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BEDIL IN THE LIGHT OF BERGSON

(An unpublished article of Iqbal)

Edited by:

DR. TEHSIN FIRAQI

Introduction

Iqbal was a poet of immense erudition. He benefited from the literary and philosophical sources of the Orient and the Occident alike. His literary production mainly consists of poetry but he occasionally expressed himself in prose too. Apart from his two books¹ most of his speeches, statements and writings have also been edited in many volumes², but the possibility still remains that one may come across an unpublished statement or an article of the poet. It is my privilege to present here one such article entitled “Bedil in the Light of Bergson”. Written in the poet’s own hand-writing, the original article is preserved among the Iqbal material in the Iqbal Museum. I am indebted to Mr. Muhammad Suheyl Umar for drawing my attention to, and then helping me in obtaining the photocopy of, the article.

It would not be out of place if, before discussing the article itself, we briefly mention what Iqbal thought and wrote about the philosophy of Bergson and Bedil.

From his early days to the end of his life, Iqbal spoke very highly of the Poetry of Bedil (1664-1720) and his dynamic philosophy. He has mentioned Bedil more than once in his writings-both in his letters and statements, poetry and prose. reflections. In one of his letters to S.M. Ikram, praising his work on Ghalib, he frankly expressed his candid opinion about the influence of Bedil on Ghalib and said that inspite of all his efforts, Ghalib could not succeed in imbibing the spirit of Bedil,³ though he succeeded in imitating his

¹ The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, Bazmi-Iqbal, Lahore, 1964, and The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1986-

² For details see, Rafi ud Din Hashmi, Kitabiati-Iqbal, Iqbal Academy, 1978-

³ Bedil himself was well aware of the uniqueness of his style and spirit_ and so he had categorically warned those who intended to follow him:

style. In a letter to Mian Bashir Ahmed, Iqbal has emphasised the point that a comparative study of Ghalib and Bedil apropos of their poetry is necessary. In addition to this, it is also imperative to see how far the philosophy of life enunciated by Bedil impressed Ghalib and how far he (Ghalib) could grasp this philosophy.⁴ Iqbal was also of the opinion that both in and outside India the contemporaries of Bedil could not comprehend the theories of life enunciated by the poet. On another occasion, answering to a question of Mr. Majeed Malik, he expressed the opinion that Bedil's style could not gain currency in Urdu.

In his Stray Reflections - a conspectus of his early odd jottings based on the impressions belonging to his period of flowering - he pays glowing tributes to Bedil, as he does to so many other poets and philosophers, indigenous and otherwise. In one such "reflection" he says categorically:

"I confess I owe a great deal to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth. The first two led me into the "inside" of things, the third and fourth taught me how to remain oriental in spirit and expression after having assimilated foreign ideals of poetry and the last saved me from atheism in my student days"⁵

Again under the title "Wonder", Iqbal compares what Plato and Bedil have said about it. He is of the opinion that the stand-point of Bedil and Plato about "Wonder" is opposed to each other. Thus runs the impression of Iqbal:

"Wonder, says Plato, is the mother of all science. Bedil (Mirza Abdul (Qadir) looks at the emotion of wonder from a different standpoint. Says he: To Plato wonder is valuable because it leads to our questioning of nature, to

بلند است آن قدر با آشیان عجز بیدل
کہ بے سعی شکست بال و پر نتوان رسید اینجا

⁴ Rooh-e-Makateeb-e-Iqbal, Abdullah Quraishi, Ed., Iqbal Academy Lahore, p.629-

⁵ "Stray Reflections", P.54-

Bedil, it has a value of its own, irrespective of its intellectual consequences. It is impossible to express the idea more beautifully than Bedil.”⁶

Iqbal is so enamoured of Bedil that he at times quotes his verses and lays bare certain features of his poetry and at times exhorts his friend Kishan Parshad Shad to edit the divan of Bedil.⁷ What impressed Iqbal most was not only the style of his poetry but also his life style. Comparing the mystic attitudes of Bedil and Ghalib, Iqbal had once remarked that “the mysticism of the former is dynamic and that of the latter is inclined to be static”.⁸

Not only in prose but also in his poetry, Iqbal has mentioned Bedil twice. In Bang-e-Dara, he proclaimed Bedil as **مرشد مذهب کامل** (the Perfect Mentor) in a poem entitled⁹ and inserted his famous couplet at the end of the poem:

باہر کمال اند کے آشفستگی خوش است
پر چند عقل کل شدہ بے جنوں مباح

In Zarb-e-Kalim, under the title “Mirza Bedil”¹⁰, the poet touches on the problem of the nature of the Universe and concludes by quoting a couplet from Bedil, which according to him beautifully throws open the gate of this “wonderland”. the couplet is:

دل اگر داشت وسعت بے
نشان بود این چمن
رنگ مے بیرون نشست از

⁶ . Ibid, P.83-

⁷ Rooh-e-Mahatib-e-Iqbal, P.144-

⁸ A. Anwer Beg: The Poet of the East 1961, P.202-

⁹ Bang-e-Dara, 19th Edition, 1959, P.277-

¹⁰ Zarb-e-Kalim, 11th Edition, 1963, P.121-

بسکہ میناتنگ بود

Now the question arises: why is Iqbal so much enamoured of Bedil? It is because both the poets hold a similar view of Reality. Though Iqbal, on some occasions, as is evident from the article under review, shows his differences with regard to the pantheistic attitude of Bedil, he praises him for his deep insight into the human mind. Again both the poets consider intuition to be a powerful and effective means of apprehending Reality. Both are of the opinion that the dry-as-dust rationalism does not work. They also share the unshakable belief in the potentialities of man and hold the view that man can move mountains and conquer not only the forces of nature but can also attain to the highest sublimities, ever dreamt of. Through a host of similes, metaphors and symbols, Bedil makes this point clear.¹¹ At places he unfurls the banner of human greatness and declares that the mount Sinai has borrowed its resplendence from his glow-worm (a warm and spiritualised human heart) while on other occasions he exhorts man to find out his potentialities which can only be discovered if he tears up the veil which hides the treasure from his eyes:

حیف نشگا فیتم پرده دل
وانه بودست مهر خرمن با
کدام رمزوجه اسرار خویش را وریاب
که پرچه هست نہار غیر آشکار تونیست
پر دو عالم خاک شد تابست نقش آدمی
امے بہار نیستی از قدر خود ہشیار باش
موج دریا در کنارم ازتگ وپویم پرس
آنچه من گم کر ده ام نایا فتن، گم کردہ ام

¹¹ On this favourite theme, Iqbal has composed hundreds of beautiful couplets to his credit-

اے طلب در وصل ہم مشکن غبار جستجو
آتشم گر زندہ می خواہی زپاننشان مرا
بحسن خویش نگاہی کہ در جهان ظہور
خطاب احسن تقویم داری از خلاق

The instances can, no doubt, be multiplied but I think these are sufficient to make clear the similarities of both the poets. The above verses remind one of what Iqbal has said on the subject in a similar vein. A few such verses are given below:

حسن کا گنج گرا نمایہ تجھے مل جاتا
تو نے فرہاد نہ کھودا کبھی ویرانہ دل
شاید اول شعور خویشتن
خویش را دیدن بنور خویشتن
آشنا اپنی حقیقت سے ہو اسے دہقان ذرا
وانہ تو، کھیتی بھی تو، باران بھی تو، حاصل بھی تو
آپہ کائنات کا معنی دیریاب تو
نکلے تری تلاش میں قافلہ ہائے رنگ و بو
عالم سوز و ساز میں وصل سے بڑھ کے بے فراق
وصل میں سرگ آرزو ہجر میں لذت طلب

از شریعت احسن التقویم شو
وارث ایمان ابراہیم شو

It is, perhaps, because of such similarities that both the poets share, to some extent, a common diction. It would be a very interesting study to discern a common diction of both the great poets but it is not the right place to attempt it. Suffice it to say that Iqbal was greatly inspired by his predecessor and it is owing to this inspiration that a diction similar to that of Bedil has naturally percolated down in his poetry. The combination of words such as (فیض شعور قافلہ رنگ وبو، آئینہ دار ہستی) etc. etc., makes it clear. Dr. Abdul Ghani in his book *Life & Works of Abdul Qadir Bedil* has given a long list of such combinations of words which in one way or another, have the impress of Bedilian style.

It is also interesting to note that both Iqbal and Bedil were much averse to those forms of mysticism which had deviated from its centre, freed itself from the divine Law and assumed the form of quite an independent "Tariqa". In "Bedil in the light of Bergson", Iqbal expresses his deep aversion to such mysticism and reacts strongly against it. He calls it Persian Mysticism which has hardly anything in common with the Islamic Sufism. In many of his writings Iqbal expresses his deep indignation against this plain aberration as is amply evident from his preface to the first edition of the *Secrets of the Self* and in his incomplete book on *Tasawwuf*, in addition to what he has said against it in his letters and in his poetry. As for Bedil he expressed his reaction against this kind of mysticism which he declared as something "meaningless".

در مزاج خلق بے کاری ہوس می پرورد
غافلان نام فضولی را تصوف کرده اند

But it does not mean that the tasawwuf brought forward by Bedil is wholly acceptable to Iqbal. Iqbal also objects to it at length and declares that in its ultimate analysis it is nothing short of the idea of “Descent” is much loved and propagated by the pantheistic sufis - and quite contrary to the spirit of Islam. It may, however, be left to the reader to decide for himself whether the tasawwuf of Bedil is pantheistic in essence or panentheistic as is insisted by some scholars of Bedil.

As to the birth-place of Bedil, Iqbal has mentioned him as “Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil of Akbarabad” in his article under discussion. In his famous “Lectures” he again expresses the same view¹².

Now as far as the birth-place of Bedil is concerned, various Tazhira writers have mentioned various places. Mir Qudrat-Ullah Qasim says that Bedil was born in Bokhara and Nassakh follows him in this regard. Khushgo is of the opinion that Bedil was born in Akbarabad while Delhi and Lahore have also been mentioned in this connection by Ali Quli Hidayat and Tahir Nasabadi respectively. May be because of such contradictory opinions, Iqbal picked Akbarabad to be the birth-place of Bedil. However it has now been established both from the internal evidences of Bedil’s poetry and from the writings of his contemporaries (the most reliable of his contemporaries being Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami) that Bedil was born in what was known in the Buddhist Era as Patliputra and what is now known as Patna (Azimabad)¹³.

Perhaps enough of Bedil. We now turn to Bergson (1859-1941) who remained a favourite of Iqbal throughout his life and from whose writings Iqbal has gleaned considerably. It may be noted here that the theories of “Elan Vital” and “Intuition” amply propounded by Bergson in the last quarter of the nineteenth century gained a wide popularity in the first half of the twentieth century. The concepts of Reality put forward by Iqbal and Bergson have many common elements. Iqbal was much fascinated by the

¹² The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, Ashraf, LHR, rep. 1968, P.B-

¹³ For a detailed study of the origin, birth-place and the early life of the poet, the reader is referred to Dr. Abdul Ghani’s book, op.cit., PP.4,31-

concept of Pure Duration propounded by Bergson and both in his poetry and prose Iqbal elaborated it force -fully. In the Secrets of the Self under the title "الوقت سيف" (Time is a Sword) Iqbal quotes Mohammad bin Idrees Ashshafiee who called Time as "the cutting Sword" and then proceeds to elaborate the theory of pure duration adding the ahadith **وقت الله** and

في مع الله وقت in support of the Real Time. He accosts those who are **لا تسبو الدهر** "Captives of tomorrows and yesterdays" and urges them to see a Universe that lies hidden in their hearts. Time, which these short-sighted people have taken for a straight line with nights and days as dots on it ¹⁴ is, in reality everlasting and indivisible:

باز با پیمانہ لیل و نہار
فکر تو پیمو وطول روزگار
تو کہ از اصل زمان آگہ نہ
از حیات جاوداں آگہ نہ

اصل وقت از گردش خورشید نیست
وقت جاوید است و خور جاوید نیست
وقت را مثل گمان گسترده
امتیاز دوش و فردا کرده

¹⁴ In the article "Bedil in the Light of Bergson", Iqbal has called the spatialised Time as "False, unreal time."

In the poem quoted above, Iqbal has not mentioned Bergson but it is clear from its contents that the concept of Time has been enunciated in the light of Pure Duration which is the corner-stone in the philosophy of the French philosopher.

In his preface to *Pyam-e-Mashriq* (1923), Iqbal has given us the tidings of a new world with a new man that is emerging out of the ashes of the old world. According to the poet a silhouette of this new man and the dim contours of this new world can be seen in the writings of Einstein and Bergson. In the same book,, Iqbal delivers a message from Bergson as "پیغام

"برگسون" in which the intentioned philosopher advises human kind to bring forward an intellect which has drawn inspiration from the heart because only - such intellect can comprehend the mystery of life. Now this is another name for intuition-the kernel of the Bergsonian Philosophy.

Intuition, according to Bergson, is a direct apprehension of Reality which is non-intellectual. In intuition all reality is present. It does not admit of analysis because in analysis all is over and past or not- yet. But what does this intuition bring to us? This has been answered pertinently by H. Wildon Carr. He says:

“What intuition does for us is to give us another means of apprehension by a fluid and not a static category; in apprehending our life as true duration we grasp it in the living experience itself and instead of fixing the movement in a rigid frame follow it in its sinuosities; we have a form of knowledge which adopts the movement.¹⁵

Now the question arises why did Bergson lay such a stress on intuition and how can he say that the Ultimate Reality of the universe is spiritual? The answer is that after deep observation and still deeper insight in to the phenomena of life, Bergson had reached the conclusion that the intolerant and haughty cult of science which was so prevalent and pervasive in his days

¹⁵ . The philosophy of Change, 1914, pp. 30,31-

and had pretensions of being all-knowing touched only the surface of the human self and could not fathom the depths of the ocean of the Universe. How very strange that all metaphysics had been thrown aside as “Fantasy” in his days while Bergson thought and, indeed, very rightly that science was ill-suited to grasp the Reality in its entirety and it could only be grasped with the help of intuition.¹⁶ He was of the view that a genuine metaphysics results from intuition and not from intellectual activity. He was of the opinion that it was the soul that brings the past to act in the present and is the only unifying factor between the past and the future. Hence the life a perpetual and unceasing flux. Bergson has elaborated this “unceasing flux” in the following, words:

“I find first of all, that I pass from state to state. I am warm or cold, I am merry or sad, I work or I do nothing, I look at what is around me or I think of something else. Sensations, feelings, volitions, ideas - such are the changes into which my existence is divided and which colour it 7 in turns. I change, then without unceasing.”¹⁷

This unceasing flux, this formidable impetus equally governs every living being and the whole of humanity, according to Bergson, is one immense army galloping beside and before and behind with a view to beat down every resistance and clear the most formidable hindrances. Apparently, it seems that the forces that hinder and thwart this unceasing flow of life are something foreign to it. For example matter may apparently be regarded as inimical to the spiritual reality and may thus be declared as something detached from it. Bergson’s *Elan vital*, however, does not admit of any such detachment or separation. In the article under discussion Iqbal has expressed the same view and almost exactly in the same way as the famous exponent of Bergson - Wildon Carr, has. Carr says:

“The spiritual reality, then, which philosophy affirms is not reality that is detached from and foreign to matter, superposed upon matter, or existing

¹⁶ The opening lines of the *Creative Evolution*, (The Modern library Edition) 1944, run thus: “The existence of which we are most assured and which we know best is unquestionably our own, for of every other object we have notions which may be considered external and superficial, whereas of ourselves, our perception is internal and profound,” Chapter 1, p. 3-

¹⁷ *Creative Evolution*, op.cit., p. 3-

separately from matter. It is not the assertion that there is a psychological reality, but that the one is the inverse order of that which is the other. Physics is, to quote a phrase of Bergson, inverted “Psychics”. The two orders of reality are not aspects, they are distinguishable and yet inseparable in an original movement, the absence of one order of beginning is necessarily the presence of other.¹⁸

And now something more about the article that is being introduced in the following pages: In “Bedil in the light of Bergson” what is astonishing are the striking similarities that Iqbal has discerned between the two master minds. Instead, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that these similarities are not circumscribed to Bedil and Bergson alone but can be found in Iqbal’s philosophy also. But it must also be noted that Iqbal has also his points of divergence. His familiarity with Bedil and Bergson is not one of unquestioning fidelity to them. He has, at points, very pertinently criticised the philosophy of both Bedil and Bergson and has posed very pungent questions with regard to the Sufi idea of “Descent” in case of Bedil and to the idea propounded by Bergson that intelligence is a kind of original sin and with a view to reaching the core of Reality one must revert to the pre- intelligence condition as Bergson insists. In a similar vein, Iqbal has raised serious questions as to the total validity of intuition.

In his lecture “The Revelation of Religious Experience”, Iqbal has paid homage to Bergson as well as criticised; him on certain points. For example, Iqbal is of the opinion that unity of consciousness has a forward looking aspect also which Bergson has totally ignored. Iqbal thinks that the error of Bergson consists in regarding pure time as prior to itself to which alone pure Duration is predicable. Some such objections taken together with those raised in the article under review, form almost a pithy critique of Bergson; much beneficial and intriguing for the students of philosophy.

In the article under review Iqbal’s attitude towards the sublimation of man is as pronounced as in his other writings especially in his poetry. He believes in self-fortification:

¹⁸ The Philosophy of Change, 1914, p. 185-

بخود خزیده و محکم چوکوهساران زی
چو خس مزی که هوا تیز و شعله بیباک است

He has lashed out severely on the idea of annihilation which according to him is the vice of all Persian Sufism. Discussing the sufi idea of “Descent” in the article under discussion, Iqbal is of the view that this idea is Manichaeism in spirit. Manichaeism, according to our poet, not only influenced Christianity but Islam also. He is of the opinion that the;

“Arabian conquest of Persia resulted after all in the conversion of Islam to Manichaeism and the old Persian doctrine of the self darkening of God reappeared in the form of the sufi idea of ‘Descent’, combined with an asceticism thoroughly Manichaeism in spirit.”

It is quite evident from the above extract that Iqbal thought the idea of “Descent” and “Asceticism” thoroughly Manichaeism in spirit and held the conquest of Persia responsible for the “conversion” of Islam to Manichaeism. It is strange that Islam, much stronger in spirit and culture, could have submitted to Manichaeism so much so as to undergo a Manichaeism conversion. It is a very debatable question. But this question aside, the interesting thing is that what Iqbal wrote in 1910 in his Stray Reflections about the Muslim conquest of Persia is diametrically apposed to the notion he expresses in the present article. He had written under the title “The Conquest of Persia”:

“If you ask me what is the most important event in the history of Islam, I shall say without hesitation:

The Conquest of Persia”. The battle of Nehawand gave the Arabs not only a beautiful country, but also an ancient civilization, or more properly, a people who could make a civilization with Semitic and Aryan material. Our Muslim civilization is a product of the cross-fertilization of the Semitic and the Aryan ideas---But for the conquest of Persia, the civilization of Islam

would have been one sided. The conquest of Persia gave us what the Conquest of Greece gave to Romans.¹⁹

The comparison of both the extracts given above not only makes manifest the contradictions but also shows that the present article might have been written much after 1910 and probably in 1916 or thereabout.

Although, to the question as to when the article under review was written, nothing can be said precisely, internal evidences, however, reveal that the article might have been written in 1916 or thereabout. My contention is that, in this article, Iqbal's opposing and rather indignant attitude towards Persian Sufism is reminiscent of his writings on the same subject during 1915-1917. Besides the preface and certain articles alluded to earlier, his letters to certain literary luminaries during the period also show his aversion to the Persian sufism. For example in 1917 he wrote to Syed Sulaiman Nadvi:

“Sufism is nothing short of an alien plant on the soil of Islam and nourished in the mental climate of the “Ajamites.”²⁰

¹⁹ Stray Reflections, pp.49-50-

²⁰ Iqbal Nama, Ashraf, Lahore, (Vold) p. 78-

2.2.12 & the night
of Bergamo.

Large white paper sheet of Albarado is a characteristic
kind of the highest order - perhaps the greatest book that
the world has known since the days of Plato.

~~Plato's, Aristotle's, Epicurus' and Lucretius' works~~
~~was in all respects the same as an acute opinion~~
And also ruthlessly direct on concrete human
experiences with a view to disclose the presence of
the universal therein. But it is a book ^{of such} ~~the~~ ^{which}
~~analysis~~ ^{is naturally} ~~of such~~ ^{analysis} ~~of such~~ ^{analysis}
merit that the world will be happy and
admits the universal in it by mere looking
at its own suitable points of view.

ليس في الدنيا شيء
"فـ" ~~فـ~~

"He was unable to see the grace of the Ocean!
O heedless observer! then each closed their
eyes, where is the veil?"

Again we have the poet's vision of the individual
(Jiv. Atma) in the following way:-

ليس في الدنيا شيء
"فـ" ~~فـ~~

The Dawn is nothing more than a confused jumble
of scattered particles of light; yet we talk of it as
though it were something concrete, a distinct unity,
a substance. "The conditions (of life) in this wilderness
of a world, says Kahl, have fastened upon me like
the Dawn, the false charge of a concrete substance
which my nature does not admit."

But the not remarkable thing about Kahl,
however is the strikingly polyphonic character of

How far is this notion different from the one which he expressed in his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (1908) in which he had very vehemently repudiated this idea, propounded by E. G. Browne! It must also be noted that Iqbal's stay in Europe was a turning point in his life and after 1910, he constantly pondered over the question of Muslim revivalism and the concept of Self Iqbal has expressed elsewhere that he gave a serious consideration to the concept of 'Self' for at least fifteen years. He had at last reached the conclusion that one of the most potent factors in the decay of Muslim culture was the Persian mystic thought and practices that had entered the Islamic organism and had sapped its energies. This idea formed its final crystallization in 1915 when his book *The Secrets of the Self* was published for the first time and caused a lot of stir, Commotion, indignation, disparagement, and agitation among the traditional pantheistic sufi circles. The present article, especially the portion consisting of his criticism of Pantheistic Sufism, it seems, is the ramification of what he had written in *The Secrets of the Self* on the subject.

Lastly, it seems that once written in a running hand with much editing and pruning, the article was put aside and was never reviewed by the author. That is why there are certain omissions. A few spelling mistakes also crept into the text. We have given the missing words in the brackets and the spelling mistakes (not more than three or four) have also been corrected. At places it was deemed necessary to add some notes. These will be found at the end of the article.

In the end I would like to thank Mr. Mohammad Salim-ur-Rehman for his help in deciphering certain words that were not easily readable.

(Dr. Tehsin Firaqi)

Bedil in the Light of Bergson

Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil of Akbarabad is a speculative mind of the highest order, perhaps the greatest poet-thinker that India has produced since the days of Shaker.²¹ Shanker, however, is an acute logician who

²¹ Shankar Acharya - one of the greatest Hindu philosophers. He lived in the 9th century A.D. He died at the age of 32. He wrote the exegeses of Upanishads, Brahma Sutra and Shrimad Bhagvat Gita

ruthlessly dissects our concrete sense-experience with a view to disclose the presence of the Universal therein. Bedil - a poet to whom analysis is naturally painful and inartistic deals with the concrete more gently and suggests the Universal in it by mere looking at its own suitable point of view:

"ز موج پرده بروے حباب نتوان بست
تو چشم بسته اسے بے خبر نقاب کجاست"

"the wave cannot screen the face of the Ocean

O heedless observer, thou hast closed thine eyes, where is the veil"?

Again we have the poet's vision of the individual (Jiv Atma) in the following verse:²²

می کشم چو صبح از اسباب این وحشت سرا
تہمت ربطے کہ نتوان بست بر اجزاءے من

The dawn is nothing more than a. confused jumble of scattered particles of light, yet we talk of it as though it was something concrete, a distinct unity, a substance.

"The conditions (of life) in this wilderness of a world", says Bedil, "have fastened upon me like the Dawn, the false charge of a concrete combination which my nature does not admit."

²² In Kulliyat-e-Bedil (Selected), Al-Kitab, Lahore, 1978, the second line of the couplet runs:

اینجاست کہ عنقاتہ بال است مگس را

But most remarkable thing about Bedil is the staggeringly polyphonic character of his mind which appears to pass through the spiritual experiences of nearly all the great thinkers of the world - Bergson not excepted. And it is to the Bergsonian phase of his poetic thought that I want particularly to draw the attention of our students of Western philosophy. In our examination of Bedil's poetry, however, we should never forget the fact that it is unfair to expect a worked out system of metaphysics from a poet whose impatient mind cannot but pass over the infinitely varying aspects of an elusive Reality without undergoing the painful work of systematization. In Bedil the Bergsonian conception of Reality appears to be one among other views which the poet seems to try in the course of his spiritual development.

To Bergson Reality is a continuous flow, a perpetual Becoming; and external objects which appear to us as so many immobilities are nothing more than the lines of interest which our intellect traces out across this flow. They are, so to speak, constellations which determine the direction of our movement and thus assist us in, steering across the over-flowing ocean of life. Movement, then, is original and' what appears as fixity or rest in the shape of external things is only movement retarded, so to speak, by a mathematically inclined intellect, which in view of the practical interests of life, shows off the flow as something still. By its very nature this mathematical intellect can go over the surface of things only, it can have no vision of the real change from which they are derived. Thus the method of physical science, working with spatial categories does not and cannot carry us very far in our knowledge of Reality. Is one to catch a glimpse of the ultimate nature of Reality a new method is necessary and that method is intuition which, according to Bergson is only a profound kind of thought, revealing to us the nature (of) life, owing to the privileged position that we occupy in regard to it. This method discloses to us that the element of time, which physical science ignores in its study of external things, constitutes the very essence of living things, and is only another name for life. Thus the ultimate reality is time - the stuff out of which all things are made - a Becoming, movement, life and time are only synonymous expressions. But this time which Bergson calls 'Pure Duration' must be carefully distinguished from the false notion which our mathematical intellect forms of it. Our intellect regards time as an infinite straight line a portion of which we have traversed and a portion has yet to be traversed. This is only rendering time to a space

of one dimension with moments as its constitutive points. This spatialised time is false, unreal time. Real time or 'Pure Duration' does not admit of any statically conceived todays and yesterdays. It is an actual ever-present "Now" which does not leave the past behind it, but carries it along in its bosom and creates the future out of itself. Thus Reality, as conceived by Bergson is a continuous forward creative movement with opposites implicit in its nature and be-coming more and more explicit as it evolves itself. It is not a completed whole of which we can possess a complete system of truth.

Let us now trace the various steps of Bergsonian thought in the poetry of Bedil. It is, however, necessary to state here that Bedil wrote a good deal of prose and poetry. The present study is based on his *Dimon* alone (comprising almost thirty thousand verses) of which the present writer fortunately possesses a manuscript copy.

1) The first point to be noted is that our intellect can touch only the surface of Reality, it can never enter in to it. Bedil is never tired of emphasising this fact:-

موج و کف مشکل که گردد محرم
قعر محیط
عالمے بیتاب تحقیق است و
استعداد نیست

“The wave and the foam cannot see in to the depth of the ocean:

A whole world is restless for the knowledge of Reality,

Yet does not possess the necessary qualification”!

Physical science armoured with logical categories decomposes the Real with its conceptualization of it. It is only a kind of post-mortem examination of Reality and consequently cannot catch it as a living forward movement:-

این جمله دلائل که ز تحقیق تو گل کرد
در خانه خورشید چراغان نجوم است

“All these arguments which blossom out of thy

investigation are nothing more than tiny star-lamps in the lustrous residence of the Sun”

2) What then is the proper method for a vision of the Real? The poet says:

بیدل نشوی بے خبر از سیر گریبان
اینجاست که عنقاته پاگشت
مگس را

O Bedil; look within,

It is here that the ‘Anqa (a fabulous bird standing in Sufi terminology for a symbol of Reality) falls a victim to the fly”.

But how is this intuition to be achieved and what is its character? The answer of both Bergson and Bedil is exactly the same. This intuition is not a kind of mystic vision vouchsafed to us in a state of ecstasy. According to Bergson it is only a profounder kind of thought.

When M. Le Roy²³ suggested to Bergson that the true opposition was between intellectual thought and thought lived, Bergson replied - “That is

²³ Edmuned Le Roy (1870-1954) was a French philosopher of science, ethics and religion. He was deeply indebted to Bergson for his own thought. Le Roy took a pragmatic view of the nature of scientific truth, a view more or less shared by his contemporaries Bergson, Henri Poincare, E. Wilbois. He was of the view that genuine knowledge is a kind of self-identification with the object in its primitive reality, uncontaminated by the demands of practical need. Intuition, not discursive thought, is the instrument of such knowledge and

still intellectualism in my opinion". "There are", says Bergson two kinds of intellectualism, the true which lives its ideas and a false intellectualism which immobilises moving ideas into solidified concepts to play with them like counters". True intellectualism, according to Bergson is to be achieved by eliminating the element of space in our perception of 'Pure Duration' just as physical science eliminates the element of time in its dealing with external reality. Bedil proposes exactly the same procedure when he says:-

"اے نگہت گل اند کے از رنگ بروں آ"

"O thou flower-perfume;

walk out of the world of colour"

The word "colour" symbolises space in sufi-terminology. The sphere of externality is divided by the sufis as the world of colour and odour. The poet represents man as a wave of odour which typifies the subtle invisible movement of the world of consciousness and proposes to him that in order to have a glimpse of his real nature he ought to despatialise himself. Thus all that the intuitive method requires is an effort to get rid of space - which no doubt is an externally hard affair to our intellect whose natural bent is mathematical. Bedil employs another expressive metaphor to convey the above idea. He imagines life to be a river. So long as the surface of this river is perfectly calm and undisturbed the waves are as it were beneath the flow and covered by it as a garment covers the body. When, however, the wave emerges, it leaves the continuity of the flow, it spatialises itself and becomes comparatively immobile. Thus it divests itself of its flowing apparel and appears in its nakedness. The same applies to the eye - like bubble who by its emergence from the stream throws away its water-clothing and by sinking

the criterion of truth is that one should have lived it; otherwise according to Le Roy one ought not to understand it.

Le Roy was a notable exponent of H. Bergson on whose philosophy he wrote his famous book "New Philosophy -Henri Bergson (1913).

down again into the flow of the stream retrieves its lost apparel. The reader, I hope, will now be able to understand the following verse:

دریں دریا کہ عریانست یکسر ساز امواجش
حباب مابه پیراہن رسیداز چشم پوشیدن

“In this river (of life) where the waves emerge into nakedness,

“The little bubble of my life regains its lost apparel by closing its eyes”.

Or in Bergsonian language any apparent immobility or discreteness won back its lost place in the indivisible continuity of life by intuition.

3) The next question is, what is the revelation of this intuition?

The following verses will indicate Bedil’s answer to the question:

a)

"در طلب گاه دل چون موج و حباب
منزل و جاده پر دو را سفر است"

“In the domain of heart (i. e. life) both the road and the destination are like waves and bubbles, in perpetual motion”!

"ہستی روش ناز
جنوں تاز کہ وارد
می آیدم از گرد

نفس بوئے خرامے"

It is almost impossible to render the verse into English; I shall endeavour to explain the ideas embodied in it. The poet imagines human breath (the emblem of life) to be a mere! confusion of fine particles of dust which indicates that something has swept through the vast domain of existence leaving a dust confusion along its infinite line of advance just as (a) meteor leaves a trail of light along its fiery course. Thus human breath is gross matter compared to the subtlety of life and its restless confusion "savours of" the rapidity of the life movement in the universe.

c)

"سراپا و حشتم اما بناموس
سبک روحی
زچشم نقش پاچوریگ می دارم
سفر پنہاں"

The desert-sand is supposed to be always journeying though its progressive motion is invisible even to the eye of the foot-print, which is by its nature so closely associated with the sand (the Persian poets speak of the eye of the foot-prints). In the same way the poet tells us, the subtlety of the life-motion within us cannot be perceived. "I am wholly a tendency to run away; yet not to betray the subtlety of inner life, I keep, like the desert-sand my journey hidden even from the eye of the foot-prints.

d)

"بیدل از خویش بایدت رفتن
ورنه نتوان بآن خرام رسید"

“Bedil! you ought to move out of yourself if you wish to have a vision of the beloved’s graceful movement” i.e., it is by the power of Intuition that we have a vision of the movement of the Real.

e)

"جاءے آرام بو حشت
کدهء عالم نیست
ذرئہ نیست کہ سرگرم
ہوائے دم نیست
باعث وحشت جسم
است نفسہا بیدل
خاک تاہم نفس باد بودے
دم نیست"

“No rest in this wilderness:

every atom here is warmed up by a desire to run away:

Even the particles of the body owing to the association with life-breath have a tendency to disperse: What is man but dust associated with air”!

f)

"یک دو نفس خیال باز
رشته شوق کن دراز
تا ابد از ازل تبار ملک
خداات زندگی"

“Lose thy thought for a moment or two, prolong the thread of sympathy:

Then sweep freely from Eternity to Eternity

in God’s vast domain of life”!

i.e. it is in the moments of intuition that we are identified with the eternally rapid march of life.

From the verses that I have cited and explained above, it is perfectly clear that, according to our poet movement constitutes the essence of all life. It is, however, necessary to warn the reader against a misunderstanding which may arise from the necessities of language and the metaphors employed by Bedil. The form of his expression suggests that he does not regard movement as absolute, but always speaks of it as though it were a quality of some thing.

This, I understand, is not the right view of his position. If movement is supposed to be the essence of life, it is obvious that it must be regarded as original and absolute. Otherwise time would cease to be real. Movement thus regarded would be identical with time itself. And this is exactly what we find in a number of verses wherein the poet guards us against the idea of an unreal time which our mathematical understanding powders up (to use a Bergsonian expression) into moments. The distinction between real and unreal time is very clearly indicated by Bedil in the following two verses:-

"بنظم عمر که سر تا سرش روانی بود
خیال مدت موهوم سکنه خوانی بود"
"هرچه از مدت هست و بود است
دیر ها پیش خرام زود است"

“In the metre of the life-verse which is wholly a flow the idea of unreal time is nothing more than a hiatus!

“The time of the external world is only delays compared to the brisk movement (of life)”:

It is obvious from these verses that the words (مدت موهوم) and (روانی) in the first verse and (مدت هست و بود) and (خرام زود) in the second verse are meant only to bring out their distinction between Bergson's 'Pure Duration' and spatialised time. Real time according to our poet, is a continuous flow, and its association with matter does not in any way approach the rapidity of its movement:

"نشد مانع عمر قید تعلق
تورفتار این پائے در گل ندیدی"

"The restrictions which association with a body imposes on us cannot obstruct the flow of life, only you do not see the movement of this prisoner of earth".

The poet further emphasises the continuousness and indivisibility of time in the following verses:

غبار ماضی و مستقبل از
جان تو مے جو شد
در امر و زاست گم
گرداشگافی دی و فردا را"

"The mist of Past and Future rises up from thy present;

Subject your tomorrow and yesterday to a searching analysis and you will find them lost in your today" :-

"زخود غافل گذشتی فال

استقبال زو حالت
نگه از جلوه پیش افتاد امروز
تو فرداشد"

“Your Present forebodes the Future only because you are not aware of yourself (your real nature). (The idea of a future) is nothing but the desire to see getting ahead of the thing seen”:

"فطرت سست پیے از پیروی وہم امل
لغزشے خورد کہ امروز مرا فرداشد"

“My sluggish nature, following unreal hopes fell down by a false step in such a way that my “today” was turned into “morrow”.

The idea underlying the last two verses is nearly the same. The poet tries a poetic solution of a psychological problem i.e. how we spatialise time and suggests that the idea of a “not-yet”²⁴ is either the mental fall of sluggish nature in its pursuit of false hopes, or a mere illusion of expectation engendered by our immobilization of what is in its nature mobile and

²⁴ Iqbal has spoken of this idea in his Reconstruction (pp: 59,6(1) also. He says, “The perfection of the creative self consists, not in a mechanistically conceived immobility as Aristotle might have led Ibn- e-Hazm to think. It consists in the vaster basis of his creative vision. God’s life is self-revelation; not the pursuit of an ideal to be reached. The not-yet of man does mean pursuit and may mean failure; the not-yet of God means unfulfilling realization of the infinite creative possibilities of His being which retains its wholeness throughout the entire process”.

creative. To Muslim thinkers the idea of an ever-creative Reality is not new. According to the theologians of Islam who conceived the deity as an Infinite personal power, the creative activity of God has not exhausted itself in the Universe. The Universe is not a complete whole, created once for all, it is not achievement but a continuous process. Thus our knowledge of it must always remain a useless achievement of truth as a perfect system is, in the nature of things, impossible to man and the potentialities of the Universe are known to God alone. Beyond the actual present, there is nothing. What we call "there" is only a "here" in disguise, says Bedil:

"پرچه آنجاست چو آنجاری اینجا گردد
چه خیال است که امروز تو فردا گردد"

"What is "there" becomes "here" when you reach it; likewise your today disguises itself in the form of tomorrow".

4) We now pass on to another important idea in the philosophy of Bedil. If the essence of things is an absolute movement, how is it that we find immobile solid things around us? Bergson's answer to this question is perhaps the most original that has ever been given in the history of thought. He tells us that in the very nature of the vital impulse as we find it manifested every where, there are two implicit tendencies, opposing and complementing each other- a movement forward and a movement backward represented by what we call instinct and intelligence in all living forms. The function of the backward movement is to immobilize the onward psychic rush, to drag it from behind like a brake as it were, and thus,- in view of its practical interests, to give it a static appearance. What we call matter or extension is not something detached from what we call spiritual reality. They are both opposing movements distinguishable but inseparable in an original movement. It is the practical interests of life to conceal its flow and see it as though it were a fixity or some thing still. For this purpose it develops along the course of its evolution, the organ of a selective intelligence which is

eminently fit for the task of veiling it and giving it the appearance demanded by practical interests. Thus the very thing which apparently retards the progress of life determines and guides the direction of its movement. Matter, then according to Bergson, is only life's practical vision of itself. Now Bedil takes exactly the same view of matter, though perhaps he is not fully conscious of the drift and meaning of this idea. The following verses will bear me out:

"تنزیه ز آگاهی ماگشت کدورت
جان بود که در فکر خود افتاد و بدن شد"

Our awareness turned the Absolute Purity into dust; the Vital impulse seeking its own interest thickened into body".

"جلوه از شوخی نقاب
حیرت افکنده است
رنگ صہبا در نظر ہاکار مینا
می کند"

“The flying sheen (of wine) has put on itself the veil of wonder, the colour of wine that appears as a goblet.”.

The word (حیرت) in the first half of the verse literally means wonder. Bedil, however, in view of psychological nature of the emotion of wonder, always uses it in the sense of motionlessness or arrest. All that he means is that the apparently inert matter that we see around us is not some thing foreign to Reality; it is like the flying sheen of wine, arrested in its flight, appearing to us as though it were a solid goblet enclosing the flow.

(iii)

حائے نیست بجولانگہ معنی، شدار
خواب پادر ره ماسنگ نشان می باشد"

“In the race-course of Reality there is no obstruction; even the benumbed foot (i.e. arrested motion) serves along this path as a milestone”.

In this verse, Bedil employs the very metaphor (i.e. milestone) which some of the Bergsonian writers have employed to illustrate their meaning. The poet means to say that the heart of Reality is perpetual movement; what appears to arrest or obstruct this motion serves only, as milestone directing further movement.

(iv)

گر تغافل می تراشد
گاه نیرنگ نگاه
جلوه را آءینه ماسخت
رسوا کرده است"

“It is our mirror (i.e. intelligence) which tells scandalous tales about the nature of Reality!

Now it reveals Reality as inattention (i.e. extension) now as vision”!

The words and in the first half of the verse symbolize matter and consciousness, body and soul, thought and extension; and the use of the former is especially happy in the verse; since it suggests the psychical nature of matter. Bedil means to say that the apparent duality which we find in the unity of Reality is due only to our way of looking at it. We see it through the spectacles of our intelligence which mars our act of perception and reveals a sharp duality nowhere existing in the nature of the Real.

(V) To the question why intelligence mars our perception of Reality, the poet’s answer is that it is because the intellectual act is wholly coloured by the practical interests of life:

”موج خیز فنا کوه و دشت یک دریاست
خیال تشنه لب ما سراب می ریزد“

The word فنا in the verse literally means annihilation in sufi terminology, however, the word means self-negation or absorption in the Universal self of God. Thus the word فنا is negation only from the standpoint of the individual self; from the standpoint of the Absolute being it is wholly affirmation: “In the ocean of the Absolute Being”, says the poet,” mountains and deserts form one continuous flow, it is our thirsty understanding that builds mirages in it”. The thirsty alone are subject to the optical illusion of a mirage, since the presence, of a crying practical interest i.e. satisfaction of the desire for drink, determines the character of their perception and makes the dry desert sand assume the appearance of a sheet of water. I think, however, that Bedil has failed properly to express the idea that the form and quality of our knowledge is determined by the practical interests of life. The poet ‘Urfi has a similar verse:

زنقص تشنه لبی وان بعقل خویش مناز
دلت فریب گر از جلوه سراب نخورد

“Do not be - proud of your power of discrimination if you are not deceived by the mirage; it is the want of intensity in your desire for water that has saved you from the illusion”.

Thus to ‘Urfi the character of our perceptual knowledge is wholly coloured by the presence or absence of a practical interest. Bedil, however, means to convey a much deeper meaning than ‘Urfi. The object of his attack is our conceptual knowledge-the mirror referred to in the verse cited in para (IV) which reveals a perplexing multiplicity of immobilities in the one continuous movement of life.

(VI) In another verse Bedil’s attack on conceptual knowledge is much more pointed. He orients the idea in much the same way as Prof. W. James who speaks of our “Verbalization of Reality”. Following the metaphor suggested by the word verbalization the poet tells us that it is our speech that turns the dynamic into the static and specializes it by a conceptual handling. He says:

تاخموشی دا شتیم
آفاق بے تشویش بود
موج این بحر از زبان
ماتلاطم کرده است"

“As long as silence reigned (i.e. as long as there was no verbalization of Reality) all was calm and un-disturbed, it is the tongue of man that has given a hot-bed of stormy waves to the ocean (of life)”.²⁵

²⁵ Iqbal was much enamoured of the dynamic vein of ‘Urfi’s poetry. He has quoted the same couplet in his “Lectures” (pp 52,53) while laying bare the inadequacy of Bergson’s conscious

To obtain a complete insight into the nature of reality, to see it as it is, we must cease to verbalise. As a source of knowledge all conceptualization is in the words of Prof. James, "a challenge in a foreign language thrown to a man absorbed in his own business". The only course open to us is to identify ourselves with the life of reality. Through sympathy and actually to live its forward movement, Intelligence touches only the outer skein of reality, it is like the fisherman's net which dips into the water but cannot catch the flow of it. Bedil, therefore, recommends silence or deverbilization of reality as a means of getting rid of the oppositions of life:-

تاختموشى نكزىنى حق و باطل باقى است
رشته را كه گره جمع نساژد دوسرا است"

"So long as you do not resume silence, the distinction of appearance and reality will remain; a thread not tied by a knot must always have two ends".

5) We have now to see whether Bedil's view of reality gives us any promise of personal immortality as understood in Islam. Wildon Carr²⁶ raises this question from the standpoint of Bergsonian philosophy and says:-

experience. To Iqbal even our acts of perception are determined by our immediate interests and purposes.

²⁶ H. Wildon Carr (1857-1929) seems to have been a favourite writer of Iqbal. He has both translated and commented on the philosophical works of Bergson. He published two books on him: Henri Bergson and The Philosophy of Change both in 1911. The latter was his famous work on the fundamental principle of the philosophy of Bergson. He also translated Bergson's Mind-Energy (1920). In addition to these he wrote on the philosophy of Benedetto Croce also.

He was a professor of philosophy in the University of London, King's college. He was also president of the Aristotlean Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society of literature. He has numerous publications to his credit some of which have been mentioned above. His other important publications are Changing Backgrounds in Religion and Ethics (1927), The Free will Problem (1928), The Unique Status of Man (1928) and Leibnitz (1931).

His books The Philosophy of Change and The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce were found in the personal library, of Iqbal, now preserved in the Iqbal Museum.

“It is certainly impossible that the soul of an individual can exist as that individual apart from the body, because it is just that embodiment which constitutes the individuality. But it is quite possible to imagine, if we find it otherwise credible, that the miracle of a resurrection of the body may be a fact. Clearly it would be vain to seek in philosophy the confirmation of such a belief but also it would be beyond the sphere of philosophy to negate it... But there is one distinct ground of personal hope that this philosophy of change alone gives. We have seen that in the reality of ‘Pure Duration’ the past is preserved - preserved in its entirety. Now if this preservation of the past is a necessary attribute of ‘Pure Duration’, then may it not be that some means exists, some may think must exist by which life preserves those individual histories that seem to break their continuity at death? If it is not so there must be unaccountable waste in the universe, for almost every living form carries on an activity beyond the maturing of the germ and its transmission to a new generation. It would be in entire accordance with what we know if it should prove to be so, but we may never know²⁷”

It must, however, be remembered that if life is a psychic flow carrying on its own past within it, thus preserving its history it is clear that every forward creative step that life takes must be a new situation and can never be regarded as a mere repetition. I think then that the philosophies of both Bedil and Bergson negate the possibility of a resurrection of the body. Bedil is perfectly clear on this point and is not at all afraid of an inference which necessarily follows from the view of life he takes though it happens to be opposed to the teachings of Islam. He says:

"گل یاد غنیچه می کندوسینه می درد
رفت آنکه جمع می شدم اکنون نمی شود"

“The flower thinks of its bud-state and rends asunder its heart; could I revert to the bloom? Impossible now!”

²⁷ The extract has been taken from Wildon Carr’s book *The Philosophy of Change* (1914), pp. 194-195.

Having drawn the reader's attention to all the principal features of Bedil's thought, it is now time that I should proceed to a critical estimate of his ideas. I think the reader will agree with me when I say that a system of metaphysics worked out in detail cannot be expected from a man whose immediate interest is poetry rather than philosophy. But when we study Bedil's poems carefully we cannot fail to recognise that although his love of imaginative expression makes him impatient of logical analysis, he is fully conscious of the seriousness of his philosophical task. Considering his view of the nature of intelligence and the revelations of intuition, it is obvious that his poetry treasures up a great philosophical truth regarding the ultimate nature of reality, the details of which he orients in the spirit of a poet rather than a philosopher. The truth that we live forward and think backward, that the two opposing movements of thought and extension are inseparable in the original Becoming is sufficiently clear from his poetry, yet we find in it nothing of the great wealth of illustrative details, nothing of the practical attitude towards time-experience that characterises the philosophy of Bergson. In so far as the former point is concerned, I think, we cannot, in fairness, claim it for Bedil, since he is essentially a poet, but we are surely entitled to claim for him the latter. Bedil's poetry, however, falsifies the expectation. All conceptual handling of reality according to him is absolutely valueless. He counsels us not (to) fall a victim to the concrete, since the beauty of the mirror of life does not consist in its reflection:

"دل رانفریبی بفسو نہاے تعین
آرائش ایں آئینہ تمثال نباشد"

Is not the system of Bergson himself; he may be imagined to argue, a kind of conceptualization of reality? Are we not in the practical attitude towards reality, suggested by him, employing the same conceptualist intellect, which by its very nature decomposes and spatialises the original flux of things? Does the practical attitude of Bergson amount to anything more than the possibility of acquiring more profitable short-cuts, artifices and arrangements? Can empirical science give us anything more than this? If the two tendencies forward and backward, are implicit in the psychic flow and the real nature of life in its onward rush, why should we not reject the

schematic or diagrammatic representation of it altogether and centralize all our hopes in intuition alone? Have we to live in a Universe as it is, or a Universe constructed by intelligence and distorted in the construction? Bergson's practical attitude, though it may be more profitable to us as spatialised centres of life, is much less intellectual than the purely intellectual outlook of the older intellectualists: Both practical and intellectual outlooks on life feeding only on the outer husk of reality - which as a perpetual flow must always remain beyond their reach are equally futile as means of furnishing a complete insight into the ultimate nature of life. The difference between them is only one of degree and not of kind. The same aspect of our experience, far from giving us an insight into reality, is admittedly a veil on the face of reality....Why should we then follow this aspect and entertain any hopes about it? When it is admitted that our distributive experience has another aspect, i.e. the aspect of absolute continuity which reveals reality itself, then it follows that the highest knowledge is the work of intuition and not the result of patient observation however profitable. Rationalism and empiricism are equally worthless though the latter, by suggesting fresh artifices may extend the range of our hold on things and bring us happiness and comfort which can never justify our desire for the ultimate knowledge of the nature of reality. The highest ideal of man, then, is not to wade through the concrete expressions of reality - but to extinguish ourselves into its vast flow by conquering forces i.e. which sever us from it. "Only by getting rid of its immobility that the pearl can become one with the ocean out of which it has formed and severed itself".

"آسودگی از بحر جدا کرد گهر را"

Line of argument appears to be formidable; though, I am afraid it does not justify the kind of intuition which Bedil thinks it necessitates. A detailed examination of the various premises can which the inference of Bedil is based would be, in fact, a criticism of the philosophy of Bergson, and for such an undertaking it would be necessary to approach Bergson through the Romantic Development in Germany in the 19th Century and specially

through Ravaisson²⁸ who, it appears communicated the influences of Schelling to him. And even if we succeed in shaking the foundation of Bergson's philosophy, our success would not necessarily mean the refutation of the kind of intuition set up by Bedil, for the necessity of an intuitive kind of knowledge can be based, and I think, successfully, on the general consideration of the finiteness of all human knowledge which no body has ever denied. It may, however, be remarked that Bergson's view of human intelligence takes no account of the task that it has accomplished in the sphere of Religion, art and ethics. This argument in support of the spatialization of spirit as determined by biological considerations seems to take for granted that all the needs of man are fulfilled by a practical knowledge of matter, and it is this uncritical assumption which is obviously responsible for the low and inadequate view of man that he takes. It is not the experience of the engineer alone but the entire experience of man as man that could give us a complete revelation of the function of human intelligence. In his analysis! human knowledge Kant follows exactly the same procedure i.e. he assumed without criticism a certain function of the mind, yet we find Bergson accusing him of wrongly stating the problem and thus prejudicing the solution of it from the very beginning. As a matter of fact the whole argument which he directs against Kant applies with equal force to his own procedure. Bergson's argument is plausible only if we regard man as a piece of living matter which has continually to insert itself in an unfavourable environment working for its decay and dissolution. The history of man, however, shows that he is something more than the brute and his needs are sometimes such that he can

²⁸ Jean Gaspard Felix Ravaisson-Molien (1813-1900) was a French spiritualist and art historian. He received his philosophical training in Munich under Schelling.

The most influential of Ravaisson's publication was his 'Report sur la philosophie en France au six Siecle' (1867). His purpose in this report was to show that there was a continuity in the French philosophical tradition and that French philosophers had always presupposed metaphysical principles that implied what he called spiritualism. He held the view that the phenomena of consciousness are never spatial or quantitative and to attempt to categorise them in these terms is to change their essential nature. Within the human soul are two powers of understanding and of activity which in their logical sequence give birth to will and when one asks what the will is seeking, the answer is that it seeks the good or God.

Bergson wrote on and benefited from the philosophy of Ravaisson. E. Le. Roy in his book *New Philosophy - Henri Bergson* has spoken very highly of Ravaisson's spiritualist realism and has quoted his prediction as to the emergence of a new era characterized by spiritualism.

easily sacrifice the matter in him for the satisfaction of those needs. But Bergson will probably reply to this contention that the so called higher demands of man are met by the intuitive vision. It is here that Bergson and Bedil come into real touch and it is, therefore, our chief concern to examine this claim of intuition. In the system of Bergson (I am using the word system carelessly; as a matter of fact Bergson's philosophy is not a system) intelligence is a kind of original sin, the commission of which resulted in giving life a distorted view of itself; and in order to see itself as it is, life must revert to its pre-intelligence state and put itself by a kind of regress, into the animal or plant consciousness or perhaps lower down into protozoa-consciousness where materiality reduces itself to almost vanishing point. Is such a regress possible to a form of life which has developed intelligence and clothed itself into matter? It would perhaps be possible to forms nearest to the original impulse of life, surely it is not possible to man who by developing a highly complex organism stands higher up in the scale of evolution. But assuming that we can, by an effort of sympathy, put ourselves just at the point where materiality emerges, what does this act of sympathy bring us? In Bergson's system all that it gives us is a mere hypothesis which we have subsequently to corroborate by an empirical study of the facts of Evolution. Thus understood it is nothing more than the flash of genius which sometimes suggests a theory when only a few facts are immediately before us. Bergson himself tells us that this intuition comes to us by a long and systematic contact with reality in all its concrete windings. It seems to me that Bergson's intuition is not at all necessary to his system and may easily be detached from it without injuring his main thesis which, on careful analysis, reveals itself as a kind of empiricism with a hue of Idealism not likely to last long. However, I have no objection to intuition in the sense of supplying us with workable hypotheses; the trouble begins when it is set up as a vision which would satisfy all the demands of our nature. With Bedil intuition is not so much as a source of knowledge as a mode of salvation from the storm and stress of life. Our poet appears to identify the Absolute psychic movement with God and proposes to transcend the painful limitations of a narrow individuality by a sink²⁹ into the Absolute. Obviously if intuition brings us salvation from the pains of life and sends us back to our truest life; the

²⁹ I have not been able to decipher what this word really is. It looks like "sink" but this is surely a very odd use of it.

highest task must be to make an effort and to turn this momentary dip into the Absolute into a permanent state. And what if intuitive vision becomes permanent? Does this super-conscious state mean the satisfaction of all our inner longings? Does it satisfy the whole of our complex personality? Action, knowledge, beauty and to a certain extent even the pleasures of sense ---all constitute the demands of our personality. Does the intuitive state open up to us new vistas for our multifarious activity? Does a prolonged or permanent intuitive state mean anything more than an absolute cessation of individual consciousness which, far from satisfying the needs of a complex personality destroys the very condition of these needs? To appeal to such a state is only another way of saying that the so-called higher demands of man are false and the only way to get rid of these false aspirations is to destroy the conditions of life which generates them in us. Such a view of human personality is simply revolting and amounts to nothing more than a philosophically reasoned out counsel of suicide to those whom the ills of life have driven to despair. But perhaps you will say the intuitive state does not destroy our individuality, it only expands its limits and transforms it into a much wider consciousness. Yes, perhaps it does expand us, but it expands us to breaking-point and robs us of the entire meaning of our life in as much as the supposed expansion is neither rational nor aesthetic nor active.

The history of man is a stern reality and the glory of human personality consists not in gradual self-evaporation but self-fortification by continual purification and assimilation. If God, as Bedil seems to teach is essentially life and movement, then it is not through an intuitive slumber, but through life and movement alone that we can approach Him. If, in any sense He has chosen to dwell within us and our personality is but a veil that hides Him from us, our duty lies not in demolishing the tiny dwelling He has chosen, but to manifest His glory through it by polishing its clay walls through action and turning them into transparent mirrors. The idea of annihilation is indeed the vice of all Persian sufism (the reader will please bear in mind that in my opinion Muslim sufism and Persian sufism are two different things) which has, for centuries been prevalent in the entire muslim world, and working as one of the principal factors of its decay. This type of sufism has soaked up the energies of the best muslims in every age, and has imperceptibly undermined the foundations of a revelational system of law which it regards as a mere device to meet the emergencies of communal life. It is supposed

that the movement towards pantheism originates in the creature's desire to make itself more intimate with the Creator. It is, however, not difficult to see that philosophically speaking the All of Pantheism is not more intimate with the individuals it includes and transforms into itself than the God of Monotheism with His creatures. My belief is that pantheistic idea is really a subtle force of decay cloaking itself apparently in the sweet and innocent longing for a greater intimacy with the Divine. In its ultimate essence it is a tendency generated by a people's decay, the tendency, that is to say to relax or drop the attitude of tension and take a sort of interminable furlough from the war-front of life.

But apart from the ethical consequences of Bedil's philosophy, we have yet to look at the philosophy itself from the standpoint of Islamic theology. If God is identified with life-movement as conceived by Bedil, it is obvious that he is a God in time i.e. the poet gives us a God with a history partly worked out and carried within himself and partly being worked out every moment. No conception of God would be more inimical to the notion of God as oriented in the Quran. And further what would the creation of a material universe mean from the standpoint of Bedil's metaphysics? Only the free creative activity of God momentarily interrupted by Himself, or in other words, God opposing his own free action so that He may distort Himself into a material universe. In words still more plain, the universe according to the sufism of Bedil is the self-degradation of God. Thus we are really brought back to the old hypothesis of the follower of the Persian prophet-philosopher Mani who held that the creation of the world was due to the Absolute light obscuring or darkening a portion of itself. The truth is that the thought of the world has never been able to rid itself entirely of the influence of the Manichaeian ideas. But in eastern and western thought Manichaeianism still persists. The enormous influence that these Persian ideas exercised over the development of early Christianity is still visible in the philosophical systems of Europe e.g. Schopenhauer, Hegel and Bergson himself. Of the ancient religious systems of the world Islam alone purified the idea of God, but the Arabian conquest of Persia resulted after all in the conversion of Islam to Manichaeianism and the old Persian doctrine of the self-darkening of God reappeared in the form of the sufi idea of "Descent" combined with an asceticism thoroughly Manichaeian in spirit. Leaving, however, these considerations we may further ask the sufi metaphysicians ---why should

God obscure His own light or descend into matter? To manifest His power and glory? Self- manifestation by self-degradation! strange way of looking at Him whom the sufis are never tired of calling the Beloved! If the object of God in creating the universe is held to be the revelation of his power and glory, the hypothesis of creation out of nothing seems to be much more reasonable than the absurd and monstrous idea of Descent. Moreover, if the tendency to free movement and the tendency to descend into matter were implicit in the nature of God and started, as these metaphysicians must hold, from a common point how can the two tendencies be regarded as opposing each other? Why should then the soul be regarded as prisoner of matter endeavouring to release itself from its prison by ascetic practices? And why should the one tendency be evaluated as higher or of greater worth than the other? Ethically speaking the sufi view of ‘Descent’ may serve as a basis for Epicureanism as well as Asceticism. And as a matter of fact there have been sufi sects referred to in Maulana Jami’s biography of saints³⁰ who led by the Mephistopheles³¹ in them have allowed themselves all the intensest pleasures of a Faust.

³⁰ Iqbal has referred here to Nafahat-ul-Uns min Hazarat-ul-Quds, being a celebrated biography of saints from the pen of maulana Abdur Rehman Jami, having short biographical notes on 554 saints and some 34 saintesses. The book was written on the request of one Nizam-uddin All Sher in 1478. Jami based the book on the famous “Tabaqat-al-Sufia (of Abdur Rehman Mohammad bin Hussain al Nisaburi) and added much to the original from authentic sources. The book includes a detailed preface which deals with the exposition of sufi terminology. Edward Browne in his famous Literary History of Persia has spoken of the book as a first rate “Tazkira”-almost equal in merit to Tazkiratul-Auliya of ‘Attar. Its language and style has been regarded the best persian prose of the 15th century. In 1859, the book was assiduously edited with a commentary on Jami and was published by the R.A.S.B., Calcutta. Recently, it has been edited by Mehdi Tauheedi Pur.

³¹A famous character of Marlowe’s The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus to whom and to Lucifer, Faust sold out his soul for the intensest pleasures of life. Mephistophilis (so it has been spelled in the book) is the villain of the tragic drama. He is one of the seven spirits of second rank among infernal rulers. In the beginning he is able to win Faust over. However, when Faust gives himself up to a life of sensuality, Mephistophilis abandons him and Faust realizes that he has become a damned soul for all time to come. The story of Faust was also dramatized by Goethe.

(For preparation of some of the notes, I have made use of The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vols. 4,7, Macmillan & Company & the Free Press, Who was Who, Vol. 3 Adams and Charles Black, London, and Jami (a book by Ali Asghar Hikmat).

Such is the metaphysics of sufism and Bedil's idea of "Vitality seeking its own interest and becoming matter" is no more than the sufi idea of 'Descent' veiled in a more poetic expression. There were many among his contemporaries who, owing to the simplicity and nobility of his life looked upon him as a great saint but in so far as the content of his verse is concerned, he himself tells us plaintively that nobody ever listened to him and better so:-

"یاراں نرسیدند بداد سخن من
نظم چه فسوں خوانک کہ گوش ہمہ کرشد"

“My friends never did justice to my utterances;

The Magic of my verse has charmed every body into deafness”.

A SYNTHESIS OF BASIC CONCEPTS IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

(A Systems Approach)

Dr. M. Afza

(This paper tries to link together the basic concepts in Iqbal's philosophy through a Systems approach. A system consists of a processing unit that operates on inputs in a describable fashion to produce an output. In this paper, the processing unit is the social environment and the individuals are the input. They interact and contribute to the "output" which is al-Ummah or *al-Millat*. Where Iqbal's verses have been quoted, the basic idea, rather than the literal translation, is given.)

1. Thought Processes in Iqbal

A basic fact about Dr. Muhammad Iqbal's philosophy is that not only is it inspired by the Holy Quran but it is also an exposition and an elucidation of Quranic concepts. He measures his own thinking and that of other thinkers against these concepts. His thought processes are directly derived from the Quran, the processes that were used by Abraham while affirming his faith in the Almighty.

Observing people worshipping idols and heavenly bodies such as the moon, stars and the sun, Abraham doubted their wisdom. Is this right? He asked this question over and over again. From these observations and questions came the answer that Allah is He who created the Heavens and the Earth. Iqbal uses this thought process and seeks knowledge on the basis of doubt. Fig. I shows how, according to Iqbal, doubt leads to *knowledge*, and *knowledge* to *belief* which should be so strong as would motivate a person to *action*. Says Iqbal:

ہمائے علم تا افتد بدامت
یقین کم کن، گرفتار شکے باش
عمل خواہی؟ یقین را پختہ ترکن
یکے جوے دیکے بین دیکے باش

[کلیات اقبال فارسی صفحہ ۲۱۱]

In order to seek effective knowledge, put your held beliefs to the test of doubt or searching enquiry. The resultant knowledge should so reinforce your beliefs that it will motivate you to action.

It is to be noted that action follows a strong belief. A belief that fails to stimulate one to action, is not a true belief, and therefore, is not based on correct knowledge. The basic question or doubts were thus not relevant. It is that ultimate knowledge about which Iqbal says in the words of Rumi:

علم را برتن زنی ، مارے بود
علم را بردل زنی ، یارے بود

[کلیات اقبال - فارسی صفحہ ۶۶]

Superficial knowledge is harmful whereas true knowledge is a genuine guide.

2.The Place of the Individual in the System

Most of Iqbal's writings are related to an exposition of the system and its ingredients. At the base is the individual and in it resides his ideal *Momin*: the ultimate height to which a man could reach to become Allah's representative on earth. It is this ideal individual who changes the destiny of nations.

نگاه مرد مومن سے بدل جاتی ہیں تقدیریں
اور

جہاں میں اہل ایمان صورت خورشید جیتے ہیں
ادھر ڈوبے ادھر نکلے، ادھر ڈوبے ادھر نکلے

[کلیات اردو صفحہ ۲۷۱]

[کلیات اردو صفحہ ۲۷۳]

The believers are like the sun. Even when they suffer temporary setbacks they are sure to bounce back.

سيرة الفكر في فلسفة اقبال

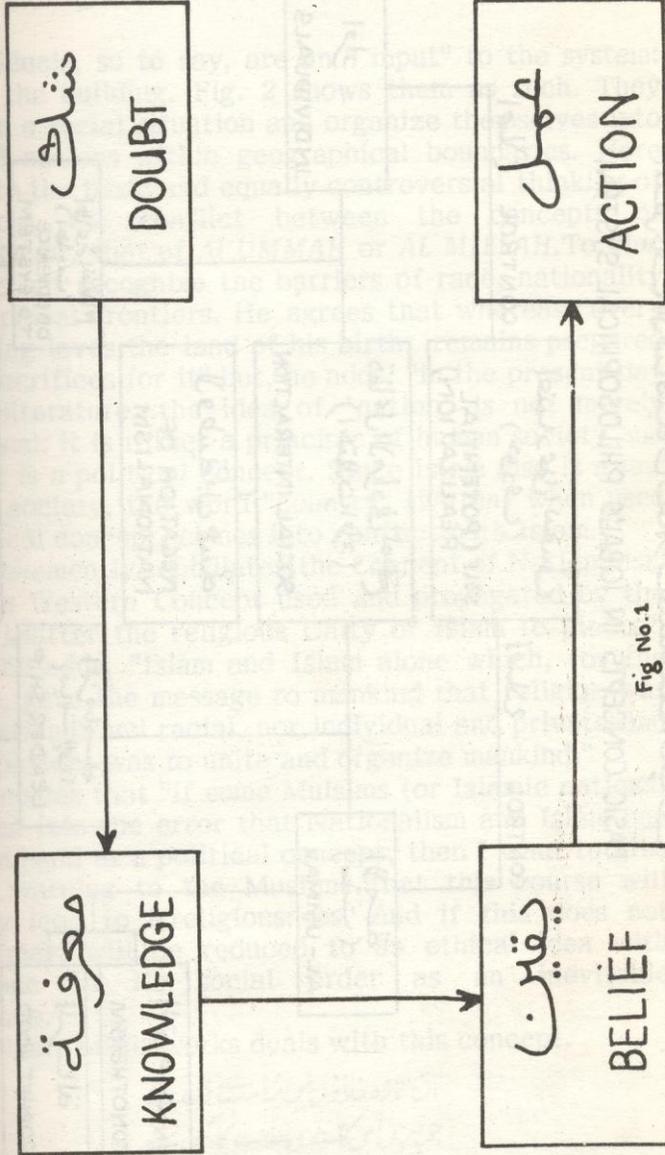


Fig No.1

النظريات الإسامية في نظام الفلسفة اقبال

BASIC CONCEPTS IN IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM

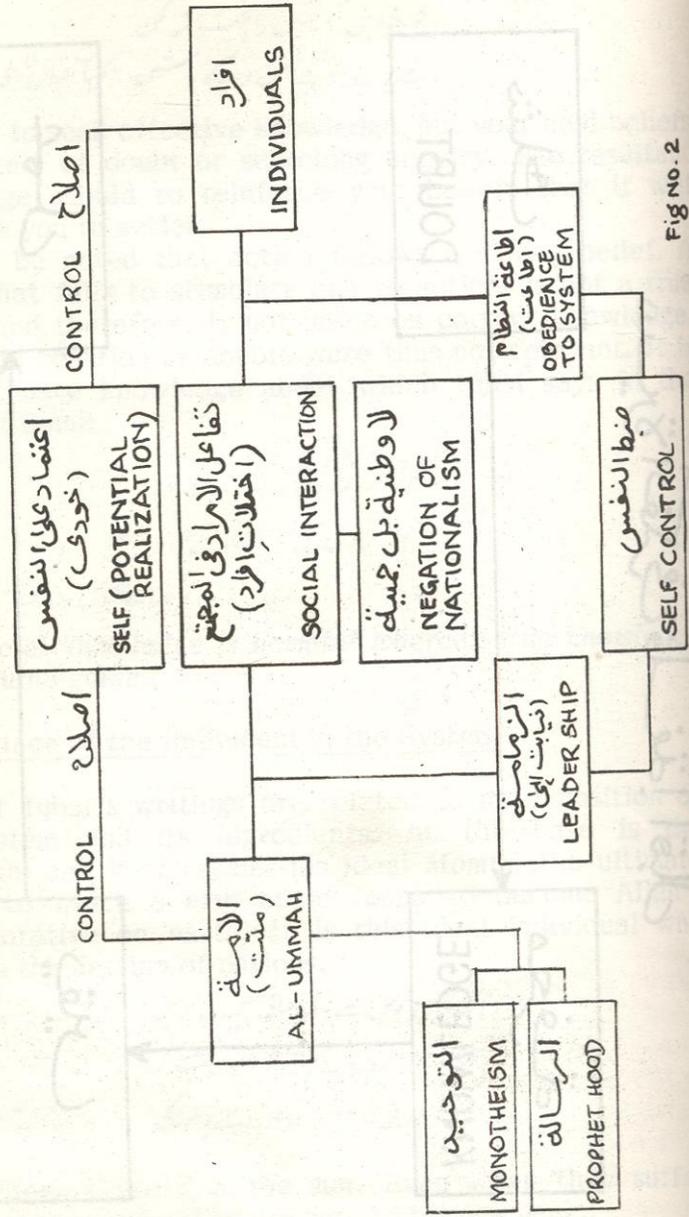


Fig No. 2

3.The “Processor” and Concepts of Nationalism & Al-Ummah

The Individuals, so to say, are an “input” to the system: bricks of the building. Fig. 2 shows them as such. They interact in a social situation and organize themselves into tribes and nations within geographical boundaries. Here we come to the basic and equally controversial thinking of Iqbal about the conflict between the concepts of Nationalism and that of *Al UMMAH or AL MILLAH*. To him, Islam does not recognize the barriers of race, nationality or geographical frontiers. He agrees that whereas “every human being loves the land of his birth...remains prepared to make sacrifices for it” .but, he adds, “in the present day political literature...the idea of ‘nation’ is not merely geographical: it is rather a principle of human society and as such, it is a political concept. Since Islam also is a law of human society, the word “country” (*Watan*) when used as a political concept, comes into conflict with Islam.” He thus vehemently repudiates the Concept of Nationalism which is a Western Concept used and propagated by the West “to shatter the religious Unity of Islam to pieces”. “It was” he adds, “Islam and Islam alone which, for the first time, gave the message to mankind that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private”and that “its purpose was to unite and organize mankind.” Iqbal concludes that “if some Muslims (or Islamic nations) have fallen into the error that Nationalism and Islam can go hand in hand as a political concept, then I want to give a timely warning to the Muslims that this course will ultimately lead to irreligiousness. And if this does not happen, Islam will be reduced to an ethical idea with indifference to its social order as an inevitable consequence.”

A greater part of his works deals with this concept.

ان تازہ خدائوں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
جو پیرہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
یہ بت کہ تراشیدہ تہذیب نوی ہے
غارِ گر کا شانہ دینِ نبوی صلی اللہ علیہ وآلہ وسلم ہے

Nationalism is the greatest of new gods (created by the West) and adherence to it means destruction of Islam. Because:

قوم مذہب سے ہے مذہب جو نہیں تم بھی نہیں

[بانگ درا - کلیات اردو صفحہ ۲۰۱]

The nation is subject to the existence of religion and religion alone.

And therefore:

اے مصطفوی خاک میں اس بت کو ملادے

[بانگ درا - کلیات اردو صفحہ ۱۶۰]

O, followers of Islam, destroy the concept of Nationalism completely.

And again:

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی پاسبانی کے لیے
نیل کے ساحل سے لیکر تاپخاک کا شجر
ان کی جمعیت کا ہے ملک و نسب پر انحصار
قوت مذہب سے مستحکم ہے جمعیت تری
دامن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیت کہاں
اور جمعیت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی

The Muslims should remain united from one end of the world to the other to defend the ka,aba, i.e. Islam. Muslims should remember that the

western social system is based on race and nationality but theirs was based on religion without which the Islamic nation or Ummali cannot have any existence.

جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خون مٹ جائیگا
ترک خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا گھر
نسل اگر مسلم کی مذہب پر مقدم ہو گئی
اڑ گیا دنیا سے تو مانند خاک رہگزر

[بانگ درا – کلیات اردو صفحہ ۲۶۵]

Whether it be a Turk in a royal tent, or an Arab of a very high pedigree, whoever discriminates on the basis of colour or blood will vanish altogether. If the Muslims start preferring race or nationality to religion, they will disappear from the world.

Here, one should remember what our Holy Prophet said in his last Friday's address:

Listen, O' people of the world, he said, you have one Allah and you are branches of the same tree. Therefore, an Arab over non-Arab, a red over black and black over red has no preference except for righteousness.

4. Al-Umma as the "output" of the System

Social interaction takes place in the "processor" which is the immediate environment but this "Processor" should contribute directly to the strenght of *Al-Umma* which is the output of the system. The Individuals and sub-systems or nations are subservient and an integral part of this larger system.

Says Iqbal:

ملت کے ساتھ رابطہ استوار رکھ
پیوستہ رہ شجر سے امید بہار رکھ

You should strengthen your bonds with
Millah for, branches will only bear fruit if
they remain attached to the tree.

Iqbal seeks guidance from Rumi and asks:
How can Al-Umma's unity be strengthened?

Answers Rumi:

تجھ پہ روش ہے ضمیر کائنات
کس طرح محکم ہو ملت کی حیات

[بال جبریل صفحہ ۱۴۰]

دانہ باشی مرغکانت برچند
غنچہ باشی کو دکانت برکند
دانہ پنہاں کن سراپا دام شو
غنچہ پنہاں کن گیاه بام شو

[کلیات اردو صفحہ ۴۳۲]

If a nation cuts itself from the Islamic System, it will become weak
and "eaten up" by stronger nations.

ہے زندہ فقط وحدت افکار سے ملت
وحدت ہو فنا جس سے وہ الہام بھی الحاد
وحدت کی حفاظت نہیں ہے قوت بازو

آتی نہیں کچھ کام یہاں عقل خداداد

[کلیات اردو صفحہ ۴۹۷]

In order to survive, the Islamic nation should develop self-reliance, strength and unity.

Again:

فرد و قوم آئینہ یکدیگراند
سلک و گوہر کہکشاں و اختراند
فرد میگیرد ز ملت احترام
ملت از افراد می یا بد نظام
پیکرش از قوم وہم جانش ز قوم
ظاہرش از قوم و پنهانش ز قوم
وحدت او مستقیم از کثرت است
کثرت اندر و حدت او وحدت است

[اسرارورموز-کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۸۶]

The Individual and the nation (Al-Ummah) are each others reflection, the one getting its strength from the other.

5. Development of the Individual's Potential

Since an Individual is the basic ingredient of the system, Iqbal prescribes three stages that would enable him to realize his full potential and contribute most to the maintenance and development of the system.

The first stage is complete adherence and *obedience* to the system. He says, the one who ventures for the conquest of the moon and the stars has to follow essential physical laws.

Similarly:

بادازنداں گل خوشبو کند
قید بُورا نافہ آ ہو کند
می زنداختر سوئے منزل قدم
پیش آئینے سر تسلیمخیم
باطن پر شے ز آئینے قومی
تو چراغافل زایں ساماں روی

[اسرارورموز- کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۴۱]

All other phenomena we observe are subject to the laws of nature and therefore:

پر کہ بر خود نیست فرمانش رواں
می شو فرمان پذیر از دیگران
[ایضاً]

The individual should stringly adhere to the laws laid down in the Islamic system.

The second stage in the development and process of the realization of the individual's potential is self-control.

Here:

پر کہ بر خود نیست فرمائش رواں
می شود فرمان پذیراز دیگران

[کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۶۴]

A person who is unable to control himself will be controlled by others.

Self control, says Iqbal, comes from dherence to the five basic tenets of Islam: (1) belief in the Unity of Allah which is like the Staff of Moses in your hands enabling you to destroy all “magic” i.e. forces working against the system. (2) Prayer, which is

a sword in your hands with which you can save yourself from all vices;

ورکف مسلم مثال خنجر است
قاتلِ فحشا و بغی و منکراست

[ایضاً صفحہ ۴۳]

(3) Fasting, which tells you that eating alone is not the purpose of life; (4) Haj or Pilgrimage to Mecca, which destroys the idea of Nationalism and:

طاعتے سرمایہ جمعیتے
ربط اوراق کتاب ملتے

It is a means to strengthen the Unity of *Al-Ummah*; and (5) Zakat (tax for *Al-Ummah*) which is aimed at destroying the love of worldly belongings and wealth and maintaining a balance between the rich and the poor.

The third stage is leadership or becoming the representative of Allah on earth, *Khalifat Allah Fi at ard*. This stage will follow after an individual has realized his full potential through obedience to the System and Self-Control. It is at this stage when

لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

You will be called upon to shoulder the responsibility of world leadership.

6. The Concept of “Self”

The Individual develops and contributes maximally to the maintenance of the system if he is ever careful in realizing his hidden potential. The more the self realization, the greater will be his growth. This realization of potential is broadly the concept of “Self” or “Khudi” in Iqbal and it is around this concept that Iqbal’s thinking revolves.

“Self” or “Ego” (which Iqbal himself used as an alternative translation of “Khudi”)** is a philosophical construct and Iqbal uses it in an almost opposite sense against its use in sufi or mystic literature or even in romantic poetry where “Self” completely identifies sometimes with nature and sometimes with God or the “beloved”. To Iqbal

“Self” is never to be identified. It is something that is constantly nourished. The only identity he recognizes is its merger with *Al- Ummah*.

حضور ملت از خود در گذشتن
دگر بانگ انا الملت کشیدن

The height to which “Self” can reach is its complete merger with *Ummah* when an individual can say “I am the *Ummah*” but one is in no case allowed to say I am God or *Ana al Haq* as said Mansur Hallaj

انا الحق جز مقام کبریا نیست
سزائے او چیاہست یا نیست ؟
اگر فردے بگوید سرزنش بہ
اگر قومے بگوید ناروا نیست

[ارمغان حجاز- کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۷۰]

God, and God alone can say *Ana al Haq*. If an individual says it he ought to be punished. However, it is permissible for a nation or *Ummah* to say it because in that case the *Ummah* is identifying itself with the system bestowed by God on mankind.

مثال دانہ کارم خودی را
برائے او نگہدارم خودی را

[زبور عجم – کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۱۷۴]

I am sowing “Self” or “Ego” in my heart just like a seed and I always take care of it.

“Self” taken as a “seed” has an inherent potential and it is in this sense that its realization is required in individuals as well as nations. Iqbal explains this sense of the term by further developing the example of a seed.

It has full potential to grow into a tree and bear fruit. If that potential remains dormant, it is destroyed. Similarly an individual or a nation (or *Al-Ummah*) has an inherent potential to grow. If that potential is not realized, the individual or the nation will not grow or at the most will have a stunted growth. In other words, Khudi(Self) performs two functions: potential development which is capacity creation and potential realization which is capacity utilization. It thus acts as a bond between the individual and the *Ummah* and makes them dependent on each other to an extent that the development of the one is the strength of the other . This function is further illustrated in Fig. 3:

KHUDI AS A BOND BETWEEN THE
INDIVIDUAL & THE UMMAH



Fig No. 3

7. Evaluative Criteria for Al-Ummah –

The System as depicted in the systems diagram treats Individuals as “inputs” to the Social “Processor” where they interact and ultimately form into and contribute to the strength of *Al-Ummah* which is the “output” of the system.

An “output”, in order to judge the efficiency of the system, is evaluated against the criteria of quality and quantity of production. Evaluative criteria in Iqbal, to judge the strength of *Al-Ummah* and the efficiency of the system is the adherence of *Al-Ummah* or its sub-systems (individuals and nations) to two basic factors which he describes as “basic pillars”, viz.

A. *Al-Tawheed* or Monotheism

B. Al-Risalat or belief in the system

Al-Tawheed

Tawheed to Iqbal is all embracing:.

دین از حکمت ازو آئین ازو
زور از و قوت از و تمکین ازو

[اسرار و رموز - کلیات فارسی صفحہ ۹۱]

It is the sole criterion for religion, wisdom, legal structure, power and stability.

Al-Ummah is the body but *Tawheed* is its spirit and it is because of belief in *Tawheed* that all national and racial distinctions have vanished under the Islamic system and it is because of this belief that we attained the state of:

یک زبان و یک دل جاں جاں شدم

Unity of thought, hearts and spirits

Any deviation from a belief in *Tawheed* and reliance on *Ghair Allah* (any power other than Allah) is *Shirk* -idolatry and takes one out of the fold of *Al-Ummah*;

B. Al-Risalat

The second evaluative criterion for maintaining efficiency in the Islamic System is absolute and firm belief in Al Risalat or the System itself that has been bestowed on mankind by Allah through his “Messenger”, Mohammad (peace be on him).

To Iqbal:

از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما
از رسالت دین ما آئین ما !
از رسالت صد هزار مایک است
جزو ما از جزو ملا ینفک است!

[اسرار و رموز - کلیات فارسی صفحه ۱۰۱]

Our very existence and our system is sustained by our belief in the message delivered to us by Allah through Muhammad (peace be on him) and it is because of this belief that we are one and a part of each other.

And:

دانش از دست دادن مردن است
چون گل از باد خزاں افسردن است

Any deviation from the system means utter destruction.

Says Quran

وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا

And hold fast all together to the system bestowed by Allah and be not disunited

Therefore our prayer to Allah is to unite our hearts so that by his favour we remain brethren in a real sense; to save us from the brink of destruction which is no less than حُضْرَةٌ مِنَ النَّارِ i.e. the pit of fire; and to make clear His communication that we may follow Siratul Mustaqeem, the right path.

Thus, deviation from any one of the two criteria, i.e. *Tawheed* and *Risalat* takes one out of the fold of Al *Ummah*. The existence of deviant groups would indicated defective working of the system as a whole and would require control and correction of the sub- systems (nations and individuals) through development of reliance in “self” or Khudi,

IQBAL• CONCEPT OF SPIRITUAL DEMOCRACY

Dr. ABDUL HAQ

In his sixth lecture under the heading: "The principle of movement in the structure of Islam" Iqbal winds up his discussion on Ijtehad by saying, "Humanity needs three things today a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis." Although he recognizes Europe's contribution to some idealistic systems that it has built on these lines yet he rejects them on the ground that anything evolved by pure reason without the sanction of 'inspiration' cannot survive. "It is incapable of bringing that fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring," he says. "This is the reason why pure thought has so little influenced men while religion has always elevated individuals, and transformed whole societies. The idealism of Europe never became a living factor in her life, and the result is a perverted ego seeking itself through mutually intolerant democracies whose sole function is to exploit the poor in the interests of the rich." Disappointed by unguided intellectualism of the West and finally declaring that Europe is the greatest hinderance in the way of man's ethical advancement he looks towards the Muslim youth and fixes his gaze upon him for the fulfilment of his hopes. He is quite justified because it is the Muslim youth alone who is in possession of these ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation, which, speaking from the inmost depths of life, internalizes its own apparent externality. So he insists upon the Muslim youth to appreciate his position, reconstruct his social life in the light of the ultimate principles, and evolve, out of the hitherto revealed purpose of Islam, that spiritual democracy which is the ultimate of Islam.

These lectures were delivered some sixty years back when Muslim nation was disunited under the yokes of foreign slavery and socially, morally and intellectually impoverished. This state of stand-still and absolute helplessness was against the evolutionary dynamism of Islam. Grieved by this sad situation the great thinker, philosopher and lover of Islam repeated, through his unparalleled poetry, the Qura'nic message of freedom, equality, fraternity, justice and unity. As we all know, half a century later, some of his visions came true, especially of the emergence of Pakistan as the strong fortress of

Islam, but many of the ideals which he had set before this nation particularly, and before the whole Muslim world generally, have yet to be realized. Out of these unrealized objectives the one he calls 'spiritual democracy' has not so far been clearly defined. Although the Muslim youth of today is in many ways better equipped with world-knowledge, technical know-how etc. and has a wider outlook than his preceding generation yet in his practical daily life he experiences such contradictions, disagreements in word and deed, sectarian frictions, wealth-craze of the masses and their uncompromising attitude that he finds himself in the unhealthy atmosphere of aloofness rather than amidst a unified homogeneous society the ideal of his dreams with which he wants to work on a reciprocal basis.

Outside of his home situation the pressure of the rising waves and rushing currents of foreign ideas and thoughts is so strong that it is difficult for him to resist being carried away by its forceful pull. When he looks around for help he sees no one whom he can call or who is fully equipped with life-saving devices. Iqbal had visualized this critical situation also, but his optimistic views about the intellectual prowess of the future youth and the high respect he had for their freedom did not permit him to leave behind any ready-made code of behaviour-patterns for them. His writings, however, contain many guidelines that can safely and surely lead them to the right path.

The interpreters of Iqbal have said very little about what exactly Iqbal had in mind when he coined the phrase 'spiritual democracy'. As we all know democracy is a special term belonging to politics rather than to religion. In politics it has been defined as 'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' The advocates of democracy further profess that through this system alone they can realize the values of liberty, equality and fraternity. How far this claim of theirs has proved its correctness is well known to the world. In actual practice none of these values has crossed the arbitrary boundaries of class, colour and country. The fact is that fourteen hundred years ago the Holy Qur'an explicitly gave to the world not only these three values but many more, e.g., dignity for the children of Adam, justice, co-operation rather than competition, equal and equalised opportunities for all and not for the selected few, importance of means rather than the end, etc. Moreover, Islam welded these values into a perfect system and made this system obligatory for all its followers without the least exception. The failure of Western democracy is due to lack of universal applicability of its values,

and, for that purpose, lack of faith at the back of it, and its detachment from other allied universals. Islam, on the other hand, integrates all its universals into a perfectly organized one, whole in such a way that no value can be detached from the other. *The individual and society both are given equal status in Islam and for both of them there are clearly defined rights and obligations.*

The first prerequisite for establishing spiritual democracy, according to Iqbal, is to interpret the universe spiritually. In this respect we must not lose sight of the unity of the objects of Nature in their purpose, co-operative attitude, strict obedience to law, and inter-relationship of the parts to form one whole proving thereby that it is really a *universe*, not *multiverse*. The Holy Qur'an repeatedly invites the attention of man to the flawless, purposeful, and accurate working of the varying and progressively growing objects of Nature which exhibit orderliness, right proportion and high serviceability. All these characteristics speak eloquently of the spiritual behaviour of the forces of Nature which extend their friendliness to man at every beck and call. The most wonderful discoveries that scientific knowledge has today placed at the door of man proves pragmatically the infallibility of the Qur'anic truth about man's aptitude for 'giving names to things' and about the bowing down of the hidden powers of Nature that run its working, before the power of knowledge. These hidden powers are wild, unruly and furious as long as they remain out of the *reach* of understanding. The moment man grasps the laws that govern them and understands their working principles they throw themselves at his feet as tame and docile and meek as slaves ever ready to obey and serve him. In the words of Iqbal, 'in interpreting Nature in this way the ego understands and masters its environments, and there by acquires and amplifies its freedom.

The spiritual lesson for man, therefore, is to conquer Nature and place the benefits of his conquest at the service and use of entire humanity for its healthy and progressive evolution. Spiritual emancipation means adopting an attitude of rising *with* the world, not rising *in* the world.

Iqbal's first books of Persian verse, *Asrar-i-Khudi* or 'The Secret of the Self' contains many beautiful poems in which some fundamental principles of Islam have been explained. In fact spirituality in the life-system called Islam has for its base two very strong convictions: *Tauhid* and *Risalat*. The first is the faith in the unity of God and the second is faith in the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad (Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). Iqbal argues that fear, despair and frustration are the worst of evils because

they cut at the very root of 'life and no remedy can cure these ills except unflinching faith in the unity of God. This faith involves, in its practical aspect, faith in the oneness of purpose in the universe, faith in the oneness of humanity as a whole and faith in the oneness in the spiritual origin of all 'life'. According to the Holy Qur'an 'man' has been created in the best moulds and all the children of Adam have been honoured and dignified. This purely psychological foundation of human unity and dignity enables man lift himself above the muddy mire of animality and makes it possible for him, if he so wants, to emancipate from the dustful earth. Islam as a polity, says Iqbal, is only a practical means of making the principle of 'Tauhid' a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. It demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own nature.

What is man's ideal nature, then? The Verses of the Holy Qur'an which give scientific details of the creation of man very clearly tell us that when in its mother's womb the embryo developed and reached its animal stage God breathed into it something of his own 'Spirit' and with that it turned into an altogether new creation; before that it was to be just a 'thing' but now it became a person. All creation upto the level of animals is categorised as things, not persons. 'Man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril.' A person is one who is endowed with the faculties of knowledge, understanding, feeling and willing. Man's personality is imperfect because the element or animality in him drags him down to earth rootedness,, but his spirituality of 'something of the breath of God in him' lifts him up from that mean level. For this uplift man has to call for his help his own 'will'. Thus, on the one hand the human self has within it the possibility of either splitting up into pieces or integrating itself formidably, and, on the other, it has natural affinity for goodness, beauty and virtue. This second quality (of his having been created in the best of moulds) is proved by the fact that he can recognize only 'the truth' and not falsehood. He rejects falsehood outright whenever it presents itself before him in its real form; he is deceived only when falsehood puts on the borrowed clothings of truth and appears before him in this deceptive guise. This 'neither-good-nor-bad' (but certainly inclined towards goodness, beauty and virtue) nature of man has also the potential to rise upwards stage by stage and march along the straight path of perfection progressively. Without the endowment of this realizable potential in him and his faculties of choice and free will man could never

build art, culture, high civilizations, education, science, technology etc. In fact 'creativity' is the gift which only man has been favoured with.

On the emotional side also no other creation of God equals man. Laying down life for a higher value, for an ideal or for a supreme cause is purely human activity. Making sacrifices for the uplift of humanity, service above self, living for others, fighting against ignorance, poverty and disease, keeping 'Rizq' in constant circulation and creating goodness, beauty and virtue in word and deed, too, are spiritual actions as against those which have their motivational urge in animal instincts only.

The path of life, according to the Holy Qur'an is not circular but straight; it leads on and on without any returns or coming back to the position of as-you-were. This progressive and evolutionary process of the never-ending stream of life necessitates that each generation, guided by the torch-bearers of the past, but not hampered, should be allowed maximum freedom to solve its own problems. The State's function should also be to provide the young people with full opportunities to realize the "spiritual" in them to its possible extent and thus be a visible model of the Qur'anic Universals.

Spiritual liberty, as implied in this particular sort of democracy, has yet another important aspect also. Iqbal asserts that the birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. 'In Islam prophecy (meaning prophethood) reaches perfection in discovering the need of its own -abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources.' The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Holy Qur'an, and the emphasis it lays on Nature and History as sources of knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality.'

The doors of 'prophethood were securely sealed for ever and, instead, the most perfect guidance comprising unalterable values of universal application, was preserved with a meticulous accuracy in the Holy Qur'an to stop the appearance of fake prophets and to ensure full play of human intellect under the umbrella of this Divine Guidance. But somehow self-styled holies, false 'pirs' and 'sufis; disguised as spiritualists, have dug holes and opened windowes in the walls of the closed citadel of prophethood and tried to break the seal of its finality. Similarly a belief has been fixed in the minds of the simple-minded Muslims that just near the Day of Judgment

someone will come down from heavens to solve their problems, therefore, till then they should continue to bear their sufferings patiently and without raising a voice against these. On the economic side some traditions have been concocted to make the people- believe that the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) loved poverty, therefore only the poor will go to paradise. These false 'gods' are not only venerated but virtually worshipped, as worship is nothing else than calling persons and things other than God for help. Spengler very rightly said that the idea of the world-historical struggle between good and evil prevailing in the middle period, and the good finally triumphant on the Day of Judgment found entry into the beliefs of the Muslim populace from Magian sources.

Iqbal, meeting Spengler half-way explains that 'Ibn-i-Khuldun, seeing the spirit of his own view of history, has fully criticised and, I believe, finally demolished the alleged revelational basis in Islam of an idea similar, at least in its psychological effect, to the original Magian idea which had re-appeared in Islam under the pressure of Magian thought. In fact the perpetual attitude of expectation and a constant looking forward to the coming of someone is the invention of those self-styled spirituals who thus tighten their grip on the common man and exploit his credulity. These Lats and Manats keep changing their costumes and under new appearances they assume the role of Rabb-in- nas, Ilah-in-nas and - ialik-in-nas and very tactfully fleece their victims. Slavery in all its forms was wiped off from the world but the followers of Korah, Haman and Pharoah bring back this evil under one pretext or the other.

To keep the teachings of Islam practically alive and fresh the Holy Qur'an directs the Muslim Ummah: 'Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong; they are the ones to attain felicity.'3:104. In pursuance of this command great teachers like Shauikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi, Shaikh Junaid of Baghdad, Shaikh All Hujwairi, Bahauddin Zakarya and Farid Shakarganj of Pakistan and Nizamuddin Aulia, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, Shaikh Mueenuddin Chishti and many others in India emerged from the Muslim Ummah. They were very pious people, strict followers of the tennets of Islam, pure in character, popular among the masses for their simple and honest living and true in word and deed. they spread Islam by example and precept. The services that these 'friends of God' have rendered to Islam and to the people of their times can never be

forgotten or under-estimated. We have today with us a valuable treasure of their memoirs, sayings, treatises and books etc. which can illuminate the paths of the future youth.

Past experiences cannot be ignored; they may carefully be scrutinised and constructively interpreted. They cannot be blindly followed either. A progressive society needs change and variety according to the call of the changing times. Modern Muslim, says Iqbal, has to re-think the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past...he must approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though he may be led to differ from those who have gone before him.' So until and unless this realistic attitude is adopted and the individual is released from the fetters of 'Israiliat' and the bondages of fake pirs and sufis his spiritual emancipation is very difficult, if not impossible.

HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY: THROUGH 600TH YEAR

A. RASHID GHOURI

A beehive of learning and knowledge Heidelberg is a very scenic and romantic city on the banks of river Neckar in West Germany. It occupies a magnificent position along the National gate-way formed by Konigstuhl and the Holy Mount of Heilganberg crowned by great ruins of Castle Heidelberg. This majestic Castle and ruins have been for five centuries, glittering residence of Palatine Prince Electors, overlooking the jubilantly flowing Neckar. Heidelberg is regarded, in all respects, as one of the most beautiful cities in the oldest and present day Germany. Set in their happy combination of the Castle, river, ancient and new city, green mountains; valleys and vineyards, it offers a spectacular panorama of beauty, romance and intellectual activity. Here also lies magnificently, a 600 years old Heidelberg University, which has so grandly produced philosophers, poets, artists, intellectuals, scientists in the past and continues to hold its exquisite record of celebrities until present day. It bears special significance for Pakistan, as Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal lived about in this beautiful University town preparing for his thesis for his Doctorate and acquiring the language.

University of Heidelberg is the oldest University in Germany founded by Ruprecht-I of the Palatinate in 1380, where-after, the Grand Duke Charles Frederick of Baden gave it the status of first National University in 1803. This bears the title to both its benefactors; as "Ruprecht-Karis-Universitate". This year the Heidelberg University will be marking 600th Anniversary of its foundation with a year round of celebrations. Two historical events provide dates for celebrations of its jubilee falling on oct. 23, 1385 when Pope Urban-VI issued papal bull, allowing the establishment of the University in the small town of river Neckar. A year later on Oct. 23, 1386 the 'Ruperto Carola University', officially celebrated its initiation in the Chapel of Holy Spirit. Students and teachers from all over the 'German Nation' who hitherto hankered after knowledge in Paris and other Capitals gathered in this new centre of learning, in their motherland. Today the 600th anniversary celebrations ranging from April 1986 to Oct. 1986 provide occasion for a

ceremonial hulla-baloo and stock-taking; their motto; "Into the future on the basis of tradition". The University views the jubilee, 'to entail and shape the university's future functioning, within scholarship and society, in the light of centuries of tradition'. Main emphasis is on a long term policy for research and teaching with structural improvements in quality and spheres of knowledge and life. The central anniversary project and its pride of celebration is the "Heidelberg International Science Forum". Other projects consist of under ground store for valuable collections and treasures of books, a computer net-work for effective data-processing of all the university's faculties. In words of the Vice Chancellor Dr. Gisbert F. Zu Putlitz, the jubilee reflects," a responsibility and a challenge proceeding resolutely into the future mindful of the University's history and importance of what it has recognised, as being valuable and lasting". The International Science Forum will be venue for researchers and Scholars from all over the globe to gather in Heidelberg for inter-disciplinary and International Symposia side by side with the local scholars and advance students, benefiting from contact and exchange with the leading experts of their subjects, of the world today. The wide range of themes involved in Symposia range from "Genome organisation and expression" to 'research into preaching' and from 'language Processing in social contact' to "diagnostic application of lasers in Ophthalmology". The basis of the Science Forum has been provided in two buildings in the Hauptstrasse in House Buhl and the old villa No. 242, both of which hold artistically important significance, in the Heidelberg's old town centre, providing the lecture hall Conference Centers with most modern facilities, in the old buildings. The 2nd large scale anniversary project is an under-ground store for the library in the old town centre for storage of books on humanities and old treasures of hand-written volumes in German language. The tree story under-ground magazine directly linked through escalators with the main library has been built to mark and store 1.35 million books, at a cost of 5 million D.M. project is intended as means of assisting data-processing in the research teaching and University Administration particularly in Humanities. A net-work of over 150 computers will be established with a new soft-ware developed at a costing of 10 million D.M. The year 1986, will present in this beautiful and traditional and artistic setting, over 100 international congresses, concerts, theatre performances, exhibitions, lectures and sport events, many in collaboration with sister Universities, students and Alumni. The Jubilee will be marked as well by its

six volume “document of essays, articles, a commemorative coin, medals and postage stamps. The high point of the year comes with the festival week from 12th to 19th Oct. 1986, culminating in the ceremony on 10th Oct. the anniversary day of the University’s Foundation. The history of the Heidelberg University reflects the political and intellectual evolution of the last 600 years. It first gained a measure of renown following the introduction of the reformation in the Palatinate by Prince Elector Ottheinrich and, interrupted by the thirty Years War, continued to enjoy this success until Heidelberg was destroyed in 1693.

The University of Heidelberg achieved considerable prestige in the 19th century. Following its reorganization in 1803, Charles Frederick of Baden invited a number of major scholars to teach and work in Heidelberg. The “Ruperto Carola” University soon entered the ranks of Germany’s and the world’s leading academic institutions, and it has remained there ever since.

A number of scientists from the University of Heidelberg have been awarded the Noble Prize for their work: Phillip Lenard (1905, physics), Albrecht Kossel (1910, medicine), Otto Fritz Meyerhof (1922,medicine),Richard Kuhn (1938,chemistry) Walter Bothe (1954,Physics) Hans Daniel Jensen (1963, physics)Witting (1979,chemistry).

Today the University of Heidelberg is confronted with the necessity of finding answers to the problems caused by the on going process of specialization of the sciences and the constantly growing student body: the “Ruperto carola” is one of the most popular German Universities. Presently, more than 27,000 students are enrolled.

Many of the research institutes which collaborate with the University are also based in Heidelberg: among others, the Heiderlberg Academy of Science, the College of Jewish Studies, the German Cancer Research Centre, the Electronic Data Processing Centre for Astronomy, the European Laboratory for Molecular Biology and the Max Planck Institutes for Astronomy, Foreign Public Law and International Law, Medical Research, Nuclear Physics and Cellular Biology.

No German city was so beloved by th poets of the Romatic Heidelberg. Any collection of the songs and poems dedicated to Heidelberg would have

to include Matthisson's "Elegy" (1786) and Holderlin's "Ode to Heidelberg" (1799). It was here that Eichendorff found his inspiration and it was here, in 1806 that Arnim and Brentano published their collection of folk-songs, "Des Knaben Wunderhorn". In Heidelberg, Goethe, who visited the city eight times, lost his heart to Marianne von Willemer, the "Suleika" of his "Westostlicher Divan", and she herself, in 1824, composed a poem in memory of this meeting; its finest stanzas are engraved on a stone in the Castle grounds: "Hier war ich glücklich, libbend und geliebt" ("Here I was happy, loving and beloved")

Gottfrid Keller, who studied in Heidelberg dedicated, a delightful poem to the Old Bridge: "Alte Bruck, hast mich oft getragen..." ("Old Bridge, often hast thou borne me...") Jean paul Richter, Victor Hugo and Mark Twain all praised Heidelberg's charms. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal paid his glowing tributes to Heidleberg, by writing a poem, "On banks of River Neckar" now inscribed in a Heidel-Bang Park. Viktor von Scheffel's "Alt Heidelberg, due feine" has remained popular down to the present day. There is a poignant chapter on Heidelberg's in carl Zuckmeyer's memories, "Als War's ein Stuck von mir" ("As if it were a part of me"). W.Meyer-Forster's "Old Heidelberg" was a theatrical success throughout the world and Sigmund Romberg composed the music for a no less successful musical, "The student Prince".

It was in Heidelberg in 1810 that Carl Maria Von Weber was inspired to write his opera "Der Freischutz" and it was here, too, that the student Robert Schumann, began to devote his life to music.

The list of Heidelberg landscape painter ranges from George Primavesi and the Englishman William Turner to the Romantic triumvirate of Carl Philipp Fohr, Ernst Fries and Carl Rottmann to the Realists George Issel and Wilhelm Trubner. Many of their pictures can be seen in the Palatinate Museum.

Dr. Iqbal lived for a few months in this city and loved it. The city's lanes and river banks are marked by his presence where he might have taken his philosophic walks and poetic strides, replets with his aspirational thoughts of tumultous and oppressed home-land. Under the same spell he wrote "An evening on the Banks of the River Neckar" as translated below:-

Silent is the moonlight - and so still
Every birth and twig grove and tree
The melody-mongers of the valley are mute.
Hushed are the green-cladden hills
The nature, drowsed, sedately
Has gone to sleep in bosom of the night
The Neckar flows with a tranquil ease.
The caravan of stars, serene, soft
Proceeds without a whisper or sound
The mountain, forest, river - all in lull
The nature, rapt in deep meditation
Oh heart, you too, be calm and quiet
Embrace the sorrow and slumber; still!

The house where Dr. Iqbal actually took his residence in Heidelberg, had vaguely existed, only known to few, with references in files and letters. It was in mid 60's that an association of Pak. students looked for the place where he exactly lived to mark it properly. Searching for clues, they came across a lady in a Hauptstrasse pharmacy whose old mother, exactly recalled and pin-pointed the apartment on the left bank of the river Neckar facing the picturesque castle and the old city. On further verification they approached the city mayor and University authorities, who willingly agreed to give it a monumental status. With assiduous cooperation of the then Ambassador of Pakistan Mr. Abdur Rehman Khan, a sign-board was placed on the wall of the compound where Dr. Iqbal lived, less than a minute's walk, from the Neckar. Further efforts of the Embassy, patriotic students and good-will of the city authorities resulted in naming a river-side part on the main High-way after him, as "Iqbal Offen", and inscription of the above poem on a large

stone placed in the Park, as a befitting tribute to the Heidelberg's Neckar. It is only a few years back, that a permanent Iqbal chair has been created in Heidelberg University and the well-known critic and scholar Prof. Dr. Ajmal was the first to occupy it. He was succeeded by Prof Dr. Siddique Shibli, the present chairman is Prof. Fateh Muhammad Malik. There is, at present a Pakistani Community of about 100 persons in Heidelberg including the students-but no mosque for congregations. It will be so commemorative, that during these historic anniversary celebrations a Symposia/ Seminar on Iqbal's poetry and message is held to eulogise the works of this great poet-and an illustrious ex-student of the University, who helped mould the destiny of the Sub-continent. To avail this occasion, an official delegation comprising of the Pakistani intellectuals and poets and experts on Iqbal needs to be sent to take part in the celebrations, allowing the proceedings of this Seminar, to go down in the annals of history of 600th jubilee celebration. The city of Heidelberg holds many delightful attractions for the visitors, like, 'river-boat cruise' Castle and its part, konignstuhl Observatory, Botanical and Scheu gardens, Museums, Old City monuments, pedestrian zone, art galleries, theatres and concerts and other festivities. The city is to be seen to be loved and remembered, as was done by the poet throbbing with zeal, rapture and inspiration. heidelberg is too beautiful to believe and its atmosphere more charming than can be expressed. It is simply love at the first sight.

The Knowledge-River

The Neckar does flow
The aging waters mingle
With new and the old-
The silver and the gold
The knowledge does flow
In wave after wave
In Heidelberg's spate
Where poets and thinkers

Reason and debate
through six hundred years
What a world create!
Oh Heidelberg live!
In ink of the scholar
In pace of the science
In cause of the human
In dreams of the lover
In songs of the poet
Oh beautiful live!
My heart, to you, I give!

KHILA FAT MOVEMENT: A PATHWAY TO PAKI STAN

Prof. MUHAMMAD MUNAWWAR

L.H. Qureshi appraises the Khilafat Movement thus:

“Though the Khilafat Movement achieved no ostensible success, yet it was of considerable value as an instrument of creating public consciousness in the Muslim masses. It provided a broad-based leadership and taught the techniques of organizing a mass movement to the Muslims. These proved great assets in the struggle for Pakistan.”³²

World War II resulted in the defeat of Germany and her allies, Turkey being one of them. Sultan of Turkey was a vestige of the Ottoman Caliphs. He was a symbol of the sacred institution of khilafat which had started with Hazrat Abu Bakr as successor to the Prophet (S.A.S).

The Ottoman Empire began to dwindle since the advent of the eighteenth century. About the middle of the nineteenth century this Empire came to be called “the sick man of Europe”. Now with her total defeat in 1918, things took a horrible turn. Allies looked bent upon dismembering her to the extent of extinction. It agitated the soul of the muslim Ummah, in particular the Muslims of the Sub-continent. They, although themselves, were the British Slaves yet determined to do all they could for the preservation of Turkish Sovereignty which meant saving the symbol of khilafat-i-Islam. Khilafat, though, had lost its effect as a political force yet it served as a spiritual rallying point for the Ummah, atleast for the majority of the Sunnis. The Muslim leaders of the Sub-continent who almost all of them belonged to the Muslim League, brought about an organisation in 1919, for the protection of Ottoman Caliphate which later on came to be known as the “Khilafat Committee”. Main purpose of this organization was to launch a forceful mass movement to pressurise the British Rulers so as to soften their attitude in respect of their dealings with the Khalifa. Thus Maulana

³² The Struggle For Pakistan, 1979 P.41

Muhammad All and his elder brother Maulana Shaukat Ali helped by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Zafar All Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and other began to deliver speeches in favour of the Turkish Sultan. There were fiery speeches and they stirred the soul of Muslims in all parts of the country.

The above named Muslim leaders had openly supported the Turkish stance when the Sultan threw his lot with the Germans. Maulana Muhammad Ali's article "The choice of Turks" tremendously moved the Muslims. This obviously could not be tolerated by the British rulers who were fighting against the Turks. Ali Brothers and Maulana A.K. Azad were interned. All Brothers were released only when the War ended. This act of valour had raised their stature in estimation of the public at large.

Mr. Gandhi, as is well known, had been supplying recruits to the British rulers from the beginning of the War to the end of 1917. It was Mr. Gandhi who had written to the Viceroy, "If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps I would make them withdraw all the Congress Resolutions and not whisper 'Home Rule' or 'Responsible Government' during the pendency of the War. I would make India, offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment.³³". He was after the War, decorated with the medal kaisar- i-Hind for his appreciable services (Jinnah and Gandhi, Lahore 1976-P. 28). Till 1919 he had not grown into a big leader. Indulal Yajnik say:

"The last Congress that he attended was in Calcutta, 1917. He could hardly then be designated as a leader of any importance in Congress politics illness prevented him from attending the two Sessions of 1918. But one year more and he was acclaimed at the Amritsar Congress at the end of 1919 as one of the three or four principal leaders of Congress organisation in the country³⁴".

At this juncture the Khalifa leaders especially the All Brothers sought Mr. Gandhi's help to strengthen the Khilafat Movement and add to the

³³ Gandhi As I know him, by Indu Lal Yajnik, Danish Mahal Delhi pp. 49,50.

³⁴ "Gandhi As I Know him"-P.120.

pressure upon the British Government. Relating to this incidence Mr. Subhash Chander Bose states:

“About this time the All brothers and other Muslim Leaders were preparing to launch the Khilafat Movement and they too were looking out for allies.Nothing could please them more than to find that the premier nationalist organisation of the country would take up the cause of Turkey. So an alliance was at once struck between Mr. Gandhi and All brothers on the basis of two issues, viz the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat grievances. The All brothers and their followers while keeping up a separate organisation---the All India Khilafat Committee would join the Indian National Congress and agitate for the redress of the Punjab atrocities and Khilafat wrongs and for the attainment of political freedom which was the only guarantee against such wrongs in future. On the other hand, the Indian National Congress would lend its full support to the Khilafat Organisations in the country and agitate for the redress of the Khilafat or Turkish grievances”³⁵

Subhash Chander Bose has made it clear that it was All brothers who prevail,; upon Mr. Gandhi. They knew that with the support of Indian National Congress they could serve better the cause of Khilafat. And thus Mr. Gandhi, by and by became a non-cooperationist. Swami Shardanand also- is of the opinion that when” Mahatimaji became hopeless of getting justice from the British bureaucrats and was led by All brothers unconsciously towards non-cooperation with the British Government itself ”³⁶

But Mr. Gandhi had his own reasons. Mr. Gandhi knew that the Muslims were enraged over the Khilafat much more than the Hindus were over Punjab atrocities. According to Subhash:

“About the middle of 1920, anti-British feeling was stronger among the Muslims than among the rest of the Indian population”³⁷ Jalianwala tragedy

³⁵ The Indian Struggle P.55.

³⁶ Inside Congress P.114.

³⁷ Indian Struggle -P.53.

had occurred in April, 1919, Rowlatt Bill had also been in the minds of Indians for more than a year, yet there was no tangible public protest which could really make manifest the degree of their disgust with the Bill and the magnitude of their resentment against it. But the khilafatists, as has been already stated, had already begun showing their anxiety regarding the Allies intentions to dismember Turkey. Mr . Gandhi when persuaded by the Ali brothers to join hands with them in launching a forceful movement could clearly visualise that by exploiting the Muslim sentiments he could build himself into a leader of All India stature. And he succeeded in achieving that purpose. Mr. Yajnik is very clear in this respect. He states:

“With every Khilafat Conference and Khilafat Committee meeting held, with every khilafat day observed, with every bit of fresh news percolating into India regarding the fate of the khilafat, Mr. Gandhi gradually developed from a persuasive speaker to an enthusiastic propagandist, and finally assumed the role of a leader of a great non-violent Jihad for the rescue and protection of Islam in the world.”³⁸

But Mr. Subhash Bose has his way of looking at things. It is a renowned fact that Mr. Bose had never liked the dictatorial behaviour of Mr. Gandhi. He hated “yesmanship”. Naturally, he did not relish seeing the enhanced strength of Mr. Gandhi on account of his assuming the leadership of Khilafat Movement and his success in obtaining the support of Khilafat leaders with towering personalities in the field of politics. Mr. Subhash’s forebodings were as under:

“The Amritsar Congress had resolved in December, 1919, to work the Constitution but in the meantime public changed considerably: A special session of the Congress was therefore summoned in Calcutta in Sept. 1920, under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, the well-known Punjab leader. Mr. Gandhi was fully aware that his new policy of opposition to the reformed constitution would not be accepted by an influential section in the Congress. He had, there fore, strengthened himself by an alliance with the Muslim leaders and the All India Khilafat Committee. In fact he was so sure of his position in the session that if the Congress has rejected his plan of non-violent

³⁸ Gandhi As I know him P. 127.

non-cooperation, he could have launched his campaign with the support of Khilafat organisation”³⁹

Subhash Babu’s statement is self-evident. Mr. Gandhi had in mind, killing two birds with one stone, assumption of leadership of Muslims on the one hand and with Muslim support defeating his opposition in the Congress. And Mr. Gandhi had yet two more birds to kill. One of them was the Lucknow Pact. Mr. Gandhi had not looked with fervent favour the Muslim League and Congress entering into a pact through which the principle of separate electorate had been accepted by the Congress. In the words of Mr. Yajnik in respect of Lucknow Scheme “the terms of communal Settlement were adopted almost entirely in the Montague Chelmsford Report and finally incorporated in the new constitutional reforms of 1919”.

Mr.Yajnik elaborating further, lays down:

“Mr. Gandhi again played a very minor part in-this historic session. It was rumoured that he informally advised some of the zealous Hindu leaders to unbend a little more in settlingthe communal problem with the Muslim leader.”⁴⁰

Swami Shardhanand (d:1936) was amongst those who disliked the Lucknow Pact. He states, “I attended the Lucknow sitting of the Congress also as a visitor but behind the scenes I had to do something with the negotiations that were going on. The Hindu-Muslim pact was privately discussed in my presence. Pandit Madan Malaviya and Mr. C.Y. Chintarmany v. re both against the pact. They could not agree to communal representation and communal votings. In informal talks, I too, was in agreement with their views”.⁴¹

Of those zealous Hindu leaders who did not like the Lucknow pact is prof. Balraj Madhok, presently the president of R.S.S. Sangh in India epitomised in the following words, the thinking of Hindu public in general.

³⁹ The Indian Struggle PP. 55,56.

⁴⁰ Ibid P.19.

⁴¹ Inside Congress, 1946.P.41.

“The Congress by making this pact recognised that the Muslims as a Community were different from the rest of the Indians and thus by implication prepared the ground for the two nation theory”⁴²Prof. Balraj Madhok wrote this book in March 1947,only about five months before the Pakistan.

By assuming leadership of both the Khilafat Committee and the Congress, Mr. Gandhi felt he had smashed the two nation principle. Hindus and Muslims had become united under the banner of one leader. Apparently it looked so. And the fact remains that although the Hindus and Muslims did remain united for more than about four years yet the Muslim League had suffered a real rebuff. It could not come to its own until October, 1937 when the Muslim League Session was held at Lucknow. It was a momentous Session. Anyway, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed the spirit of Lucknow Pact of 1916.

Mr.S.K. Majumdar commenting on Mr.Gandhi’s interest in the Khilafat Movement says:

“Therefore, he (Mr.Gandhi) was determined that the flame of the Khilafat Movement must be kept ablaze. With that end in view, he felt that if he himself be sent to prison for his activities in the Khilafat cause, his non-cooperation Movement would acquire tremendous strength among the Muslims. he was bent on retaining the Muslims under his banner and under his leadership for what he considered his life’s Session”.⁴³

Mr. Gandhi stood elated. He had succeeded in killing the spirit of the Lucknow Pact wherein lay the acceptance of the fact that Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations represented politically by the Muslim League and the Congress respectively. Now there no longer were two nations. There was only one Indian nation led by their supreme leader Mr. Gandhi. Thus he had built himself into a formidable personage capable of showing his political muscle to the government as well as to his opponents in the Congress party itself. But Mr. Gandhi did not feel satisfied with this enhancement of his influence resulting from the surrender before him of the

⁴² Hindustan on the Cross roads P.37.

⁴³ Jinnah and Gandhi-p.63.

Muslim leadership. He could not stop at that. He wanted, overly and covertly, some more gains to extract from the surrendering Muslims. He coveted cow protection. He emotionally was a devotee of the sacred cow. He had written an article published in his own magazine “Young India” on the 12th October, 1921 to which Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad All Jinnah referred in his address in Delhi in April 1943, on the occasion of the annual session of the Muslim League. About his own religion Mr. Gandhi had said:

“I call myself a Sanatani (orthodox) Hindu because firstly. I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishdas, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and- therefore in Avatars and rebirth”. (Here Quaid-e-Azam had added “ultimately he himself become an Avatar”).

“Secondly I believe in the Varnasharma Dharma atma

the law of the Caste-System) in its vedic forms. “Thirdly, I believe in the protection of cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol-worship.”⁴⁴

This, Mr. Gandhi had written in 1921, the year khilafat Movement had started. His Hinduism, and that also of the orthodox Sanatani brand, went on deepening day by day. Here we refer to this stance of his as related by Mr. J.E. Sanjana. It is a highly interesting study:

“But Mr.Gandhi’s convictions of the subject of cow-killing are so deeply rooted and passionately held that he is not content with soul-satisfying fallacy so common among good people who want to read their own convictions into ancient texts. In his presidential address at the Belgaun Cow Conference,Mr.Gandhi referred to these opinions of “big scholars and pandits” that cow sacrifice is to be found in the vedas, etc and to such sentences in his own High School Sanskrit text books as that “formerly Brahmans used to eat beef”, and proceeded, Inspire of such sentences, I have continued to believe that if such a thing be written in the Veda, then perhaps its meaning mz. J not be what we make it out to be. There is another possibility also. According to my interpretation or according to the conviction of my innerself (atma) and for me learning or Sastriac scholarship

⁴⁴ Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, Sh. M.Ashraf Lahore ed: March 1960, Vo1.I, P. 482.

are not authoritative, but only the conviction of the inner self is authoritative, - if the statements like those cited above have no other meaning, then it must have been the case that only those Brahmans used to eat cow who could again revive the cow after killing her - I have not studied Veda, etc. I know many Sanskrit books through translations only. So what can an ordinary person like me say on such subjects? But I have faith in myself.”⁴⁵

It becomes clear that his sentiments regarding the sanctity of the “Cow” were so deep-rooted that he could refute even what the Vedas and Shastras contained contrary to what his inner self i.e. atma dictated. His faith was what he himself believed in. Here the significance of the words of Quaid-e-Azam quoted above becomes clearly understandable “And ultimately he (Mr. Gandhi) himself became an Avatar”. Perhaps an Avatar could set aside, what Vedas ordained or contained. Mr. J.E, Sanjana quotes the devotional words of some important social and political figures of the Hindu community, who regarded Mr. Gandhi an Avatar and a prophet or even more than that.

“Dr. P. Sitaramayya has said that enjoyment of superconscious state which Mr. Gandhi enjoys is the privilege of a Mahatma and that Gandhi is one of those Avatars who descent on earth in order to purify the world. ‘Most Congress papers have said and say, year in and year out that Mr. Gandhi is several Prophets and Avatars rolled into one; for instance patna Congress daily said three years ago ‘He is today the living Jesus, Mohamed and Buddha - and this crescendo has reached its climax in Babu Sirkrishan Sinha’s proclamation that ‘Mahatma is more than God’-And as none who has not faith in the Mahatma cannot be a good Congressman, it is no exaggeration to say that cow-protection if not cow-worship has become a cardinal doctrine of the Congress creed, at least implicitly, for the vast majority of Congressmen who are Hindus”⁴⁶

As Mr. Gandhi called upon the Hindus to support Muslims on the question of khilafat he hoped that the Muslim leaders in return would, of their own accord, stop slaughtering cow. But according to Mr. Yajnik Mr. Gandhi went about his business in a very shrewd manner. Apparently his

⁴⁵ Caste and Outcaste, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay 1946, 2PP.109,110.

⁴⁶ Ibid P.11.

stance was, that it did not behove to Hindus” to bring in the cow question in this connection or to use the occasion to make terms with the Mussulemans”-and then Mr. Gandhi artfully added:

“But it would be anther matter and quite graceful and would reflect great credit on them if the Mussulemans of their own free will stopped cow slaughter out of regard for the religious sentiments of the Hindus and their sense of duty towards them as neighbors and children of the same soil.”⁴⁷ And the response was not late. It came in ‘ the form of a Fatwa issued by Maulana Abdul Bari Frangimahalli that the Muslims out of regard for the sentiments of their Hindu countrymen should give up cow slaughter.’⁴⁸

Mr. Gandhi’s devotion to cow knew no bounds only a few quotations are laid down here to make manifest that Mr. Gandhi’s religion was focussed on the cow. And as he clamped his religion on his politics, hence his politics can in a way be called “cow-politics”. He said:

“Cow-protection is a gift given by the Hindu religion to the world.”⁴⁹

“Hindu-Muslim unity has a close connection with cow- protection”⁵⁰

“In my opinion, the question of cow-protection is not smaller than the Swaraj; in some respects I consider it to be far bigger than the question of Swaraj”⁵¹

These words clearly show that Hindu-Muslim unity had no meaning if the Muslims could not refrain from slaughtering cow. Besides Mr. Gandhi went to the extent of proclaiming that he could not accept Home Rule or Dominion-status or even Freedom if the cow was not protected. And here is yet another expression of Mr.Gandhi and this deals with the Quran alongwith his own peculiar way of interpreting things:

⁴⁷ Gandhi As I know Him P. 116.

⁴⁸ Ibid 116.

⁴⁹ Ibid P. 101.

⁵⁰ Ibid P. 102.

⁵¹ --do--

“So far as I understand it is written in the holy Quran that it is a sin to take the life of any living creature unnecessarily. I desire to develop the strength of making the Mussulemans understand that to live in India with the Hindu and to kill a cow is equivalent to murdering a Hindu: for the Quran says that Allah has ordained that Jannat (Paradise) is not for the murderer of an innocent neighbour.”⁵²-That is to put this superb ratiocination in plain language, a Mussaleman slaughtering a cow within the four corners of India for food or for the Baqar Id sacrifice will, according to the Quran, be consigned by Allah to hell.⁵³

And this peculiar Mahatmaic logic becomes more ratiocinating when Mr. Gandhi proclamis “I regard slaughtering of a cow as my own murder”- First cow stood for an innocent human being. Here slaughter ‘hence, was equal to murdering an innocent person and the Quran consigned the murderer to hell. But hell was the punishment for an ordinary innocent murder. Surely a special Hell to be created for the one who murdered Mr.Gandhi, the Avatar, an embodiment of Prophets. This is how Mr. Gandhi a Barrister and an enlightened citizen of the modern world played politics in the subcontinent. His voice was the voice of the Hindu Congress, in clearer terms, the voice of the Hindu community. Could then the Muslims and the Hindus coexist? They, no doubt, inhabited the same land for centuries, but they never lived together. They lived separately.

Anyway it was the khilafat Movement that had brought together the Muslims and the Hindus at such a mass scale for the first time since the advent of Islam in South Asia, more than twelve hundred years ago. Yet it was just an appearance which evaporated soon like thin fog vanishing before the sun.

S.K. Majumdar explained this phemonenon in the following lines:

“Hindu-Muslim unity over the khilafat Movement was never based on firm foundation. To the Muslims it was a religious movement without any thought of Indian freedom, where as for Gandhiji it was

⁵² Ibid p.103.

⁵³ Ibid P.103.

a weapon for his own ends. Gandhiji said; “I claim that with us both the khilafat is a central fact, with Maulana Muhammad All. because it is religion, with me because in laying down my life for the khilafat, I ensure safety of the cow, that is, my religion, from the Mussalman knife”⁵⁴-preservation of the khilafat was equal to the preservation of the cow. But this cow entailed much more than the words quoted above could convey. The cow in Mahatmajī’s view or rather according to his conviction meant all what Hindus aspired for. And in Mr.Gandhi they had found their most artful mouthpiece.

Mr. Yajnik puts the matter threadbare: “It has already been noted that Mr.Gandhi imported a new religious terminology in his propaganda sense he espoused the Khilafat cause and the non-cooperation programme. India was not to fight for mere political liberty. It was out to install nothing less than Ramrajya or Dharmarajia - Empire of Truth and Love amidst a world torn by military and economic dissensions.”⁵⁵

As already stressed, people to people contact took place for the first time in the hectic days of the khilafat movement. Thousands of Hindus and Muslim sat together in public meetings, walked side by side in political processions and similarly went to prisons in thousands. Thus they saw each other for the first time in twelve hundred years, from very close quarters. Therefore they fell apart. The schism that now occurred was much wider than ever before.

One of the towering personalities of those days who preached Hindu-Muslim unity was Mr. Annie Besant, the founder of Theosophical Society in South Asia. She witnessed the rise and the fall of the khilafat movement, she made the following remarks about what resulted from that movement:

“But since the khilafat agitation things have changed and it has been one of the many injuries inflicted on India by the arrangements of khilafat crusade, that the inner Muslim feeling of hatred against

⁵⁴ Jinnah and Gandhi P. 6

⁵⁵ Gandhi, As I know him P. 160.

“unbelievers” has sprung up naked and unashamed as in the year gone by.”⁵⁶

It is obvious that Mr. Annie Basant has shown what the Muslims felt. It is only the one side of the picture. And this very side has been depicted by Swami Shardhanand also in the following lines:

“There was another prominent fact to which I drew attention of Mahatma Gandhi. Both of us went together one night to the khilafat conference at Nagpur. The Ayat (verses of the Quran) recited by Maulanas on that occasion contained frequent references to Jihad against and the killing of kafirs. But when I drew his attention to this phase of the khilafat Movement, Mahatmaji smiled and said - “they are alluding to the British bureaucracy” in reply I said that it was all subversive of the idea of non-violence and when a revelation of feeling came, the Muhammadan Maulanas would not refrain from using these verses against the Hindus”.⁵⁷

We know that even in 1921 when the feeling of Hindu-Muslim Unity was at its zenith a bloody Hindu-Muslim clash took place in Southern India. The violent Muslim Moplas who were generally peasants rose in open rebellion against the British administration. The Hindu landlords and capitalist traders sided with the government. Hence the clash between Muslim Moplas and Hindus was the natural corollary.

The question is why did the Swami, and other Hindus saw only how the Muslims reacted. Was there no Hindu reaction? It was just natural that the Hindus listened to what the Hindu Leaders said tinged with references to Hindu heroes of the past. The Muslims listened to what the Muslim leaders stated and no doubt with reference to the past glory of Islamic peoples. Hindus and Muslims both left the public meetings filled with the enthusiasm for freedom, but a Hindu thinking as a Hindu and a Muslim as a Muslim. Freedom was visualized not as Indian Freedom, it was rather visualized in terms of Hindu Rule or of Muslim Rule. Alluding to this state of affairs Mr. Yajnik lays down impartially what he felt:

⁵⁶ The Menace of Hindu Imperialism by Swami Dharam Teerath Maharaj, Lahore P. 254.

⁵⁷ Inside Congress P. 123.

“And this occasion proved a veritable signal for orthodox and mediaeval Maulanas, Maulvis and Ulemas on the one hand, and for orthodox Hindu Sadhus, Saints and Sanyasis on the other, to rush to the new platform. Consequently, religious arguments and sacred texts easily usurped the place of political expediencies and rational argument. The authority of Rama and Krishna, Allah and Koran was invoked in every second sentence in the political speeches. Large masses were addressed henceforth as Hindu and Mohammedan, instead of Indians.⁵⁸

Anyway the Hindus agitated as Hindus and Muslims as Muslims. They were filled with forceful desire for freedom. Their sentiments were afire. They were fundamentally, communal sentiments. The result was that when the khilafat and Non-cooperation came to an end the pent up communal emotions burst into Hindu-Muslim clashes throughout the country. The result was that the two major communities of the country fell apart never to come to terms after that. Shudhi and Sangthan campaign was the immediate outcome of the cooperation between the Congress and the Khilafat Movement. Muslims had to lead off inevitably. And they, finding no other way out, took to the path that led them to Pakistan.

⁵⁸ Gandhi, As I know him P.117.

PEACE WITH ZENO

AZIZ AHMED

Suppose a particle traverses some given distance in a certain period of time 't'. Its movement is constituted by its being in one place at one time and in an other place at another time as well as the time 't' is taken up by its transitions or by its being in different places at different times.

To facilitate the work of imagination, let us take into consideration only the fore-end of the particle. The movement of the particle involves the disappearance of its fore-end from its initial position and appearance of it at some other position. It can be asked, "Does the fore-end vacate its initial position at the beginning of the interval 't' or does it not?" If it does not, it is still at its initial position and the movement does not commence at the beginning of the interval 't' and thus, not the interval 't' but some other interval is correlated with the motion, which is contrary to our supposition. Therefore, the fore-end must leave its initial position at the beginning of the interval 't'. Now, if it leaves its initial position at the beginning of the interval 't', it can be asked, "When does it land into some other position?" If it does not land into any other position for any interval of time, it must be no where or in a state of non-existence, because it is neither at its initial position nor at any other position. This will mean a void in the life history of the particle and will be ruinous to the continuity of its existence. It must, therefore, land into some other position, not subsequently, but at the very beginning of the interval 't'. This means that its acts of leaving the initial position and landing into another position do not require any period of time. Now the moving end will either stay at this position for some period or it will not stay there for any period. If it does not stay there for any period, but leaves it and lands into yet another position, this must be done at the very beginning of the interval 't', because by the conclusion just established, the acts of leaving one position and landing into another do not require any period of time. The state of affairs for all other positions will be the same and the correlation of a period of time with movement will be absolutely excluded which will be contrary to our supposition. The fore-end must, therefore, stay for a small period of time at every position and it will be this stay which will require a period of time. The awkward phrases 'the act of leaving' and 'the act of

landing' can now be replaced by the single phrase, 'the act of transition' from which they are derivable. The conclusion is that the period of time is required for the various 'states of rest' of the fore-end at different positions and not by the acts of transitions.

A period of time, say an hour, is enclosed within two terminals or limits, its beginning and end. Its first limit which marks its beginning also marks the end of the previous hour, Likewise, its second limit which marks its end also marks the beginning of the subsequent hour. Its two limits are, thus, shared by it with the previous and the following hours. Any portion of this hour, a minute or a second is enclosed within two ends or limits. Note that the limits or ends are not time and have no actuality apart from that which lies in-between and that which lies in-between is a period or a portion of time and is termed an hour or a minute or a second according to its magnitude. If we define an instant as the limit, i.e. the beginning or end of some period of time, we can say that the transition of the moving particle from one position to another is accomplished in an instant and does not require a period of time for its execution. What requires a period of time is the state of immobility of the particle. The movement of the particle is constituted not merely by its instantaneous transitions but also by its states of rest for some period of time at every position.

With this account of motion, we can confront the paradoxes of Zeno. The first paradox⁵⁹ called Dichotomy is as under:

'You cannot get to the end of the race-course. You cannot traverse an infinite number of points in a finite time. You must traverse the half of any given distance before you traverse the whole, and the half of that again before you traverse it. This goes on ad infinitum so that there are infinite number of points in a given space, and you cannot touch an infinite number one by one in a finite time.'

Zeno is at fault to conceive of the indefinite divisibility of a given space but not to conceive of the indefinite divisibility of a finite time. Any way, we may overlook this and proceed straight to the proposed solution.

⁵⁹ The text of the paradox is by Burnet as given in *Our Knowledge of the External World* by Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin, London 1914, Reprint 1961, pages 176-180

To traverse the race-course, the fore-end of our particle must effect a transition from its initial position to some other position. If it does not do so, it remains where it was and no movement takes place. But if it effects a transition, there must be some distance between its initial position and the new position, otherwise it will still be where it was and there will be no traversing of the race-course. According to the conclusion established above, the transitions are effected in 'no time', i.e. instantaneously. Hence the fore-end must be considered to have taken a sudden jump from the initial position to the new position, without touching the intervening finite or infinite number of positions between these two. In order that a period of time may be correlated with traversing, the fore-end must, stay at the new position for a certain period of time and then take another jump to another position and so on to the end of the race-course.

The second paradox termed Achilles is as below:

“Achilles will never overtake the tortoise. He must first reach the place from which the tortoise started. By that time the tortoise will have got some way ahead. Achilles must then make up that, and again the tortoise will be ahead. He is always coming nearer, but he never makes upto it.”

On the above account of motion, Achilles and the tortoise will be utilizing at their respective positions of rest different periods of time, those of Achilles being shorter. Achilles will, therefore, make upto it' and pass it at a certain position where the tortoise will be immobile for a longer period of time. On the doctrine of jumps Achilles will be executing longer period of time. On the doctrine of jumps Achilles will be executing longer jumps and in consequence, will be having fewer stations of halt.

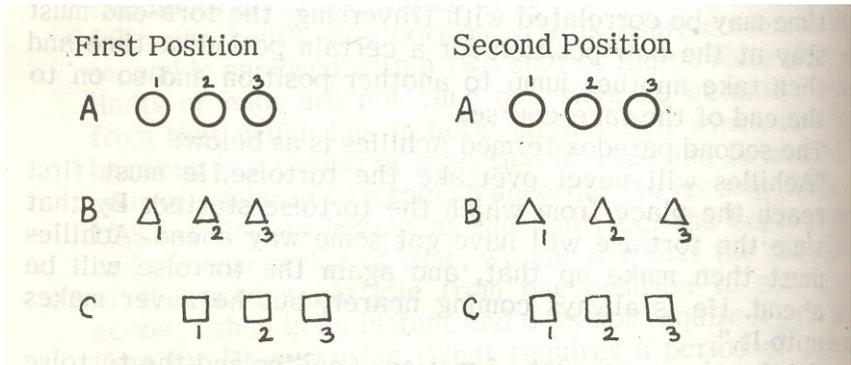
The third paradox that of the arrow is as follows:-

“The arrow in flight is at rest. For, if everything is at rest when it occupies a space equal to itself, and what is in flight at any given moment always occupies a space equal to itself, it cannot move.”

According to the viewpoint developed here, the arrow is certainly at rest at every moment, if the word moment stands for some period of time. Its movement, however does not lie in its states of rest alone, but also in its

transitions which are effected instantaneously. The arrow in flight, therefore, effects instantaneous transitions also and thereby executes its movement.

The fourth paradox known as the Stadium is as under:-'Half the time may be equal to double the time. Let us suppose three rows of bodies one of which (A) is at rest while the other two (B,C) are moving with equal velocity in opposite directions. By the time they are all in the same part of the course, B will have passed twice as many of the bodies in C as in A. Therefore, the time which it takes to pass C is twice as long as the time it takes to pass A. But the time which B and C take to reach the position of A is the same. Therefore, double the time is equal to half.'



Zeno seems to assume that a body takes equal times to pass with the same velocity two similar bodies one of which is at rest and the other in motion. This assumption is wrong. But, be that as it may, on the hypothesis of instantaneous jumps, equal velocity will mean equal periods of rest and equal length of jumps. Therefore, if B and C as in the first position take their equal and instantaneous jumps at the end of the same period of time, they will all be found for the ensuing period in the same part of the course as in the second position and there will be no question of half the time being equal to double the time.

This paradox is interpreted by some⁶⁰ to be aimed at invalidating the assumption that a finite period of time consists of a finite number of

⁶⁰ Bertrand Russell Our Knowledge of the External World, George Allen & Unwin, London, page 182.

moments. In the first position of the diagram B3 and C1 are opposite each other at the first moment. At the second moment in the second position B1 has come up opposite C1. At what moment, then, did B2 and C1 pass each other? It must have been at some moment between the first and the second moments which, therefore cannot be consecutive, though they were supposed to be such. Accordingly, there must be other moments and an infinite number of them between any two given moments.

The word moment in the above interpretation, obviously stands for a period of time. According to the doctrine of motion and time developed here, a finite period of time will consist of a finite number of periods whereas according to the above interpretation, a finite period turns out to consist of an infinite number of periods. In this interpretation, however, continuous motion is being assumed, but in our doctrine motion cannot be continuous. By means of the instantaneous transitions in the opposite directions at the end of the first moment B1 and C1 can fall into line opposite each other for the second moment and in view of the motion of jump, the question, 'when did B2 and C1 pass each other' will not arise,

Our doctrine of motion may be stated as under:-

A particle which moves, takes a sudden jump from its initial position to a new position, stays there arrest for a small period of time, then takes another jump to another position and so on and so forth. The jumps are instantaneous, the points between the two positions of rest are not touched and the period of time correlate with motion is taken up by the periods of rest at every position. The concise manner in which this doctrine meets the difficulty of Zeno is its chief recommendation. The doctrine is conceivable and has suggested itself to human mind. Russell's version of it is the following⁶¹:

'All motion might consist of periods of rest separated by instants of infinite velocity.'

ii G.J Whitrow in the Natural Philosophy of Time, Second addition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1980 page 191.

⁶¹ Human knowledge: Its Scope and Limits by Bertrand Russell, George Allen and Unwin, London, Fourth Impression 1961, page 383.

An ‘instant of infinite velocity’ is no other than the ‘instantaneous transition’ of our phraseology. Unfortunately, the doctrine occurred to Russell’s mind in connection with the matter of determination of velocity and not in the context of Zeno’s paradoxes.

The doctrine has nothing of logic against it. In fact, by far the best manner, logically, of getting to the end of the race-course is to take a sudden jump from the initial position and land instantly at the end, without touching any point or wasting any time on the way. But as we do not go about our travels in this way, we must contemplate in our account a very large number or halts and shorter jumps short enough to present the perspective of a continuous movement.

The notion “jump” was conceived by Nazzam, a Muslim scholastic of early medieval period to meet a difficulty such as that in the Achilles paradox, It has been introduced into atomic physics by N. Bohr to account for the transitions in the atom of electrons from one stationary orbit to another. Bohr’s insight, however, left unclarified the manner of electron jump. It fell to the lot of Werner karl Heisenberg to supply the deficiency. It is said⁶² that the physicists of Heisenberg’s time were making every effort to find out what happens to the electron during its jump between the two orbits, when at some moment it struck him ‘that the electron just never happens to be “between” the stationary’ orbits. This intuition of Heisenberg led him to the formulation of the quantum, matrix mechanics.

At about the same time A.N. Whitehead⁶³ was assuming that the electron does not traverse its path in space continuously, but appears at discrete positions, remaining at each position for successive periods of time, like an automobile with an average speed of thirty miles an hour, which does not traverse the road continuously but appears successively at successive mile stones, remaining for two minutes at each mile stone’.

Heisenberg’s intuition and Whitehead’s assumption did not allude explicitly to the instantaneous nature of the jumps. The word jump is,

⁶² In *Quest of the Quantum* by L. Ponomarev, English Translation by Nicholas Weinstein, Mir Publishers Moscow 1973 Page 184.

⁶³ *Science and the Modern World* by A.N. Whitehead, A Mentor Book, 1957 pages 36-37.

however, misleading. The moving particle may be conceived to vanish, from one position and emerge at another at one and the same instant, like two light-bulbs, one of which may be switched off and the other switched on instantly with a single switch-button.

Space and time are ordinarily considered to be continuous. On our account of motion, they are atomised, time by the instantaneous transitions and space by jumps. Transitions or individual acts or occurrences which are synonymous in the present context, are instantaneous, i.e. indivisible and unextensive in time. It is these individual acts or occurrences which furnish a period of time with its limits, i.e. the beginning and end and thereby supply human mind with the notion 'instant'. Continuity of movement stands abolished in this account.

If all motion consists of periods of rest separated by instantaneous jumps, the fact that in daily life we observe many objects to be visible moving and do not observe the disjointed motion, requires to be accounted for.

The explanation of visible movements of daily life, such as that of a motor car on the road, is not far to seek. If the movement of an object is of a suitable speed, so that the object can be seen in more than one position in a single sensation and also in some of these positions earlier than in others, the object will be seen to be moving. This is due to the phenomenon termed 'persistence of vision', whereby the brain retains the impression of an object; for the fraction of a second longer than the time of its actual exposure before the eyes. It is owing to this phenomenon that stationary photographs on a film, when run sufficiently rapidly through a cinema projector, present the view of a moving object.

The non-observableness of the discontinuous, jerky motion is due to the fact that our senses are not adequately acute and precise. An ordinary object, a stone for example, appears to be continuous & of a single piece, whereas physics tells us that it is constituted by billions of tiny particles, with vast stretches of space between them. We do not see the spatial gaps between the particles nor even the particles themselves. In movement, the particles constituting an object, may not all jump at the same instant, the period of stay of the individual particles may be very brief and the length of the jumps

may be too small to be discriminated. If the lengths of the jumps were considerable, the periods of stay appreciable and the jumps of the particles simultaneous, perhaps we would have experienced the discontinuous motion. According to Russell⁶⁴,

‘A world in which all motion consisted of a series of small finite jerks would be empirically indistinguishable from one in which motion was continuous.’

Our account of motion as made up of immobilities, i.e. periods of rest with instantaneous transitions, abolishes the notion of the perceived ‘state of motion’. There are not two states, the state of rest’ and’ the state of motion.’ There is only one state,’the state of rest’ which a body always takes. By the abandonment of the notion of ‘the state of motion’ we have met Zeno half-way. If he could agree on the notion of the instantaneous transitions, the debate with him would be over for good.

⁶⁴ Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy Bertrand Russell, George Allen & Unwin, London 1919, Tenth Impression 1960, page 140.

PSYCHE A. TRADITIONAL PERSPECTIVE

PART II

NAUMANA UMAR

TAOISM:

After discussing Hinduism and the Greek thought, it seems appropriate to briefly present the ideas of Taoism on the same subject. However, it is no more than a passing reference. Its primary reason is the non-availability of material; secondly, it suffices for the purpose of this research to concern ourselves mainly with the major traditions.

Taoism is known in the Western world as one of the great movements in Chinese thought. It is one of the most ancient religious traditions of the world. It is purely mystical in its approach and those who wish to study the universe, man, all creatures and phenomena in it, will find that Taoism is primarily a cosmic religion the central concept of this tradition is Tao. The word Tao is always left untranslated as it is regarded as indefinable. Lao Tzu regards it as the transcendental First cause, the primordial Unity, the ineffable, the all-pervading principle of the universe. The Tao is a dynamic vital force with all innate powers. "The Tao is the realm of man's true being. It is the light that sees and is sought, even as Brahman, in Upanishads, is the principle of search as well as the object sought, the animating idea and its fulfilment".

The second basic concept of Taoism is yin-yang, it is the symbol of two great regulating forces of cosmic order in the phenomenal world. Yin-yang are the dark and light, negative and positive, female and male, passive and active - together they control everything in the realm of manifestation. The yin principle is the negative, dark side and also symbolizes the feminine element. It is the primordial chaos of darkness from which the phenomenal world emerged into the light of creation. It is eternally creative, the Great Mother, that is why the yin is always placed before the yang, since the yang was born of the potential and is the light which emerged from the darkness to become the actual, the essential, the spirit or the intellect. Every manifest being participates in the two principles and so does man. In man's self these

two principles are present and the perfect balance among them can only be achieved in the Perfect Man or Sage. The critical, rational, analysing mind is the yang. "By itself, it is prone to hardening; it names, defies and limits and mistaking the naming of a thing of the understanding of it, sees itself as all-powerful and all-wise." The feelings or emotions are related to yin- and feelings without the control of mind tend towards dispersal and dissipation, thus a balance is essential.

As feelings and mind the yin-yang is also being and thought. The feminine, instinctive, intuitional and emotional is also depth, as the masculine, intellectual, rational is height. Each should inform and reconcile the other.

According to the Taoist cosmology, the world is in a perpetual state of flux and man is in a state of becoming which is not necessarily a forward movement. Man himself is the universe in miniature, being made up physically of the five elements and mentally and spiritually of the yin and kwei and yang and shen spirits. As with the macrocosm so with the microcosm of man all these parts are in a continual state of flux, of creation and emanation, of dissolution and withdrawl. All Taoist writings and allegories emphasize the oneness of all creation; mankind and all things that live are fragmentary manifestations of the whole. Tao is the centre of man's self. Around this centre the subtle part of man's being is situated which corresponds to two essences or principles of Tao, i.e. yin-yang; emotion to yin and mind to yang, which means that volitional and intellectual faculty of man corresponds to yang, whereas effectual and feeling faculty corresponds to yin. In agreement with all great traditions Taoism also sees man as a microcosm composed of the dual nature of the yin-yang and reconciling-and unifying these in himself, is the masculine spirit and feminine soul united, from which the third, the son, the unifying principle emerges. It is said in Taoist writings that man stands between the Heaven and the Earth symbolically. Earth is seen as man's body whereas Heaven is the spirit therefore man's psyche is the intermediate realm between spirit and body or between Heaven and Earth. This intermediate realm is what gives man his specifically human character with such as the thinking faculty, imagination, reason, etc; he remains in this world yet being in touch with the higher realm which is the realm of Tao as well as centre of his being. Buddhism:

Buddhism is generally defined as a non-theist religion i.e. a religion without the central concept of one Divine Being, “God” or “Diety”. This does not mean that Buddhism is without the concept of an Absolute Reality. What is absent in this great tradition is the idea of an anthropomorphic and objectivized Divinity. But there is an underlying concept of Divine principle—the “Void” or “Extinction”. It is the Supra-ontological Reality and Being inwardly regarded. Buddha as the innermost Being of man is the centre of man’s Selfhood and it is this Absolute reality of which the individual man is a manifestation. The human microcosm is like a circle whose centre is situated on the circumference of a larger circle namely the sensible macrocosm, and the centre of this second circle is in its turn situated on a still larger circumference representing the total macrocosm. Hence it can be inferred that man is related to the non-material and supra-individual realm through the subtle part of his self i.e. his soul or psyche which is non-material itself.

Just as Buddhism is attributed to have a non-theistic character, it is also said to be without a conception of the soul as an entity. But this notion is refuted by Frithjof Schuon. He holds that in Buddhism, Nirvana is the prototype of soul. Although Buddhists do not present soul as an entity, they admit both essentially and in practice the “Karmic” continuity or the moral casualty of that living and conscious nucleus that is the human ego.

The Lankavatara Sutra, one of the sacred discourses, says that “the objective word derives from Mind itself and the whole system of thought like-wise derives from Mind ---there is but a single Essence”. This single Essence or Reality which is self, becomes individualized in the form of souls, “just as water when shaken becomes dispersed in innumerable drops” with the movement of cosmic wheel, the dispersal of souls takes place i.e. Individuation with its numberless modalities. The ego is a quasi-physical consequence of this universal rotation. The empirical “I” is nothing but a shifting tissue of images or tendencies - the Milinda Panha illustrates this theme. The Buddha rejected an eternally abiding pure ego (atta) and described the universe in terms of the arising, decay and dissolution of all things. The mind is a dynamic continuum which is described by Buddha by means of a number of analogies. Sometimes it is compared to a flame, whose existence depends upon a number of factors the wick, oil, etc.; sometimes it is compared to a stream (sota) and again the movements of a monkey

jumping from branch to branch are used. Buddha also denies the existence of any permanent entity which would be called mind or soul. Man's self is really a psycho- physical complex (Nama-Rupa). Nama is used to refer to your non- material groups (Khandhas) these are; vedana (feeling) sanna (sense impressions, ideas, images, concepts), Sankhara (conative activity, dispositions) and vinnana (consciousness). The term rupa refers to the four great elements: extension, cohesion, heat and the material shape derived from them. the mental and physical constituents form one complex and there is a mutual dependency of the mind on the body and of the body on the mind.

“The mind according to Buddhist psychology is a dynamic continuum which extends to an innumerable number of births”. It consists of both a conscious and unconscious mind, the later containing the residue of memories extending beyond personal life, and also contains the centre of man's self. ‘-I’ is related to the ‘Self’ in the same way as creation is related to the creator. Intellect (vinnava) appears to be the chief term which comprehensively covers mental phenomena. Of the four psychical aggregates the first is the feeling (Vedana), a term wide enough to cover sensation but predominantly indicates pleasure pain and a. neutral feeling. The term Sanna is often rendered as “perception”. It is further divided into patigha - sanna and adivacana-sana: Sanna that arises out of contact with the sense organs and the conceptual ability and sense-images.

Third aggregate Sankhara denotes dispositions or tendencies and it covers will, attention, application, concentration, zest, faith, mindfulness, insight, rectitude, modesty, discretion, disinterestedness and various other volitional activities whereas Vinnana may be rendered and sankhara also serve as links in the formula of dependent origination. Vinnana as total consciousness includes the residual memories of the individual as well.

From the descriptions it is evident that Buddhist thought does not treat man's subtle self as an entity but as a continuum which is composed of psychical functions (thinking, perception, volitional and affective activities) but there is a deeper level of his self as well, that which attains Nirvana through exercising virtue and following the right path. It becomes a Jivan mukti (a liberated soul). The relationship of ego or individual consciousness of the self on the one hand and to matter on the other hand is described in following terms: The Self or Absolute Reality is dispersed into souls by

process of individuation and these souls are hardened and dissipated into matter attracted by it.

MEISTER ECKHART

No account of traditional wisdom could be complete without mentioning the Christian tradition as it flourished in its original form in the mediaval ages. However it is not possible to discuss the Christian concept of psyche in such a manner as to encompass all dominant trends of thought as well as the biblical concept itself; such a task demands tremendous amount of time and resources. So we will confine our discussion to one prominent and central source in Christian theology and philosophy i.e. Meister Eckhart the 14th century mystic and scholastic thinker. After the decline or, one could say, fading our or Greek creative spirit the psychology that did take shape was that of the Church Fathers, based upon orthodox Christian doctrines. They were also greatly influenced by the Hermetic as well as the Greek thought... Hence the essential unity of Holy spirit with God and Logos and the nature of man have analogous concepts in the two above-mentioned traditions as well. The ideas presented in the writings of St. Paul, Origen and St. Augustine bear the traces of the Plationian thought. They believed that essential nature of man's inner self or soul was beyond the reach of those principles of explanation which held generally for natural objects, since man was not only body and mind but composed of body, soul and spirit, the last of which contained or reflected the Logos or the Divine Word. As regards mental processes of man, St. Augustine pondering over such functions as memory, exercise of will and the conception of universal ideas, came to characterize psyche as free, immortal and super-sensual. In the work of Thomas Acquin as a memory of the Platonian and Aristotelian thought as well as ideas of Church Fathers can be seen. But once Aristotle was rediscovered it came into sharper focus than other sources and became central in Post- renaissance psychology. That man is divine in essence can be infered from the famous and oft-quoted saying of Christ, "Kingdom of Heaven is within you". This refers to the same truth which is present in many other, rather every, tradition, that the inner most core of man's being is identical with the supreme reality, with the Divine Principle, with God.

Meister Eckhart is essentially a mystic and his approach is primarily gnostic. He can not be called strictly a representative of the orthodox

Christian thought, because he was accused of heresy at one time, however his writings or rather sermons expound the primordial tradition in all its profundity and original form and he also refers to the sayings of Jesus Christ and taking the disciples of Christ as well as later theologians as the original source of reference, he interprets and elaborates their ideas. M. Eckhart says that a person is not one but two persons. One is called the outward man -the sensorial person. He is served by the five senses which function by means of the soul's agents. The other is the inner man- the spiritual person. Whatever strength the soul possesses, beyond what it devotes to the five senses, it gives to the inner man. There are people who waste the strength of their souls in the outward man; but a good man is one who withdraws his outward person of the soul's agents and uses them for higher pursuits. He illustrates this dual nature of man by the simile of a door; a door swings to and fro through an angle. He compares the breadth of the door to the outward man and the hinge to the inner person. When the door swings to and fro, the breadth of the door moves back and forth, but the hinge is still unmoved and unchanged. This hinge is the inner person which is the core of our being; the I which is central as regards to our outward personality. Regarding the nature of the soul Meister Eckhart quotes an authority (whom he does not name) as saying that the soul is made between one and two. The one is eternal, that remains always aloof and changeless. The two is time, which changes and multiplies. He elaborates further, that, with its highest agents, the soul touches eternity-that is, God - and with its lower agents, touches time and thereby becomes changeable, degraded and inclined to material things. He explains the purpose of creation in the following manner; if the soul had known God as perfectly as do the angels, it would never have entered the body, If the soul could have known God without the world, the world would never have been created. Thus the world was created so that the soul's eye could be accustomed to bear the divine light. St. Augustine says that the soul is created so much higher in rank than any other creature that no mortal thing can communicate with the soul, or affect it, except through mediation of messengers. These mediators are the eyes, the ears, and the five senses; these are the ways the soul gets out to the world and, reciprocally, the world gets back into the soul. The highest agents of the soul as described by M. Eckhart are three; the first in intuition, the second, irascibilis which is the uprising agents (Aquinas rated irascibilis among the lower sensitive part of the soul); and the third is the will. All these three agents, help man to reach

God. They form a natural impulse in man to be attracted towards God. There is an element in soul that is untreated i.e. the intellect. This is untouched by time and flesh and proceeds out of the spirit and remains forever in the spirit. In this element God is perpetually present. The presence of Jesus in the heart of man is shown or poured out in good deeds, in joy, in love and in generosity. Unless the agents of soul are directed inward and the eye of heart is opened, this presence can not be discerned by man; he can not achieve self-knowledge.

For Meister Eckhart man is essentially a creature “made in the image of God”. Since it is a manifestation of the Divine Self, it strives to gain knowledge of God or to achieve closeness. However it is not possible for him unless he shuts out the knowledge of the phenomenal world i.e. cuts short the sensory stimulation and uses all his psychic energy to concentrate on inward awareness. Man is composed of body, psyche or soul and spirit. Eckhart calls the sense faculties of the psyche as the lower part of man’s soul and the spiritual element of the intellect as the higher part which is capable of receiving the divine word (Logos) as well as achieving unity with God. Whatever motivation we call “the natural desires” are in fact merely the desires of flesh or relating to this world because they rise out of soul’s attachment with body. Whereas “Theosis” is a craving for supra-rational, supra-human levels of being.

HERMETISM:

In the preceding discussion, it was mentioned with reference to the traditional wisdom (sophia perennis) that among the followers of each tradition, a revelation was believed to be source or basis of this wisdom. In the semetic religions, as well as in ancient Greeks, all wisdom (containing all sciences and arts) was believed to be derived from the teachings of the ancient prophets ranging back to Adam, and “the father of traditional sciences and arts” was said to be none other than the prophet Hermes, known as Hermes Tismegistos of ancient Alexandria, and identified in Islamic world with Enoch (prophet Idris). Hermetism or Hermetic wisdom is thus one of the most ancient traditions of the world and it had greatly influenced the later traditions; the Greek thought as well as sciences of three semetic religions i.e. Judaism, Christianity and Islam bear its stamp. Thus it seems appropriate to discuss this tradition in the end precisely because it

sums up the diverse traditional views and its concepts are echoed through most of the subsequent traditions.

The Hermetic wisdom lays claim to a complete knowledge of nature and concerns itself with all branches of knowledge which are after all interrelated since nature is one in essence and all reality essentially stems forth from the same origin. The sciences or various branches of knowledge contained in this tradition are, among others; medicine, physics, geology, metaphysics, cosmology, astronomy, astrology, botany, and alchemy (which includes chemistry as well as metallurgy). It is this last one i.e. alchemy which is defined as “a science of the soul”. We will see at the end of this chapter how Hermetism has influenced Greek, Christian and Muslim traditions. For the present we confine our discussion to the hermetic doctrines.

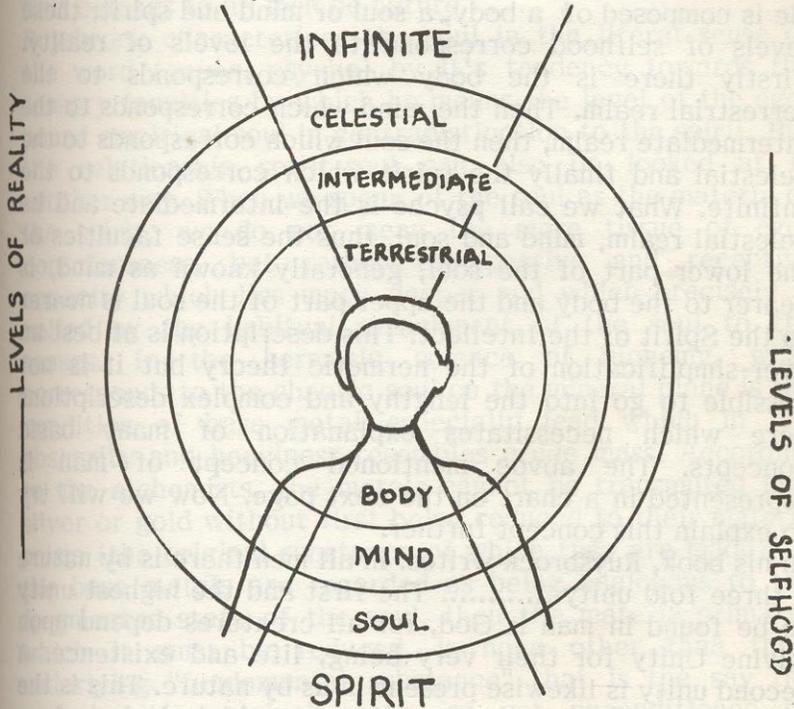
“The perspective of Hermetism proceeds from the view that the universe (or macrocosm) and man (or the microcosm) correspond to one another as reflections; whatever there is in the one, must also in some manner be present in the other. This correspondence may best be understood by reducing it to the mutual relationship of subject and object of knower and known. Human understanding however is specifically limited in itself, and in this sense there is no such thing as a purely objective knowledge of the world standing outside the sphere of the human subject. Neither the agreement of all possible individual observations, nor the use of means which extend the reach of the senses can get beyond this sphere, which conditions both the world as a knowable objective and man as a knowing being. The logical coherence of the world--that which makes its manifold appearances a more or less graspable whole -belongs just as much to the world as to the unitary nature of the human subject. Nevertheless in every knowledge there is something unconditional; Otherwise there would be no bridge from the subject to the object, from ‘I’ to ‘thou’ no truth and no unity behind the countless ‘worlds’ as seen by so many so widely varying individuals. This unconditional and immutable element, which is the source of the more or less hidden ‘truth content’ in every piece of knowledge and without which it would not be knowledge at all--is the pure spirit or Intellect, which as knower and known is absolutely and indivisibly present in every being. Of all beings in this world, man is the most perfect reflection of the universal (and divine)

Intellect and in this respect he can be regarded as the mirror or total image of the cosmos”.

The different realities which stand facing each other like mirrors are the following: first and the foremost is the universal Intellect or “transcendental subject”, whose object is not only the outward physical world, but also the inner world of the soul-as well as the reason; for the operations of the reason can be the object of knowledge, whereas the universal intellect is incapable of any objectification whatsoever. Though Intellect has direct and immediate knowledge of itself, this knowledge is not available to the perception, and therefore seems non-existent. Then there is human subject who is endowed with the faculties of thought, imagination and memory and depends on sensory perception for knowledge of the external world. It is from the Universal Intellect the human subject derives, it’s capacity for knowing. Man himself is composed of spirit (or intellect), soul, and body who is both part of the cosmos which is the object of his knowledge and who also, in view of his spiritual nature, appears as small cosmos within the larger one. This idea is not a special prerogative of Hermetism alone; in all traditional doctrines it is present, however in the writings of Hermes Trismegistos, it is expanded with particular clarity. In one of these writings it is said that the soul (psyche) is present in the body in the same manner as the intellect (nous) is present in the soul and as the Divine word (Logos) is present in the intellect. This order could be seen from an other angle i.e. from outer to the inner; body is in the soul and the Word. God is called the Father of all.

Intellect (nous) is described as derived from the substance (ousia of God, in so far as one may speak of God having a substance; only god knows what is the nature of this substance.) The intellect radiates from god as light shines forth from the sun. “In man, this Intellect is God”. But as the cognitive pole of the universal existence, Intellect is not accessible to discursive thought or reason. Reason as compared to Intellect is like a convex lens which directs the light of the Intellect or spirit in a particular direction and on a limited field. For traditional science truth is the expression or “congelation” (in a form accessible to reason) of a possibility contained in the univiersal Intellect. And since this possibility is contained permanently in the

"AS ABOVE SO BELOW"



TAKEN FROM A TABLET OF HERMES TRISMAGISTES

Intellect, it must manifest itself in the outward world. Thus in the traditional science the idea of truth is absolute. However the grasp of truth by reason is only symbolic of the possibilities contained in the eternal Intellect. From the traditional point of view, experience is nothing without

that core of truth which comes from the Intellect and around which individual experiences can crystallize. Thus Hermetic tradition like all traditional wisdom, is a combination of experience as well as Intellection but the former is interpreted in the light of the latter.

The Hermetic view of man can be briefly described as follows: man being a microcosm reflects the macrocosm. He is composed of a body, a soul or mind and spirit; these levels of selfhood correspond to the levels of reality. Firstly there is the body which corresponds to the terrestrial realm. Then the mind which corresponds to the intermediate realm, then the soul which corresponds to the celestial and finally the spirit which corresponds to the Infinite. What we call psyche is the intermediate and the celestial realm, mind and soul. Thus the sense faculties or the lower part of the soul, generally known as mind, is nearer to the body and the upper part of the soul is nearer to the Spirit or the Intellect. This description is at best an over-simplification of the hermetic theory but it is not possible to go into the lengthy and complex descriptions here which necessitates explanation of many basic concepts. The above mentioned concept of man is represented in a chart on the next page. Now we will try to explain this concept further.

In his book, Ruysbrock writes: in all men there is by nature a three fold unity. The first and the highest unity to be found in man is God, for all creatures depend upon Divine Unity for their very being, life and existence. A second unity is likewise present in us by nature. This is the unity of the higher faculties, a unity which derives from the fact that, as regards their activity, these faculties spring naturally from the unity of the spirit itself. This second unity is same as the first unity except that it is viewed from the point of view of activity rather than essence. This we possess in ourselves, quite above the realm of senses. From it derive thought, reason, will and all possibilities of spiritual activity. Here the soul bears the name of spirit, "The third unity in us, consists of the domain of the lower faculties which have their seat in the heart the basis and source of animal life. It is in the body and especially in the action of the heart that the soul possesses this unity from which all activities of the body and the five senses proceed. Here it bears its own name of soul, for it is the "form" of the body which it animates, the body which it makes to live and keeps alive. These three unities which are in man by nature constitute a single life and a single realm. In its lowest unity

this life is sensory and animal; in the middle unity it is rational and spiritual and in the highest unity it is contained in it's own essence. This belongs to all men be nature..."

Ruysbrock characterizes the soul in the literal sense of the word (*anima*, *psyche*) by it's tendency towards the sensory faculties by which he means the level of the, ego-bound empirical soul in contradistinction to the spirit?. But the relationship spirit-soul can also be looked at in another way. When we speak of the soul as the *materia* of the spirit, we do not mean the mere tissue of ego-consciousness, but rather the passive and receptive capacity which lies much deeper and which precisely is veiled by the habitual attachment of the soul to the senses. In the hermetic science of alchemy, what corresponds to the chaotic soul on the mineral plane is the condition of base metal especially lead which in it's obscurity and heaviness resembles crude mass. According to the alchemists, the metals cannot be transmuted into silver or gold without first being reduced to their *materia prima* (the original substance of which they are made). If the base metals are regarded as being analogous to the fragmented state of the soul, then the *materia prima* to which it must be reduced, is none other than their underlying "fundamental substance" that is the say the soul in it's original state, as yet unconditioned by impressions and passions and "uncongealed" into any definite form. Only when the soul is freed from all it's rigidities and inner. contradictions, does it become the plastic substance on which the spirit or Intellect can imprint a new "form". *Materia prima* can be called substance in English which is a complementary pole of essence. The essence is the form of the matter. Together these two poles make possible all manifestation of the principle. *Materia prima* is the passive receptive pole whereas *forma* is the active pole. The substantial pole of the soul (or it's *materia*) is expressed in it's capacity to take on and to maintain forms. The forms taken on by the substance of material of the soul come from without as well as from within. When they correspond to the immutable prototypes contained in the Intellect which constitute the real 'content of all knowledge, they are essential forms. The essential pole of the soul is thus the Intellect.

It contains the *forma* or essential predetermination of things as "prototypes" or "archetypes". These archetypes are the immutable possibilities and are to be found above reason. They can only be discerned

fully when soul returns or unifies with the spirit and then they are reflected in formal consciences, i.e. in reason and imagination in the form of symbols.

Materia prima, the fundamental substance of the soul (psyche) is in the first place the substance of the individual or ego-bound consciousness; then of all psychic forms regardless of the individual beings and finally of the whole world. Symbolically it lies 'below' because it is completely passive and it appears as "dark" because being absolutely unformed it eludes intelligence. But it must not be confused with the collective unconscious of modern psychology. Materia prima is not a source of irrational and "exclusively psychic" impulses but the passive basis of all perceptions.

Now a distinction must be made between, on the one hand a more or less darksome layer of consciousness lying beneath everyday consciousness (which can not be completely unconscious because it does enter consciousness) and on the other hand, the true, purely passive and unformed ground of the soul. The darksome layer referred to, is filled with the sediments of psychic impressions and behavioral modes. The true ground of the soul on the other hand is in itself neither dark nor light nor is it what T. Burckhart calls "a brooding vulcano of irrational eruptions". On the contrary it is capable of mirroring its complementary pole, the universal spirit.

In alchemical symbolism, sulphur corresponds to the essence or active pole and quicksilver to substance or passive pole. The relation of the two primordial forces to each other is thus similar to that of man and woman in sexual union. Sulphur represents the essence or the spirit, whereas quicksilver corresponds to the soul itself in its, receptive and passive role. The Spiritus (a name for the vital spirit) is a subtle power which unites the individual soul with the body. According to T. Burckhardt the Arabic expression rule can also have the same meaning. Though, of course, it has a metaphysical meaning as well. This vital spirit is a source of nourishment for the subtle 'body' and extent throughout cosmic space. It is seen as corresponding to quicksilver because it is only partially and loosely attached to the sphere of the ego.

On the one hand soul is seen in correspondence with metals and on the other the planetary qualities are applied to the human being. Saturn whose orbit is the widest from the point of view of the earth, corresponds to

intelligence or more exactly to the intellect, while the moon, whose orbit is nearest to the earth-centre, is analogous to the “vital spirit”, which binds soul and body to each other. These are the two outermost poles of the soul’s capacity, for the vital spirit which governs the involuntary activities of the body, such as growth and digestion and which for this reason has an “existential” rather than a “rational” character, is a certain sense opposed to the intellect. Between these two poles, the other faculties of the soul are ranged. They are variously designated and related to the planets. In every case the sun corresponds to a faculty which lies midway between the two poles and in a sense unites them. According to Marcobius (who expounds hermetic ideas) the sun is analogous to the faculty which animates the five senses and synthesizes their impressions. The sun is thus the prototype of the life of the “sensory soul”. Whereas ‘Abd al-karim Jil views this in a more profound way and writes in his book (al-Insanul-kamil) that sun is analogous to the heart (al-qalb), the organ of intuitive, knowledge which completely transcends all other faculties of the soul. Just as the sun gives the planets their light so the light of the heart (seat of the spirit or intellect) illumines all other faculties of the soul.

“Intelligence” is here used to translate ratio in the old sense of the word. (Greek; noun, Arabic: al-’aql). As a faculty of fundamental and comprehensive thought intelligence or the human intellect is related to the Divine Intellect. In the later, knowledge and being both are present whereas human intellect is knowledge alone; it is separate from what it knows. The vital spirit is on the other hand immersed in corporeal existence. These are two outermost limits of the ego-bound or individual consciousness and it can be said that this consciousness is split between mind (noul) and body.

On the other planets, Jupiter is usually compared to the faculty of decision. It thus represents the spiritual or intellectual form of the will. To Mars belongs courage; whereas Venus is seen as symbol of amorous passion. Mercury is the prototype of analytical thought. And to Moon is attributed the faculty of generation and bodily movement. Here we come closer to astrology which also attributes to the planets, the power to induce certain tendencies in human nature. To the alchemist, the soul, as it is attached to the body, is encumbered with passions and habits and mixed with “earth”. The bodily consciousness is chaotic and opaque like base-metals. On the

other hand, through alchemical procedures, the soul is extracted from base metal of body and thus it is able to receive the imprint of the spirit.

It is easy to see how the concepts discussed above are echoed in the later Greek thought and the Christian and Muslim sciences. The hierarchy of spirit (Intellect), soul, body is present in Platonian as well as Aristotolian ideas. The immutable possibilities of Intellect or the prototypes of things is called “archetypes” or “ideas” by Plato. To him God or Divine Principle alone is the origin and essence of all existence. Similarly the doctrine of Logos is very close to the Johannian theology in Christianity.

Among the muslim thinkers, a man of no less calibre than Ibn-e-Arabi (known as Shaikh-ul-Akbar) has expounded the hermetic ideals. Relating soul to its alchemical counterparts, Ibn-e-Arabi compares the sound and original condition of the soul to gold. He has also discussed the concept of universal nature (tabi'at al-Kull) and sees it as the feminine or material side of the creative act. She is “merciful breathing out” of God (Nafs ar-rehman) Abd-al-Karim Jilani is another great Muslim scholar whose ideas resemble the hermetic doctrine. He was mentioned earlier in reference to the analogy of the sun to the heart (al-qalb). He has also expounded the astronomical side of nature and according to him the active imagination, (alwahn) is attributable to Mars, whereas Venus is the prototype of passive imagination (al-Khiyal) Other muslim thinkers such as Ibn-e-Sina, Ibn-e-Bajjah, Ghazzali, Suhrawardi, etc. can be regarded as influenced by Hermetism in as much as they were influenced by the Greek thought; since Greek thought (specially Plato) is itself influenced considerably by Hermetism.

The Islamic Tradition.

In the preceding discussion, we have had the occasion to present a review of the few great ancient traditions of the world. Some have been discussed in detail, some briefly. Now we come to the youngest tradition of all which is also the last revealed religion on earth i.e. Islam.

Islamic intellectual tradition has two aspects; the gnostic Ma'arifah or 'Irfan and the philosophical falsafah-hunkah: and the cardinal doctrine which unites these two is the doctrine of unity (Al- Tawhid). It is manifested in all the expressions of muslim thought whether they be art of science, language

or culture. The doctrine of Tawhid proclaims that all existence and all reality is based on a Divine principle which is none other than God Himself and there is no duality in Him. This oneness is reflected in the unitary character of all Islamic sciences which are interrelated and contribute towards a wholesome understanding of total Reality. It is also expressed in the view of man which is inherent in Muslim philosophy and specially in Sufi teachings i.e. man as a microcosm. The sciences of man are related to the sciences of the cosmos since one essential principle is seen as reflected in the world (macrocosm) and in man (microcosm). In fact the two aspects of Islamic thought, the gnostic and the philosophical, serve as an example of this correspondence between different levels of reality, and the underlying unity. The relationship of two aspects can be explained through the following simile: Islam is compared to a circle, whose outer circumference is the Shariah or Muslim law, the radius leading from the circumference to the centre is the path, the Tariqah and the centre is the truth, haqiqah. The path and the centre together form the esoteric aspect of Islam to which Sufism is dedicated. According to Frithjof Schuon "Sufism is the heart of Islam". In Islam heart is the seat of the Intellect (Al-'Aql) whereas brain or mind is associated with the faculty of reason and discursive thought (c.j.) Hence, Sufi teachings (gnostic aspect) correspond to the heart or Intellect whereas philosophical theories are analogous to mind or discursive thought. However one often comes across a Muslim thinker or scholar in whom both aspects merge; Intellect and reason complement each other. But whatever may be the case one fact is noteworthy; both these perspectives or points of view are within the framework of essential principles of Islam and no idea or concept can be called traditional if it defies these basic principles.

As mentioned earlier, concept of man in Islam can not be separated from the Islamic conception of ultimate reality. This latter conception can be explained briefly as follows: according to the Quranic teachings all reality is a manifestation of the Divine principle. The verses which carry meaning to this effect are numerous. Among them a few will be quoted. "I was a hidden treasure, I wanted to be known so I created the world" (Hadith). Wherever you turn there is the face of God (Quran, II, 115) "Allah is the light of heaven and the earth"---- (Qur'an. XXIV,135). Then there is the famous hadith: God was and nothing was with Him" and its commentary, "He is now such as he was". God is not only the creator but the creation as well; He

is supreme Essence (adh-Dhat) of all existence, all being. the Divine qualities or attributes also bear testimony to the all-econompassing, Absolute and Unique nature of god. In the language of the Qur'an, He is - (الباطن) ' the inward or the hidden, "He who contains" (الواسع) or He who surrounds (المحيط); at the same time, He is the first and the Last (الاول والآخر) the inward and the outward (الظاهر و الباطن). What he surrounds or contains is the total reality, and he is present at every level of reality from man to unvierse, from microcosm to macrocosm. We have seen in context of otehr traditions specially Vedantic and Hermetic that Essence is hidden behind variouos degrees or levels of manifestation. In Sufism, these universal degrees are called the "five Divine Presneces" (al-Hadarat al-ilahiya al-khams). F. Schuon describes them as follows:

1. The human domain (الناسُوت); that is to say the corporeal or material world, since man is created of earth.
2. The domain of royalty (الملكُوت) so called because it immediately dominates the corporeal world.
3. Domain of power (الجبرُوت) which macrocosmically is Heaven and microcosmically the created or human intellect.
4. Domain of the Divine (لاهوت) which is Being and which corresponds to the Logos or the untreated Intellect.
5. Infinite Self. (هاهُوت)

These could be explained in the ascending order as following: First the gross or material state, which could also be called corporeal or sensorial; secondly the subtle or animistic state; thirdly, formless ro super-formal

manifestation or the angelic world; fourthly Being which is the ontological principle and finally Non-Being or Beyond-Being. If we take as our basis the distinction “Manifestation- Principle” the first concept includes ‘body’, ‘soul’ and “Intellect” and the second includes the “Logos” and “self”. This distinction could also be called formal/essential or individual/universal which amounts to the same thing.

The Quranic premises of this hierarchy is as follows:

1. God, Absolute (الله ، الاحد ، المطلق)
2. Divine Attributes or qualities. (صفات الهية)
3. “Throne or Arsh (العرش)
4. Foot Stool (كرسى)
5. The Earth (الارض)

The last one i.e. the Earth corresponds to the ‘human realm’. This hierarchical view of macro as well as microcosm is represented in a diagram on the next page. A similar order is also given by the great muslim philosopher al-Ghazzali (one could also recall the hermetic view of reality in this context).

THE FIVE DIVINE PRESENCES

GOD SPIRIT MAN

DIVINE IMPERSONAL SELF

ONENESS OF PERCEPTION

PRINCIPLE

ESSENTIAL
META PHYSICAL
UNIVERSAL
SUPERNATURAL
INVISIBLE

اسماء حقیقت

DIVINE ATTRIBUTES
صفت
LOGOS

الصفات

HEART
قلب

INTELLECT

PURE

خبروات

SOUL
نفس

MIND

SUBTLE

ملکوت

BODY
جسم

SENSES

LIFELESS
MATERIAL
LIVING

ناسوت

MANIFESTATION

FORMAL
PHYSICAL
INDIVIDUAL
VISIBLE
NATURAL

According to Schuon, the two fundamental formulae of Islam, the two testimonies (Shahadatan) one concerning Allah and the other his Propheet (Pbh) - likewise symbolize the degrees of reality. In the formula, la ilah illallah (no divinity if not the sole Divinity) each of the four words denotes a degree and the final ha of the name Allah symbolizes the self (Huwa). the first part of the formula which constitutes the Nafy (negation) and the last two word which constitute ithbat (affirmation) refer to formal manifestation or individual domain and the principle or universal domain respectively. "For this reason the Sufi sees in every material form, including his own, the la of Shahadah; the microcosm that we are is nothing other than a concretization of the Shahadah".

If we, take a look at the chart given before we can discover that following words are used in reference to man's being; Spirit, mind, heart, and Intellect. The terms used in the, Quranic doctrines are more or less analogous i.e.

1. Ruh 2. Qalb 3. Nafs 4. 'Aql.

These are the wards which are used to describe or refer to the various levels or dimensions of man's inner self. In order to understnad the Muslim concept of psyche, one must discern these terms and understand there relationship to each other.

RUH: "They will question you about the spirit, say to them: The spirit (proceeds) from the Command (al-Amr) of my Lord " (XVII, 84). This verse of the Quran is interpreted as signifying that spirit proceeds from the Divine Order and is itself at an ontological level immediately below that order. This is the breath which was infused in man; "And I breathed into him My Spirit". By the word ar-Ruh what is meant is the universal spirit, which is present in all manifestation and one of it's manifestations is the individual soul or man. "The most 'central' image of the spirit on this earth is man". Universal spirit is sometimes described as untreated (as in the above-quoted verse), sometimes as created as in the saying of the Prophet that "The first thing that God created is the Spirit". Accordipg to Titus Burckharat, these two aspects of the spirit can be explained on the grounds that spirit is a mediator between the Divine Being and the conditioned universe. The uncreated aspect relates to Divine Being whereas the created aspect is

reflected in the universal soul, created Intellect etc. Just as there is a Universal Spirit (ar-Ruh) i.e. a realm of the Spirit, similarly there is a universal soul or psyche (an-Nafs-al-Kulliyah); which can be called the psychic realm (عالم ملكوت). The individual soul is conditioned by form whereas the universal soul is necessarily beyond form. In either case soul is to spirit as is substance to essence, or materia to forma. But soul will be discussed later on. For the present we are concerned with the Spirit. “The sufi term for universal substance is al-Haba, which signifies literally the “fine dust” suspended in the air which becomes visible only by the rays of light it refracts. The symbolism of al-Haba illustrates the double nature of the Spirit, for it is the Spirit which illumines al-Haba and thus corresponds to the ray of light refracted by fine dust. Since the dust becomes visible only to the extent that it refracts light, the ray only shows as such on the screen of the dust”. T. Burckhardt concludes that the undifferentiated light symbolizes the uncreated Spirit while the light determined as a ray on the other hand symbolizes the created Spirit.

Since spirit is also compared to the supreme pen (al-Qalma-al a'la) with which God inscribes all destinies on the guarded Tablet (al-Lawh- al-Mahfuz)” which itself corresponds to the universal soul; it is said that spirit includes all the Divine knowledge concerning created beings. Among all the beings of this world man alone has a vision which in virtuality includes all things. Although, the direct and immediate content of human perception grasps the corporeal world which surrounds him, at its own level, it represents a complete picture of the universe. Through sensory forms man conceives both the subtle form and the spiritual essences, hence microcosm and macrocosm, man and universe are like mirrors reflecting each other. On the one hand man only exists in relation to the macrocosm which determines- him and on the other hand man knows the macrocosm and this means that all the possibilities which are unfolded in the world are principally contained in man’s intellectual. essence. According to T. Burckhardt this is the meaning of the saying_ in the qur’an: “And the (God) taught Adam all the names (i.e. all the essences of beings and of things)” (ii, 31).

Among the Muslim thinkers, Ibn-e-Arabi has mainly emphasized the oneness of Being. He believes that the uncreated aspect of Ruh which is

present in man is essentially one with God. Hence man is the perfect manifestation of divine attributes and names.

The totality of Divine Qualities constitute what Sufism calls the Divine form (as-surat at ilahiya) by allusion to the saying of the prophet: God created Adam in His form". Ibn-e-Arabi also describes the process of unity with Divine essence as a mutual interpenetration of Divinity and man. The Divine nature becomes the content of human nature and man becomes his essential form.

The Ishraqi (illuministic) school divides all bodies into those who permit light to enter or do not permit it to enter or permit in various degrees. The first category is called 'Lath' and the soul is ascribed to this category i.e. it is subtle and is illumined by the light of the Spirit. On the other hand Ibn Sina designates soul and Spirit as two levels of an entity which he calls soul. At the transcendental level, it is pure and at the phenomenal level it enters the body, animates it and body is like a building for it. Ibn-Sina believes that the study of the first level of soul belongs to metaphysics whereas the study of the latter level belongs to the natural sciences. Ibn-Sina's theory of being is emanationistic. From God who is primordial (التقويم) flows the first intelligence or intellect (Al-Aql al-awwal) which is a synonym for the spirit (ar-Ruh). According to Ibn Sina, essence exists in God and in intellect prior to the individual existents exemplifying them in the external world and they also exist in our mind posterior to these individual existents. For him, the human soul, although it is only a potential intellect at the beginning of its career is nevertheless an immaterial spiritual substance capable of existing independently of the body. Ibn Sina adheres to the Aristotelian definition of the soul (in the meaning of Nafs) as an entelechy of the body. But in its uncreated aspect i.e. essentially, it is above the body.

Ghazzali has expounded a theory which is essentially based on teachings of the Qur'an and the Tradition. he seems to believe that the human soul belongs to 'alam-al-Jabarut, midway between the divine world and the material world and it has two meanings. Firstly there is that thing which proceeded from the Command of God i.e. the ray of the Divine sun. this is the Ruh, in the sense of Spirit. Secondly the life-force which vibrates the whole body like the current of electricity and imparts power to the limbs and sense organs.

(Spirit and Ruh are often used in this sense in literature). He compares this force to the radiation of a light from a lamp which enlightens the body. Thus it is a spiritual principle which having life in itself vitalizes the body and controls and regulates it. Body is its instrument and vehicle. "It is a subtle power which creates the heat of the heart". The similarity of this concept with the "vital breath" of Hinduism and vital spirit of Hermetic tradition can be seen easily.

Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi Maqtual has also called the Ruh as a ray of the Divine Intellect. It can be seen that in all muslim thinkers as well as in the Quranic doctrines Being and knowledge are united in the Ruh. It is 'Aql (intellect) as well as being; whereas in the next (lower) level of reality the knowledge is attributed to mind and being to body. Razi believes the Ruh to be eternal, and intellect of man to be created out of Divine substance. Ibn Miskawaih bears a platonian influence. He declares that essence of soul is motion. This motion is of two kinds one toward Intellect and other towards matter. The first motion brings man nearer to the source of the Intellect and thus it is illuminated and in turn illuminates the matter. This implies a transcendental aspect of the human self which is Ruh and a sensible self which is Nafs.

Any discussion of Ruh cannot be complete without mentioning Sadr ud Din Shirazi. 1VIulla-Sadra is greatly influenced by Ibn-Arabi as well as well as New-Platonism. He also believes in the oneness of Being and has used this doctrine to explain the nature of soul. He rejects Ibn Sina's view that soul is relational concept. he argues that the relationships of soul to the body is not like that of any ordinary physical form to its matter.

All physical forms inhere in their matters in such a way that the two do not constitute a composite (murakkab) of two existentially distinguishable elements but are totally fused together to form a complete unity (ittihad), in existence and as a result the form works directly in the matter. However the soul works on its matter through the intermediacy of other lower forms or powers. Sadra therefore says that the soul is the entelechy of a material body in so far as it operates through faculties but he insists that the word "organs" does not mean "physical organs" like limbs, liver or stomach but faculties or powers through which the soul works as, for example, appetite, nutrition, and digestion. It is evident that he is talking here of (Nafs) and not of Ruh.

Since he believes in the Oneness of Being, he sees Ruh as a single reality which is manifested at different levels. Being itself a manifestation of the Divine Essence, it, in turn, is manifested in Nafs and the faculties of Nafs. Spirit or Ruh is a higher and simpler level of existence than Nafs or soul. It is pure Being at the simplest and highest level where it is one with the Essence then it emerges as manifestation of Essence or “Self” as Intellect and contains all the possibilities of existence. Then it creates or rather permeates the soul or Nafs and is manifested in lower levels of existence i.e. animal, Vegetative etc. Thus it can be concluded that Ruh is seen as a unity in all experience which is manifested in different way in the human self.

It is evident from the ideas presented so far that the Islamic view of man’s self essentially includes an eternal, invisible, non-corporeal and transcendental element which is believed to have emanated from or created by God or Divine Self. It is identified as Ruh, or first intelligence. Soul or Nafs is a dimension or manifestation of this Spirit at a lower level of being or, from the point of view of Divine presences, Spirit is closer to the Divine Self than the soul and body and so on. Self is most present in Spirit and least present in body or matter. So now we will consider the next step in the hierarchy of being i.e. Nafs.

Nafs: While discussing the linguistic and connotative meanings of the word psyche, we had observed that in almost all languages, a subtle element or force (designated by wind, air or breath) was seen as imparting life and power of motion to the body and thus forming the inner dimension of man’s self. We have seen in the discussion of Ruh or spirit that it performs this very function but not directly. It is the core of man’s being yet it remains hidden. Muslim scholars designate Ruh to be the reflection of the Divine presence in man; this Ruh coming into contact with body forms a borderline area which connects corporeal aspect of man to his spiritual self and that area is Nafs or psyche. It is subtle but nevertheless contains forms (images,, sensations, ideas, etc), whereas the Ruh is formless. According to the tree symbolism, which is present in the doctrines of most of the religions, tree is a symbol of the soul macrocosmically as well as microcosmically; The Spirit is the root of the soul, the reason is it’s trunk through which the sap (intellect) flows from root to the whole tree. The other faculties are the branches and leaves of the tree. Hence the tree of the soul as it is manifest to us, is alive and flourishing

only through the sap of the spirit. When this life giving vital element stops to flow, the tree starts to decay or fade. From the point of view of all sacred doctrines, this is what has happened to the modern man. But we will come back to it later. For the present we have seen that Nafs or soul or psyche as it may be called is the presence of the spirit at the level of subtle manifestation and, as Mulla Sadra has explained, it works on matter through lower forms or powers. Same is true of Nafs or soul which works on matter through its faculties and organs. Hence, as Ghazzali has pointed out, Nafs or soul has two dimensions or aspects. The upward dimension is the uppermost limit of psyche which connects it to the spirit whereas the downward dimension (towards matter) is the sensory faculties which connect it to the body. We will see later on how various mental processes and faculties of man such as will, imagination, feeling, sensation and thinking are related to either of these two parts.

Many interpreters of Islamic doctrines, and Muslim thinkers too, have not distinguished between nafs and Ruh and designated both of them as-soul, at best dividing soul into vegetative, animal, sensory or rational. When these categories are mentioned in Muslim philosophy or metaphysics or in Greek thought from where Muslim philosophy has borrowed immensely they are used in reference to the universal soul which manifests itself at various levels i.e. animal, vegetative, human-rational or human-sensory modalities. In the individual man this universal soul is the Nafs which is not merely sum total of his desires, sensations and passions as is commonly thought but has a higher aspect as well in which it is nearer to the spirit or Ruh. Seen in a broader context, it belongs to the realm of subtle manifestation, to 'Alam-e-Malakut and is existentially formal, individual and natural. In human beings, it corresponds to the mind and senses, as well as to vital spirit or animal soul which is the source of movement in body. Mulla Sadra differentiates between spirit and soul or Ruh and Nafs in following the reality of the nature of light i.e. pure essence which is neither substance nor an accident. Whereas the human soul although being in itself an reflection of this transcendent Ruh, behaves in relation to the body as a form or differentia. (Discussion of form and matter has been included in the previous chapter. Briefly it would suffice to explain that .in muslim terminology form and matter correspond to Surat (صُورَت) and mad dah, (مَادَه) similar in meaning to essence and substance.

Hence when Sadra says that soul is the form of the body he means precisely that body corresponds to the matter the, passive pole of existence i.e. the substance which has the ability to receive, whereas soul corresponds to the active pole, the essence or form which by meeting with substance creates all existence. At the cosmic or universal level form and matter correspond to forma and materia prima and when seen in relation with the individual domain, they are form and matter represented as soul and body).

For Ibn Sina, the human soul, although, it is only potential intellect at the beginning of it's career, is nevertheless an immaterial spirit substance capable of existing independently of the body. The body is there to serve the purpose of it's realization as actual intellect. Hence soul is definable as form of the body but the transcendental dimension of the soul, that is, Ruh must not be confused with the vegetative or animal soul which is inseparable from the body. However Ibn Sina cautions us not to confuse the definition human soul with the Universal Soul or World Soul which are eternally immaterial substances. (The distinction of essence and substance works at all levels of being as explained earlier. Now we will carry on with the discussion of the human soul. In an analogy it is likened to the porous atmosphere which surrounded the earth. As Huston Smith has written "There is a dimension of ourselves that exceeds even the stratosphere, an essence no universe, subtle or gross can contain. The ancients called it soul (Psyche, anima, sarira atman, nephesh or nafs) and....we can call it the final locus of our individuality, indeed we can feel it any time as the centre of our consciousness, it is the I, in comparison to which all other i.e. our personality, mind is external". This is precisely, what is meant by the term psyche or Nafs.

T. Burckhardt defines different meanings of Nafs as following:

1, an-Nafs al-Kulliya: the Universal Soul which includes all individual souls. This corresponds to the Gaurded Tablet and is the complement of the spirit ar-Ruh or First Intellect and is analogous to the psyche of Plotinus.

2. an-Nafs: the soul, the psyche, the subtle reality of an individual, the 'I'. As opposed to the Spirit or the Intellect ('AqI) the "nafs" appears in a negative aspect, because it is made up of the sum of individual or egocentric tendencies. But a distinction is made between:

1. an-nafs al-haywaniyah: the animal soul, the soul as passively obedient to natural impulses...

2. an-nafs al-ammarah: the soul which commands, the passionate, egoistic soul.

3. an-nafs al-lawwamah; "Soul which blames", the soul aware of its own imperfections.

4. an-nafs al-mutmainnah: 'the soul at peace, the soul reintegrated in the Spirit and at rest in certainty. The last three of these expressions are from the Quran; Relevant verses read as follows:

And I do call to witness the

self reproaching soul (LXXV:2)

The human soul is prone to evil (XII:53)

to evil. (XII:53)

(To the righteous soul will be said):

"O (thou) soul, in complete

rest and satisfaction! (LXXXIX, 27)

It is also said in the Quran that (on the day of judgement) man will be evidence against his Nafs. (LXXV:14) This confirms the presence of an element or central entity in man which is above the desires and passions, of nafs and which will survive the bodily death but will exist as individual spirit so that it can be questioned about its earthly life. Indeed we all have experienced from time to time, the conflict between will and desire. Martin Lings has written that will belongs to the spirit, since it transcends the nafs and can move men to act contrary to his desires, even pleasures. It is because of this faculty of man that he will be held responsible for what he has done. The creator is well aware of the tendencies of the human soul or nafs; He knows the weakness, as well as the power of the nafs. Though man is prone to loose sight of his origin and it is in his nature to seek pleasure but he also has the will with which he can control his Nafs- alammarah, and thus

maintain a balance in his self. As Imam Ghazzali has pointed out, the essential element of the soul is not thought, perception or imagination but will through which he comes to realize his spiritual possibilities. The fact that man can change from the state of the passionate, egoistic soul (nafs-al ammarah) through a great deal of conscious conflict and deliberate effort, necessarily suggests that he is free in his will. Actually, Ghazzali recognizes three stages of being in which will is employed. The lowest or the material world has the absolute necessity of God's will since matter has no will. Secondly, there is the psychical and sensuous world where a relative sort of freedom is recognized, hence the human will is exercised. Whereas in the Divine realm absolute freedom exists and thus absolute will of which man's will is a relative and incomplete reflection.

The tendencies of nafs are enumerated by Suhrawardi as well as Ghazzali who equates them with spiritual diseases. -They are among other:

1. Nifaq (Hypocrisy)
2. Pride and arrogance
3. Hausa or desire.
4. self-beholding.
5. Avarice
6. Negligence
7. Restlessness and levity.
8. Ostentatiousness or Riya.

when the will keeps a balance among these tendencies, man is at peace with himself, when these are allowed to rule him, he is disintegrated and weak.

This brings us to the concept of ego or Individual consciousness. As mentioned earlier, the nafs-ammarah is called the egotistical soul and the tendencies of the soul enumerated above can easily be seen as the tendencies of the ego in as far as they represent the self-centered attitude of the soul.

When ego comes to dominate the self and recognizes no other entity apart from itself, man loses sight of his spiritual nature and is confined within the narrow realm of individual consciousness. This is the most detrimental and basic tendency of nafs i.e. to mistake its ego bound consciousness for total reality, and hence to act accordingly. The “I” with which we usually identify is the locus of subjective reality, and consciousness, the most immediate reality for us in reference to which we identify things as other than us. But this stream of consciousness or locus of subjective reality is not the total reality nor the real core of our being. The greatest error of nafs lies in believing that it is. Descartes committed this same kind of error when he said “Je pease donc Je Suis”. Most of the “Spiritual diseases” so called by Ghazzali arise or follow from this basic error. As T. Burckhardt has written; “in the mind ‘to be’ becomes dissociated from ‘to know’ and in the process of man’s degeneration it leads to all other ruptures and separation”. This is what Sufi teachings seek to prevent; by putting Divine name against the tendencies of the ego, they hope to open “the eye of the heart” and to put man in touch with his inner self, so that he can know the truth. It is impossible for the heart to open up to the Divine Truth so long as the soul retains, even if not consciously, an attitude which denies the Truth; it is difficult to avoid this, since the domain of soul (an-nafs) is a priori governed by the egocentric illusion. That is why all disciplines aiming at ‘Irfan or gnosis give special importance to treatment of nafs and this also explains the tremendous emphasis laid on control and balance of the turmoils of Nafs in the Islamic doctrines. For such a knowledge concerning the hierarchical “placing” of the faculties of the soul is very important.

In sufism, the state of soul which has been spiritually regenerated is compared to a crystal which, though solid, is akin to light both in its transparency and in its rectilinear form. The various intellectual faculties are like the facets of this crystal, each one refracting in its own way the unique and limitless Intellect.

The faculty specific to men is thought (al-f ikr). Now the thought has two aspects: In its power of synthesis it manifests the central position of man in the world whereas on the existential level it is merely a mode of consciousness. As long it is under the guidance of the Intellect, it can reach great ideas but as it turns away from Intellect it becomes destructive. The

double property of thought corresponds to the principle which sufis symbolize by the “Barzakh”; a point of juncture between two degrees of reality. As an intermediate agent it reverses the pencil of rays of light in the same manner as does a lense. In the structure of thought this inversion appears as an stripping itself of the immediate aspect of things and approaching the Universal, albeit incompletely. It is the Intellect which can truly strip bare (tajrid) the truth. The Intellect does not have as it’s immediate object the empirical existence of things but their permanent essences which are relatively “non-existing” since they are not manifested on the sensory plane. Now this purely Intellectual knowledge implies direct identification with it’s object and this criterion distinguishes the intellectual “vision” from rational working of mind. This vision does not exclude the sensory knowledge; rather it includes it since it is it’s essence. It seems appropriate to explain now the meaning of the term al-’Aql as it is used in Islamic doctrines since it is essential to the concept of nafs. According to Abu-Bakr Sirajuddin Al-’Aql means above all ‘intellect’ but the Greek intellectus coincides only with the purely transcendent aspect of the ‘aql, whereas the Arabic word comprises in it’s meaning the whole range of the intelligence including even the reason, in virtue of what the reason was primordially and what it still remains virtually, that is, a conscious projection of the intellect, whose light, it distributes to the other faculties, knitting them together while remaining itself bound to it’s Divine root through the intellect. M. Hsan Askari has used the terms (عقل جزن) and (عقل كل) for Intellect and reason respectively.

Maulana Rumi has also emphasized the difference between reason and intellect. We can refer again to the image of the tree discussed earlier. Abu-Bakr Sirajuddin has also used another simile to explain the relationship of reason and intellect: According to the doctrine of correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm, the holders of temporal power, that is, the king and his delegates, are the counterpart, in the macrocosm of the faculty of reason in the microcosm, whereas the representatives of spiritual authority correspond to the Intellect. Below the reason and normally under it’s control are the faculties of imagination and emotion and the faculties of sense. In order to exercise it’s royal function over these, the reason has need of the priestly sanction which comes to it from the Intellect, for it depends on the Intellect for knowledge of the higher principles upon which it’s government must be based. When direct contact with the Intellect is broken (

as is the case with modern man) religion serves as the sanction giving authority, and fulfills the function of the Intellect and the rites or rituals of religion are the movements to and fro which keep the channels open for a free flowing of the intellect to reason. 'Aql-e-Juzi: or reason is the faculty of discursive and analytical thought, whereas Intellect or 'Aql-e-kulli is the faculty of intuition. In the attainment of self, the latter is the main -source though reason helped by intellect can discern certain theoretical aspects of the truth. Hence spiritual experiences are supra-rational and should not be confused with irrational, which is equivalent to the animal soul in man.

The organ in body which is associated with Intellect is the heart. The Quran says "It is not the eyes that are blind but the hearts". (XXII:46) In virtue of being the centre of the body, the heart may be said to transcend the rest of the body. T.Burckhardt defines it as the organ of suprarational intuition which corresponds to the heart just as thought corresponds to the brain. Just as mind transcends the brain, so the spiritual heart transcends the physical heart. Spirit is both knowledge and being. In man these two aspects are in a way polarized as reason and heart. The heart marks what we are in the light of eternity, while the reason marks what we think. This is al-Qalb in Islam which is identical with the Divine Presence and which can attain vision of this presence, through the eye of the heart. Seen from this angle, the heart also represents the presence of the spirit in both aspect, that is, knowledge as well as Being, for it is both the organ of intuition al-kashf and also the point of identification wajd with Being al-wujud. "The heavens and the earth cannot contain me, but the heart of my believing slave hath room for me", Hadith Qudsi. From this point of view, al-qalb) can be considered as synonymous with the "Spirit" which has a Divine as well as a created aspect; and one of the great symbols of the spirit is the sun which is the heart of our universe.

After the classification of these basic concepts of Muslim psychology which are at the same time what may be called higher levels of self, we will now come back to the discussion.

The Faculties of Mind

Among the earliest schools which bears a detailed (but crude) analysis of psyche some information about Ikhwan-al Safa is available. It was a group of

ethicophilosophers who wished to form a community of the elites of the heterogeneous Muslim empire. They have included a lot of scientific material contained in Greek thought but tried to integrate it with their esoteric doctrines. According to their psychological theory, the soul has three major faculties or powers; I, The vegetative or nutritive soul common to all living beings i.e. plants, animals and man alike. It is subdivided into three functions; nutritive, growth and reproduction

II; the animal or sensible soul belongs to beasts and men only. It is subdivided into locomotion and sensation. Sensation has two categories: Perception (sight, touch etc) and emotion. Emotion is either primitive (laughter, anger, etc) or acquired (good food, social and political prestige). etc.

III; The human (rational, thinking and expressive) soul is limited to man. These three faculties together with their powers work jointly and are united in man as nafs. They are compared to a tree with three boughs, every bough having branches and fruit. Contrary to the ancient belief, Ikhwan-ul-Safa designated the brain, as the seat of sensation and centre of intelligence. It is in the brain that the processes of perceptions, emotion and conceptions develop. The process of cognition begins in the five senses and continues in the brain where they form a net similar to a spider's web. Whenever the senses come in touch with sensible . bodies, their temperament undergoes a change which is communicated soon, together with the abstract forms of these sensible bodies, to the imaginative zone in the front of the brain. Next the imaginative faculty passes the traces which the abstract forms have left on it, to the reflective faculty, in the middle part of the brain to ponder upon them and verify their indications. Then the indications are transmitted in turn to the retentive faculty or (memory) in the back part of the brain to be stored there until a recollection of them is needed.

After the required time, the relevant data is referred to the expressive or speech faculty by which they are abstracted, generalized and given the form expressible by the tongue to be received intelligibly by the ear.

Compared to this simple theory of mental processes, Mulla Sadra's concepts are highly complex and profound but they nevertheless present a comprehensive and cosmic view of man's psyche and this is what renders

them so difficult. Sadra admits that soul operates through different faculties, but these faculties are not independent or quasi-independent entities possessing essential differences, as- vegetative or animal species do. Their differentiation is merely through accidents of the human soul in the sense that some of them function in time prior to other, also through localization of different functions through different organs. Sadra says that “soul is all the faculties” thought it is not merely an aggregate of those faculties, but multiplicity of a unified principle at the individual level. What is multiplicity at one level, is unity at a higher level. Faculties are the manifestation (mazahir) of the soul, at their own level they are real, at a higher level they are reabsorbed into the essence of the soul. They are related to the soul as cosmic beings or angels re related to God.”

Another problem which Sadra has raised is question of mental existence (al-wujud-al-dhihi). He claims to have proved this existence, by showing that since, in sense- perception, the external material object in itself cannot be presented to the mind and hence known, the soul must create a corresponding form, of it's own nature. This is not only true of the images which the soul creates from within itself, but also of the prototype forms of all created things. Sadra, together with Ghazzali and, Ibn-Arabi believes in the doctrine of the “world of images” (Alam al- Mithal) which is somewhat similar to Plato's concept of archetypes. According to this doctrine, the ontological structure of reality comprises three worlds - that of Divinity, (of pure ideas and intellectual entities) of the celestial (of pure images and figures) and of material bodies. Since human soul, rather all souls, belong to the celestial world, the Primordial forms exist in them i.e. in their intellect. However, since the ordinary soul' cannot perceive them fully due to it's preoccupation with corporeal existence and hence mind forms “essences” which come to behave as “universal” applicable to different species, whereas reality is not essence but a spectrum of existences, but mind failing to grasp or follow the continuity of being in a hierarchical order, sees each level as separate. “Nevertheless, the mind's operation with them is also a reality of it's own order and it is true that in some sense, all forms, sensible, imaginative or intellective exist in the mind”. Sadra further says that the mind looks upon the external world and operates upon it with notions, concepts of. essences (ma'ni, mfhim, mhiyt). As for sense perceptions, it's subject is also the soul and not the sense organs or the sense faculty: “You may say that

visual faculty which is in the eye is the organ which perceives the perceptive object and then transmits what it has perceived through the connection which exist between it and yourself and thus you gain an awareness of the thing which the visual faculty has already perceived.-----For the knowledge that the ‘eye’ sees the ‘ear’ hears’, the ‘feet’ walk and the ‘hand’ seizes is not identical with seeing, hearing, walking and seizing any more than our knowledge that someone else is hungry, pleased or feels pain is identical with our feeling hungry, pleased or pained”.

Physical organs are required for sense perception but not intrinsically since all material world is accidental. Sadra believes that pure souls when they are separated from the body can have all the perceptions, whereas on physical world the organs mediate. In saying this Sadra is confirming what parapsychology has only now discovered. He says that this is a psychic phenomenon which has been experienced. Dreams also point towards the fact that soul in the state of sleep can “float” in the psychic sphere and what it perceives there comes to us as dreams.

Coming back to the discussion of the sensory faculty, it seems that almost all Muslim thinkers have considered the sense perception as the lowest and most peripheral kind of knowledge. It is only in corporeal existence that the soul needs them. But we must not forget that in Islam (as in other traditions) it is believed that every sensory faculty whether it be hearing, seeing, smelling, taste or touch-implies a unique essence which distinguishes it in quality from the other faculties and this essence has it’s prototype in pure Being. For the spiritual man who realizes Being in relation to one of these prototypes, the respective faculty becomes the direct expression of the universal Intellect so that he experiences the eternal essences of things. It is said that even intuition sometimes occurs in form of a vision, sound or taste (ruyah, soma’ and dhawq respectively).

However we are not talking here of spiritual man who is in any case a “developed soul” but average person, for whom sense perception is no more than the experience of external material existence. As discussed earlier, sensations are among the elementary mental processes of man which are intimately and inseparably attached to the physical sense-organs, or as Sadra says they are vehicles of essential or potential sense faculties. Shurawardi as well as Ishraqi school of thought has discussed the presence of an animal

soul which aids the appetitive soul (nafs) in its basic physical life-processes. Appetitive soul or nafs is the source of desires and impulses whereas the animal soul is the moving force inside the body. This brings us to another important concept in muslim psychology which we will now discuss.

Vital Spirit or ar-ruh: It is somewhat similar to what Hindus call prana and alchemists call spiritus: it is a subtle modality intermediate between the immortal soul and the body. This ar-ruh is relative, undifferentiated; it includes not only spatially delimited body but also the sensory faculties with their spheres of experience. It is to the Divine Spirit as the circumference of a circle is to its centre". Suhrawardi believes this vital spirit to be the source of such functions as digestion, respiration and the whole metabolism. Similarly Ishraqi's have attributed the power of nutrition, growth, motion, reproduction and desire to this force. The similarity of this concept with the vital Spirit of Hermetism is easily observable.

In his detailed account of animal motion, Ibn Sina has enumerated four stages of third motion (1) imagination or reason, (2) desire (3), impulsion and (4) movement of the muscles. According to him in most cases the cognitive act precedes the affective and the conative ones, but this is not necessarily true in all cases. "All (the appetitive and conative) faculties also follow imaginative faculties But sometimes it happens e.g.; in cases of physical pain, that our natural impulse tries to remove the cause of pain and thus initiates the process of stirring up imagination. In this case it is these (appetitive) faculties which drive the imagination to their purpose. Just as in most cases it is vice versa". Thus according to Ibn Sina, the initiation of the animal motion can lie in the affections as well as in the cognitive states.

As mentioned earlier, the five sensory faculties are reflection of the eternal essences which pertain to the higher levels of being in the hierarchy of Existence. In order to understand this, we must remember a basic principle; in every revealed tradition, the concept of being or existence is hierarchical i.e. one ultimate reality is manifested at different levels, of being that range from the lowest to the highest, from relative to the Absolute. F. Schuon has explained this principle through his theory of coagulation taking place at each stage from pure Being to matter. These different levels of being are like mirrors reflecting each other. (As above so below, says Hermetism) Each reality or aspect of reality has complementary modes on all levels of reality.

We have seen this principle working in case of the Taoist concept of yin-yang which corresponds to feminine - masculine or passive-active poles of manifestation. Hence while discussing metaphysical concepts, one must keep in mind what Guenon calls the “law of inverted analogy”. Be it a word, a principle or a material reality it has different connotations according to the level to which it is applied. And if we are considering it at various levels, all those dimensions must be taken into account. Through this slight diversion from our present theme, it has become clear that this law also applies to our theme. The five sensory faculties are only an extension of a one and single state of being i.e. human state, and are therefore “horizontal” that is confined to this state, bound by time and space and do not rise above it. They nevertheless adhere to the law of inverted analogy and therefore each of them corresponds to or manifests an essence present at a higher level of being. Thus it is said that man is distinguished among all the creatures for his being the viceregent of Allah. Development of this quality (viceregency) depends on the outward sense faculties. Its detail is as follows.

(1) Vision corresponds to the manifest order (2) taste corresponds to the intermediate realm (3) Smell corresponds to the realm of the Spirit (4) Hearing corresponds to the domain of the non-manifest since its function comprise of hearing the sounds that are hidden (5) Touch corresponds to the principle of synthesis because it could be made by any part of the body at every point. This faculty thus encompasses the whole being. Askari further says that apart from these five external senses we also posses five internal sensory faculties, which are:

(1) Common Sense (this is not used here in the everyday meaning of the term but it is understood to be a integrative faculty which assimilates the forms received though all the other senses).

2. al-khayal 3. al-wham 4. al-hafizah 5. Mutasarrifah. These can be roughly translated and explained as follows: When the sense organs are stimulated and the external sense faculties receive forms or sensations from the external world, they convey it to the common sense. It is this faculty, (common sense), which gives rise to perception by integrating and assimilating or combining the sensations into a meaningful perception. It is likened to a pool in which all small channels (five senses) pour in their waters, or to spies who bring news for their emperor. Al-khayal is called

imagination by T. Burckhardt and Guenon. It, not only serves as a tool for common sense but also as a treasurer. Which means that when perceptions have disappeared or sensations have been experienced it preserves them. Now perceptions and forms are also preserved by al-hafizah or memory; only difference being that khayal can only preserve those forms which have been conveyed by external senses while hafiza can preserve and retain forms received from internal as well as external senses. Thus hafizali or memory is a tool and treasurer of wahm. Memory, as a faculty of retaining impressions, is passive and 'earthly' and it is called al- hafizah in this relationship: in so far as it is the act of recollection (adh-dhikr) it is directly connected with the intellect, for this act refers implicitly to the timeless presence of the essences, although they cannot appear as such in the mind. This second meaning or dimension of memory which concerns the intellect is similar to the concept of reminescence in Plato's theory of knowledge. Plato held that all knowledge or may be all learning was a reminescence of what spirit had seen in the world of the archetypes, prior to it's descent into the phenomenal world. Askari relates a similar story in the Quranic context; it says that God had enquired of the soul (in the spiritual realm) prior to creation; "am I not your Lord" and soul had replied in affirmative. Coming to live in the sensible world, the soul forgets it's commitment to it's creator and the intellect is clouded by the phenomenal existence. The function of all sufi, rather all esoteric disciplines (suluk), is to remove the veil of inadvertence and remind the soul of it's eternal source of being since in essence man is existentially as he was at the beginning of his world, spiritual recollection (dhikr) addresses itself "vertically" to the essence of man.

The mode of working of the mind which is complementary to reason is passive imagination. In relation to the intellectual pole of the mind passive imagination may be considered as it's plastic material; thus it corresponds by analogy to the *materia prima* on which the plastic continuity of the 'cosmic dream' depends just as, subjectively, it depends on imagination. Thus in sufi psychology imagination is that faculty which not only preserves the perceived forms but also recalls when they have disappeared. It is through this faculty that we recognize previously perceived forms. Imagination has the negative aspect that it binds intelligence to the level of sensory forms but it also has a positive aspect; it can grasp symbolic form as well as can fix intellectual intuitions or inspirations in the form of symbols. In this later function it

becomes manipulative faculty of mind which is the fifth and last inner faculty stated above i.e. Mutasarrifah. We discuss it here because, together with khayal it forms what is called imagination in psychological terminology. In Muslim psychology it is treated separately, though only in a manner of technical definition. Otherwise these inner senses or intellectual faculties are not entirely separate from each other; they are termed so to mark the qualitative and functional differences. Just as the *sensus communis*, integrates sense data into percepts, the manipulative faculty acts upon the images which are conserved by imagination and memory, through separation and combination, (of form-form, form-essence and essence- essence). It can also create images or forms which do not exist as such, (e.g; a winged person flying in the air). If a two headed person, and a headless person is imagined, the first is an example of form-form combination whereas second is an example of a form-form separation (one form has been separated from the other). Whereas the association of fear with a black huge object is association of an essence with a form. In all these examples the basic forms or essences were taken from the sense-data (head, man, fear, flying etc., and manipulated by the *mutasarrifah*, which works under the active imagination (*wahm*) as well as under passive imagination (*khayal*). In the former case it can be called fancy or fanciful imagination, in- the latter thinking or *fikr*. The process of problem solving comes “under this faculty of *fikr*. The fanciful imagination creates two kinds of things; imaginative and conjural. The first is created out of data conserved by *khayal* whereas the second is contrived and it is inexistent otherwise.

Now, remains *al-wahm* (active imagination), the most powerful among all faculties, to be explained. The function of *wahm* is to discover specific meanings in specific forms, or to infer universals from particulars, whether these forms are real or unreal, perceived or unpercieved. This faculty or power presents sensations as abstractions and can reduce the universals to particulars. The example given that of a sheep who perceives threat in the form of wolf whether he has seen that wolf before or not; he infers a general principle as regarding all similar situations and species even though world is a particular form. This faculty is present in animals as well thus *wahm* is not bound to reason. Some sufi writers, including ‘Abd al-Karim al- Jil have called *al-wahm* the dark pole of mind because it is the power of conjecture, suggestion, opinion, suspicion and illusion. The power of illusion of the mind

is attracted by every un-exhausted negative possibility. When this power dominates imagination, the latter becomes a great obstacle to spirituality;” the worst thing your soul suggests to you is suspicion” (Hadith). Wahm is considered most powerful because it manipulates the percepts of all senses, internal as well as external, and can conjure up images or ideas from them; in fact it can use the conceptions of reasons as well, and make them appear irrational. Sleep or awake it is working all the time in our mind, and has no organized manner of working. Thus it is an extremely dangerous tool and is best kept under the control of a higher faculty i.e. reason. When wahm is bound to reason its judgements are trustworthy, if it is left free and uncontrolled it can lead to errors and when it is under the guidance of intellectual intuition it is all the more authentic. According to Ibn Sina wahm operates at different levels. At one level it is purely instinctual (as perception of danger in the form of wolf) and mother’s love for the child. Secondly, it also operates at a quasi-empirical level. This is the association of ideas or images from memory. Thus wahm is able to assimilate ideas, understand symbols and create images and uses all senses in this process, so it is said that all creative act as well comprehension of abstractions in poetry and art is made possible by wahm.

It must be remembered in connection with these sense faculties that they are not, as it were, strictly separate from each other. It is even said that like facing mirrors they mutually reflect each other. Since common sense is the composite of five external senses it is even possible that they are also reflected in each other i.e. percepts of one sense change into the percepts of the other. Such experiences often occur in poetry, specially in ancient persian poetry.

Another interesting point to be made here is that Muslim musicians have used the term khayal for a special mode of music. Askari observes that the use of this word in classical music denotes that this branch of music known as khayal is an attempt to bring back to consciousness or perception the forms which have been perceived before or create images of different realities. Even when classical notes of music are confined to the external senses, they can allude to a higher level of reality since as stated earlier, all these senses correspond to a level of heirarchical being, and if the listener as well as the musician has the ability, the stimulation of a sense can evoke

perception of a higher reality. (It should be remembered here that khayal as used in music is a general term for all inner senses). Hence it is said that every sense faculty has two dimensions, one opens up towards Truth and the other towards falsity i.e. The world. It is written in the Quran that Almighty has gifted man with ears, eyes and heart so that he can know his Lord.

The heart is to the other faculties what the sun is to the planets: it is from the sun that these receive both their light and their impulsion. this analogy is built by Abd-al-Karim al-Jili in his book al-Insan al-Kamil (Universal Man). According to this symbolic order, saturn, the most distant of the planets visible to the naked eye corresponds to intellect-reason. (al'aql). Just as the heaven of saturn includes all the other planetary heavens, intellect-reason embraces all things; moreover the “abstract”, “cold” and “saturnian” character of reason is opposite to the solar and central nature of the heart, which marks intellect in it's “total” and existential aspect. Mercury symbolizes thought (al-fal-fikr), Venus imagination (al-Khayal), Mars the active imagination or conjectural faculty (al-wahm), Jupiter spiritual aspiration (al-himmah) and the moon the vital spirit (ar- ruh).

From another point of view heart is compared to the moon which reflects the light of the divine sun. In this case, the phases of the moon correspond to the different states of receptivity of the heart. Philosophers have enumerated five internal and five external senses but sufi masters have attributed five sense modalities to the heart as well. Askari names them as 1. Light (نور) 2. intellect (عقل) 3. Spirit (Ruh) 4. mystery (سحر) 5.

Hidden (خفي) the most intimate center of the heart is called the mystery (as-Sirr) and this the inapprehensible point in which the creature meets God. Ordinarily the spiritual reality of the heart is veiled by the egocentric consciousness; this assimilates the heart to it's own centre of gravity which can be either mind or feeling according to the tendencies of a particular person.

Consciousness:

So far we have discussed different components of man's subtle self, dwelt upon the nature of human soul (nafs) explained the mental faculties and their functions and have seen how they are placed in a hierarchical order of reality and related to their cosmic dimensions. As Islam believes that the innermost core of man's being lies deeper than the egocentric consciousness, muslim psychologists have not laid much stress on consciousness as a state of man's self which is peripheral state as compared to the deepest nucleus of his selfhood. Nevertheless, as locus of immediate, subjective reality, which is the "I", phenomenon of consciousness is worth considering. It is also a mode of awareness. Speaking of consciousness in general terms, Guenon says that consciousness should be considered as a characteristic inherent to certain categories of phenomenon produced in the human being or as a continuity of this phenomenon. From the traditional point of view, it is not a particular state, nor is it the only distinctive characteristic of the individual human state. Still, while studying the extra-corporeal modalities of this state, traditional point of view is not at all similar to that of psychology. The former considers consciousness to be a condition of existence in certain states (but not necessarily in the sense of corporeal existence), and what might sound a little strange at first, as a *raison d'être* of these states, since it is a manifestation through which the individual being participates in the universal intelligence ('Aql; or Buddhi in the Hindu doctrine). Naturally it is in the individual mental faculty of man that is inherent, in a determined form (individual consciousness). In spite of essential limitations of consciousness in individual human state, it is susceptible to an indefinite extension and even in an ordinary person who has not specially developed his extra-corporeal modalities, it is extended further than generally suspected. It is no doubt true, Guenon says, that the clear and vivid consciousness is not all the consciousness, but only a part of it and what it leaves out is far more complex than itself, but what psychologists take as sub-conscious is merely a convenient term for all that they do not know or do not include among the phenomenon which they study: It is as it appears from their relative point of view, and they always forget to envisage a "superconscious" corresponding to a sub-conscious since consciousness can extend itself above as well as below. In reality, the sub-conscious as well as superconscious are no more than simple prolongations of consciousness; and this prolongation does not take us into the realm of the unconscious (which is outside consciousness) but on the contrary includes all that can be properly

called individual consciousness. Hence, individual consciousness can be sufficient to take account of all that (from mental point of view) takes place in the individual domain; and it remains a unified consciousness. It is true that the “unity of self” which is ordinarily seen is quite illusory but it can be explained on the grounds that the plurality and complexity which exist in consciousness is due to its prolongation into certain remote and obscure states like the one which could be called “organic consciousness” and above all those which are manifested in the state of dream.

Dreams and the dream State: This gives us an opportunity to turn our attention to an important psychic phenomena namely dreams. Indeed dreams are the most revealing expression of our psyche and one which lies much deeper than other levels of experience. As mentioned in reference to Mulla Sadra, dreams are perceptions of the soul when it moves away from the body for a while. Even though psyche is said to retire or disengage itself during sleep, the vital spirit (ar-ruh) remains, thus the essential processes life i.e. respiration and metabolism continue whereas most psychic functions related to the world of senses are suspended. As Huston Smith has explained in agreement with Mulla Sadra, in dream the subtle body retires from the gross; the communication lines to its physical senses are disconnected and it returns to its natural medium - for the duration of its “home leave” it swims untrammelled in the psychic sphere. Since this is its native habitat - the environment that is continuous with the stuff of which the mind is composed - the home-coming refreshes and restores. “He giveth his beloved sleep.” This process is also referred in the Quran in the following manner: “Allah it is who taketh away souls at the time of their death and those which die not in their sleep. Then He withholdeth those on which he hath decreed death and sendeth back the rest, for an appointed term. (XXXIX:42)

As discussed so many times during the course of this work according to the law of inverted analogy, all Divine attributes are reflected (in a more or less incomplete manner) in man who is the most central image of the spirit in this world. Now God’s quality of Peace is reflected in man in the form of sleep, but since it is incomplete (being of this world) it is only a transitory restful period. Moreover, unlike God, man is quite unconscious in his sleep whereas god is supreme Wakefulness.

Ordinary consciousness serves to illuminate only a restricted portion of the individual soul and the latter represents but a minimal part of the psychic world. Nevertheless the soul is not isolated from the remainder of that world, its situation is not that of a body rigorously limited by its own spatial extension and separated from other bodies. That which distinguishes the soul from the aggregate of the vast subtle world is solely its own particular tendencies, where by it is defined as a given spatial 'direction' defines the ray of light that follows it. By those same tendencies the soul is in communion with all the cosmic possibilities pertaining to analogous tendencies or qualities; it assimilates them and is assimilated to them. Therefore certain experiences of the psyche are not understandable in the light of phenomenal existence. Experience of the subtle world is subjective - except in the case of certain sciences unknown to us - because consciousness, in identifying itself with subtle forms, is affected by their tendencies, just as light is turned from its course by the form of a wave that it happens to traverse. The subtle world is made up of forms - that is to say, it comprises diversity and contrast - but these forms do not possess in themselves and outside their projections in sensible imagination, spatial and defined contours as in case of corporeal forms. They are entirely active or dynamic since pure activity belongs only to the "essential forms" or archetypes which are to be found in the world of the pure spirit. Now the ego or individual soul is itself one of the forms of the subtle world, so that the consciousness that espouses this form is necessarily dynamic and exclusive, realizes other subtle forms only in so far as these become modalities of its own egoic form.

Thus it is that in the dream state individual consciousness, even while being reabsorbed in the subtle world, nonetheless remains turned back on itself. All the forms it lives which in that state present themselves as simple prolongations of the individual subject, or at least appear so in retrospect and in as much as they verge on the state of wakefulness. The consciousness of the dreamer is not impermeable to influences originating from the most diverse "regions" of the subtle world, (as is proved now by telepathic or premonitory dreams experienced by so many people). In truth if the imagery of dream is woven from the very "substance" of the subject a "substance" that is none other than the progressive actualization of his own psychic form - it nonetheless manifests incidentally and at varying degrees realities of a cosmic order.

The images one retains on waking from a dream generally represent only a small part or shadow of the psychic form one lived in the state of dream; a sort of decantation or evaporation takes place but there exist nevertheless, a certain category of dreams well known to traditional Islamic or esoteric sciences, the remembrance of which persists with incisive clearness even if the profound contents are concealed.

Since there are dreams of divine or angelic inspiration, there must also exist their contrary namely dreams of satanic impulses containing caricature of sacred forms. It is said in the hadith that “the satan tries to ape the divine forms and spreads his throne between the heaven and the earth”. It will be recalled here that in the picture of reality according to Islamic doctrines the psychic realm is intermediate i.e. analogically placed between the celestial (Heavens) and the terrestrial (earth). It is for this reason that Islam teaches that the rebellion against God takes place on the level of the Psyche: body, is only an instrument for the tendencies originating within the psyche. Both the angelic and the demonic forces manifest themselves in this intermediate psychic plane which is neither material nor spiritual. Hence the emphasis on the control of nafs and the importance of the domination of reason on wahm.

But one fact has been somewhat deliberately ignored so far in this discussion since it could have led to a region we know little about; it will be broached now. It is stated again and again in the Qur’an, hadith, Muslim ethics, philosophy Sufi doctrines and the sayings of the great Muslim saints, that the human psyche (nafs) is treacherous and it works in secret, unfelt, subtle tactics. Hence man must be on guard against his own inner self. This implies that the motives of nafs are not entirely and always conscious nor are its diverse tactics. Secondly in the discussion of dreams it became evident that the human psyche is prone to the influence of angelic as well as internal forces since psyche is of the same nature as the psychic realm (which is the universal prototype of individual psyche) and the psychic realm is intermediate between the celestial and the terrestrial similarly human or individual psyche is as middle region between the spirit and the body. Influences from the dark side of nature or sub-human depths are negative whereas those from the Spirit are positive and illuminative. But neither of

them is available to the immediate consciousness though they bear a subtle unperceptible influence on the workings and impulses of the psyche.

In Muslim families, there is an ancient custom, going back to the earliest times, that when a child is born; immediately after birth, an elder male member recites azan (prayer call) in his ears which starts from the statement of the greatness of Allah. The first sensory stimuli to reach him should be the Divine Name. It is symbolic no doubt but it is significant, presenting sense-stimuli at an age when child has little consciousness, since an individual soul has only recently been separated from its source i.e. spiritual realm it is yet unclouded by phenomenal impressions and hence relatively pure. Will it preserve this first sound of the Divine Name? Obviously, there must be this very idea behind it; it cannot be a meaningless ritual. And finally we refer to a prayer of the prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) which reads as follows. "O' almighty, forgive me for my sins and omissions, those which I remember and those which I do not;"

These two latter examples obviously allude to a personal aspect of the unconscious whereas earlier points referred to the universal aspect. What do these signify? That what can properly be called unconscious part of our psyche, seems to contain positive as well as negative possibilities, personal as well as universal? We will leave this discussion right here and will take it up in the next part since in order to further explain this concept we will have to refer to all other traditions we have studied in this research as well as to take a look at the modern perspective.

Summary:

What has been said so far in this chapter can be summed up as follows: From the Islamic concept of ultimate reality which is inseparably related to the concept of psyche, it can be concluded that all reality and all being is a manifestation of the Divine principle and it emanates from this principle in a heirarchical order from God to matter. Man is a microcosm which reflects the macrocosm (universe). He is composed of body (jasad) soul (nafs) and Spirit, (ar-Ruh). The body pertains to matter and spirit to God, thus psyche is the intermediate plane (in universe) and mediating force in man between spirit and body. Spirit corresponds to the intellect or 'Aql which is the faculty through which man can achieve gnosis of mar'ifat. Spirit is transcendent and

is the centre of man's being. Where as nafs or soul is attached to the body in it's downward or corporeal tendency and to the spirit in it's upward or spiritual tendency. Soul is composed of five internal and five external faculties which pertain to brain and the highest faculty is the will which is the power of decision and implementation in man. Apart from this soul is moved by the vital spirit, or ar-ruh which can be compared to a life-force, and which carries on the vital functions.

Although, sense organs and faculties bring knowledge of external as well as internal experiences, the conscious centre to which one identifies as "I" is none other than the soul but this is not the core i.e. spirit is not available to consciousness, and. Sufic teachings lead man to an awareness of the Self, (deepest level of self) which is identical with Truth.

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BOOK REVIEW

MUSLIM CITIES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Ira M. Lapidus

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Studies, few and far between, have been written on Muslim milieu of the Middle Ages.- Prof. Lapidus' book, since its first edition in 1967, has become a much-referred work.

The author finds both the sociological and historical approaches inadequate. The former stresses the similarities underlying pre-modern societies but cannot account for the evident differences. The latter accepts one feature of the urban experience as essential before establishing the larger context of relationships. So the author prefers to look at urban constitution and the total configuration of relationships by which organized urban social life was carried on, during the Mamluk era (1250-1517).

According to the author, there was no central agency for coordination or administration in large metropolises like Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo or important trade centers like Alexandria, Beirut and Tripoli. Instead, societal cohesion depended on patterns of social activity and organizations. In contra-distinction to European models, Muslim cities are viewed in terms of informal social interaction. The complex equilibrium between the state military elite, the 'ulama, the merchants or the local notables and organized bodies of commoners such as young men's gangs, neighbourhood societies and guilds are seen as the basis of societal order.

The 'ulama were the central core around which the community was built. Their 'judicial, managerial, legal, educational, secretarial, financial, commercial and familial authority grounded in the multiple dimensions of Muslim Law' made them, a 'multicompetent, undifferentiated and unspecialized communal elite'. Not a closed group. their ranks were, open to all, workers and craftsman included.

Mobility and entry, into the ranks of the learned shows consonance with the egalitarian, democratic, spirit of Islam. As they belonged to every social level, they imparted stability and cohesion to society: The 'ulama and the ruling Mamulks were closely tied to each other by familial and ideological bonds.

The central government encouraged local autonomy. Urban administration and responsibility for public services fell to local governors and amirs as a consequence of their military and fiscal duties. Their households were not merely bureaucratic branches of the state, but occupied strategic position in the maintenance of urban communal life. Potential source of private powers and influence, they were further entrenched in their position by the tax structure devised to support armies. As the Mamulks were paid part of - their salaries in' grain, they acquired a considerable role intra-urban economy. Their fiscal powers also gave them a vast generalised capacity to control the flow if scarce materials and to organise labour. They were not only patrons of local crafts and trades but also endowed religious and educational institutions, and undertook public works. Unlike earlier Saljuq and Ayyubid regimes they endowed all four schools of Sunni law. They did not behave like an alien military establishment but penetrated the wider urban society (p.77). Their political control merged with economic and social roles.

[n contrast to the two types of Western artisan guilds - the Western European which were voluntary and self-governing associations, and the Byzantine which were organised by the police powers of the state-- the muslim guilds were controlled by the muhtasibs. These market inspectors embodied both the religious concern for moral order and kept the fiscal condition of the state in view. The Muslim market was less highly organised than markets in. other contemporary Mediterranean civilizations (p.101) and afforded greater _room for individual enterprise.

The cause and nature of mass publications initiated by the zu'ar shows how highly organized these youth gangs were . in Mamluk cities. Potentially powerful counterpoise to state control, their activities increased as a result of economic decline. They became the backbone of massive resistances to taxation and represented the interest of their quarters and defended them against abuse. The harfsh, or organized beggars and vagabonds joined their

ranks. Also among them were street entertainers and sufis. The study, therefore, underlines the contrast between Muslim urban society and the European in the late middle ages. European society was highly segmented with a rigid class system. Muslim society on the other hand, was more fluid: class barriers were reduced by people who met, mixed and mingled with great ease. 'The differences in social organizations were at the root of important political differences' (p.186).

The present, a 'student edition' dispenses with the appendices, notes and bibliography of the original edition. The logic can only be understood as an attempt to make the book more accessible. But the lack is acute. The new bibliographical notes are an extension of, not a compensation for, those of the earlier edition. The summing up at the end of each chapter is a helpful device and recapitulates the argument section/subject-wise.

The use of words with Christian connotations, monastery and convent, for Islamic institutions such as zaviya, tekke, or hhangah, when considered in relation to the sweep of the study, may seem of little importance.

And even when a negro begger is called a sufi Shaykh (p.106), and when sufis are stood in the rank of the zu'ar and the harfsh, one can ignore it. But there is sufficient confusion to warrant footnotes. Had the sufi brotherhoods deteriorated so drastically that beggars and vagabonds became spiritual guides? Or did the sufi prefer the company of the common man. If the latter, it is understandable in view of sufi ideals. If the former, then the possibility of pretenders cannot be ruled out. But the author is silent. The panoramic is preferred to nicer details. But such oversights become significant precisely because of the standard and worth of this book.

Athar Tahir