish, however, to say a few words regarding his proposal that my readers and others interested in my work should present a purse to me. I feel that the needs of the people as a whole are far more pressing than the needs of a private individual even though his work may have been a source of inspiration to most people. The individual and his needs pass away: the people and their needs remain.

The creation of a chair for Islamic research on modern lines in the local islamia College is the crying need of the country. Nowhere in India has the ignorance of Islamic history, theology, jurisprudence and Sufism been so successfully exploited as in the Punjab.

It is high time to show to the people by a careful genetic study of Islamic thought and life what the faith really stands for and how its main ideas and problems have been stifled under the pressure of a hard crust which has grown over the conscience of modern Indian Islam. This crust demands immediate removal so that the conscience of the younger generation may find a free and natural expression.

Even now Muslims will find much of interest in this institution, for Islam is and has been a very important phase in the life of Asiatic peoples and has played a great role in the religious and intellectual evolution of mankind.

I do hope this will meet the Premier's approval and his influence will make this proposal a success. I offer a humble contribution of Rs. 100 to the fund.


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## New Year Message

Broadcast from the Lahore Station of All-India Radio on 1st January 1938
The modern age prides itself on its progress in knowledge and its matchless scientific developments. No doubt, the pride is justified. Today space and time are being annihilated and man is achieving amazing successes in unveiling the secrets of nature and harnessing its forces to his own service. But in spite of all these developments, the tyranny of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else besides. Under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of man are being trampled underfoot in a way of which not even the darkest period of human history presents a parallel. The so-called statesmen to whom government and leadership of men was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to protect and cherish those ideals which go to form a higher humanity, to prevent man's oppression of man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, .have, in their hunger for dominion and imperial possessions, shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their religions, their morals, of their cultural traditions and their literatures. Then they sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leech of imperialism might go on sucking their blood without interruption.

As I look back on the year that has passed and as I look at the world in the midst of the New Year's rejoieings, it may be Abyssinia or Palestine, Spain or China, the same misery prevails in every corner of man's earthly home, and
hundreds of thousands of men are being butchered mercilessly. Engines of destruction created by science are wiping out the great landmarks of man's cultural achievements. The governments which are not themselves engaged in this drama of fire and blood are sucking the blood of the weaker peoples economically. It is as if the day of doom had come upon the earth, in which each looks after the safety of his own skin, and in which no voice of human sympathy or fellowship is audible.

The world's thinkers are stricken dumb. Is this going to the end of all this progress and evolution of civilisation, they ask, that men should destroy one another in mutual hatred and make human habitation impossible on this earth? Remember, man can he maintained on this earth only by 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. Do you not see that the people of Spain, though they have the same common bond by one race, one nationality, one language and one religion, are cutting one another's throats and destroying their culture and civilisation by their own hands owing to difference in their economic creed? This one event shows clearly that national unity too is not a very durable force. Only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood 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 completely, they will never be able to lead a happy and contended life and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialise.

Let us therefore begin the New Year with the prayer that God Almighty may grant humanity to those who are in places of power and government and teach them to cherish mankind.
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# 2 <br>  - 

Statement on Islam and Nationalism<br>in Reply to a Statement of Maulana Husain Ahmad

[Excerpt]
That part of Maulana Husain Ahmad's statement in which he has asked the Editor of the Ehsan to produce an authority in support of the view that the millat of Islam is founded upon human dignity and brotherhood, must surprise many Muslims. To me, however, it has not come as a surprise, because, like misfortune, error too never comes alone. When a Muslim's mind and heart are over-powered by that idea of nationalism which the Maulana is preaching, then it is inevitable that various kinds of doubts should arise in his mind concerning the foundation of Islam. From nationalism thoughts naturally move towards the idea that mankind has been so sharply divided into nations that it is impossible to bring about unity among them. This second error which arises from nationalism gives birth to the conception of the relativity of religions, ie. the religion of a land belongs to that land alone and does not suit the temperaments of other nations. This third error must inevitably lead to irreligiousness and scepticism.

This is the psychological analysis of that unfortunate Muslim who becomes a victim of spiritual paralysis. So far as the question of authority is concerned, the whole of the Quran is an authoritative verdict for it. There should be no misunderstanding about the words "dignity of man". In Islamic thought these words mean that higher reality which has been vested in the heart and conscience of man, ie. his inner structure derives itself from the immutable divine law, and that his dignity depends for its continuance and preservation upon that yearning for the Unity of God which permeates his whole being.

The history of man is an infinite process of mutual conflicts, sanguine battles and civil wars. In these circumstances can we have among mankind a constitution, the social life of which is based upon peace and security? The

Quran's answer is: Yes, provided man takes for his ideal the propagation of the Unity of God in the thoughts and actions of mankind. The search for such an ideal and its maintenance is no miracle of political manoeuvering: it is a peculiar greatness of the Holy Prophet that the self-invented distinctions and superiority complexes of the nations of the world are destroyed and there comes into being a community which can be styled [a nation submissive to Thee] and and to whose thoughts and actions the divine dictate [witnesses against mankind] justly applies.

The truth is that in the mind of Maulana Husain Ahmad and others who think like him, the conception of nationalism in a way has the same place which the rejection of the Finality of the Holy Prophet has in the minds of Qadianis. The upholders of the idea of nationalism, in other words, say that, in view of the present-day needs, it is necessary for the Muslim community to take up a position in addition to what the divine law has prescribed and defined for them for all time to come in the same way in which the Qadiani view, by inventing a new prophethood, directs the Qadiani thought into a channel which ultimately leads to the denial of the perfection and consummation of prophethood in Muhammad. Prima face, nationalism is a political concept while the Qadiani denial of the Finality of Muhammad is a theological question, but between the two there exists a deep inner relationship which can be clearly demonstrated only when a Muslim historian gifted with acute insight, compiles a history of Indian Muslims with particular reference to the religious thought of some of their apparently energetic sects.

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