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MUHAMMAD IQBAL: INTRODUCTION TO THE SECRETS OF THE SELF

In memory of my teacher A. A. Starikov

Note by the translator

Long ago Muhammad Iqbal's poetry crossed the boundaries of his motherland and now one can say that it belongs to mankind as a whole alongwith many masterpieces by other prominent men of culture of international repute.

Iqbal's poetry is well-known in the Soviet Union and it is dear to the peoples of my country because of its humanism and strong belief in the unlimited potentials of a human being. Iqbal's love for freedom and his passionate desire to see his people prosperous and happy are also revered by Soviet readers.

His poems, translated from Urdu and Persian, into the various languages of the Soviet Union, are widely published in Moscow, Tashkent and Dushanbe. If

one takes into account the fact that the USSR is a country of complete literacy, and that the usual circulation of any book is not less than several thousand copies, one cannot but draw the conclusion that *Bang-i-Dare*, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *Zarb-i-Kalim*, *Bal-i-Jibril* are no less popular in the Soviet Union than in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and the Persian and Arabic speaking world.

There are also eleven original research works on Iqbal's poetry and philosophy written by Soviet scholars and it gives me pleasure to present one of

these works to the Pakistani public. The article "Muhammad Iqbal : Introduction to the Secrets of the Self" by N. Prigarina is the first work on

Iqbal by a Soviet scholar to be translated from Russian and published in Pakistan. I am sure that it will not be the last.

It is necessary to mention here that this translation has become possible due only to the energetic efforts of Mr. B. A. Dar, Director, Iqbal Academy, Karachi, who has been instrumental in establishing contacts between Soviet and Pakistani scholars engaged in research on Iqbal's heritage.

I fail to find words suitable to express my deepest gratitude to Mrs. Alys Faiz and Lt. Col. K.A. Rashid whose kind help and guidance were of great value when I worked on this translation.

I must confess that I am not a professional translator and readers, therefore, may be indulgent if in the translation they meet some errors.

Edward K. Kolbenev

Deputy Cultural Secretary

USSR Embassy, Pakistan

This article deals with some features of Muhammad Iqbal's lyrics of his early years in Persian, namely the Introduction to his poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*. The poem was first published in 1915, though some extracts of it had been recited by the poet at the session of *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* in Lahore in 1914. It was Iqbal's first work published in Persian. Before this he had written his poems in Urdu and by that time was well-known in the literary circles of India.

As far as the genre of the Introduction is concerned it occupies a particular place in the poem. The lyric fragments can be read in all sixteen chapters of the poem which differ in their content but the poem as a whole should be considered as an epic work of a philosophical and didactic nature. Being an account of religious and philosophical doctrine it has some genre features of a sermon or treatise.

The genre of the philosophical and didactic poem and the accounts of religious and philosophical doctrine in a poetic form was a widespread

phenomenon of classical literature in Persian.¹ Jalaluddin Rumi, the author of the philosophical and ethic code in six volumes, *Masnawi-i-Manavi*,² was Iqbal's favourite poet.

As to the philosophical subjects of the poem *The Secrets of the Self*, analogies from the classical Persian Literature would not help much. Its subjects were created by a new age and seem to be the answer to "the social demand" of the Indian Society of Iqbal's period. Hence it is clear that his contemporaries highly appreciated the poem, for they found in it the substantiation and development of the ideas of the value of a human personality, an appeal to an inner perfection and an active creative works.³

The problem of personality and the question of the perfect man, connected with it, emerged and developed in Iqbal's work as the reflection of those changes which took place in India in the beginning of the twentieth century. It was not incidental that Iqbal was the first who introduced a new term, *Khudi* (Khud, خود self).⁴

Considering the individuality of a human being as a result of the development of God's individuality, Iqbal speaks about the stages a human being goes through to obtain the features of "God's vicegerent on earth".

¹ See M. Zand, *Six Centuries of Glory*, Moscow, 1964, p. 180 (Russian)

² *Ibid.*, p, 186.

³ Muhammad Ali, *My life, a fragment. An Autobiographical Sketch*. (Lahore, 1964), p. 167 ; R. Nicholson, *An introduction to Muhammad Iqbal's 'The Secrets of the Self'* (London, 1920).

⁴ M. Sharif asserts that *Khudi* in the works of 1908-1920 is the dynamic centre of desires, efforts, actions and it is moved in its development by Time. The entire inner life of a human being and the whole world that surrounds him were created by this *Khudi*. See M. M. Sharif, "Iqbal's Concept of God" in *Iqbal as a Thinker* (Lahore, 1944), p. 111. Later on the poet uses the term in a double sense : the individuality of a human being and an individual in his relations with society, God and religion. See Houben, "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbal's Conception of *Khudi*" in *Crescent and Green* (Lodon 1955), p. 152,

The poet assigns to religion, poetry and philosophy considerable importance; he is inclined to explain the decay in the countries of the Muslim East as the consequence of the oblivion of original "pure" Islam, by the dissemination of pantheistic philosophy and its reflection in literature. According to Iqbal it was equal to advocating of slavish obedience and indifference towards the tasks presented to a human being by life.

Now to speak in more detail on Iqbal's attitude towards pantheism and pantheistic sufism on the one hand and on the idea of returning to "pure" Islam on the other neither pantheism nor early Islam is spoken about in the "Introduction" chosen for the analysis; nevertheless it would be difficult to understand some features of Iqbal's lyric without understanding what part these problems played in Iqbal's outlook when he wrote his poem.

The Secrets of the Self marks the beginning of a new stage in Iqbal's creative work and is connected with the turning point of his outlook which took place after the poet's return from Europe where he had gone to complete his education.

The period when he worked on his thesis⁵ for which he obtained his Ph.D., the years spent in Europe were fruitful and influenced his entire life. During that period (1905-1908) Iqbal studied western philosophy and established contacts with European scholars. However, he could not but notice the true face of Europe going speedily towards war. Since then the constant theme of all Iqbal's poems on the West became the theme of the immorality of sciences and technology which so easily could be used against a human being. After coming back from Europe the poems Iqbal wrote appeared to be prophetic — he compared pre-war Europe to a nest built on the points of bayonets, and its militarism, with preparations for suicide.

As a thinker and a man to whom the fortunes of his mother land were dear, Iqbal with all his heart and soul was prepared to accept any state system which would make the people happy and ensure the most favourable

⁵ M. Iqbal. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (London, 1908). Iqbal speaks in this work "with tremendous sympathy to sufism". See A. Krimsky, *The History of Persia, her Literature and Darvish Theosophy*, II (Moscow, 1912), p 111 (Published in Russian),

conditions for the flourishing of the human personality. But he did not find it in Europe, and in search of such a system which would bring about the equality of all people, as Iqbal wrote in a letter to one of his friends, he turned his face towards Islam. Being a deeply religious man, Iqbal could not accept Marxism because of its atheism, although he once said that Islam was Bolshevism plus God.

This turning to religion was not surprising, for, before Iqbal, in Muslim India any attempt to present any new idea on the social life, on man and his attitude towards society, etc. was, in fact, within the limits of Islam. In the first instance it can be explained by the very strong influence of feudalism and feudal institutions upon the social thought of the country as well as by the fact that Islam had maintained the whole complex of lawful social and political functions.⁶

And the idea of the revival of Islam also had a well-grounded and sound tradition in the Muslim community of India.⁷ The work on his Ph.D. thesis provided Iqbal with the facts corroborating the view about the change in the originally monotheistic nature of Islam. As a consequence of the further spread of this religion and the development of its later mystic interpretations, sufism of a pantheistic nature (Vandat al-Vujud) sprung up and rapidly spread all over the Muslim world.

For Iqbal to raise his voice against pantheism meant the rejection of the enormous heritage of the classical literature in which the pantheistic disposition has its poetical interpretation. While Iqbal, the philosopher, broke through his aesthetic feelings and was even able to denounce Hafiz whom he considered as an advocate of philosophy of renunciation, Iqbal, the poet, failed to free himself from the fascination of Hafiz's poetry.

⁶ A Massaux, *Islam* (Moscow, 1961), p, 93.

⁷ L. Gordon-Polonsykaya writes about it in details as well as about trends connected with Islam (reformism, modernism, pan-islamism) in his work *Muslim Trends in the Social Thought of India and Pakistan* (Moscow 1963). Later on, Iqbal advocated not only for return to original Islam but for re-construction of its principles in the light of changed conditions of life.

The pantheistic concept of "Unity of reality", in short, is contained in the thesis: the entire reality is God. The cognition of Truth is described in a given order. The highest stage of it is Fana, non-existence, ecstasy of self-denial, self-dissolution, spontaneous (direct) contact with the divine. Pantheistic sufis attach great importance to the ecstatic unity with God. R. Nicholson writes, "So far as Vali or saint is considered as a type of a perfect man among the people it should be taken into account that the essence of Muslim sanctity, as the institution of prophesy, is none other than the divine illumination, instantaneous vision and understanding of the things that are invisible and unknown, when the veil of common sense suddenly lifts and an intellectual [T] disappears in the stunning grandeur of the sole true light. An ecstatic feeling of unity with God shapes Vali. This is the end of Path, Tariqa."⁸ So long as Truth is obtained in the state of ecstasy, complete self denial, dissolution and disappearing in the uniformity are required from those who want to obtain it. This is pantheistic sufism (universe= God).

In the beginning of his literary and philosophical career Iqbal was

inclined towards pantheism and by the time he completed *The Secrets of the Self* he became its violent enemy. He considered Plato whose ideas

transformed in the later teaching of Plotin, influenced the philosophy of

sufism, as an ascetic, as the pastor of obedient rams and as the deadly enemy of a life of activity. A separate chapter of *The Secrets of the Self* is

devoted to the criticism of Plato's theses. As the sufi doctrine of "unity of reality", as it is known, adopted a great deal from the philosophy of neo-Platonism, Iqbal directly connected "the decay" of the Muslim society with the dissemination and the very existence of this doctrine.

The culmination of the doctrine, viz., the teaching on Fana fi-1 Haq (non-existence in God) is unacceptable to Iqbal. As a matter of fact this point is the beginning of the break with *Vandat al-Vujud* because the non-

⁸ R.A. Nicholson. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 78,

recognition of this point is equal to the non-recognition of the doctrine as a whole.

Envisaged by this doctrine the comprehension of Truth through the annihilation of human personality in God (according to R. Nicholson, connection in the absence of any connection) was to Iqbal equal to the loss of this personality for society, to the annihilation of the unique human individuality for which the poet himself was ready to give up "the whole universe with all its stars"⁹

فَتَابَ وَ مَاهُ وَ اَنْجَمِ مِى تَوَانِ دَادَن زِ دَسْتِ

دَر بَهَائِرِ اَن كَفِ خَاكِرِ دَارَائِرِ دَلِ اَسْتِ

The sun, and the moon, and the stars I can give up:

For this handful of dust endowed with heart.

The return to the original Islam and the banishment of pantheism, according to Iqbal, would have also established such relations between man and God when God would have remained the ideal, the Supreme Individual and the amalgamation of man with God would have meant the discharge by man of his terrestrial duties of God's vicegerent on earth (read : the master of terrestrial matters), e.g. the active creative work, the perfection of inner life, the acquiring of the features of God, ideal, etc.

Iqbal denied the state of ecstasy as a method of cognition of Truth through the denial of somebody's individuality. According to him, the moment of cognition of Truth is the highest creative act, the mobilization of all human being's strength. It demands complete exposition of human

⁹ Muhammad Iqbal, Zuboo-i-Ajam, p. 153.

personality and by no means is it his dissolution in God.¹⁰ He glorifies such inner enthusiasm inspired by the contiguity with Truth which makes the blaze of Truth itself more vivid and gives the light to its essence.

Jalalud-din Rumi, the greatest poet-mystic of the thirteenth century, was the only one from the whole galaxy of the poets who wrote in Persian in the middle ages who professed such "dialectical monotheism". According to him a searcher for Truth is separated from Truth forever. And Iqbal was one of the first thinkers who drew attention to this distinction between Rumi and other mystics. His spiritual proximity to Rumi could be also explained by this fact. It is because of the same reason Rumi became Vergii of a new Dante, his spiritual leader and preceptor in the celestial journey (Jawid-Nama). Rumi is one of the most favourite heroes of Iqbal. As a sage and an old man, a "connoisseur of secrets," he also appeared in the introduction to Iqbal's first philosophic poem.

As an epigraph to the whole poem Iqbal takes the verses by Rumi from his most popular ghazal:

دی شیخ با چراغ ہمی گست گرد شہر

کز دام و دد ملولم و انسانم آرزوست

زین ہمرہان سست عناصر دلم گرفت

شیر خدا و رستم دستانم آرزوست

گفتم کہ یافت می نشود جسته ایہم ما

¹⁰ M. M Sharif, "Iqbal's Concept of God"; A Bausani, "Gulshan-i-Raz-i Jadid di Muhammad Iqbal" in *Annali di Istituto universitario orientale* (Napoli, 1958), Vol. VIII, 6,

گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست

Yesterday the shaikh with a lamp wandered around the city

[Speaking] I am tired of beasts of prey ;

I want a human being.

I am sick of these weak companions ;

I want God's Lion (i.e. Ali) and Rostam of Dastan.

Said [I] : "He cannot be found. We have tried to find."

Said : "I want him who cannot be found".

This ghazal is very dear to Iqbal, and it is not accidental that he quoted it more extensively in his other poem Jawid Nama. Two lines from another Poet, Naziri Nishapuri (seventeenth century), are taken as an epigraph to the introduction to *The Secrets of the Self* There is no dearth in my forest of dry and green shrubs.

Out of each tree, if mimbar doesn't come out, I'll make the gallows.

While the epigraph from Rumi defines the conception of the poet as a whole, human being's search, the lines from Naziri go well with the mood of 'Introduction".

Sincere, full of emotion, confused to a certain extent in the beginning, the Introduction is a narration of passion, the great passion of a human being who has become aware of his prophetic gift, who has discovered, as it seems to him, the secret of life and "eternal mirth". Perhaps, that is why Iqbal likes Naziri's passion for building mimbar s — rostrums for sermons. He himself wants to come to the people with his own sermon. It is a stormy monologue from which the reader comes to know about the formations of a poet-prophet. At the same time the new, unprecedented awareness of his

prophetic gift is a deeply personal event for the poet, and he brings us into his inner world, opens it before us in his confession.

In short, the content of the Introduction is as follows. The poet's night is full of thoughts about human beings. The thoughts are sorrowful. But the poet has a powerful weapon — words. They have been put to the test by a mystic gardener of life : the striking sword has grown up out of the line planted in the soil, and then the poet has found confidence in the enigmatic strength that was planted in his soul.

In Iqbal's poetry Zurwan, the jinn of time and space, and God possess the same strength which makes it possible to penetrate into the essence of things, to comprehend their potentialities and their future.

The poet speaks about himself as about the Sun which has not yet been born. He considers the whole universe around him as a potential possibility of the universe. This Sun has not learnt the order and the customs of the firmament. It has not driven the stars of the night away from the sky; its rays have not yet been painted in red henna at the moment of its appearance. It is as if this Sun that shows its first rays from the horizon in the vibrant false dawn is afraid of its appearance. The poet is filled with an inner tremble: he fears to put his thoughts and feelings on trial before the people, for he is afraid of not being understood:

سبزه ناروئیده زیب گلشنم

گل به شاخ اندر نهان در دامنم

بسکه عود فطر تم نادر نواست

هم نشین از نغمه ام نا آشناست

The flowers that have not grown, are the decoration of my garden,

The flower [dreaming] inside the twig, is [hidden] under my flap.

[Although] the tunes of the lute of my nature are rare,

He who is sitting next to me does not know my melodies.

Why does it happen? Only because of the fact that our poet is a new Sun ? No, his epoch can also be blamed, the epoch which will fail to appreciate the charm of Joseph Beautiful if an old egend is revived — the legend about the prophet who "was sold at the market for miserable price, for a few dirhems ; they did not value him much."¹¹

عصر من داننده اسرار نیست

یوسف من بهر این بازار نیست

نا امیدستم ز یاران قدیم

طور من سوزده که می آید کلیم

Our age is not a connoisseur of secrets.

My Joseph is not for this market.

I dispair of my old friends.

Sinai is on fire. Is Moses ascending to it ?

According to the legend, Moses — "collocutor of Allah" was on his way in solitude to obtain commandments. The fire which caught the Sinai mountain blocked his companions' way.

¹¹ The Quran (xii.20) translated by Sablukov. Kazan (1907)

The poet finds himself in the same loneliness. His companions, his collocutors, do not feel sacred emotions, their apathy is expressed through the image of the silent Red Sea — a symbol of storms in Persian poetry. The poet compares their souls with the Red Sea — soundless like the modest dew that leaped on the cold leaf of the grass.¹²

But in the poet's soul every dew drop is like the roaring ocean caught by the storm:

قلزم یاران چو شبنم بے خروش

شبنم من مثل یم طوفان بدوش

The Sea of my friends is soundless like dew.

My dew is like the ocean with typhoon on its shoulder.

But the solitude does not frighten the poet, for the recognition does not always come during the lifetime. It will not make the poet to retreat. He brings his word to the people :

اے بسا شاعر کہ بعد از مرگ زاد

چشم خود بر بست و چشم ما کشاد

رخت ناز از نیستی بیرون کشید

چوں گل از خاک مزار خود رسید

¹² The explanation of Moses' experience at the Mount Sinai as given by the author is not correct. Similarly it is wrong to translate *Qulzam* as Red Sea: *Qulzam* here signifies any sea. (Ed.)

Oh, many poets were born after their deaths.

They closed their eyelids and opened our eyes.

The wretched belongings of their non-existence were taken out¹³

[They] sprouted up like a flower from the ashes of their graves.

The poet cannot keep silent. One theme is vividly heard in the Introduction. Later on Iqbal was to develop it in his subsequent works in Persian — it is associated with the role the poet allots to any manifestation of life. Ill is the theme of anxiety. If one cannot do anything more, the poet says, he should cry, for the scream is the evidence of non quietness, the burning of desires, the proof that a human being is still alive, but doesn't keep silent . The poet exclaims in the Introduction:

عاشقم فریاد ایمان من است

شور حشر از پیش خیزان من است

Oh, my beloved ! the howl is my faith.

The turmoil of the Day of Trial is because of me.¹⁴

A new poet and prophet emerges in the world like a powerful melody filling the entire world. It is immeasurably bigger than a thin string from which it has come. As if it is like the Indian Ocean which cannot be restricted within the tight banks of an ordinary streamlet. The poet is like a spring cloud from the vivifying rain of which one bud urns into a whole garden.

¹³ The Correct translation, as done by Nicholosl, would be:
And journeyed again from nothingness, (Ed.)

¹⁴ The Correct translation, as done by Nicholson. Would be:
But I am lover: loud crying is my fiath:
The Clamour of Judgement Day is none of my minions. (Ed.)

The enormous strength has emerged in the poet's soul because he as come to know "the secrets of life". He also appeals to others to obtain the knowledge of the secret:

سرّ عیش جاودان خواہی بیا

ہم زمین ہم آسمان خواہی بیا

پیر گردون با من این اسرار گفت

از ندیمان رازها نتوان نہفت

If you want to obtain the secret of eternal mirth, do come.

If you want to get the sky, to get the earth, do come.

The heaven disclosed this secret to me.

We cannot conceal the secrets from our friends.

And then there is a traditional appeal to a wine-distributor. But the poet does not ask for the wine of oblivion which takes the person away from troubles and burdens of life; he needs the life-giving moisture — "moist flame" that turns a beggar into a king from a fairy tale. He wants the wine which brightens up the thought and makes the sight keen.

As in other parts of the "Introduction" and the poem itself here are subtle polemics against Hafiz, the Persian poet of the fourteenth century.

In the first edition of the poem, Hafiz was called leader of tipplers whose bowls are filled with the sweet bane of oblivion. In subsequent

editions Iqbal omitted the name of Hafiz but retained his attacks on the poet whose poems "take away from us passion of life."¹⁵

The wine-distributor has given to the poet such wine that makes him again and again glorify a noble old man — "master of the sealed book of secret love" — Rumi. Rumi's image and the impact of his poetry are similar to the flame of a candle which attacks the moth. The strength of his feelings breathes life into dead clay, which a human being is moulded from. It has given birth to the inspiration of the lyric hero. Rumi's appearance before the inner sight of the poet is the culminative point of the "Introduction".

The poet has been gravely disappointed by the incomprehension of the people around him, by their deafness and indifference. The description of the state of despair seems to implement the task of colours — creation of contrast between the bottomless gloom of man's weakness and prophetic lucidity of Rumi who appears before the poet in dreams :

شب دل من مائل فریاد بود

خامشی از یاریم آباد بود

شکوه آشوب غم دوران بدم

از تهی پیمانگی نالان بدم

ایں قدر نظاره ام بے تاب شد

بال و پر بشکست و آخر خواب شد

At night my heart was inclined to sob,

¹⁵ *Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 39.

The calm of the night was filled with my groanings,
I was the embodiment of sorrow of centuries,
I mourned over the emptiness of [my] bowl,
And everything before my eyes was so utterly dark
That my wings were broken and [I] fell asleep at last.

The guiding star which Rumi lit up for the poet is Love. In the share of poetical images Rumi's monologue contains the wisdom which Iqbal advocates henceforth. Rumi demands that the poet should kindle in his heart such love as would lead him to Truth without meditation and hesitation, without retreating before the requirements of reason. The obstinate brain, the eyes burdening the feelings with observations on which reason builds its proof, should not be a hindrance.

شیشه بر سر، دیده بر نشتر بزن

Break the glass against the head,
Strike the eyes against a lancet.¹⁶

And the main thing, Rumi says, is to shout at the top of your voice after speaking of your feelings. How long will you keep silent like an unopened flower ? The words by Rumi which show his attitude towards Love and

¹⁶ This line has something in common with the well-known quatrain by Baba Tahir, the last bait of which is as follow:

بسازم خنجرے نوکش از فولاد
زنم بر دیده تا دل گردد آزاد

[I] shall make a dagger-Damascus steel edge.

[I] will strike it on my eyest to set my heart free

Reason, two outstanding features of a human being, seem to be the recurring, constant theme of Iqbal's poetry :

گفت اے دیوانہ ارباب عشق

جوئے گیر از شراب ناب عشق

سنگ شو آئینہ اندیشہ را

بر سر بازار بشکن شیشہ را

Said : "Oh, mad man who is in love,

Take a sip of pure wine of love.

Become a stone for the mirror of reasoning (fear),

[Take the courage] to break the glass in the sight of everybody !"

Setting off Love and Reason is the traditional theme of Persian lyrics in general, and of Rumi's poetry in particular.

This theme has been elaborated by Iqbal in his other works in Persian. For instance, in his book Payam-i-Mashriq (the Message of the East)', Zabur-i-Ajam (the Persian Psalms) and others, and the theme of the West emerges very often along with it. According to Iqbal the West is the embodiment of odd and immoral reason. But it is very important to keep in mind that Iqbal's Love does not have anything in common with gross sensuality. Love is the aspiration, creative activities and eternal pulsation of life, and it is as if because of the words of Rumi, the poet has achieved a second birth, revived his spirit and at last explains to the reader what "the secret of existence" is:

چوں نوا از تار خود برخواستم

جنتے از بہر گوش آراستم

بر گرفتہ پردہ از راز خودی

وا نمودم سرا عجاز خودی

Like a melody I went up from my strings,

Created paradise for the ears ;

I tore the veil from the secret of Khudi,

Showed the secret of the creation of Khudi.

The ecstatic affection for Rumi, the wisdom of his admonitions, gave a new birth to the poet. It is reflected even in his verses which are now devoid of the nervous impetuosity that was peculiar to them in the beginning :

بود نقش ہستیم انگارہ

نا قبولے ناکسے ناکارہ

عشق سو بان زد مرا آدم شدم

عالم کیف و کم عالم شدم

حرکت اعصاب گردون دیدہ ام

در رگ مہ گردش خون دیدہ ام

بهر انسان چشم من شبها گریست

تا دریدم پرده اسرار زیست

The drawing of my existence was a mere deaft,

Wretched, worthless, incomplete.

Love polished me, I have become a human being,

I have learned of the world in its qualities and quantities,

I have seen the movements of the nerves of the firmament,

I have seen the blood current in the veins of the moon.

Nights I spent bemoaning for Man

Until I tear the veils off the secret of existence.

"Introduction" ends with the explanations of the causes which made the poet change his mother tongue, Urdu, and turn to Persian. It must be mentioned that the Persian language was known to the educated Indian Muslims because it was a compulsory part of school education, along with Arabic.

ہندیم از پارسی بیگانه ام

ماہ نو باشم تہی پیمانہ ام

حسن انداز بیان از من مجو

خوانسار و اصفهان از من مجو

گرچه بندی در عذوبت شکر است

طرز گفتار دری شیرین تر است

فکر من از جلوه اش مسحور گشت

خامه من شاخ نخل طور گشت

پارسی از رفعت اندیشه ام

در کورد با فطرت اندیشه ام

I am an Indian, I am alien to the Persian language,

I am a new moon and my bowl is empty.

Don't look for the beauty of style from me.

Don't look for Khansar and Isfahan.

Although Hindi is as sweet as sugar,

The way of exposition in Persian is sweeter ;

My thought is bewitched with its brilliancy,

My pen has become a branch of the tree on Sinai mountain.

Persian, because of the high stream of my thoughts

Went very well with the essence of my thoughts.

This explanation, however, does not seem to be comprehensive. Of course, the sincerity of this explanation is beyond all doubts — "the way of exposition in Persian is sweeter". Farsi Dari is the language of the richest literature of the world. It is the language of Rumi — the favourite poet and spiritual preceptor. But there is also no doubt the desire to share the idea of the formation of personality with all the peoples of the near and middle East who at that time suffered the shocking consequences of the feudal servitude and the colonial domination of the Western powers in one way or another. Iqbal meant the countries where Persian was a literary language or the language of literary tradition (for example, in Turkey). It was however after a number of years that Iqbal's creative works were understood in Iran in this particular way.¹⁷

Having turned towards the Persian language, Iqbal continued the tradition of literature in Persian that had already existed in India. This literature had existed for many a century and had produced such masters of poetry as Amir Khosrow Dehlevi, Makhfi, Bedil who belong to the entire Persian-speaking world. Apparently, Iqbal happened to be its last brilliant representative.

The poetics of the classical literature in Persian and that of Indo-Persian literature greatly influenced Urdu poetry. Changing from one language to the other (it is a very frequent phenomenon of the literature in Urdu), the poet continues to remain in the world of habitual images, means of expression and style. Thus he is able not to change his creative manner.

Iqbal's works in Persian continue the traditions of both literatures (the classical Persian as well as the Indo-Persian) and it can be seen particularly in the assimilation of stylistic devices elaborated in those literatures. While using the formal means and devices accumulated by those literatures, Iqbal, however, inevitably finds himself under the influence of the features

¹⁷مجتبیٰ مینوی، اقبال لاهوری پارسی گوئے پاکستان، ۱۹۴۶۔

connected with their content. One can judge it even by the extract which is being analyzed here.

It is well-known that almost all the Persian and Indian poets who can be considered as most talented ones, paid a tribute of respect to Sufi mysticism. A great number of traditional settled images of poetry in Persian continue to live on in literature not only due to all the literary reminiscences connected with them, but due to the religious and mystic tradition which secured them.¹⁸

The broad range of vocabulary, for example, such words as *Ishq* (Love) *Mai* (Wine), *Saki* (Wine-Distributor or to be exact, a sort of a toast-master of regales, the life of the party); some images (for instance, the passion of the moth for the candle, the yearning of a drop for the ocean, etc.) had a more or less settled mystic interpretation.

The tangible mystic undercurrent of Iqbal's poetry in Persian is closely connected with this tradition. Some research workers taking this fact as the ground state that Iqbal was one of the greatest mystics of our time.¹⁹ In his later philosophical works and statements Iqbal resolutely rejected the mystic method of cognition but in his poetry the mystic undercurrent was almost always to be seen to more or less extent. The thing is most likely not merely because of the influence of the forms and tradition mentioned above but also due to the inner inclination of the poet towards poetic mysticism, due to the so called particular mood of the poet's soul.²⁰

¹⁸ On the religious and mystic tradition in the usage of the vocabulary, see Louis Massigon, *Essai sur les origenes technique de la mistique musulmane*, Paris, 1922.

¹⁹ Said Nafisi, "Mysticism in Iqbal's poetry," in *Iqbal Review*, Vol. I No. 1., April, 1960.

²⁰ "Was the philosophy of Iqbal merely a variety of mysticism and was he himself a mystic? By no means, if what is meant by "mystic" is a person who rejects the value of reason and the scientific data...Iqbal believes that some aspects of substance can be expressed only through the language of the poetic metaphor". See R. Whittemore, "Iqbal's Pantheism" in *Review of Metaphysics*. New Haven, 1956, Vol. 9, No. 4.

"Once Iqbal called himself a combination of contradictions. His natural inclination towards mysticism and his hostile attitude towards it (his words are obvious proof of it) are a good illustration for this combination. He inherited his mystic mood from his father and felt the

Any how, we meet in the "introduction" the image of Saki (Wine-Distributor), and his mystic. Wine of love. The poet is caught with the mystic ecstasy. (We have already mentioned that Iqbal's interpretation of this state differs from the interpretation of it in the spirit of Vahdat al-Vujud). And finally, one can see the strong influence of Sufi poetry on the images of Iqbal's poems. For example, we can meet very often the conception of the substance of a human being as a handful of dust, as a lump of clay, etc. And the poet likes this conception and tries to play it up.²¹ Hence we find in his works a great number of poetic and symbolic images, in complete accordance with the Sufi traditions clay-divine mystic potter — pitcher, vessel for wine. When the pitcher made out of a lump of clay, is filled with wine, the vessel finds the soul, a handful of dust becomes a human being who is now caught forever with the fire of dissatisfaction.

Therefore, when Rumi appears to our hero with the words of parting, he says to him:

فاش گو اسرار پیر مے فروش

موج می شو کسوت مینا پیوش

Reveal the secrets of the old wine-seller,

Become the wave of wine, let the vessel (become your) cloth.

The meaning of this metaphor is: Become a human being. There are some other images of Sufi lyrics in the "Introduction". It is significant that Iqbal is indifferent to the Sufi images which are being interpreted, as a rule, in the spirit of the pantheistic Sufism, but he does not change the habitual

subconscious bent for mysticism in his early years", points out Sheikh Abdul Qadir, a friend of the poet. See Sheikh Abdul Qadir, "The leer and mystic" in *The Pakistan Time*.. April, 21, 1950

²¹ In accordance with the mystic interpretation of the Quranic legend on the creation of men. See V.A Zhukovsky. *Man and the Cognition of the Persian Mystics*, St. Petersburg, 1895 (published in Russian).

link between Divine Beloved and Lover. In his works of the later period, particularly in Payam-i-Mashriq (The Message of the East), the habitual poetic images were transformed by the poet in accordance with his views on the man-God relationship. And mere mentioning of those images is enough to produce a whole series of particular associations of ideas. In his later works the poet stressed the initiative of Lover, though according to the tradition (by the way, it also relates to the early mystic tradition of Dhunnun), only the sign given by the Beloved can give courage to the Lover.

According to Iqbal the dew itself flies to the Sun in a state of "blissful oblivion" without waiting for its call. The moth hovers round the candle to burn a new light in its own soul, the drop in the ocean is proud of its destiny to become a pearl. It does not accept this destiny as an award for its own insignificance if it is compared with the ocean. (Compare Saadi's Bustan, chapter 4, parable on "A drop and the ocean") Those images have not been yet changed and are used in accordance with the tradition. But in this work, it is interesting to note, the image of the atom has already been elaborated — the image of the insignificant, of a speck of dust which is attracted by the Sun-Lover. In the beginning there is some sort of acquaintance with the exposition of the image: the poet speaks about himself as if he is a tiny speck of light, an atom which can bear hundreds of downs.

ذره ام مهتر منیر آن من است

صد سحر اندر گریبان من است

I am an atom, I am related to the Sun,

Hundreds of dawns are hidden inside me.

While reading Rumi, the poet again begins to feel the power of attraction for the Sun-Love. A tiny mute speck of dust feels a fresh surge of energy and is ready to undertake a journey:

ذره از خاک بیا بان رخت بست

تا شعاع آفتاب آرد بدست

The atom has bid farewell to the dust of deserts,

In order to obtain the brilliance of the Sun.

There the purpose of the journey of a speck of dust is very significant. There is not a striving for the return to the beginning of all beginnings and to its origin (neoPlatonism, pantheistic Sufism) but it is an attempt to obtain the features of the Sun-Ideal.

Almost at the very end of the Introduction we again meet theme of the atom. But this time it is like a mass scene completing the theme of the formation of the poet-prophet who had passed through the state of ecstasy of the mystic love:

ذره کشت و آفتاب انبار کرد

خرمن از صد رومی و عطار کرد

Have sown an atom, have filled the granary with the Sun.

Out of hundreds of Rumis and Attars have built havest.

Undoubtedly, such apotheosis of Atom (ذره) is the apotheosis of personality which managed to utilize its abilities.

There is one more theme in the Introduction which is not directly connected with the one being analysed above. It is the theme of music. Almost twenty verses of the Introduction out of one hundred are connected with musical images. The lines about music intersperse the Introduction

without visible system and they are born by the sensation of the contrast between the deaf silence of the night and inner alarm tearing at the heart of the poet. And the poet seems "to listen" better than "to see" in this deaf silence of the night — that is why he is so sensitive to the sounding of the night. The frequent usage by him of the musical and "acoustic" terms, images, comparisons creates the additional effect — the night comes to life, and sounds in various voices for the reader. The images of music, the creation of musical associations grow into the music of the verses themselves. Even the silence turns into something material, a sort of "anti-sound":

خامشی از یاریم آباد بود

The silence of the night filled with my groanings,

In spite of visibly unsystematic nature of musical, or as we have called them, "acoustic" images, they play their specific organizing part in the introduction. They permeate the entire text like gigantic Tanasub (the name of method to put in a verse in one row the words with conjugated semantics'.

In *The Secrets of the Self* and in its lyric, the Introduction in particular, the poet displayed an outstanding command of writing technique in the Persian language. His Persian sounds graceful and natural. The Introduction creates great interest, for many features of Iqbal's lyrics in Persian had been based on it. Those features were developed later on in his lyric collections: *The Message of the East*, *The Persian Psalms* and *The Gift of Hejez*.

The literary merits of Iqbal's poetry in Persian create no doubts and have been recognized not only by his country-men but by the entire Persian speaking world and by the admirers of Iqbal's poetry in other countries.

N. T. PRIGARINA

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IQBAL EXHIBITION WELCOME ADDRESS

On the occasion of Iqbal Day at Karachi on April 16, 1966 an exhibition of Iqbal Material was also arranged. It was inaugurated by H.E. Mr Hoshang Ansari, Ambassador of the Royal Iranian Embassy in Karachi. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, Managing Director, National Bank of Pakistan and Chairman, Iqbal Day Organising Committee, delivered the following speech of welcome.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my privilege and 'pleasure to welcome you all to this Iqbal Exhibition. I am particularly happy that it has been possible for His Excellency the Imperial Iranian Ambassador to be with us this afternoon to inaugurate the exhibition. Iran and Pakistan have been close to each other over the centuries. Our political relationship, is inherent in the physical contiguity of our two countries, apart from the fact that towards the close of the sixth century B.C. Sind and the Eastern Punjab were a part of the Achaemenid empire. This, as the Greek historian Herodotus tells us, was the twentieth satrapy, and had its capital at Taxi'a. The cultural affinity, which is always deeper and more lasting than political connections, has been particularly prominent since the Middle Ages when Persian became the court language of Muslim rule in this Sub-continent, and men of such eminence as Masood Saad Salman, Amir Khusro, Ziauddin Burney, Abdur Rahim Khankhanan, Faizee, Abul Fazl, Abdul Qadir Bedil and Asadullah Khan Ghalib rose among us. There were also the Persian poets and scholars, large in number, who were attracted by the munificent patronage of the Muslim rulers of this Sub-continent, and spent the best part of their lives with us. We had men like Urfi of Shiraz, Naziri of Naishapur, Talib of Amul, Kalim of Kashan, Mir Zahid of Herat and others. Persian became such a vital part of our literary tradition and our cultural heritage that the educated classes used it not only in their official dealings but also in their private correspondence.

Thousands of books on literary, academic and scientific subjects were written in Persian. The role of the language in the cultural life of the Sub-continent is illustrated particularly in the works of Ghalib and Iqbal. Ghalib, who is one of the greatest poets of the Urdu language, a language which itself represents a blend of Persian and Sanskrit, gave preference to his Persian poetry over his Urdu Diwan :

پارسی بین تابہ بینی نقش ہائے رنگ رنگ

بگذر از مجموعہ اردو کہ بی رنگ من است

If you want images of variegated hue,

See my Persian poems .

And leave aside my Urdu work,

For that is lacking in colour.

With the advent of British rule the English language rose to prominence, and Persian language and literature gradually lost favour. There were a few scholars and poets who adhered to the old tradition, but it was not till Mohammad Iqbal turned to Persian that we were able to re-establish our spiritual and cultural links with Iran, and, indeed, with the rest of the Muslim world. Iqbal started as a poet of Urdu, and is, like Ghalib, one of the greatest names in Urdu poetry, but when he developed his world-view and felt that he had a message to deliver, he decided to use Persian as his vehicle of communication. His message was intended not only for the Muslim world but for the human race as a whole. It was his feeling, however, that of all the languages he knew he could express himself best in Persian :

گرچہ ہندی در عذوبت شکر است

طرز گفار دری شیرین تر است

فکر من از جلوه اش مسحور گشت

خامه من شاخ نخل طور گشت

پارسی از رفعت اندیشه ام

در خورد با فطرت اندیشه ام

Although the language of Hind is sweet as sugar,

Yet sweeter is the fashion of Persian speech;

My mind was enchanted by its loveliness,

My pen became as a twig of the Burning Bush.

Because of the loftiness of my thoughts,

Persian alone is suitable to them.

In another verse Iqbal has summed up the importance of Iran in the whole complexion of his thought:

تنم گلے ز خیابان جنت کشمیر

دل از حریم حجاز و نواز شیرازست

My body is a rose from the earthly Paradise of Kashmir,

My heart belongs to the Holy Land of the Hijaz, and my song is from Shiraz.

It may be recalled that Iqbal's thesis for his Doctorate from the Munich University concerned the 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia'. He was proud of the fact that, though a Brahmin by extraction, he knew the great teachings of Rumi and Shams Tabriz:

مرا بنگر در ہندوستان دیگر نمی بینی

برہمن زادہ رمز آشنائے روم و تبریز است

Mark me, for there is none besides in Hindustan,

Who, though a Brahmin's son, is familiar with the mysteries of Rumi and Tabriz.

As regards Iran, his feelings can best be expressed in his own words:

چوں چراغ لاله سوزم در خیابان شما

اے جوانان عجم جان من و جان شما

I burn like the lamp of the tulip in your garden;

My life is yours, O brave men of Iran.

If Iqbal loved Iran, Iran has shown no lack of affection for Iqbal. One of the warmest tributes ever paid to him came from that Prince of Poets, the late Malik-ush-Shuara Bahar, who wrote in 1942 :

عصر حاضر خاصہ اقبال گشت

واحدے کز صد ہزاراں بر گزشت

شاعران گشتند جیشے تارومار

وین بہادر کرد کار صد سوار

The modern age has become the age of Iqbal,

He is one who has surpassed thousands of others.

When poets were like a beaten and disorganised band,

This mighty warrior, single-handed, did the work of a hundred men.

This was long before the establishment of Pakistan. Since Independence, Iqbal has become still better known in Iran. The late Sadiq Sarmad said of him:

اگرچه مرد بمیرد ز گردش مه و سال

نمرده است و نمیرد محمد اقبال

Although men are destined to die in the course of months and years,

Muhammad Iqbal has not died, and shall never die.

This is only an example of the tributes that present day Iran has paid to Iqbal. Recently, a complete collection of his Persian works has been published in Tehran.

This is a subject to which one cannot do justice in a short time, but I have taken the liberty to refer to it in order to tell Your Excellency how

very pleased and honoured we feel that you, the Ambassador of Iran in Pakistan, should inaugurate an exhibition of Iqbal.

So far as I know, this is the fourth Iqbal exhibition ever held. The first exhibition, I am informed, was held in Hyderabad Deccan in 1946. The second was held in Karachi, after Independence, which was opened by Her Highness the Begum of Janjira here in Frere Hall in the very place where it is being held today. A third and much smaller one was arranged privately, again in this very place, on the occasion of the visit to Pakistan of Mr. Jarring, who had come to this country as a representative of the Security Council. This is the fourth exhibition. As you will see, we have tried, on this occasion, to assemble Iqbal's autographs, letters and other writings, in original, together with a number of rare books, photographs and paintings. There are also first editions of most of his books and a number of important publications dealing with his life and work. The object of a collection such as this is to bring Iqbal closer to us and to enable those who did not or could not know him personally to see him in his original work. It would be possible to assemble a much bigger collection, but the sponsors of the present exhibition have aimed at a representative though not a comprehensive collection.

May I be allowed to mention that there is also a stall in this exhibition at which books by Iqbal and on him are on sale to the public.

Before I close, I would like to extend our heartiest welcome to all our guests, particularly those who have taken the trouble to come to Karachi specially for this occasion.

We are proud to have Ali Bakhsh with us today. This is the man who served Iqbal for a life time, and has been serving him even after his death. In spite of his ninety years, he has done us the honour of travelling to Karachi for this Iqbal Day function. We cannot forget his kindness. May he live long!

We have also with us here such eminent scholars as Allama Arshi, Syed Nazir Niazi, Dr. Abdullah Chaghtai, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, and

Sayyid Abid Ali Abid, all of whom knew Iqbal and can speak about him with authority.

In the end, may I express our gratitude to Your Excellency once again and request you to do us the honour of inaugurating the Iqbal Exhibition.

Mumtaz Hassan

ALCHEMY AND ITS CHINESE ORIGIN AS REVEALED BY ITS ETYMOLOGY, DOCTRINES AND SYMBOLS

THE Problem. A critical survey of the literature on the history of alchemy reveals that a recurring problem has been facing the authors in different forms. It is the origin of the name, alchemy, which, in some way, should connote the science it represents. In other words there is the question, what was alchemy to begin with, and where did it originate. Reviewing past achievements on the subject, Hopkins (1; p. V.) concluded _that, "the fundamental work of fact finding has been so difficult and time consuming that no real history of alchemy has yet been written. " This was said as late as 1934. Until then it was accepted that alchemy began merely as a craft invented by some Alexandrian Egyptians, other than the Greeks. Hopkins comments that, "in the beginning alchemy was far from being philosophical. It was just an ordinary art like that of the carpenter or blacksmith. It was on this primitive side of its character that it was derived from Egypt. " He thus confirmed the accepted origin of alchemy, to which he added another, a far more important, thereby deserving no little credit. The other element, according to Hopkins, was Greek philosophy, and he attached so much importance to it that, he named his book, " Alchemy, child of Greek philosophy. " He (1 ; p. 2) states that, " *alchemy is a form of philosophy applied to technique,*" which is certainly an impressive statement. Further, he (on p. 2) writes that, " the theories of alchemy consisted of notions inherited from a diluted form of philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. the ideas woven into a working hypothesis explained the marvels achieved by the artisans." Finding alchemy to have been painted without any make-up of philosophy, Hopkins offered, in 1934, a *new picture*, as he claimed it to be later on (2; 424). Instead of finding much support his theory, on the contrary, excited controversy in which Davis (2) tried to trace the origin of alchemy to China. Whatever light Hopkins might have thrown on the subject, when Taylor (3; 16) came to reveal the situation, he had to confess that, " *it may at once be said that alchemy still remains an unsolved problem .*" This amounts to admitting, in 1951, the same what Hopkins found in 1934. It might be stated at the very

beginning that, both Hopkins and Davis are partly right and a compromise between their views leads to the correct origin of alchemy.

Now every author, who has written on the history of alchemy, found the genesis of its name so important as to have devoted the very first pages to its elucidation. On the contrary, Hopkins (1) treats it in a most cursory manner, disposing it of in a few lines, on p. 94 and Taylor (3) even surpasses him by dispensing with the controversial problem altogether. The omission was so obvious that Wilson (4), when he came to review Taylor's book, could not but critically notice it and supply what was badly missing. Further no one has ventured to explain how, according to all standard works of reference, alchemy is both, the art of gold making, as also that of acquiring immortality. That two such virtues should pertain to the same art does strike as something strange. To keep such vital questions open is indeed to confess that, alchemy still remains an unsolved problem.

2. Immortality, the objective of herbalism. Primitive society had to face hard life from limited availability of foodstuffs. The aged males were felt as burden on bread winners and were inclemently handled. In India, and perhaps elsewhere also, they had to retire as solitary denizens of a forest. But the human mind, reluctant to resign to death, made these ascetics live on dreams of rejuvenation or on hopes of returning to the good old days of happy youth. The desire for rejuvenation then tried to set the clock of life back by three or four decades so that the dreamer could believe in an ever recurring youth, nothing short of immortality. These two concepts are really one for, what we know is rejuvenation and what we imagine is immortality.

The use of fresh herbs had been the system of medicine at the time. It was also the age of Animism according to which even plants have a soul or life-essence, such that it can be donated to a human being to increase his life span. Belief in such herbs existed all over the world. In Greece it was Ambrosia; in Iran and India, Homa or Soma; and in China, a mushroom called Chih. Now just as blood transfusion can prolong life, but has to be repeated, so was the case with a juice like Soma. A potion of Soma merely added so many units of life-essence to the stock of receiver's life and had therefore to be taken at regular intervals. It will be seen that, the use of Soma

was supported by the philosophy of Animism which maintained that herbs have souls and these are transferable.

3. Alchemy plans the synthesis of a single dose drug of immortality : The obvious dependence of immortality on Soma makes the latter no drug of immortality. What was required was a single dose of medicine conferring immortality for ever. The Chinese herbalists first began to inquire into the limitations of a juice like Soma. Now they believed not only in Animism but more so in Dualism. This could explain why no herbal extract could be the ideal drug of immortality. Animism originated by extending the constitution of man as established at first. Since Life = Body + soul (as a whole), a plant and a mineral all came to possess body and soul. Later on it was established that, man owes his birth directly to a father and mother and thus has a dual origin. The same constitution was now applied to each and every thing in the universe, creating a principle of Masculinity, called Yang (light) in Chinese, and that of Femininity, Yin (darkness). This was true even of the soul, as a whole, which became dual natured, with a male-soul and a female-soul. The male-soul is called Ruh in Arabic, and is translated as Spirit; the female-soul Nafas or Soul-specific. To avoid confusion soul as a whole is written here with a small "s", but Soul specific, or Nafas, with a capital "S". Nafas imparts form and individuality while Ruh longevity. The Sanskrit word for Nafas, as a soul, is Atma, and it is also used to express individuality. Nafas is qualitatively different from species to species, and Ruh quantitatively different from individual to individual. Illustrations will explain the difference between Soul specific and Spirit. A perennial plant, like Ephedra, the Soma herb of the Aryans, would have a poor Nafas, being a delicate plant; but its Ruh would be powerful since it is perennial. The same would be the case with a crippled old man. That he is already superannuated speaks in favour of his having a strong life-prolonging element or Ruh, but being infirm his Nafas must be poor. If we go now to the mineral world and consider copper, for example, its solidity leaves us in no doubt that its Nafas is strong. But it is liable to rust which is the expression of a poor Ruh. We thus realize that plants are strong in spirit and metals strong in Soul. But if Soma is calcined with copper, heat will drive away the weak elements first; the weak herbal Nafas and the weak metallic Ruh will disappear at once. After such a partial vacuum the strong Herbal Spirit will unite with the powerful Metallic-Soul. On the contrary, dropping Soma on copper, in the cold, would have no effect, as the metallic

Spirit has been evacuated to be replaced by that of Soma. The spirit of Soma should not merely mix but combine with the Soul of copper. The constitution of calcined Soma-copper complex would then reveal a well balanced pair of Ruh-Nafas, where both are strong enough to 'form an inseparable union, not a mixture. Just as the union of Adam/Eve means the creation of the immortal human race, the union of Ruh/Nafas in Soma/copper complex means the creation of a hermaphrodite or a bisexual soul which can alone continue to increase in totality. Once the soul acquires generative powers it can also make its vehicle immortal. Since here copper is the vehicle this becomes an everlasting metal which is gold. If man takes the Soma-copper complex, as drug, he becomes immortal. The objectives of alchemy, of making gold and imparting longevity, are clearly seen as the resultants of the same preparation, Lest the fact may escape notice it must be pointed out that synthetic gold is a live metal, or a metal with life and fertility. If man was created out of "dust", synthetic gold was "created" out of copper. Synthetic gold is a kind of ferment; if seeded into mercury or any amalgam it converts the latter again into gold. This is because the life-essence here is self reproductive. In Soma the soul was mainly "male" or Ruh; in synthetic gold it is bisexual capable of self-generation. This explains how Soma had to be consumed from time to time, while the Soma copper complex would suffice being taken only once. Nevertheless it does bring into prominence the importance of Soma, which, so to say, gives life to copper. Moreover, of the two, synthesizing gold and making man immortal, the former gives the immediate and more spectacular result, hence the juice was called the gold making juice. In fact, while gold was really everlasting and resistant even to fire, the immortal man could not stand such an ordeal. Thus the more appropriate name for the juice was not the immortalizing-juice but instead the gold-making-juice. This term in Southern China is called Kim-Iya. It became a loan word in Arabic as Ki-Miya. With the addition of "Al", as the definite article, it resulted as Al-kimiya, modified in Europe into alchemy. We see, by now, how Davis was right in tracing the origin of alchemy to China, and Hopkins in looking upon it as a philosophy applied to technique. This philosophy, however, was Animism and Dualism, also found in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, but far more so in those of China.

4. Alchemy, an offshoot of Herbalism : What, however, could not be confirmed was the much older theory that, alchemy, in the beginning, was

the craft of gilding bronze statues (4), allied to gold-smithy. It was, on the contrary, the invention of ascetics trying to doctor themselves and fighting infirmity in the face of advancing age. The *objective before alchemy was longevity, and according to technique, it was pharmaceutical chemistry of its age*. The only active principle it recognized was Spirit or Ruh, and herbs as living entities were conceived as donors of the life-prolonging agent. Thus early alchemy depended upon herbs for the active principle alchemy had to deal with which was Ruh. Trismosin (5 ; 29), a famous alchemist of middle ages, writes that, "the herb, Berissa, if put into mercury changes it into perfect silver." From Gildemeister (6 ; 535) we learn again that, Kotschy, during his travels in Cyprus, sometime before 1862, met the Turkish "Pasha of Nicosia, who spoke eloquently over flowers and at times over *Kimiya, a plant*, having the property of transforming metals into gold." just as Soma really means a juice but is also a plant, so is Kimiya, a juice, and in the above case, again its herb. It may be noted that Firdousi, uses Kimiya, as the herb of immortality. This is because ontainers, being the more obvious, are often made to represent their contents. Herbs contained the juice and the juice contained the Spirit or the male-soul. Thus we find independently of each other that, the herb or its juice confers immortality and the same also transforms a base metal into a noble one.

5. Kimiya equated with Rasayana, both being substances : The etymology of alchemy having been much debated it is most desirable that an independent confirmation be offered to settle this controversy. We have seen that Kimiya is fresh plant-juice and not a decoction. It should be untouched by heat to preserve its Spirit. The Sanskrit name of alchemy is Rasayana. (Sir) P. C. Ray (7) explains its etymology as being compounded by the words Rasa, signifying Mercury and Ayana, the Way. The Way to Mercury, according to him, would be a science. Now just as in Arabic Kimiya is *first a substance and then a science*, so is Rasayana in Hindu medicine, a mercurial, as also the science of alchemy. Concrete notions do undergo abstraction which explains how the name of a substance was transferred to the science pertaining to that substance. *Rasa, in Sanskrit, means Juice* in the first instance, Mercury is its secondary meaning. Rasa, therefore, is identical with the Chinese word, Iya, of the term Kim-Iya. Ayana means Path, but also Abode, which here would be paraphrased as the container. Thus Rasa-Ayana can be correctly rendered as Juice-Container. Rasa, the juice, can

itself be subjected to abstraction, when it would signify the active principle of the juice, which was Spirit or Ruh. Rasa would then mean a volatile principle, the Spirit in the juice, and as such would again require some abode like its herb previously. Rasa-Ayana, by the secondary meaning of Rasa, as Spirit, would accordingly connote, *the abode of life-essence*. Thus Rasa-Ayana can be correctly translated as Juice-incorporate, and paraphrased as Spirit-incorporate, the conferrer of longevity. Kimiya, the gold making Juice, is the designation of a substance as the initial product; Rasayana, the Juice incorporate, is its name as the final product. Kimiya is a drug of immortality, so is Rasayana, each a vehicle of the life prolonging Spirit ; both are substances, in fact drugs.

6. Alchemy imitates creation : Creation can signify the creation of matter itself, but more often it means creation of life, equated with the phenomenon of animation. This is popularly known by the origin of man from "dust". The philosophy of Animism assumes the transference of soul from a donor to another as its recipient. When applied to alchemy it can signify the soul of Soma entering the body of copper. Now there is also another property of life, which is fertility, the power to reproduce its kind which makes the species immortal, an important consideration for the alchemist. Dualism generalizes this virtue. Just as the human race became immortal on Adam and Eve coming together on the face of the world, any well balanced pair of opposites should be capable of generating some kind of totality. Even the soul, with its male and female elements, can go on increasing when it is called the Cosmic soul. All that is required is to find a suitable pair of opposites and bring them into union. Among some such pairs are the following : Man/ Woman, Yang/Yin, Spirit/Soul, Sulphur/Mercury, Sun/Moon and Heaven/Earth. Particularly the last seems to have been universally recognized as the Creator-Benefactor. One of the early Upanishads, Brahadaranyaka (vi. 2.2) speaks of the creator as, "Father sky and Mother earth". This is because there has been dualism even in India but nothing compared to that of China. No wonder then that Dore (8 ; Vol. V, p. observes that, "at present Heaven and Earth (in China) are worshipped instead of the creator." He forgets that, according to Dualism, the Creator=Heaven+Earth. We have learnt that in the synthesis of ferment-gold, by far the more important factor was the juice, the donor of Yang-element. Likewise in the constitution of the creator the more potent element is Heaven. Thus while the orthodox adherents of Dualism worship

Heaven+Earth together, as their creator, others, not so dominated by it, equate Creator=Heaven. Accordingly we do use the term, "Heaven knows", as a perfect synonym of "God knows". Dore (8 ; Vol. V, p. 512) proceeds to explain that, "in the Book of Changes, Yin-king, (it is found that), when Heaven and Earth exert their influences all things are transformed and vivified." And to vivify is to transform something dead into something living, to create. If synthesis is the result of a substance interacting with another substance, creation means a substance reacting with a soul. The soul can be donated, as by Soma or by the herbo-metallic complex, or created *de novo*, by a pair of Yang/ Yin functioning as its co-generators. As bachelor and maiden the pair remained non-productive but as husband/wife they can generate a soul. However *the soul, their issue, can be absorbed back and permeating their bodies transform them into unity which becomes a self-generative hermaphrodite*. Whereas formerly each partner was dependent upon the other for generating their kind, the hermaphrodite is bisexual by constitution and thereby self-reproductive. Moreover while the two progenitors were mortal, with the body and soul easily separable, their issue, or the two now as one hermaphrodite, represents unity, both of the soul and of its vehicle, the body. The body is obviously one for it cannot be cut into a male half and a female half, and so is the soul. Later on fig. 12 is constructed on the same plan and a word may be dropped here in advance. All this is of course allegory. Interpreting it in alchemical terms the pair of progenitors were sulphur and mercury, which in vermilion, are separable, but give rise to gold, when the resultant is unity, and a living entity. This should not be very surprising for, according to animism, all metals are living things but it was dualism which, when applied, further made a metal self-reproductive, so that ferment-gold became capable of increasing its totality. Vermilion, with sulphur, and its opposite, mercury, represent a loose mixture, but gold, as a hermaphrodite, is a bisexual unity, where sulphur and mercury cannot be separated. Thus to make gold is to induce a pair of opposites as Yang/Yin *to generate a soul which, in turn, would transform or fuse them into one*. Such an idea does exist in mysticism and to apply it to alchemy means, in the words of Hopkins that, "alchemy is a form of philosophy applied to technique."

In order to plan his technique the alchemist tried to study nature's methods of creation and obtain a clue. The phenomenon of spontaneous

generation seemed most promising. Mushrooms are known to grow overnight for which the clarification offered had been that, some Yang matter accidentally comes into contact with plant-debris, as its Yin, and thereby life-essence is generated. This now forms a trinity with its two progenitors and transforms them into mushrooms. The soul, then is the creative or the transforming agent, for here to transform is to create. On the same model it has even assumed as experimentally possible to mix some curd with cowdung when the life essence created would give rise to scorpions. If all this be correct, chemical gold, with the simple life of a ferment, more latent than obvious, should be easier to produce than generating vivacious scorpions. It must be evident that alchemy tries to imitate creation. Dante, among others, fully realized this, but modern literature on alchemy never mentions that, the alchemist looked upon ordinary gold as fossil gold and his own as animated copper, or live-gold.

7. Dualism selects the progenitors of alchemical gold : In the making of gold a herb like Soma was required. All plants even of the same species do not have the same quantum of life-essence. This makes selection so difficult that the proper material is to be considered nonexistent. To overcome this difficulty the alchemist exploited dualism and tried to generate the soul *de novo*. by inducing procreation, as already mentioned. What the synthesis of gold now required was the choice of the right pair of progenitors : What should be the Yang/Yin which can most easily produce gold ?

Now blood has been conceived as life and redness equated with life essence. The one substance, above all, which approaches blood in this respect is cinnabar or vermilion. Its components are sulphur and mercury. As vermilion they represent a mixture being easily separable into its elements. What remains to be done is to induce them to fuse into unity. Death means separation of parts, of body and soul, while if the constitution is homogeneous there is no part to remove and hence the substance is immune to "death" and becomes everlasting. Mercuric sulphide therefore needs an active or ever increasing soul to impart unity which then makes it the permanent substance, gold. In effect it means that a soul has to be generated by sulphur and mercury as male and female respectively. The soul

would then transform them into a hermaphrodite as gold and also occupy it, making it a live-metal.

8. Conditions for creating the soul by procreation : If animism has considered sulphur and mercury as substances to be living entities, dualism further makes them procreative as husband and wife when a quantum of life-essence results as their issue. But before they got "married" they had been bachelor and maiden and as such need being awakened with an urge to function as marriage partners. This means to the alchemist that, the progenitors of gold must be activated or brought to a nascent state when they become reactive and thus tend to unite as one. When Yang/Yin can generate a soul this alone can unite the two and enter into their joint-body. There are, however, other stages preceding the final one and the alchemist has expressed them in allegorical pictures. The first stage is visualized as husband and wife completely undressed, preparatory to procreation. The next stage depicts diem actually enjoying the nuptial bed. The third or last stage shows the two as the hermaphrodite when the generated soul has fused the two into one. In the absence of such an explanation the illustrations, reproduced from medieval writers, who were actively engaged in alchemical experiments, has had a mere decorative value.

9. Reproduction and its earliest resultant : Going deeper into the origin of life, that of the individual himself is traceable not to a pair of progenitors as male/female but to sperm/ovum or rather to them as a fertilized egg. This really is the first result of their union. When male/ female have been sublimated into Yang/Yin, their egg, correspondingly, has been looked upon as the Cosmic egg, the Sanskrit name for it being Brahma-Anda, which becomes the source of existence. Besides the married couple and the hermaphrodite, Cosmic egg is the third important object to be depicted in alchemical literature. We all know that to boil an egg is to destroy the life germ. In other words the transformation of latent into active life is dependant on time and temperature as critical factors. The alchemist tried to observe them also in his experiments. I have myself been witness to an 80 year old alchemist lying on his death bed and watching his mixture being brooded by the gentle heat of a kerosine lamp, kept burning night and day for weeks, until he died to terminate his last unsuccessful experiment.

10. A cult of immortality based on procreation: Soul is the agency that animates and confers immortality or longevity. Overlooking the quantitative aspect we can state that :

Procreation = Creation = Longevity

There have been people who believed :

Procreation = longevity

and others that :

Procreation= Immortality

Both these beliefs can be independently shown to have been current in the past. In China and in India there have been cults of longevity founded on the theory that *life-essence can be generated by erotic exercises and at the same time be assimilated by the body to prolong life*. A similar cult exists when, by breathing exercises and holding the breath as long as possible, the Yang content of the atmosphere can be acquired by the body to prolong life. Here the life essence is found dispersed in the atmosphere, ready to be assimilated. Reverting to the previous case it may be stated that, some old people, in their dotage, do become husbands of young wives and temporarily enjoy the feeling of rejuvenation which theoretically is but a phase of immortality. It must, however, be recorded that even in the past medical authorities have condemned such unions. Nevertheless the fact remains that heretic cults did thrive exploiting sexual intercourse as a means of prolonging life. As a by-product of the belief that procreation can generate life-essence there has arisen in India an erotic temple art. This, however, is highly restricted and never tolerated in any Hindu household. If dualism is carried to its logical conclusion, procreation can be equated with the birth of a life essence. We shall presently see that the soul generated by procreation has been actually conceived as inducing resurrection.

11. Immortality via resurrection : It has been explained that Adam represented a new soul in a new body, and the two elements, being merely

mixed, he or man remained mortal. But when the old soul returns to its old body, as it happened with Jesus, body/soul fuse into one, due to the force of the soul anxious to return to its body. Being one by constitution nothing can now separate the two and resurrection leads to immortality. Thus to acquire immortality is to revive the dead which thus requires a living person to taste death if he aspires to become immortal. Even this theory has been carried out into practice and al-chemists have lost their lives at their own hands fully convinced that they would revive before the body decomposes and remain immortal ever after. Among those who have unwittingly committed suicide have been two Emperors of China, a land which further shows the highest record of such cases indirectly proving China to be the birth place of alchemy. Thus alchemy became not merely the art of acquiring immortality, but also that of inducing resurrection, for there was no other way to immortality. Likewise before copper could be changed into gold it had to be heated or "killed" and only then could it be revived by a Spirit donated by a juice like Kimiya. Whereas immortality means post-mortem life, longevity does not require premature death, and alchemists accordingly have changed their objective, from immortality to longevity.

12. Resurrection via procreation : If creation is animation resurrection is re-animation. In the former case soul enters the body for the first time, in the latter it re-enters for the second time. Both creation and resurrection depend upon the soul. When the Yang Spirit of the dead cannot be recalled it has to be generated de novo, it being remembered that Soul specific is always retained otherwise the individuality is lost. One way of generating Spirit is by procreation. A little insight into the phenomenon of resurrection is necessary for further discussion. The soul is dual natured. At death the male-soul flies upto Heaven while the female-soul lingers round the grave and may even inhabit the tombstone. The Ruh or Spirit on returning can contact the Nafas or Soul specific and the two, as the whole soul, can re-enter the dead body and revive it. Primitive people invented many ways of recalling the soul which to them meant recalling the reviving agency. Later on they realized that it is less difficult to generate the Spirit than to recall what is flown away and the easiest method of doing it appeared to be by way of procreation. Spirit being the agent that could not only induce resurrection but also creation it has been worshipped in every form. Sun worship was justified on the ground that it is the fountain head of Yang

energy. Heaven or the sky is the equivalent of the Sun. Next come agencies that produce Spirit via procreation as already mentioned. Deities and emblems representing fertility have also been worshipped on that account. Fertility is synonymous with procreation which is the generator of the male-soul or life essence. The Spirit generated by procreation can thus also revive the dead. A case is being cited where the author has analysed the phenomenon of resurrection tracing it to procreation. Mrs. Strong (9;122) points to a Roman "grave stele as being subjected to an anthropomorphizing process since the soul is conceived as resident within it. The stone, may by an essay transition, be made to assume the visible form of the inhabitant of the tomb. A curious figure in Berlin from Sardis presents the double process (of resurrection and procreation). On the one side of the sepulchral stone is transformed into the image of the man (whose body has been revived) and on the other the organs of generation (as producers of life-essence) are indicated." Briefly the man is resurrection personified and the generative organs, the life-essence, the former as effect, the latter as cause.

13. Emblems of Yang/Yin as cogenerators of life-essence : The first evidence to support Chinese origin of alchemy is the etymology of the term Kimiya. Next come the doctrines, and thirdly the symbols of Yang and Yin which have persisted as relics in alchemical literature. We are now to study some symbols. Cheng (10) reproduced scenes engraved from a Chinese grave of the Hen period, some time earlier than 300 A.D. One illustration is offered as fig. 1 here. The picture depicts procreation and the agents partaking are terrestrial deities in charge of the dead. Terrestrial deities are seen pairing like typical serpents in order to generate the life-essence required for reviving the dead. The male deity is to our right. He is holding an angular or "L" shaped mason's or carpenter's square. This instrument is meant for drawing a square which is the emblem of feminality. If the product, the figure of a square, is female, the instrument or the mason's square, as its producer, is also female. The male deity is holding a female symbol, not for himself, since he is offering the same to a recipient who is a female deity and its permanent owner. The female deity, to our left, is seen with a cross-like Chinese compass, an instrument meant for inscribing a circle, which is a symbol of masculinity. The compass as the producer of a circle automatically becomes a Yang symbol. The compass is a misfit in the

hands of a female deity, who is however seen handing it over to a recipient not present in the scene, but can only be a male deity. The two symbols, compass and the square, as Yang/Yin, are cogenerators of life-essence, by virtue of their reproductive activity. On account of the importance of Yang and Yin their substitutes, circle and the square, derive their own value and in turn their producers, the Compass and the Square, all becoming creators in pair. On this account fig. 2 has been offered, being part of fig. 1 further enlarged, showing the Compass and the Square properly. It should be recorded further that Freemasonry has also adopted them as their emblem and fused one into the other as a symbol depicting male/female, in their dynamic phase, as generators of life-essence. That alchemy should also retain the same symbols permits one to see a common objective among Freemasonry, alchemy and Chinese mysticism.

14. Symbolism equating procreation with generation of life-essence : A pair of serpents in their reproductive pose are seen again in fig. 3. This comes from an Arabic manuscript of the 12th Century reproduced by Thompson (11). Muslims are not expected to treat serpents with any respect, which the heathens do, yet as a genuine alchemist, the writer had to resort to a compromise which resulted in his stylizing the serpents to appear as such only on careful observation. Fig. 3 depicts the serpents pairing exactly as they do in fig. 1. If we remember two important concepts, form and function, form here depicts deities or immortals, as male/female serpents; but their function represents reproduction and this activity ultimately means creation of life-essence. Fig. 1 belongs to a grave so that the life essence was needed for reviving the dead. According to fig. 3 the life essence created would animate "dead" copper as live-gold.

15. Equivalentents of Yang and Yin : It must be quite clear by now that Yang/Yin together are the generators of life essence, the element that imparts life as also that induces resurrection. One such pair is Sulphur/Mercury which the alchemist found most convenient for his purpose. Circle and the geometrical figure of Square is another, correspondingly their instruments, the Compass and the Mason's Square. There is another pair worth mentioning. A triangle with its apex on the top represents Yang, while a triangle with its apex downwards incorporates the female principle, Yin. If they are intertwined into a six cornered figure they represent Yang/Yin in their dynamic phase, epuivalent to fig. 3, with the two

serpents pairing. The same is the case with Compass and Square fused into a unit by itself. An intertwined pair of triangles is called Solomon's seal and is a favourite symbol of Freemasonry but next only to Compass and Square likewise intertwined. Thus it is best to realize that the pairs given below are few among many others considered to be generators of life essence and all are autonomous in the exercise of creative powers. The following equations serve as an index to what comes later on :

Yang+Yin=Creator=Life-essence

Compass-+Mason'ssquare=Creator
Intwined triangles = Creator

Sun +Moon=Creator

16. — A test symbol interpreting alchemy : Translators regularly experience difficulty in finding equivalent terms for transporting an idea from one language into another. Often what should be exact turns out to be merely approximate. To minimise such a difference is to enjoy the self-confidence that the original text has been properly rendered. The same should also be the case on paraphrasing a symbol into its description, revealing in the first instance, what it really incorporates. Symbol is an illustration in disguise and does need some kind of exposition. I was on the look out for a symbol which could serve as a test for the proper interpretation of alchemy. The result of such a study should incidentally reveal the origin of alchemy as well. This would serve as an independent confirmation that the analysis has been pushed to its ultimate limits. The composition, therefore, requires being dissolved into its parts, item by item, and the symbol interpreted as their integrated whole. Previous attempts in this direction have been most sketchy, invariably treating the symbols as attractive decorations. There have also been some vague interpretations trying to disguise rather than to reveal what was not obvious. As a test, a classical symbol has been selected, the one offered by Jamsthaler (12) in 1625. On account of its attractive appearance it has been reproduced by Jung (12) and by others and is being offered again as fig. 4 here. Jung comments upon it as a psychoanalyst using a special phraseology of his own. What is

required, however, is to handle the picture as a masterpiece of alchemical symbolism and interpret it in ordinary language.

Fig. 4, like any picture, has its own setting, a dark background giving relief to an oval enclosure with some mysterious contents. By its unmistakable outline the curve is an egg. Now comes the interpretation which makes it the Cosmic-Egg or Brahma-Anda of Hindu mysticism. It contains the germ of all that exists, the creation and the creator. In an egg its contents are not developed. Art, however, means expressing what the artist desires. The composer has therefore taken the artist's license and presented a post-dated phenomenon. The Cosmic-egg, now fully formed, depicts the creator as the four cosmic elements, subdivided into two pairs, and creation likewise as two products, the micro-and macrocosm. The pair of creators occupy the basal portion, as foundation bearing the creation above. Of the two pairs the upper consists of a dragon, as the symbol of water, incorporating fire, which, as flames, is being spitted out, thus revealing fire to be the opposite of water. The animal has climbed a hill, in the form of a globe, which represents the earth. This bears a wing on either side, as the agency for flying in the air, thereby symbolizing the latter as wings. What is worth while observing is that the carrier of fire is water and not vice versa, and air is the flying force making earth the object that is being flown. The preferential treatment given to air and water is due to both these elements being celestial or spiritual, while fire and earth remaining terrestrials or coporeals. Nevertheless all the four are essential.

17. The differential positions of elements : Physics recognizes light as the fastest agency known. In alchemy, the male-soul, Ruh or Spirit, occupies the position of light and as a symbol the latter often depicts it. Spirit is the most energizing agency recognized in alchemy, in fact it is the creative one, the donor of life-essence. This at once brings us to consider the constitution of the soul. According to Animism, Life =Body+ Soul. But Dualism expands the last two into four factors when, Life=Male/Female (elements donated by Father/Mother) +Ruh/Nafs (Spirit/ Soul). To say that every entity has two elements is Animism; to say that they are four is Dualism. The Dualist further tried to specify the four constituents of life in terms of

universal creative elements, and the corresponding equivalents are given below :

Elements of Microcosm : Elements of Macrocosm

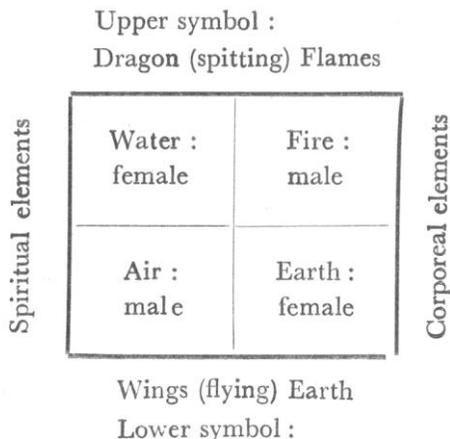
Male soul : Air

Female soul : Water

Male corporeal element :
Fire

Female corporeal element :
Earth

We are now in a position to see, in fig. 4, how Jamsthaler tried to divide the elements into his two pairs. The diagram below makes the contents self-explanatory.



Air as male should lead the earth as female which it does. But water or dragon, as female, contains fire, the male, merely as a part. The preference thus imparted to water is a problem pressing for solution. Water is both a spiritual element and a female. Evidently its spiritual

nature is a more weighty factor than its female character. Alchemy essentially tries to spiritualize or sublimate each and every thing and at such a spiritual element is given preference over a corporeal or terrestrial one, be it male. Let us briefly consider the two possible combinations as pairs resulting from the four elements :

	Spiritual	:	Corporeal	
A. 1.	Air	+	Earth	The basal pair in fig. 4
	male		female	
	wings		glove	
A. 2.	Water	+	Fire	The upper pair in fig. 4
	female		male	
	dragon		flames	

Second possibility:

B. 1.	Air	Water	Both spirituals
	male	female	
B. 2.	Fire	Earth	Both corporeals
	male	female	

In combinations "A", Air/Earth, as a pair, dominates the other, Water/Fire. This is the arrangement revealed by fig. 4. Between the two, Air, as male and spiritual, dominates Earth, which is terrestrial and female, its exact opposite. This is not so clear on considering fig. 4, but becomes more obvious while fig. 9 is being analysed. Now we know that water can quench fire more easily than fire can evaporate water. Water is therefore more powerful and is symbolized as the dragon which is incorporating fire as a part. Above all water is more important for life than fire. When the Greek Philosophers began recognizing elements water was the first to be accepted. Even Rigveda had assigned the identical priority to water long before Thales did the same. What the philosophers recognized as elements was believed to be souls or creative-essences previously. Water, later as element, had been

accepted as life-essence or donor of life. This archaic concept still persists in Bengali literature where water means Life. It finds mention on p. 24, in the part devoted to composition of Mian Muhammad Abdul Hamid's book, *Adhunik Bangala Rachana*, New Age Publication, Dacca (date not given), Thus water, as an element dominant over fire, also harmonizes with the other independent consideration that water, coming from the clouds, is celestial, whereas fire is terrestrial.

We now come to the other arrangements "B", which seems equally logical. Here the spirival elements, Air/Water, dominate the corporeal pair Fire/Earth. Between themselves water is not the exact opposite of air, water becomes steam or gas which is by no means unlike air. On the contrary air as the lightest is the opposite of earth which is the heaviest. Moreover when we come to fuse minor elements into major ones Air/ Water both as celestials can easily unite as Major/Minor for they represent Male/Female between themselves. On the other hand in the arrangement " B " the corresponding pair, Air/Fire, represents both as males. We shall see later that fig. 9 shows a disc divided half and half. Its white patch, as air, absorbs as a dot, the minor element, water. This is because Air is male and water is female and both are celestials, which enables them being placed together in the same half. In the arrangement " A " Air/Earth represent two opposites as Male/Female, as also Celestial/Terrestrial, and thus Air as celestial cannot *absorb* Earth as a terrestrial. To bring home the two differences there is the male /female as brother/sister as also brother/sister-in-law. The former is genetically the same but not functionally so. The arrangement " A " reveals the functional opposites, which is what the alchemist believed in.

The globe of earth, in fig. 4, bears two trigonometrical figures, a triangle bearing the number 3 and a square the number 4. In Chinese symbolism triangle, with its apex upwards, is Yang, while the square is Yin. Then, Triangle+ Square =Yang f Yin. Accordingly Triangle/Square become a pair generating life-essence, and earth is energized thereby. This addition makes earth, which is terrestrial and female, a more spiritualized entity. It has been seen that water, the other female, is likewise energized by a pair of wings which its dragon is made to bear. In the pair Earth/ Air the wings belong exclusively to Air, so that, Earth needed an energizer of its own. It is evident that water could have been represented by a dragon which has no wings. A

winged dragon therefore suggests its more sublime form. Thus the two females, water as winged dragon, and earth, bearing Triangle/Square, have been energized and thereby made nearer to their males. That females can be soul-less and need to be activated strikes as an absurd possibility to be considered. It must be mentioned in this connection that some time, about 1912, a committee of Muslim divines met at Lucknow to discuss, with all seriousness, if Women have Ruh, or Spirit, for Adam alone is the direct creation of the Lord, by his Breath or Spirit, while Eve has quite a different origin, the nature of which required exact elucidation. The alchemist, however, was bent on sublimating each and every thing possible and the analysis of his symbolism, represents even the females, water and earth, as energized entities.

18. Choice of the Dragon in symbolizing Water : We can picture earth as globe, air as wings, fire as flames, but by no means so easily dragon as water. It has further to be shown, each independently, that water is a female and likewise dragon, though it is a fierce looking creature. This takes us to the first conception of the soul and to its carrier, the serpent. Man's earliest conception of death made it prolonged sleep which thus implied a deferred awakening. Now the early man was a hunter. The animals he killed died by losing blood. Blood vapours arose from spilt blood, became miniature clouds and disappeared in heaven. The primitive man interpreted this phenomenon as the exit of an element, as clouds, depriving the body of its life. Thus arose the first conception, Vapours =Soul. This, automatically, made clouds a collection of souls. The concept of Vapours as soul, had to be extended to explain all deaths. But those that died in the open field allowed their souls to escape in heaven, as clouds, while those that died in their homes had their souls buried with them underground. Later on it was believed that the male soul went towards heaven and the female soul lingered below. In any case the soul was divided between Heaven and Earth either as parts or as wholes. In the latter case arose the problem where to store the souls so that these may not escape easily. The dead can awake any time and the souls must be ever available. The serpent moults annually, which suggested that it renews its body every year and is therefore immortal. Being always alive it can become the proper custodian of returnable souls. Moreover the serpent lives underground and can accept the souls to become their mobile treasury. Souls themselves are immortal and so is the serpent, their carrier, independently of

each other. These two notions, of an immortal carrier and an everlasting soul, became fused when, Serpent = Soul, and as such the donor of life-essence. In fig. 1 a pair of serpents are donating life-essence to revive the dead. In fig. 3 they are generating the same element to transform dead-copper into live-gold. Further snake, as carrier of ancestral souls, gave rise to snake worship so that :

Snake-worship = Ancestor-worship

We have seen above that the serpent can also donate life-essence and thus became a miniature creator. As generator of life-essence and as carrier of ancestral souls the snake gave rise to snake worship all over the world, Greece and China inclusive.

The dead underground deposited their souls in the safe custody of the snake. But what about the availability of the souls floating as clouds. The only possibility was to depute the serpent, already a custodian of souls, to bring the others from the mass of clouds. The serpent being a legless animal needed a pair of legs to climb over the mountains of clouds and such a serpent became the dragon. When two legs did not suffice another pair was given. However, even four legs did not make him equal to his task, and a pair of wings had to be bestowed, enabling him to chase the clouds and send the souls of the dead as wanted. The dragon, wingless or winged, thus became the master of the clouds and the two are invariably depicted together, as shepherd and the sheep. It must be mentioned that all the types of dragons exist in alchemical symbolism.

The serpent was a terrestrial creature but being transformed into a dragon became a celestial one. The serpent was a female creature and the dragon could not but retain the constitution of that reptile. To store the souls below was the task of the serpent, to store the souls above was the task of the dragon. Briefly the serpent, in form and in duty, as soul-carrier, had its counter-part, in the dragon, as the soul-custodian. Both became donors of life-essence. If snake gave rise to ancestor worship the dragon gave rise to consolidated ancestor-worship which far exceeds any form of ancestor worship any where. This could happen only in China where other forms of ancestor worship were already more popular than elsewhere. It is now easy

to realize how Jamsthaler's dragon came to own four legs and two wings, as the best of his race.

We have still to see how the dragon came to symbolize water. The main reasons for respecting our parents is for their benevolent behaviour. And we also continue to remember the dead as our ex-benefactors. But human nature is greedy and expects that even dead souls, be they as clouds, would continue to pour their blessings. All that the clouds could do was to descend as rain and fertilize the pastures to provide herbage for the grazing animals and thus their food. Recapitulating the course some souls underwent, they started as blood-vapours, became clouds, then rain, and finally became water. Briefly, Souls =Water. If we summarize the parallel evolution of the dragon, it starts as a legless serpent, gets two legs, then four, finally a pair of wings, becomes the Dragon as seen in fig. 4. Briefly Dragon, as transformed serpent, remains female, but as the denizen of clouds becomes celestial. By function Dragon is Rain-donor. It is quite easy to see now, that Dragon, the soul-custodian, brings souls as water. It is also possible to explain how water, by itself, represents a female element, but this is not a problem raised by the symbol, fig. 4. After blood-vapours had become the soul, there arose another rival soul, as breath or Air. The final compromise resulted in assigning masculinity to the finer agent, Air, and feminality to the less subtle, Vapours. Between the two, Air and Vapours, the former became Yang and the latter Yin, which made condensed vapours or water female. Thus Dragon is celestial-female and so is Water.

In an earlier communication I had maintained that Dragon is female, and Phoenix male. A friendly critic pointed out that Dragon is a ferocious looking creature while Phoenix is not. Moreover Dragon is the emblem that decorated the royal costume of the Emperor of China, whereas that of the Empress was Phoenix. The reasons for this must be different. Whatever considerations I had for considering the Dragon to be female and Phoenix male are briefly expressed in the following series where each unit corresponds to the others.

1. South Direction=Element Air =Deity Phoenix =Warm temperament = Celestial male =Breath-Soul = Spirit
2. East Direction=Element Water=Diety Dragon=Moist

temperament=Celestial female =Vaporous-Soul=Soul (Specific)

I have recently discovered a statement by a famous English alchemist who did look upon the Dragon as a female. The authority is none else than Thomas Vaughan who wrote a book, *Aula Lucis*, in the middle of the 17th Cent. The following quotation from Vaughan is found on p. 354 of A.P. Sinnett's book, *The growth of the soul*, published by the Theosophical Society, London, in 1896. Vaughan says, "in the bottom of this well (which was) our sealed fountain lies an old dragon stretched long and fast asleep. Awake *her* if you can and make *her*, drink, for by this *she* will recover *her* youth and be serviceable to you for ever." It is to be noted that the dragon is a *female*, and her environment is *water*, and *rejuvenation* the objective of alchemy.

19. The hermaphrodite as a symbol: The four elements, in fig. 4, as the creator, having been considered it is time to turn to creation. This is represented by micro and macrocosm. The major space is devoted to microcosm as being the more important. Here man is represented by a hermaphrodite as the immortal human race. Immortality has resulted from reproductivity. The hermaphrodite becomes half husband and half wife, a bisexual self generating unit. It functions like a parthenogenetic organism but being essentially hermaphrodite it is male/ female as one, and not merely a female. A bisexual constitution is really attributed to the soul and the hermaphrodite is its expression. To reveal that the male-soul and female-soul have been fused into one, as the hermaphrodite would be bodily, is to show that the resultant soul, as unity, is inseparable and so would be its vehicle, the body. With a soul ever growing the body will get a constant supply of life-essence. The hermaphrodite therefore represents the immortal man. In the same way Jesus, who having undergone resurrection, can represent immortality. In fig. 4 the immortal man is hermaphrodite; in fig. 6, Jesus.

In fig. 4, the hermaphrodite is further shown as the carrier of Com- pass/Square. We know that two poles of a magnet can produce magnetism. Compass and Square serve as such poles for generating life-essence. Fig. 4 shows the European equivalents of those of China, in fig. 1, where they are used for inducing resurrection. In fig. 4 the male half is holding, in his right hand, the Compass, as the Yang element, and the female half, by her left hand, the Yin instrument, the mason's Square. With

Compass/Square the hermaphrodite becomes also a creator. The label, REBIS, which the hermaphrodite bears, probably Latin, is undeciphered at present.

Lastly we come to macrocosm or the universe. This again is eternal. It is likewise symbolized as the resultant of pairs, one equal of the other. It did not take long for the alchemist to imagine that since day and night are half and half, the sun is the opposite of the moon. With Sun and Moon as creators the work of creation can further continue. The following pairs of opposites are commonly known and are offered in a series where each unit means a donor of life essence :

Heaven/Earth = Sun/Moon Creator

The sun faces the male figure, the moon the female side of the hermaphrodite. Venus is on their heads. There are two planets on the right and two on the left, probably as two males and two females. My knowledge of astrology being nill I am unable to do justice to the distribution of the planets. Micro and Macrocosm though creations also carry the work of creation, i.e. function as creators.

20. Compass/Square and Cock/Serpent as symbols in medical literature : An Italian engraving by L. Tintus (13) dated 1672, represents a physician whose portrait is decorated with symbols common to medicine and alchemy ; reproduced as fig. 5. Cock and Serpent as Yang/ Yin elements, have their place in many pharmaceutical works. They have also been found on a Greek grave of about 500 B.C., to serve as joint revivers of the dead. Such a pair is seen, in fig. 5 ; the Cock or Yang element to the right of the physician, and the Serpent, as female, to his left. Their positions as right and left show the Cock to be superior to the Serpent. At the bottom is another pair of Yang/Yin, to the right of the physician. Being inanimate this pair is placed below, which is the Compass, marked here with C, in black, and the Square, marked S, in white. There is also a measuring Rod as the accompaniment of the Square to further indicate its identity. Fig. 4 revealed the pair Compass/ Square as generators of the Cosmic soul. In fig. 5 the same serve as potential generators of life-essence, which any physician would be happy to have at hand to increase the longevity of his patient. It is indeed

the same pair of agency, as in fig. 1, which were there to revive the dead.

In fig. 5, at its left bottom corner, there is a Violon and Bow musical instruments which symbolize harmony or balance between opposite sounds. This pair placed on the left of the central figure rank next to Compass/Square. There could as well have been a balance instead of the bow and violin ; see here a Balance in fig. 6. Thus Compass/Square and Violin/Bow, as lower units, Cock and Serpent, as upper ones, are all pairs of opposites. Fig. 5 was specially selected to show the presence of Compass/Square, the same as in fig. 4, and in fig. 2. Fig 5. has been taken from the beautifully illustrated Thesis of Dr. J. Schouten (13), a copy of which was kindly presented by Messrs Brocades-Stheeman & Pharmacia, Amsterdam, who are also its publishers; my thanks are due to them.

21. Compass/Square in a design by Albert Magnus, the alchemist : The frame of the picture, fig. 6, taken from Jung (12), is shown by the outer larger rectangle and is thus not a part of the symbol. The next or inner rectangle, however, does belong to it. It has been mentioned before that, in Chinese mysticism, Circle is a yang element, and Rectangle or square a Yin. They together symbolize generators of life-essence and as symbol still persist in modern decorative art. The inner rectangle then is a female element, and immediately within it is the conspicuous large circle as male. Circle/Rectangle form a pair of Yang/Yin by themselves. At the right corner, on the top, there is the Compass, and as its opposite, also on the right, bottom, the Square, accompanied by the measuring rod to qualify the square. The Compass/Square here are sufficiently prominent and some explanation of their significance should have existed in the literature before. So far it seems to be non-existing. On the left top corner is Balance; the superior equivalent of Violin and Bow as expressing Harmony, the resultant of two opposites. Balance, or rather balancing, is so important in alchemy that Jabir, the founder of Arabian alchemy, has several treatises to his credit incorporating this title. Here balance suggests the generator of life essence. Its opposite corner below represents an Urn, the container of ash, when even bones have been reduced to that state. Urn means death. Briefly balance/Urn symbolize creator /Destroyer or life/Death as the exact equivalents of Compass/Square, the Yang/Yin pair.

The larger circle, in fig. 6, next to the inner rectangle, has already been explained as forming the pair, Circle/Rectangle=Male/Female. The circle, however, can be taken by itself. Its upper half is white representing Heaven, its lower half dark, symbolizing Earth. Heaven/Earth are duplicated by Sun, placed at the zenith, and by Moon, at the nadir, forming the pair Sun/Moon. Black/White again represent Night/Day or Darkness/Light as Yin/Yang. We thus find a set of units telescoped, each as a pair of Yang/Yin. The importance of each pair, as a generating set, creating life-essence has been made sufficiently clear. That we are made to face this intensively in fig. 6 is one example among many others.

The central, small circle, in fig. 6, represents the four elements, which occupy the core of the picture, as the Creator. Just outside the creator, as his direct expression, is the creation qualified as something eternal. Eternity was symbolized before, in fig. 4, as hermaphrodite ; here eternity is personified as Jesus, as one who underwent resurrection and is now immortal. The creator or the circular disc, is constituted of four elements, seen in ascending order, with the basal two as Earth/Air supporting Water/Fire on their top, as the less important. Earth as the lowest and Fire as the topmost are in the same order in which they have been found in fig. 4. It must be clearly understood that the centre is occupied by the creator, equated by the four elements. And creation is expressed as eternity, the circular heaven as macrocosm and the immortal man or *jesus*, as microcosm. The top, in its middle, shows a juvenile face with number 1-5 and 6.10 in two rows. Probably it has some astrological significance unknown to me.

22. The Compass in the symbolism of Maier : fig. 7 is the composition of another master of alchemy, Maier (12), who first published it in 1618. In fig. 6 there is a rectangle enclosing a large circle. In fig. 7 the wall forms the Rectangle, while a mammoth Compass has drawn a huge Circle, so that this pair of Rectangle/Circle, in fig. 7, is the exact equivalent of the other in fig. 6. Earlier it has been explained that often Heaven/Earth =Heaven alone. Here the Compass as the agent that produces the Circle or Heaven has been given a dominant place as compared with the Rectangle or Earth which appears disguised as the square wall.

The circle, as also the compass, on account of their size, are so striking as to press for an explanation. Heaven, equated with the sky, being dome-shaped, is symbolized as the Circle. But there is no creator without creation. Creation is eternity, which is again symbolized as the circle, having no beginning and no end. Circle therefore is Heaven, the creator, and again Eternity, the creation. A careful examination of the circle, in fig. 7, however, shows that the circle here is represented a *wie-bit* incomplete; it is therefore creation, and not the creator; the creator here is obviously the Compass. But otherwise the circle, the complete circle, is the creator. Earth was believed to be flat, and further divided into four directions, South, North, East and West. A flat surface, having four directions, became a square, and this is the symbol of Earth. Thus arose the series : Heaven/Earth = Circle/Square — Male/Female. Earth, as the opposite of Heaven, became the idealized Cosmic female. If Heaven was a circle, Earth became a square. One has only to see the shape of the wall to realize how closely it approaches a square. Thus the wall is the Square, the opposite of the Circle which it bears. Heaven has been assigned the sublimated powers of the dominant male of ancient society. As examples of such a model are the *Paterfamilias* of a Roman family and the Shaikh of an ancient Arab clan. In fact a typical oriental view pictures the female as mere *soil*, while the male as the real life-bearing *seed*. The soil, or the Earth, as female, appears "ragged" as a weather beaten wall in fig. 7. Those who know oriental pomp are also familiar with the dark side that prevails in Harem life and the picture accordingly depicts the wall as a true symbol of the female, and not a caricature. Briefly we have the following series where each pair as such and each of its two components, are the equivalents of one another

Seed/Soil = Soul/Body = Male/Female = Heaven/Earth=Circle/
Square=Compass/Mason's Square.

Within the large circle, in fig. 7, there is a prominent triangle pointing upwards, which, like the circle, is a Yang element. The triangle, in turn, contains a *square*, enclosing a *circle*, and the latter two form a pair of Yin/Yang. The smaller circle, in its turn, encloses another pair of Yang/ Yin as husband/wife, nude enough to suggest being procreative partners and joint-donors of life-essence.

Husband/Wife, are enclosed further in the equivalent pair Circle/Square, and this again in the Yang triangle, which is finally found in the Yang circle. There is no disadvantage in having two Yangs in excess but once a Yin factor is there it must at once have a corresponding Yang element. Fig. 7 shows at the bottom, left corner, to the right of the master's leg, a measuring rod. This is the accessory to the mason's Square. We can accept, the measuring Rod-mason's Square. Otherwise the Square would be the missing Yin element to match with the large Yang Compass. At the extreme left corner is a chart which the master used for drawing his symbols. A white paper with a Yang circle and a Yin square shows one matching the other. There is also another circle with the Seal of Solomon or twin triangles intertwined, facing upwards and downwards, thus forming an ideal Yang/Yin pair. There are thus a number of creative units distributed all over. The elements most conspicuous are the Compass and the Circle, as yang elements and the wall as Yin.

23. A symbol shared by Chinese mysticism and alchemy : A picture by the British alchemist, Norton (12), is reproduced as fig. 8. The tree represents life, and at its root there is a toad. In Chinese mysticism a popular symbol is the three legged toad. This would strike anomalous in Europe and accordingly it has been presented as the real toad. That it is a toad, and not a frog, is shown by its nodular surfaced back. To discuss it would be beyond our scope. The picture as a composition is rather unhappy. Thus the elements have been depicted as four circles, though all indicated. They enclose a Yang triangle or one pointing upwards, of which the three sides have been marked, Body, Spirit and Soul, making the Triangle=Life=Body +Spirit+Soul; it might be pointed out that Spirit=Animus and Soul =Anima. The trielemental equation is not that of an immortal man. Further the body should have also been splitted into its factors. The Triangle is a Yang-element while the Square inside is its Yin and this finally reveals in the centre a king, with a sceptre, as Yang. The picture, by specially incorporating the toad, reveals that alchemy originates from China and indeed from Taoism.

24. The symbol of Yang/Yin equated with the Cosmic egg: The Cosmic egg, Brahma-Anda in Sanskrit, is a symbol of everything that exists, creation and creator, but in the incipient or the undifferentiated embryonic stage. It is comparable to an egg with its two primordial constituents, the

Yellow and the White. The Cosmic egg is not the symbol of existence but of its source as an egg should be. Such is the reading, by P. Carus (14), of the Yin/Yang symbol of Chinese mysticism, fig. 9, which can be applied at once to that of the Cosmic egg. The Natural philosophers used to toss a joke among themselves whether the hen came first or the egg. A parallel question would be if Brahma, the creator, came first or Brahma-Anda, when the answer would be brief and decisive: creator first but creation almost simultaneously. The human mind cannot conceive function without form. Creator represents the form and creation the function. Those who put such questions like the Natural philosophers above ignore the limitations of the human mind. And those who realize this most are the monists who accept the doctrine of unity of existence for which the Arabic term is Wandatul-Wujud, or Vedantism of Indian philosophy. Another form of the above question would be to ask whether matter came first or energy. If the answer be accepted as energy first then we can not picture to ourselves what it means. A more appreciable answer would be matter first, and correspondingly, in our case, creator first. This answer appeals better to the common man. In fig. 4 the Cosmic egg presents the four elements as the creator thereby assigning them a fundamental position. Now the elements can be divided as celestials and terrestrials and again as males and females thereby making none of the four equal among one another. Air, as the celestial and male comes first. Earth becomes its other half, as terrestrial and female which must necessarily be the second. No element can exercise its full powers unless it meets with a partner just its opposite; as celestial its opposite must be terrestrial, as male its other half must be female. The statement strikes as verbosity unless it is supported by an illustration. Let us consider two virtues the exact opposites of each other. Benevolence, as the active, and Gratitude, as the passive, both being virtues they should meet easily. But the benefactor tends to be boastful or patronizing. The grateful tends to become a flatterer, or to over-estimate the gift, or to be ungrateful and underestimate the favour received. Likewise every husband and wife know that domestic life depends upon their mutual good-will. But how few are the married couple where the husband is not aggressive and dominant or henpecked by his wife. Thus to unite two opposites, even as virtues, is a real task.

Air, as a symbol of positive virtue, can represent a benefactor, or a husband, and Earth, as passive virtue, a grateful protegee or a humble wife. Sublimating the concept of exact opposites we get to Yang/Yin, creators of life and creators of happiness as well. What has been called positive above is termed Yang, when it is given a Cosmic status, and likewise its passive or negative is equated with Yin. Then Positive/ Negative= Active/Passive Air/Earth. The series at once explains how Earth must come next to Air, as its other half, otherwise Air, cannot exercise its virtues. In fact we can even assume that Air ultimately gave rise to Earth, much as Adam is the progenitor of Eve, and the transformation of one element into another, is accepted by alchemy. Moreover Adam was not only the opposite of Eve but also her progenitor. Here, however, the purpose is to explain a symbol according to which Air comes first and its other half, Earth, as second. In fig. 9 the two halves White/ Black are Air/Earth which thus require their importance being explained as above. But it has also been made clear that Air can be the potential creator of Earth, in fact each Yang element is related thus towards its Yin partner. And just as Heaven has been equated with the creator before, atmosphere of the Heaven or Air can be equated with the Cosmic soul; it is celestial, it is male. Air is the Cosmic soul, Earth its body, content and container.

Fig. 4 allots Air/Earth a basic position and makes them the supporter of the other two Water/Fire, which rank next in importance. This, however, is disguised rather than obvious, and becomes clear when, in fig. 6, the symbols of these four elements are thoroughly analysed. But fig. 9 brings this difference quite boldly; Air/Earth of the major pair, become half and half of the total disc, Air as a White patch, and Earth as a Black patch, being male and female respectively. The minor elements as dots, comprise of Water as third, and Fire as fourth in importance. Water is a celestial element first and, female next. Water as female goes with Air as its male in the white patch for celestials, but is symbolized as a mere spot being a minor element. Thus in fig. 9 the white half depicts, Air, and its white spot, Water, both as celestials. That the illustration does not easily show a white spot on the white patch, of fig. 9, will be dealt with presently. Likewise Fire, though male, is terrestrial, and is symbolized as a dark dot on Earth, the dark half of the disc. Its place in fig. 9 also awaits proper elucidation. Briefly Air/Earth, the major elements, become patches and Water/Fire, the minor elements, mere spots.

The celestial elements Air and Water, are assigned white colour, the terrestrials, Earth and Fire, black colour. To shorten further discussion the following table shows the salient points symbolized in figs. 4 and 9 :

	In fig. 9.	In fig. 4.	
Yang	White = Air = Celestial = Male = Spirit half (Wings) (major) Soul		
	White = Water = Celestial = Female = Soul spot (Dragon) (minor) Soul (specific)		
Yin	Dark = Earth = Terrestrial = Female = Contribution half (Globe) (major) Corporeal from mother element		
	Dark = Fire = Terrestrial = Male = Contribution spot (Flames) (minor) Corporeal from father element		

The proper symbol of Yang/Yin, fig. 9, should be Red/Black. Redness symbolizes directly the colour of fresh blood which has been equated by the primitive man as life-essence or soul. Black is the colour of darkened blood where life is by no means present. Red/Black means Life/Death. But the contrast between White/Black can easily apply to any pair of opposites and as such is given preference by printers using black printing ink.

The point still pressing for solution is the incorporation of the minor elements, Water and Fire, in the symbol, fig. 9. For this purpose fig. 9, a circle, has been converted into a square, fig. 10, where it has been subjected to a system of division and the resultant units indicated. The White/Black halves of fig. 9, are shown as larger pieces in fig. 10, marked A, for Air, and E., for Earth, thus representing Air/Earth as White/Black. The smaller units are resultants of a double division and correspond to the eye-like spots in fig. 9, where the spots themselves comprise of a dot and a circle, naturally of different colours. In fig. 10, the lower unit, W., comprises of a white piece belonging to A., superimposed by a black and smaller triangle. It is marked W., for Water, which is celestial and as such basically the same as Air, A. The upper triangle, F., has a black rim, revealing a black and larger triangle being superimposed by a white and smaller one. The triangle F., Fire, basically belongs to Earth, both being terrestrials.

We have to see how these divisions, in fig. 10, have arisen, and how the four elements can be integrated into a whole to become identical with fig. 9. For this purpose fig. 11 is offered. The square WXZY has its four sides marked ; the vertical lines, left and right, as C. and T. stand for celestial and terrestrial respectively. The upper and lower lines M., and F. represent Male and Female. The vertical line MF cuts the square into two equal rectangles as basic units, the left rectangle bearing the full line C., is purely celestial, and the right rectangle, with its complete line T., intact, is terrestrial. After their vertical division we have two units, celestial and terrestrial, as left and right rectangles, WMFY and MXZF respectively.

Further, the square, fig. 11, is cut diagonally by the line XY when two equal triangles arise, WXY, as the upper one, and ZXY, as the lower. But the square was already cut into two rectangles, so the diagonal really cuts the

rectangles, giving rise, on the left, to a major piece, WMOY, and a minor one, FOY. The major piece is marked A, and corresponds to A., in fig. 10, and the smaller piece FOY, is a triangle, shown shaded with vertical lines, in fig. 11, and corresponds to W., in fig. 10. In the same way the former right rectangle, of fig. 11, has been chipped off to deliver a minor portion, as a triangle shaded with horizontal lines, in fig. 11, and is identical with the piece, F., in fig. 10. The horizontal lines in MOX represent stratas of the Earth ; it is essentially terrestrial.

Let us now consider, in detail the nature of the four pieces, of the larger two and of the minor two. The larger upper piece, WMOY, has one line fully comprising the celestial side, C., but its upper side, WM, is only half the line, M, representing male. Thus it is a celestial male, celestial almost twice as much as the male. The celestial male unit is marked A., for Air. Attached to it is the triangle FOY. Its longest line or hypotenuse, OY, is sharing the celestial unit A., hence it is basically celestial. Its free side, YF, however, reveals it to be half of the female line YZ, or F., and therefore the triangle is female next. Thus the triangle OYF is celestial first and female next. Its celestial line, OY, is only slightly longer than the female line, FY, so the triangle, OFY, though celestial, is only of a minor order. Its free line, YF, as female, is almost as large as its celestial line, OY, hence its female character is nearly equal to its celestial nature. Thus we can say that the smaller unit, FOY, is celestial female, almost half and half. This explains how the corresponding piece, W., in fig. 10, shows a white broad margin and an equally large black triangle within. The unit is as much celestial or white, as it is female or black. Fig. 10, W., represents Water. The corresponding portion is OYF, in fig. 11, shaded with vertical lines to suggest Water as rain falling.

Let us transport a piece, like W., in fig. 10, to be incorporated into a larger white unit, like A., of fig. 10. We must note the exact details first. In the centre of the unit, W., fig. 10, there is a black triangle, then a white rim. The two features, as one, are :further given a black outline. This is the draughtsman's device to separate a white triangle from the white paper. All these we see clearly in the unit W., fig. 10. Now convert this black-upon-white triangle, with its black outline, into circular forms. There would result, first a black central dot, and next a white circle outside it, and thirdly a black outline as the outermost margin. Remembering these three elements we now

try to insert them in the white half of fig. 9. The receiving surface being white, would require a black outline for the inserted unit which requires an outermost black circle already provided. Within the black circle comes the real dual-natured unit, a white circle with a black dot. Briefly W., fig. 10, with all its details, numbering three, are given circular forms when they become identical with the white complex spot seen in the white patch of fig. 9. The centre of the triangle W., fig. 10, is black, and so is the black dot in the white half of fig. 9. This central black dot in fig. 9, represents a *female* element, while the white circle surrounding it a *celestial* element, and these together symbolize the female-celestial element, Water, W., fig. 10. In fig. 9, the white circle represents the white margin of W., fig. 10, and the black dot, the black triangle; W., fig. 10. The symbol suggests that Water is celestial first, the same as Air, and is placed accordingly in the white patch, Air, of fig. 9. The trielemental piece, W., fig. 10, has been equated with the spot in the white half of fig. 9. The white half of fig. 9, then represents Air, as the major, and Water, as the minor celestial element, both really white.

Now we can briefly show how the upper triangle, F., in fig. 10, can be identified with the eye like spot in the black half of fig. 9. When, F., of fig. 10, is given a circular form a white spot would be surrounded by a black circle. But how can an object, with a black margin, be placed on a black background? Taking the draughtsman's license another white circle would be added as the outermost margin so that this white circle separates the inserted unit from its black background. It is this addition which has to be tolerated as a necessary intrusion and has to be excluded from being reckoned as part of the symbol. With the addition of a marginal white circle, unit F., of fig. 10, can be placed on the black half of fig. 9, there finally modified to appear as a compound spot. Briefly the triangles W., and F., in fig. 10, are reduced to black and white miniature discs in fig. 9 and reveal the following details :

W. Water = (Black core+White circle)+Black circle, on a white background.

F. Fire=(White core+Black circle)+White circle, on a black background.

The brackets above include factors intrinsic to the symbols, and outside them additions made under artist's license. Finally all the four elements, seen in figs. 9 and 10, have been depicted as follows :

A. Air=Celestial male=All white, as A., fig. 10=White half in fig. 9.

W. Water=Celestial female=Black triangle with a white rim and a black outline, as W., fig. 10 =Block dot, in a white circle with a black circumference in the white patch of fig. 9.

E. Earth=Terrestrial female=All black, as E., Fig. 10=Black half in fig. 9.

F. Fire =Terrestrial male=White triangle with a black rim in fig. 10, to which must be added a white outline to indicate this unit on the black patch of fig. 9 =White dot in a black circle with an intermediary white circle to reveal the real unit against a black background, in fig. 9.

There is one more feature still remaining to be explained in fig. 9. It appears to represent only the four creative elements. Now where is creation? The French mathematician, Poincare, stated that axioms are definitions in disguise. Let us now go direct to the definition of the creator and clearly affirm that he who creates is the creator, so that creation must be there, be it in a disguised form. The creator, in fig. 9, is inside, when the creation must naturally be just outside, which in fact is the circle. The circle is a perfect curve, it has no beginning and no end, it symbolizes eternity. What the Cosmic creator has then created is eternity, one worthy of the other.

Lastly comes the form of the two halves of fig. 9. Their colours should be Red/Black. In print they are represented as Black/White, for Air/Earth, or Heaven/Earth, or Yin/Yang. But what about the peculiar forms of the two patches and the eye-like inclusions in each of them ? The two larger units are stylized serpents and the minor ones their eyes. We have seen that serpents were immortals in themselves, later they became custodians of souls, and finally donors of life essence, as for example, in fig. 1. In fig. 9 there are two stylized serpents, one chasing the other in a whorl, duplicating, in a more vivid form, the circle, and revealing no beginning, no end. The circle then becomes a static equivalent of the two serpents in whorl which thereby offer

a dynamic picture. The creator, the serpents, and the circle, their creation, are dynamic and static phases, just as form and function are two phases of each other.

The difference between creator and creation now begins to approach practically to a zero. That is what the monists realized and that is what gave rise to the doctrine of the unity of existence. The point to reveal further is that fig. 9 can be equated with the Cosmic egg as they both belong to mysticism. The Cosmic egg, that has been illustrated in fig. 4, is precisely such a symbol although it originates from a master of alchemy, which goes to prove that alchemy is applied mysticism.

25. Ouroboros the earliest symbol of Alexandrian alchemy equated with the Chinese symbol of mysticism : The animist started probing into the nature of life and equated it with body and soul as its two elements. The dualist analysed the same but discovered two factors in the body and two in the soul and thus divided life into four elements. Finally came the monist who asked, why one should stop with Adam/Eve to get Yang/Yin and not inquire further. Apparently Eve was part of Adam so that only one is left as the ultimate source and what is one cannot be reduced any further. Such was the standpoint of monism. Adam was idealized as the ultimate progenitor of the human race. From this arose the conception of the creator as the Father of the universe, the one "Adam general" of creation. In fig. 4 there are two pairs of creators, in fig. 9 again the same, but Air alone is white and large, while the other elements are either black or mere dots. Fig. 9 is the symbol of the source of existence offered by dualism, but by giving preference to one factor it implicitly supports monism. Fig. 9 as a symbol depicts the creator, apparently as two serpents chasing each other in whorl. Fig. 12, the Ouroboros taken from Taylor (3), is a proper monist symbol, two serpents being changed into halves, and the *two halves into one*, like the hermaphrodite of fig. 4. We can separate fig. 9 into two separate serpents, but we cannot do the same with fig. 12, for two half serpents make no unit whatsoever. Let us imagine two serpents, one red and another white, one biting the tail of the other. Then let us cut each serpent into half. As one result we shall find a red serpent still biting the tail of the white serpent, but half their bodies would be missing. If we now join the cut ends there will be a coiled serpent, half-red and half-white, the red head biting its white tail. Such a picture exists in a

MSS. on alchemy at Venice, dated about 1600 A.D., but its original is traced to about 300 A.D. Red is a Yang symbol and so is the head. Accordingly Head must be coloured Red ; it can never be black, for in this case it would be, Yin. In the absence of recognizing the importance of red colouration fig. 12 has been printed for convenience with black printing ink which makes the head black. This is how fig. 12 is also offered here but, with the necessary explanation, as "errata". Now it is admitted that Head and Tail represent the beginning and end of things. Therefore to have them both is to have all. Head has been symbolized as the Creator, and Tail as the creation ; and when Head and Tail meet, Creator and Creation become one. When the two are one, *All is One* existence. The short Greek text within fig. 12 precisely means All is One (Hopkins 1; p. 107). Thus fig. 12 becomes a symbol of mysticism both by its design and by the text it incorporates. In fact it becomes a symbol of the Unity of Existence or of Wandatul-Wujud. Fig. 12 would then be an improvement upon fig. 9, for the latter allows its elements to be separated as Circle and its Contents, the contents again into two units, while fig. 12 cannot be divided at all. If we separate the serpent, in fig. 12, into two, the entire symbol is destroyed. Thus arose from monism the symbol of a serpent biting its tail which is also found in ancient China.

Summary and Conclusions

Alchemy still persists as an unsolved problem. This is because its proper origin has not been established. At present it is believed to have been a craft like gold-smithy. Since this was not the case its etymology, doctrines and symbols bear no relationship with one another. In the first instance its name should be connotative. This can at last be traced to the Chinese term, Kimiya, meaning gold-making-Juice. Even its Sanskrit name Rasayana, is derived from the word Rasa, the juice, and itself means Juice-incorporate. Both Kimiya and Rasayana are substances first and only next sciences dealing with some juices.

Secondly comes the objective of alchemy supported by some doctrines. To appreciate them best is to ask, who founded alchemy. In ancient times foodstuffs were scarce. The aged were felt as burden upon the bread winners. They had consequently to retire into a forest as solitary ascetics. They were to collect their own ration ; while any long illness meant death from starvation.

Their life made them yearn for youth and rejuvenation became their constant dream. They could not but give practical expression to it as their one pressing desire. The only medicines of the age were herbs. The ascetics came to believe that herbs like Soma could make them young and thus immortal. But like any drug Soma had to be taken regularly. Finding this irksome they conceived of a single dose drug of rejuvenation-cum-immortality. Thus arose alchemy.

The alchemist began by inquiring into the limitations of Soma. Its use was backed by Animism, according to which herbs and metals all had souls. These could be donated to man to add to his own life. But such a soul did not grow and Soma had to be taken like blood transfusions. The alchemist then saw a way of making the life-essence grow continuously so that once introduced it could last for ever.

Animism had attributed life to a herb as also to a metal. Dualism maintained that if these were really alive they must be fertile as well. As a result everything became either a male or a female, when each by itself could not be reproductive. This applied even to souls. The male-soul was called Ruh or Spirit, the donor of longevity, the female-soul was named Nafas or Soul specific, the donor of form or individuality. A perennial plant, like Ephedra or Soma, had a powerful Ruh but poor Nafas. On the contrary a metal with its solidity was the expression of a strong Nafas, but being liable to rust it was weak in Ruh. Then a Soma-Copper complex should have a well balanced soul where Ruh/Nafas would both be strong, making the soul self-reproductive. There are flowers like those of the date palm borne on different plants as male and female, while others with the two elements in the same organ. This was assumed to be the case with Ruh and Nafas in a herbo-metallic complex. But such a complex is not found in nature and to prepare one made alchemy an experimental science from its very start. The herbo-metallic complex then contains a self-reproductive soul which makes it everlasting. Its vehicle likewise assumes an eternal form. Since the Soma-copper complex already has a metal as its vehicle this becomes everlasting which means gold. The role of the herbal component in this transformation is that of a gold-making-juice for which the Chinese term is Kimiya. A

single dose of synthetic gold serves as an inoculum of the self generating soul and makes man immortal for ever. Synthetic gold was in reality the drug of rejuvenation-cum-immortality. The two objectives attributed to alchemy of making gold and rejuvenating man are thus the results of the same product.

It is also evident that the transformation of copper into gold occurred when life essence was infused into it. Alchemical gold was something living and something fertile. It was a ferment. When seeded into mercury it would make the latter again into gold. In other words if man was created out of "dust", gold was created out of copper. Writers, like Dante, of an age when alchemy was popular, did realize that, the alchemist tried to imitate creation, but it has long since been forgotten that, to the alchemist, ordinary gold was mere fossil-gold. Alchemy then recognized only one active principle, soul and a self-generating one.

Living alone, struggling to maintain health, the old ascetic had his thoughts always focussed on death. Without hopes of a future, or of life after death, he could exist even for a day. This explains how philosophy took its birth and the first problem it had to attack was the nature of an immortal element in man. This was on the theoretical side. In its practical phase it made the dreamer conceive of Soma as the natural drug of immortality, but when it proved to be a mirage he became an alchemist, trying to invent drugs of rejuvenation. Whether he succeeded or not the quest kept him on hopes and accompanied by his dreams he could survive a hard life of solitude.

We are now left with alchemical symbolism. The earliest symbol of Western or Alexandrian alchemy is Ouroboros, a serpent biting its tail, fig. 12 here. It is also found in China as also in India, but as a recognized symbol of mysticism. Moreover the Ouroboros contains a short Greek text, meaning All is One. There is thus internal indication for the text to be brought into harmony with the symbol. It is recognized that head and tail signify beginning and end so that the two meeting together become One, when All is One. With the two ends as One there is no beginning and no end, it is eternity, a symbol of eternal life. In this paper it has been explained that the serpent was the soul-custodian and thus a soul-donor so that it functioned like a creator or giver of life-essence. By its nature it became the creator, by

its form eternity or creation. When creator and creation become one, All is One. This in fact is the doctrine of the Unity of Existence, with the equivalent of the Persian Mystics' watch-word Hama-Ust, All is He (=One). Its half/half, as Creator/Creation or White/Black, cannot be separated any longer, the two represent an indivisible unity.

Fig. 4 again is the composition of an alchemist of medieval ages. It is in fact the quintessence of alchemy in picture and to interpret it is to explain alchemy. In the first instance it represents the Cosmic egg, with the four cosmic elements as the creator and micro- and macrocosm as the creation. The cosmic egg incorporates the creator and creation, much as an egg does its yellow and white, in other words as One. Microcosm is shown as a hermaphrodite carrying a Male/Female, well balanced Spirit/ Soul, soul which makes it self-generative. Just as the serpent, a creature, is again a creator, so is Microcosm, a creator wielding the weapons of creation, the Compass as the cosmic male agent and the Square as its other half. That these weapons generate life-essence to induce resurrection is shown in fig. 1. Compass/Square is a typical symbol of mysticism just as a coiled serpent is and both can be traced to China.

I he text which, so to say, illustrates fig. 12 and means All is One takes alchemy to mysticism. In support of such a conclusion there are other confirmatory statements available from a Greek MSS. on alchemy belonging to the 2nd cent. There is a Dialogue of Cleopatra, rendered by Taylor (3 ; p. 58), which begins by asking to "look at the nature of plants", as if to select only those like Soma or Kimiya from amongst them. Cleopatra asks the philosopher (who are alchemists or hakims rather than the physicians or tabibs), how the blessed waters (Abe Hayat of Persian mystics) visit corpses lying in the Hades and how the Medicine of Life reaches them, naturally to revive them, It is worth while mentioning here that Firdousi uses the word Kimiya as a herb meant for reviving the dead.

Besides the plants and the *blessed water*, the text mentions Medicine of Life. Whatever these may be their virtue is revealed by the last sentence of the Dialogue indicating that, "when the tomb is opened the dead issue from Hades as the babe from womb" due to the drugs having ultimately reached them. The phenomenon depicted is nothing else than that of resurrection, in

fact of rebirth as accepted by orthodox mysticism. The sentence is reminiscent of what a Chinese alchemist has to say. As translated by Chao Yun-ts'ung (15) it is mentioned that, "the substance which enables you to return to the origin and go back to the initial state is a King of Medicine." The Greek medicine revives the dead taking him further back to the time when the womb delivered him, as a babe. The Chinese text uses a more refined language substituting for womb the term "initial state". In the first instance Alexandrian and Chinese alchemy both speak of medicines and then of drugs reviving the dead, like the Kimiya of Firdousi. Therefore we can equate, Medicine of Life (Greek)=King of Medicine (Chinese). Both being drugs of immortality we can affirm that alchemy tried to confirm immortality in this world by their means. The nature of these drugs is best explained by the following series of equivalents:

Natural Products

I. Divine Water =Abe Hayat=Soma=Kimiya (Chinese)

Preparations

2. Medicine of Life (Greek)=King of Medicine (Chinese)=Herbometallic complex =Synthetic gold= Chin=Tan (Chinese)

In trying to explain the text in fig. 12 we have to look upon alchemy as applied mysticism and the symbol itself as that of pure mysticism. This is true also of fig. 4. Further fig. 4 can be equated with fig. 9, the former represents Cosmic egg, the latter Cosmic soul, both symbols of the source of existence. And such has been alchemical symbolism.

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FIGURES

1. To the right, Fu-Hsi, a male deity, offering away, a female element, the Mason's Square ; to the left, the female, Nue-Hua, likewise disposing of a male emblem, the cross-shaped Chinese Compass. The pair, in reproductive phase, is generating life-essence to revive the dead in the grave. Original from a Chinese grave of 3rd cent. From Cheng (10).
2. Mason's Square to our right and the Chinese Compass to our left, enlargements from fig. 2. The two are elements for generating life-essence.

3. Stylized serpents intertwined and generating life-essence to transform dead copper into live-gold. Original in a 12th. cent. Arabic MSS. on alchemy. From Thompson (11).
4. The Cosmic egg, with the creator and creation; creator, as four Cosmic elements, in two pairs, Air/Earth (Wings on a Globe) and Water/Fire (=Dragon spitting Flames); creation as microcosm, hermaphrodite; and as macrocosm, heavenly bodies. The Yang element or Compass is held by the male half, and the Mason's Square, as Yin, owned by the female half. The Compass/Square are identical with the same pair in fig. 2. Original by Jamsthaler, 1625. From Jung (12).
5. Engraving by L. Tintus 1672, being the portrait of an Italian physician. Top corners show the Yang/Yin pair as Cock/Serpent. The right bottom corner Violin and Bow as two supplementary opposites. The left bottom corner shows Compass, C., and Mason's Squar, S. From J. Schouten (13).

6. At the core, a small circle, shows the Creator, as four Cosmic elements, with the basal pair, as Air/Earth, and the upper, as Water/Fire. Creation, as the immortal human race, here as Jesus, who underwent resurrection. He is a substitute for immortal hermaphrodite of fig. 4. Macrocosm is sky and earth, with sun and moon, as the White/ Black circle. Corners outside contain

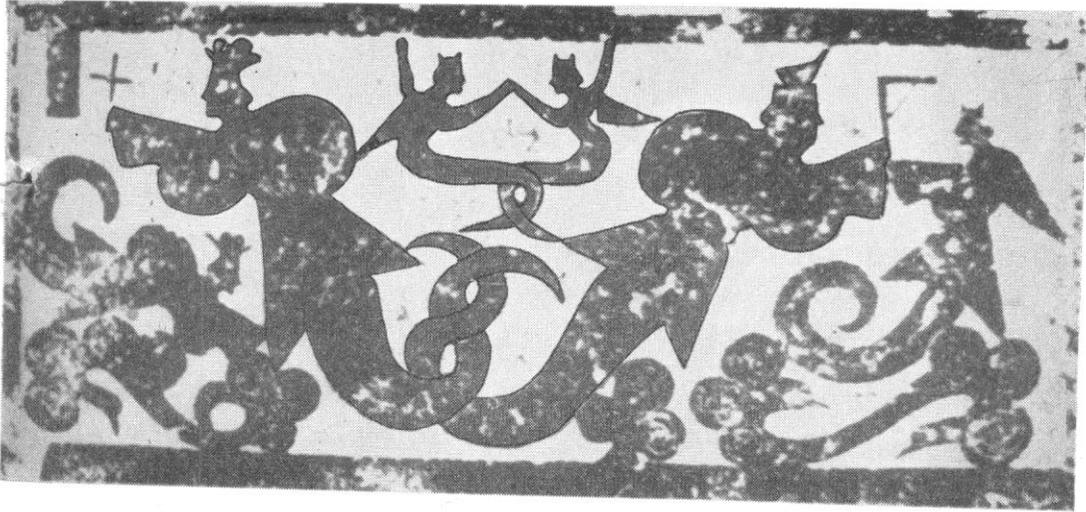


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Compass/Square, to the right, and Balance and Urn, as life/Death, to our left. Original by Albert Magnus, 1650. From Jung (12).



Fig. 3

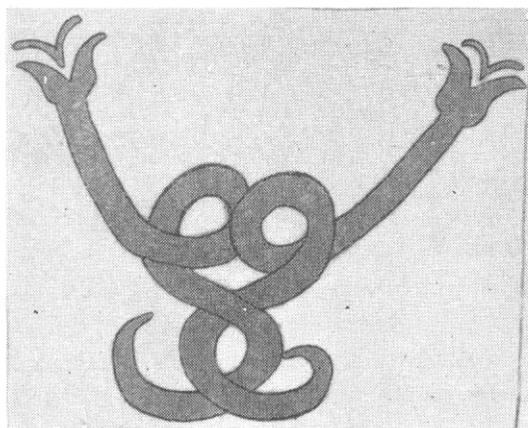


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

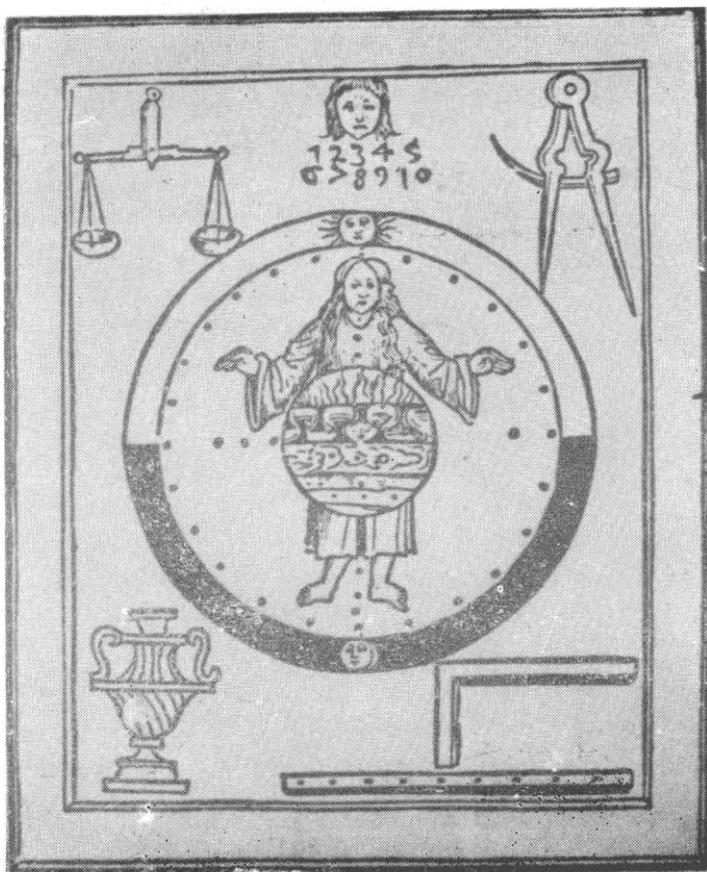


Fig. 6



Fig 7

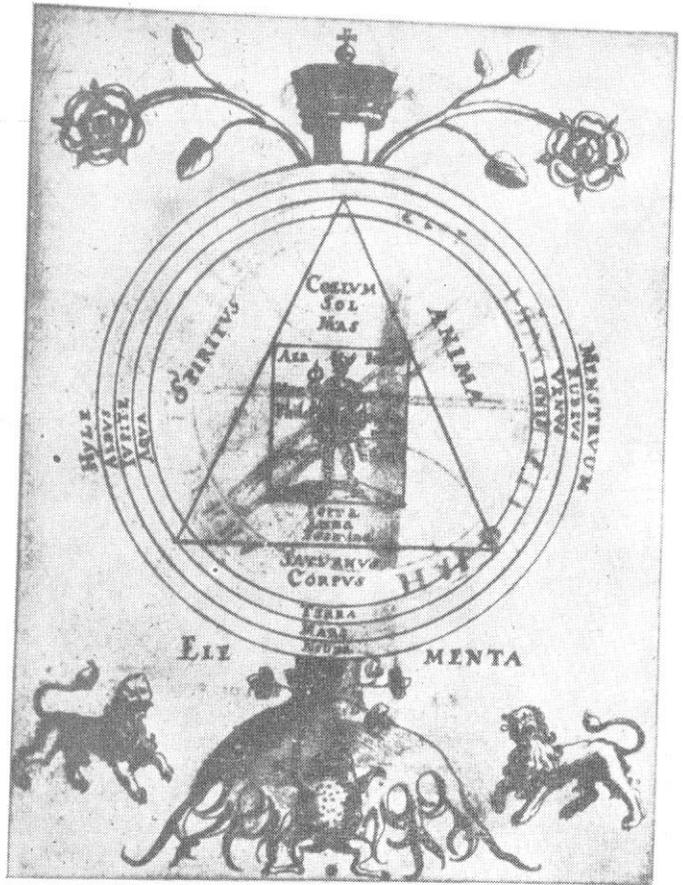


Fig. 8

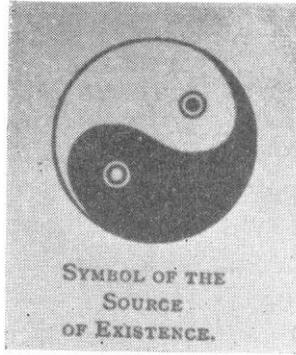


Fig. 9

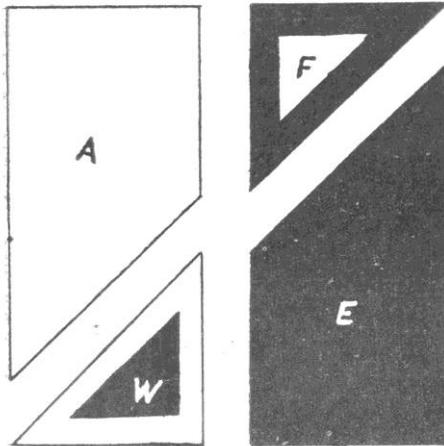


Fig 10

7. The Compass, generating a Circle, both Yang elements. The Wall is rectangular, thus a Yin element. Instead of a Square there is the Mason's measuring rod, the white stick near the leg of the master. The large circle contains a Yang triangle, and within it, a Square/Circle, as Yin/Yang, further enclosing the pair, Man/Woman. This is the self generating immortal pair, and as a unit, the equal of the hermaphrodite in fig. 4. The major creator is the Compass, and creation, the Circle, symbolizing eternity. Another pair of soul generator is the human pair. Original by Maier, 1618. From Jung (12).

8. The tree symbolizes life. At the bottom is a toad, with its nodular surfaced skin; it is not a frog. Toad is an import symbol of Chinese Taoism. The centre shows the Yang triangle, and a Yin square, with the king as the more important Yang element. Original by the English alchemist, Norton, 1630. From Jung (12).

9. Chinese symbol of Yang/Yin, or of the Cosmic soul, as the symbol of the source of existence, i.e. of Creator/Creation. The contents, White/Black are Air/Earth, as the major pair of Cosmic elements, incorporating, as minor elements, Water, as the spot on the white patch, and Fire, as the spot in the black half. The circle is the unavoidable creation, which is eternity. From Carus (14).

10. Key to fig. 9. White/Black in fig. 10 correspond with White/ Black of fig. 9; A. is Air, E. is Earth. As Left/ Right divisions they are Celestial/Terrestrial which applies to A/E. White/Black scheme also makes them Male/Female, Air as celestial and male, is a white large patch, size and colour as indications. E. is terrestrial-female, the exact opposite, of the other half of Air. \V., Water, in fig. 10., is the spot in the white half of fig. 9. Water is shown in fig. 10 as a larger white triangle covered by a smaller black one, leaving the larger to appear as a white rim. Water is celestial more than female, but both these elements are almost equal F., Fire, dual coloured had a larger darker rim than the white central piece; fire is terrestrial more than male, but both nearly equal. Fire is the eye-like spot in the black half of fig. 9.

11. Key to the major and minor divisions of the square, fig. 10, explaining the two halves and minor dots of fig. 9. Line C. is celestial; T. terrestrial; M. for male; F. for female. The square is cut vertically and diagonally producing two large and two small units. A., Air, as celestial and

male, is pure black. Triangle, with strata-like horizontal lines, is terrestrial first and male next; it is Fire, F., of fig. 10. The triangle with vertical parallel lines, like rain falling is basically celestial, but almost as much female, it is Water, W., of fig. 10.

12. Serpent biting its own tail. It is the most equivalent of the dualist symbol of Yin/Yang, fig. 9. Fig. 12 expresses unity of existence. Fig. 9 shows the creator as quadri-elemental, two major and two minor, and creation disguised as the circle. Fig. 12 shows creator as the head, meeting creation as the tail, Creator and Creation are one; hence All is One, being the exact meaning of the Greek text within fig. 12. This symbol of the unity of existence is in fact the first symbol of Western alchemy. From Taylor (3).

KITAB AL-HIYAL

IN THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE UMMAH

UNINTERRUPTED degeneration of the Muslim Polity to an absolute despotism and rapid growth, in its wake, of an urbanite civilization with Byzantine and Sasanian mores, grafted on the raw-feel of tribalism, vain glories of the militant aristocracy surrounded by hordes of *Mawalis*, slaves and attendants affecting a basic metamorphosis in the community organization of the *Ummah* in opposition to the world-view inherent in the Quran and actuated by the Sunnah of the prophet, put an unprecedented strain on the theologico-juristic thought of the Muslim World. Before, the stabilization of the juristic schools, which could not take place earlier than the advent of the Abbasids, theological innovations of various types served the purposes of the Umayyads. In support, traditions were amassed to show that nothing was happening which was not, indeed, predicted by the Apostle and therefore was irreversible ; the people were advised cynic resignation during the periods of trouble (*fitna*); and severe polemics were launched against the upholders of free will and human responsibility. But the discontent of the masses remained unabated, often bursting out in anti-Umayyad movements every now and then. At last, the Abbasids appeared. They rewarded their supporters by consolidating themselves into a hereditary monarchy under the sacred name of Khilafat. Meanwhile, juristic thought of the *Ummah* assumed a definite shape. The Abbasid rulers extended their patronage to the Fuqaha and declared the Shariah as the main pivot of their government. Those who refused to accept the Abbasid power like Malik or refused co-operation with their administration like Abu Hanifa were sternly dealt with. The jurists as a class fell in line with the Abbasids. Cahen faithfully reproduces the whole picture, when he says, "The Fuqaha were always more interested in the duties of the cult, in private law, in penal law than in public law and in the organizing and functioning of the administration and the character of its heads. These were things upon which it was prudent not to discourse too much if one did not want to incur some bitter disgrace. . . . The problem which faced the jurists attached to the Abbasids, then, was not to derive the ideal Muslim government from the

tradition *a priori*, but rather to institute a very loose filtering, which should permit, at the price of some retouching or else at the price of a few wiles of a few suggested reforms, the bestowal upon the regime as a whole of its certificate of 'Good Muslim.'²² In the course of time, a number of juristic devices were contrived whereby the existing rule, in spite of its deep-seated contradiction with the fundamentals of Islam, could still be pronounced as the legitimate khilafat or its rightful heir in true continuity with the state founded under the guidance of the prophet and his companions. As a consequence of this juristic activity, a literature came into existence, which may now be collected together as the "*Kitab al-Hiyal* in the political philosophy of the *Ummah*."

A Hila is a technical device which aims at a via-media through the legal difficulties for a particular purpose. As the *Ummah* departed from the social provisions of Islam and the ethos of the Mcdinite State, by drifting into the Roman and Persian conventions of public dealings, commerce, trade, agriculture, business, monetary and fiscal policy, mere generalizations from the Sunnah of the righteous companions and earlier generations did not suffice the change. The new order of compromise required growth of contrivances to tide over the mounting cleavage that was rapidly growing between the rule of the Shariah and the actual patterning of its system. On occasions, several kinds of juristic pretexts were innovated and put into currency with the main purpose of harmonizing the canonical requirements of Islam with the development of a particular measure in a definite situation. Their bewildering growth was so much alarming that the entire Shariah stood under the peril of complete betrayal. Consequently, those religious scholars and jurists to whom the perseverance of the Shariah was more dear than other ephemeral gains, waged wars against the practice of *Hiyal*. But, no battle was waged against those pretexts which were supporting the un-Islamic civic configuration of the *Ummah*, its public offices, its administration of the public treasury, its military junta, its scale of prestige and heirarchy of privileges and opportunities, in short its entire civilization. "The Abbasid rulers maintained a firm grip on the helm, and the Sharia courts never attained that position of supreme judicial authority independent of political

²² Claud Cahen, "Body Politique" in Von Grunebaum (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in Muslim Civilization* (New York, 1955), p. 139.

control which would have provided the only sure foundation and real guarantee for the idea of the *Civitas Dei*.²³ Consequently, make-shifts of the *Hijal* in marriage inheritance, and ordinary business dealings were the main targets of fuqaha while the juristic thought continued to make adjustment with every rising Emarah, dynastic rule and rise of dominions even within the realm of the so-called Khilafah. Their quick solutions and pretexts for the shar'i legalization of the ever-changing state of affairs led the people to mass apathy, collective submissiveness and political quietism. "The Medieval Muslim is not a citizen in the Greek or the post Renaissance sense of the word. The vicissitude of the government are his concern only when faith is at war with unbelief. He assumes no responsibility for civic or social betterment beyond defraying his canonical obligations to the authorities and to his fellow-men. He is frequently impatient with his rulers and thinks little of rioting, but on the whole he is content to let the princes play their game."²⁴

Ibn Qayyam al-Jawziyya is the first jurist of high stature in the history of Islam, whose most systematic exposition of the problem of *Hijal* surpassed all earlier sporadic efforts of its kind, though, as usual, with very-limited application, at least not touching the fringes of the socio-political problem. But the generalizations wrought in his analysis are however significantly relevant and equally applicable to the legal devices containing political content. "Flow is it possible," he remarked, "that the *Hijal* make the forbidden permissible, abrogate the obligations and wipe out the rights which, having basis in the interests of mankind, can be realized only by observance of the Shariah."²⁵ His remarks levy a strenuous demand and impose a precise limit on the validity of the Shar'i devices and legal contrivances. Ibn Qayyam is not against legal *via medias*. Creative juristic activity is essentially a developing process which encounters novel situations by devising new means of passing through them, but genuine legal innovation, instead of striking at the interests which are protected under the legal system, preserves and consolidates them. At times, instead of true creations, shallow inventories however, take place that plague the societies

²³ N. J. Coulson, *Government and the Sharia Law* (Edinburg, 1964), p. 121.

²⁴ Von Grunebaum, *Islam : Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, (London, 1955), p. 26.

²⁵ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, '*Alaam al Muqayyin*, III, (Cairo, 1st edition), p. 152.

and undermine the normativeness of their legal order, loosen the moral fibre and gradually disintegrate the ideal image that inspires their members and keeps them to the axiological base of their collective life.

Ibn Qayyam's refutation of the deductive validity and canonical reasoning of the illicit *Hijal* is based on the sense of values, which led him to the premiss that *prohibition* and permission are intrinsic and inherent characteristics of activities; they cannot be arbitrarily affirmed or denied, added to or withdrawn. Consequently, no Hila which permits a prohibited activity, or prohibits a permissible activity is a valid construct. In other words, values are real without being affected by their deduction, affirmation or denial. By propounding the premises of Valuational Realism, Ibn Qayyam gave, indeed, a new foundation to the Muslim Culture, to its jurisprudence, to its conception of divinity which in its theoretic formalization was debased to irrationalism under the pull of the Medieval Theology to which Al-Ghazali made no less a contribution. By exaggerating the principle of volition to the extremities of Nihilism, this theology emasculates moral consciousness. Its notion of divinity is a mere generalization of a despot whose will is absolute, infinite, independent of every principle. There is no worth in itself, and there is no evil in itself ; both good and evil are expressions of mere likes and dislikes dependent on its pleasures. The ground of the Sharia is not therefore laid in the intrinsic worthiness of its prescribed manners, rules and devices, but in the arbitration of the will of God, the absolute sovereign of the universe. The expounders of this the)logy contested the concept of justice as a condition of Divine activity, not on the ground of Divine Mercy which the upholders of Divine Justice neglected, but on the ground of Divine Activity.²⁶ Thus, obliterated from the idea of values-in-themselves, Shariah was taken as a mere set of yes and nos stipulated by the Divine Ruler.²⁷ Consequently, the inventor of legal measures could not feel himself bound to any value, or moral consideration. His only concern was dexterity of juristic reasoning which had to play the see-saw game through the maze of Divine coercions. "They had to calculate the chances of legal validity to a nicety if

²⁶ Shahrastani, *Al milal wa al-Nabal*, 1, (Cairo, 1317), pp. 53-60. Al-Ghazali : *Ihya*, Vol. II, section IV, pp. 140-151.

²⁷ Al-Masoodi, *Murawaj al-Zabb*, II, (Cairo, 1346) pp. 190-194 ; *Fawateh alRabenooh Ala .Sarah Musallam al-Thabut*, 1, (Cairo, 1332), p. 52 ; Ibn Qayyam, *Madarej al- Salekeen*, I, (Cairo, 1st ed.), p. 27.

the *Qadi*, who was bound to the sacred law, was not to upset the real effects of the business transaction, which their customers, the merchants, had in mind, effects which depended upon the validity of every single element in an often complicated series of legal transactions."²⁸ This tendency to stick to the form of the law and devise means for any end without a feeling of guilt whatsoever was accentuated, if not caused, by the irrational theology that had deeply vitiated the growth of the Muslim thought.

Ibn Qayyam's dictum that actions have their own beauty and ugliness, amounts to a reshaping of outlook by severance of connection with the despot-like concept of Divinity, that had seized the minds of the Muslim people ever since the rise of the Umayyads and gradually perfected to a neat and clear theological doctrine by Abu'l Hasan Ashari, Abu Hamid Ghazali and mystics of various orders. The formidable insight of Ibn Qayyam led him to conclude that "the Shar'ī-stipulations are made incumbant because of their intrinsic worthiness... the reason behind the prohibited (things) is their own ugliness. When the manufacturing of *hila* is carried over to strangulate the stipulations and ease the prohibitions, the intrinsic beauty or ugliness inhering in them is not thereby scrapped. Consequently, when there is no change in the beauty and ugliness, there could be no change in the judgement relating to them. When a pretext is fabricated to commit a prohibited act, though the form of fabrication may be of that of a permissible act, yet in its end as well as in nature, the act will remain prohibited, there is no form to permit it and never will be the effects of validation occupy it. Consequently, it will be void. "²⁹ On these permises, Ibn Qayyam works out a universal principle which applies to the evolution of the Shariah. He says that all those juristic innovations are unlawful from the Islamic point of view, which are designed to open the door for the prohibitions, in spite of the prohibitory characteristics which appertain to them, or cause loosening of the compulsory things in spite of the element of necessity (present in their characteristics)."³⁰

²⁸ Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), p. 80.

²⁹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya , loc. cit., III, p. 151.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 151-153.

This universal law has no restrictive limits. Equally does it contain in its purview the development of constitutional theory in Islam as it contains the private law and penal jurisdiction. Consequently, the juristic activity involved in the evolution of the socio-political thought of the *Ummah* needs to be examined.

II

Orientalists like Arnold, Schacht, MacDonald, Rosenthal, etc., start the constitutional theory of Islam with Al-Mawardi, Tahir Baghdadi and Ibn Qutaiba. Historically it has a far earlier origin. There was a clear vision of the nature of the political aspect of the Community and its theoretic exposition during the first century, even though the *Khilafah* was transformed into a *Mulk* by Muawiya, a process which attained completion with the arrival of the Abbasids. Some of the members of the Umayyad dynasty themselves gave expression to the collective voice and judgement of the *Ummah* on the problem, while Abu Yusuf, al-Mawardi and Ibn Jamah simply developed constitutional *hijal*, not juristic theory of the political organization of Islam. Muawiya II, nominated by his father Yazid, the son of Muawiya, succeeded to the office of the 'Chief of the faithfuls' in 64/683. After a rule of three months and one day, he summoned the people and spoke, "I do not possess the strength to bear the burden of the rulership. I had wished that I should, following Abu Bakr, nominate some one as my successor or following Umar I should nominate six men to elect by consultation any one from among themselves, but I have failed to find out a man like Umar and I have also failed to find out six men of that category. Hence I vacate this office and you may elect anyone you like as your Khalifa."³¹ This illustrious grandson of Muawiya squarely met, in this declaration at practical level, the Umayyad's argument of succession by nomination and enunciated the constitutional principle inherent in the foundation of the *Khilafat al-Nabi*. He asked the people to elect their Chief, the successor of the Prophet. But, the powerful Umayyads foiled his intents, and enthroned Marwan. Abdul Malik, Valid, Sulaiman, succeeded one after the other in the dynastic line on the principle of nomination by the ruling Sovereign. Umar bin Abdul Aziz succeeded

³¹ W. Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, I (Cairo, 1290 A. H.), p 246 ; Ilyas Ahmad, *Sovereignty, Islamic and Modern* (Karachi, 1965), p. 83.

Sulaiman in 99/717 on the same basis, but he gathered the people and said, "I have been given the responsibilities of Khilafah without my wish and without consulting the people. Hence I myself throw away the 'Mill-stone' of my *bayab* (the contract of Khilafah) which has been tied around your neck. Now you may elect anyone whom you like your Khalifa."³² It was the Umayyad's practice that every ruling sovereign used to obtain for his nominee the *bayab* from the nobles and the public in his own life time, so as to ensure his ascension to the throne without religious objection. They were convinced that nomination by the ruling Amir does not entitle one to ascend to the office of the Amir al-Muminin. They held out that it was *bayab* of the people which invests one with the authority of Khilafah to rule over the realm of Islam. Consequently, in order to preserve the Khilafah in their dynastic line, they maintained the facade of *bayab*. Umar bin Abdul Aziz threw aside this facade which in its form was a right measure but subservient to evil ends. It was a Shar'i *kilo* that the Umayyads adopted. Umar repudiated it, and set the people free from the legal burden of the *bayab* to him, and asked them to choose their Imam. With great joy, the people asked him to continue as their Khalifa. The Umayyads were no longer in power now; he returned everything of illicit earnings of his family to the public treasury and restored the ways of Abu Bakr and Umar. The Umayyads poisoned him to death in 101/707 and again seized the power. Yazid bin Walid who succeeded Hisham b. Abdul Malik in 126/744 addressed the people in the spirit of Umar b. Abdul Aziz and said, "I would try to maintain equality of rights of all—whether they live far away or nearer, and if I fulfil my promises, you may obey and help me; and if I fail in them, you may depose me. You are to be witness of my penitence. If you find a good man worthy or promising what I have promised and want to do *bayab* on his hands, then I will be the first to do *bayab* to him." But he was not to survive for more than six months. Thus all efforts to set the Khilafah on right constitutional base were frustrated, but presently, we are not interested in the historical developments. Our interest lies in precisely determining the nature of religious consciousness of the *Ummah* on the problem of community organization during the early periods of Islam and for the particular purpose, we have recorded the views of Muawiya II, Umar bin Abdul Aziz and Yazid

³² Muin al-Din Ahmad Nadvi, *Tarikhī Islam*, Part II, p. 237 on the authority of Ibn Jawzi's *Manaqib Umar bin Abdul Aziz*; Ilyas Ahmad, loc cit., p. 85.

bin \Valid who gave vent to the collective consciousness of the people. The junior companions of the prophet, that is, those who were infants and youths during the life of the Prophet, the *Tabiin*, those who followed them, and the succeeding generation of the *Salaf*, in short all those who belonged to the first three or four generations of the *Ummah*, themselves saw or heard from their fathers and grandfathers about the nature and structure of the Khilafah. In between the circumstances, events and procedures of the appointment of Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khattab and Uthman bin Affan to the steership of Islam, those generations comprehended the socio-political meanings of the community of the believers in the idea of *bayah* the expressive consensus of the people, as the constitutive principle of the *Khilafah al-Rasul*. The Umayyads did not dare to challenge or alter it. What they did was to jeopardize its practical effects by administrative manipulation, coercive measures and oppressive tactics, reducing the *bayah* to a juristic farce for the continuity of their dynastic rule. "The theoretic edifice of the Muslim dominions remained intact to the extent to which the Umayyad rulers adhered to the idea of the election of the chief of the believers by general consensus of the *Ummah*.

The Abbasid, on the contrary, tried to dispense with the idea of the consensus of the people behind the office of the Khalifa. They altered the constitutive *bayah* into the oath of allegiance. Those who refused the oath were crushed for going against the canons of the religion, for, according to their new theory, their dynasty had the divine sanction to rule over the community. This major departure from the religious consciousness of the earlier generations was accomplished by a number of doctrinal devices but the dominant current of the Muslim thought never absorbed the Abbasid idea. As a consequence, the later Abbasid thinkers were forced to devise hi/a-tools within the framework of the original theory coming down from the first generations of the Believers, with the purpose of representing the Abbasid Sovereignty as the legitimate authority of the Muslim dominions.

The political theory of the Abbasid State, thus, underwent two phases of development. In the first phase, Saffah, Mansur, Mandi, Harun, etc., appeared as *Ashab al-Nass wal-Tayyun* claiming their right to govern, not from the collective authority or agreement of the believers, but from the *Nasus* of the Quran (arguments based on the verses of the Holy Book)interpreted, as

they were, in the light of a stock of *Abadith* (saying) attributed to the Prophet, as, for instance: "Members of my house are like the Noah's Ark; those who took refuge in it were saved, those who faltered away were perished"; "I leave behind two precious things among you. If you hold them with firmness you will not go astray: the book and my house."

From the standpoint of the bulk heritage of the earlier generations, the Abbasid theory undoubtedly constitutes a *biyyal* deviation from the Shariah, but from another point of view, it is a new *Mazhab* or cult, having its own aesthesis and theoretic formulations, common to all the Hashmite movements. Its most classical representation is preserved in the epistles of the Abbasids addressed to their subjects, especially to the inhabitants of Khurasan. One such epistle of al-Mamun consists of the following propositions and exposition of their political authority : "The inheritance of Khilafah to the excellent men from his *di ab qurba* (the Prophet's relatives) is due to the immense devotion to Him the Messenger of God had, as He Himself put it in His revelations. The Almighty graced His Prophet with rare favours, by directing him to advise his followers to extend their love to his relations—kiths and kin—in exchange for the message he brought unto them and his guidance that caused their deliverance from the untruth. Thus the precedence (of the house of the prophet over others) was established by the will of Cod.... The Almighty and Great says (to His Prophet), 'Tell (the people), I asked you for no requital for my work except love for the relations.' And what re-affirms His selection (of the Prophet's House) is the information He has purified them and absolved them of sin. Says Almighty, 'Allah certainly wishes, On people of the House of the Prophet, to absolve you of sin and purify you completely.' And what gives unshakable firmness to their right to inherit...is the clear revelation of God, 'And blood-relations inherit one another according to the Book of Allah.'"³³ The long epistle concludes as follows : "And when there is true knowledge, there remains no doubt: (1) About the compassion of God, His Mercy and Kindness in exonerating mankind from what lies beyond their sphere and reach; (2) about His sufficiency in appointing rulers for them (the mankind) because they are hopelessly unable to search for and find out (their rulers); (3) about His

³³ Ali Tabataba, *Al-Fakhr*, (Cairo, 1921), p. 183. English Translation by C. E. J. Whitting (London, 1947), p. 130.

Responsibility in elevating the status of their rulers to the highest by connecting their lineage to the Prophet and making it obligatory on mankind to extend their love to them. And the ignorance of people does not cheat them as to the purpose of this obligation (as a consequence of which) they were not obliged to recognize anyone else other than these men (belonging to the House) as their rulers."³⁴ Since, this thesis, as I have remarked earlier, is an entirely new politico-religious doctrine, it should not be considered a distortion or hila-modification of the dominant trend of Islam. It was meant to be an *Asl* (Grund-Begrif) of the religion. Earlier, the march of the Abbasids against the Umayyads was followed by an intense propaganda, spreading rumours in the form of predictive traditions like the following:

"When you see black banners coming from Khurasan, then go towards them scrawling (even) on the ice, i.e. in the most abject state of humbleness, for the Khalifa of God, the vicar of the right, would be with them."³⁵

"A man will rise from Mawar al-Naher; he will be called Harith Hurath. Before him will be a man, Mansoor. He will give honours to the House of Mohammad, as the Quraish gave honours to the Prophet of God. It is obligatory on every believer to help him."³⁶

The victory of the Abbasids was essentially and fundamentally a victory of a new doctrine, that implied a radical transformation of the religious outlook; it was a victory of theocracy over the community-view of the organization of *Ummah*; of unmitigated monarchy over the prospects of the governance by consultation, of sacrosanct character of a particular house over the Divine character of the consensus of the people.

But, in spite of their doctrinal estrangement from the *Ummah*, the Abbasid rulers did not abandon the practice of extorting *bayah* from the people like their Umayyad predecessors. The continuity of the institution,

³⁴ Qamar al-Din Khan, *Al-Mawardi's Theory of the State*, (Lahore, 1st edition) pp. 14-15 on the authority of *Jomhorat Rasail al-Arab*, Vol. III, pp. 383.35.

³⁵ Shah Ismail Shahid, *Mansab-i-Imamat*, Urdu Trans. by Hakim M. H. Alvi (Lahore, 1st edition), p. 41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

though made unnecessary by the Divine nature of their rule, as they were prone to conceive it, yet it was the only means of suggesting to the *Ummah* that the Abbasids were not different from them in either belief or outlook. Furthermore, the continuity of the institution enabled them to isolate their enemies, the heroic republicans, who were always ready to proclaim the original theory of Khilafah with their blood, as well as their radically opposites, the rival Hashmites, who were not to reconcile with the Abbasids for usurping the Divine right of the House of Ali. The former were nicknamed as the Kharijites, meaning thereby the people who were gone out of the pale of the community; and the latter were condemned as Rawafiz, that is, the people who were led astray; the *Ummah* in between the extremes, maintaining a composure of silence under their authority, rather obedient to them, was given the honorific title of *ahl al-Sunnah wa'l Jama'ah* and was promised a rule of the Sharjah. This promise was a source of adjusting the religious minded people to the sovereign authority of the Abbasids, but at the same time it involved the (religious) obligation of defending the Abbasid government as a proper authority or Khilafah of the community of believers. The Ulama fulfilled this obligation by following the standard methodology of the shari jurisprudence. This activity gave rise to what I have called the *Kitab al-Hiyal* in the political thinking of the *Ummah*.

III

The political *Kitab al-Hiyal* was written down in the course of many decades, rather centuries until it became an integral part of the Muslim psyche and an unchallengable legacy of the Muslim thought. An episode with al-Mamun gives the full contents of the work, its scope and problems. "Once a Kharijite undaunted in any way asked Mamun this question : "Tell me regarding this seat which thou occupiest—doest thou sit there with the unanimous consent of the people or by violence or force? Mamun at once replied : Neither the one, nor the other; but one who governed the affairs of the Muslims bequeathed it to me and to my brother, and when the authority devolved upon me I felt that I needed the unanimous consent of the people, but I saw that if I abandoned the government the security of Islam would be disturbed, the highways would be infested with robbers, and public affairs would fall into confusion and there would be strife and disorder by which the Muslims would be hindered from going on pilgrimage and doing their duty,

wherefore I arose in defence of the people unless they should be of accord upon one man whom they should approve, and I would then resign the government to him ; when they agree upon a man, I will abdicate in their favour."³⁷

There are many significant points in al-Mamun's plea. First, he makes his defence on the basis of the general principle of the *Ummah* that the Khilafah is by consent of the people; secondly, he represents the historical character of his authority that the rule was given to him by one who had ruled over the affairs of the Muslims; thirdly, his readiness to abdicate, if the faithful agreed upon a Khalifa; and fourthly, to continue in authority to look after the affairs and security of the community till such an agreement was reached. The chain of reasoning and logistics of al-Mamun's answer raised the scaffolding of the Shari evolution of political thought in subsequent generations. Its juristic effect was perpetual postponement of the original Shar'i principle. Since it implies suspension of the effects of a Shari provision and opens door for a Shar'i prohibition, i.e. no authority without public consent, it constitutes a *bila* fabrication in the body of the Sacred Law. The Abbasid *Unimak* of the middle course assimilated compilation of these fabrications in its legal theory, political philosophy, and canon of the Shariah, and thus generated a particular type of objective mind behind the dynamics of Muslim Civilization, quite foreign to the objectivity of the earlier generations of Islam.

Al-Mamun's legal excuse was his stake on the idea of unanimity of consensus for the appointment of the Khalifa; he was to continue till that requirement was satisfied. But, in his epistle, he had already written about its impossibility: "For, if all the people of the East and the West without distinction were to choose an Imam for themselves, there is little hope that they would arrive at an agreement till the end of time, on account of the dissensions and differences prevalent in them."³⁸ The impossibility of unanimous choice, consequently, became in his case the Shari *bila* of his continued, uninterrupted authority as the custodian of the public affairs. The secret of his argument lies in presenting the whole politico-religious problem in an *either. or* situation : either the elected Khalifa or his rule given to him as

³⁷ Amir Ali. *A Short History of the Saracens* (London, 1961), Ch. XVIII., pp. 230-81.

³⁸ Risaltal Khamis, loc. cit., p. 15.

a historical fact. There are however a series of theoretical alternatives between these extremes. In this respect juristic reason operates on the axiom that if there is no possibility of the excellent state then a state of affairs containing more provision of excellence is preferable to one that contains a lesser degree of it. Consequently, if the principle of Khilafah by people's consent means appointment of an imam by the unanimous agreement of the people of the East and the West, then its practical difficulties and consequent impossibility should not entail its complete suspension or permanent postponement. There is no such implication of the principle; what it implies as a norm of the political authority is utmost degree of its realization. If unanimity is an impossibility then majority of agreement attains the position of a sufficient condition for the appointment of an Imam, according to the requirement of the Shariah.

Absence of the rule of majority produces a lacuna in the deductions of al-Mamun and consequently makes this plea a *hila*-device from the standpoint of the Islamic jurisprudence. This rule is not only deducible from the theoretic consideration of moral or religious obligation, but also from the systematics of the Shari deductions crystalized as they were, in the development of the famous schools of the jurists. The early fuqaha, during the days of the Umayyads, were used to depend on their own individual judgements. But the confusing multiplicity of individual legal opinions was brought to unity and order by the evolution of the principle of *Ijma*, as the methodic source of the compilation of the Shariah. The individual *ijtihad* was thus, classified as a *Zam* (speculation) or fallible deduction. Its function was to yield the content for the synthetic activity of the Juristic Reason operating with the *Ijma* of *Ahl al-Ray* as creative principle developing the private opinions into the objective law of Islam. But, the *Ijma*, in its application to the particular cases, was interpreted as denoting the majority opinion of the jurists. This majority opinion as fulfilling all the necessary meanings of the juristic consensus was supposed to be endowed with a divine character, under the notion of the *lima* (infallibility of the consensus) and provided the mechanics for the codification of the Shariah and its formalization to new cases. Granting the idea of appointment of an Imam by public consensus as shar'i obligation of the believers, the *Ijtihad* of every Muslim, in the choice of the Imam, according to the same methodology of the Shariah, would be treated as a private *Zam*, a fallible religious opinion, which would not attain

sanctity, without its conformity with the majority principle, which transforms the individual *Zanun* (opinions) into a consensus of the *Ummah*, and therefore into a Shar'i judgement obligatory on all the believers. Since the principle, as the practical form of *Ijma'* in the deductions of the Shariah was stabilized in the evolution of the Muslim jurisprudence, long before the period of al-Mamun, the latter's insistence on the unanimity constituted a grave hila-reasoning from the strict point of view of the Muslim law. The *hila* was not an ordinary one ; in its imports it threw a challenge to one of the very foundations of the Shariah, to its law of codification, expansion, and evolution, and therefore was fundamentally against the religious consciousness of Islam. But, the fuqaha never challenged it. The Shariah had remained suspended of its public and social effects, till the European political philosophy reawakened the Muslims to the acceptance and necessity of the majority principle in the constitution of states and its formalization in the conduct of governments. The evolution of Islamic jurisprudence, its methodology of deduction and formalization is essentially correlated with a democratic society, organized in its government and distribution of power on the basis of the majority principle, but its flowering under the aegis of the autocratic rule of the dynasties is a historical phenomenon, which has influenced its character, deductions and codification. Never has it taken up the majority principle to the domain of public affairs and administration and to the disposal of authority. In those fields consequently, it is a mere patch work of *Hiyal*.

The second part of al-Mamun's pretensions for his authority is based on an axiom which purports to condone the present state of affairs till the beginning of a better one. As an independent norm of the axiological reasoning, this principle has a duly admitted place in moral and legal judgement and likewise in the application of the Shariah to concrete human situations. But, as usual, the Abbasid argument omits a vital ingredient of the principle which alone may lend quality of moral approval and Shar'i permission to a *de facto* state of affairs handed down from the past. The ingredient is posited by the moral obligation and religious duty that leads one to pursue actively the realization of the good state. This active pursuit is *a priori* condition of condoning the shortcomings of the present situation. Immoral, illegitimate or prohibitory structure of the present state in itself contains the obligatory duty of relentless striving to undo and modify it to

suit the logical structure of a positively good state of affair. Since, this aspect of striving is absent from the readiness to vacate the authority as soon as a Khalifah is chosen by general consent, the argument turns out to be a network of *hila*: to validate the illicit rule amounting to the reversal of the order of good and evil, obligations and prohibitions' that constitute the social order warranted by the Shariah of Islam. There can be no *Istashab bi'l-Hal*³⁹ (argument by appeal to the present) in this case, because the *Ishbashab* as a genuine piece of argument necessarily presupposes that there is no established case of prohibitory character-complex in the nature of what prevails at present, and when there is no such case, the principle of *Istashab* allows it to continue. But with the domination of the Abbasids in most of the arguments, *Istashab* divorced of its binding presuppositions, appeared in the *hila*-reasoning, playing a fundamental role in the evolution of the Muslim political thought.

Instead of developing the true implications of Islam and rigorously extending it over to the exposition of the rights of men, duties of the believers and the constitution of public authority, the Muslim thinkers spent their energies on sharpening new *hijal* to raise the unwholesome organization of the community to the dignity of religious institutions flowing from the living streams of the Shariah. The wind of change which was betaking the Muslim Culture may be illustrated by radically different responses of great jurists within a short span of three decades. When al-Mansur was consolidating his power (in 142/762) "the famous doctor of Islam, Malik, son of Anas, gave his decision that the oath of allegiance to the Abbasids, having been obtained by force, was of no binding obligation. This is characteristic at once for the ethics of Islam and for the view of the rule of the Abbasids, which was taken by those persons who were properly speaking... guardian of religion and of the Sacred Law."⁴⁰ But the *Ummah* was soon infested with the jurists and judges who were to fortify the profligate *imamah* established without consultation with the people. Abu Yusuf, the Chief Qadi of Baghdad during the reigns of al-Mahdi (the successor of al-Mansur) and al-Harun, appealed to the working of the Divine hand in the

³⁹ Al-Sayuti, *Al-Ishbah wa' l-Nazair* (Cairo, 1930), p. 37.

⁴⁰ Theodore Noldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*. English translation by J S. Black (Beirut, 1963), p. 123

affairs of mankind. His argument in fact is a symbolic mode of *Ishtashab bi'l-Hal* without observing its shar'i limits. There is no difference whether you call it the work of God or a work of history from the shar'i point of view. In both the constructs appeal is made to the present state of affairs, which solely, by virtue of its presence, and for no other reason logically required of the Shar'i deduction, is treated as the sufficient ground for its existential continuation. Abu Yusuf corroborates a number of sayings of the Prophet in the welding of his argument without being even slightly considerate to their contexts and presuppositions.⁴¹ He quotes, for instance, "One who obeys me, indeed, obeys God ; and one who obeys the Imam, indeed obeys me"; "Even if a nose-cut negro slave is made your Imam, hearken to him and obey him." Both of these sayings presuppose, of course, legitimate Imamah, to which Abu Yusuf makes no reference. He brings another Hadith: "When God intends good to a people, He appoints over them governors who are forbearing and put their properties in the hands of tolerant men ; and when he wants to put them to ordeal, He appoints over them stupid governors and entrusts their goods into the hands of avaricious men." In this manner, Abu Yusuf stifles the moral obligation of the believers in relation to the politico-religious fortune of the *Ummah*, for the logical implication of his reasoning is full endorsement of the process of history and its fluctuations as proper episodes, practices, patterns and constitution of the *Ummah*.

Contagion of this particular form of empiricism or juristic positivism is one of the main features of the ontogenesis of the Abbasid *Ummah* into a throughgoing negation of Islam. Ibn Abi al-Rabi, of the court of Mu'tasim (833-42), tries to give a religious look to this mode of metamorphosis of the *Siyasat al-Shariah*, and wrote "that homage to the kings is obligatory on the Ulama as obedience to the King is obligatory upon them, for it is God who appoints Kings upon the land and entrusts to them the guardianship of His slaves to them, as He says : '(it is He) who hath created you inherit the earth and elevates some of you over others ' ; and 'obey God, obey the Apostle and the Ruler (from among you)'".⁴²

⁴¹ Abu Yusuf, *Kitab al-Kharaj* (Egypt, 1352), pp. 3-12.

⁴² Ibn Abi Rabi *Suluk al-Malik fi Tadbir al-Mamalik*, Urdu Translation by Mazhar Ali Kamil (Karachi, 1962), pp. 70-83.

Thus the doctrine that he developed was a fiction, amicably adaptable to the rise and fall of the rulers, and quietly opening the door for unconditional *Istashab bi'l-Hal* as a canonical methodology of Islam. Aberrations like this deeply vitiated the propositions of politico-juristic thought in Islam. All major socio-political works were irresistibly led towards the canonical permission of the phenomenon of power-state, and consequently delicate waves of hila-reasoning flooded their representation of the Shariah.

Hila-products are recognizable by their logical structure. Ibn Qayyim should also be credited for his thorough examination of the mechanics and elements of *hiyal*. He lays down the principal rules of their recognition amidst the *fiqhi* innovations⁴³ as follows:

1. They change the system of obligations and prohibitions;
2. They are made of conceits and fallacies There is always some kind of sophistry and uneven inference in their texture.
3. In their main form, their reasoning involves a reference to the Salaf, to the companions, to the Apostle and to the Divine legislator, with the main purpose of showing them to follow vigorously from the *usul al-din*. Ordinary shar'ī reasoning is also based on the same sources, but the class of *hiyal* is clearly discernible by unmethodic jumps in their constructs, unsuitable analogies in the main body of their arguments, and incredulous evocation of general principles of the shariah in their final conclusions. Essentially, they skip over the series of limitations or considerations which enable the general law (as for instance : juristic preference, or public interest, etc.) to apply to the particular case subject to their judgement.
4. The agent of the *Hila* lacks the consciousness of sin, and does not feel repentance for his doings.
5. He wants to cheat the creator and creature, both, often trying to seek concessions in his favour through the linguistic forms of the law.
6. The *Hiyal* are marked by opportunism, which encourages the enemies to condemn the faith as lacking in sincerity and purposiveness.
7. The agent of *Hila* uses his wits and reason for undermining those principles and conventions, which were established and strengthened by the Apostle of God, and repudiates those traditions which were made obligatory by him.

⁴³ Ibn Qayyim, loc. cit, III, pp. 156-191.

The total effects of the *Hijal* were far reaching. They changed the character-complex of Islam, modified its societal configuration, resulting in the disintegration of its spirit, with its gradual redintegration into creature of a new make.

Ibn Qayyam discusses four kinds of *hila*, each representing a particular mode of encroachment upon the Shariah and the form of impact on the community organization of the *Ummah*: (1) development of a *modi vivendi* to serve illicit goals, (2) deployment of an obligatory measure in a manner which makes it subservient to unwholesome ends, (3) adaptation of legitimate and permissible provisions to prohibited or evil design, and (4) involvement of illicit means and ways to rightful claims and ends ⁴⁴

There can be no compromise, no synthesis, or no amalgam between right and wrong, good and evil. According to Ibn Qayyam, all such devices, inventories, legal fictions, and manners and morals that combine good and evil are without exception *hi Hijal*, and represent the following juxtaposition of right and wrong in their nature : (1) good ends with evil means, (2) evil ends with good means, (3) evil ends with value-free (neutral) means, and (4) value-free ends with evil means. Accordingly, the sound methodology of juristic evolution in Islam is a creative activity which synthesizes (1) good means with good ends, (2) value-free means with good ends, (3) value-free means with value-free ends, and (4) good means with value-free ends. In other words, genuine *modi vivendi* in Islamic legal theory are either combinations of good things or of those things for which there is moral neutrality, involving neither prohibition, nor obligation.

The above analysis of *hijal*, exposition of their intent and nature in a background of the rightful modes of Shar'i innovations, enable us to examine the juristic fictions which cropped up in Muslim thought during and after the transformation of the Khilafah into a Mulk. There is no better way to encounter the multitude of their deductions than to dig them out from their very roots. This approach brings them down to some four basic principles:

1. The principle of necessity (*darurah*) i.e. argument by appeal to the state of

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 119-140.

emergency (*Idtarar*);

2. The principle of peace in the land versus disturbance (*fitna*);
3. The principle of social order versus disorder; and
4. The principle of social solidarity and unity of the *Ummah* against the perils of disunity and dissension.

It seems as if the social-political consciousness of the *Ummah* as it passed on and was informed of, from generation to generation, through the vehicles of *Abkam al-Sultaniyah*, *Tabrir al-Abkam*, *Mirror of the Kings*, *Ihya al-ulum al-Din*, *Siyasat Namah*, *Fatava-i-Jahandari* and *Izalat al-Khifa*, could conceive of nothing in its self-reflexion, but axiomatic foundation of its deliberations on those principles which at best represent an unusual passing moment in which survival only counts as the supreme value of morality, law and religion. Synthesis of these *usul* in a fourfold schema served not only as a disciplinary model for the socio-political probe, but also as the 'norm' of Shar'i reasoning on the affairs of the *Ummah*, its public interests, clustre of institutions, and orientation of its future. Also, did it serve as a *balance* fixed in the middle of the stream of thought to judge the extremes, in order to keep the *Ummah* on the side of moderation, for the idea of moderation or middle course was hypostatized into the supreme light for guiding the believer on the right path.

IV

Arguments by appeal to the condition of *idtarar* as foundation of politico-religious consciousness of the believer, found its superb exponent in al-Ghazali. His *Kitab al-Iqtasad l-Aqaid* (the Book of Moderation in Doctrines) and *Ihya al-Ulum al-Din* (Revival of the Religious Sciences) accomplished the great task, perhaps hitherto far from realization on juristic bases, of finally reconciling the conscience of a religious soul to the treachery, conceits and viciousness of the socio-political reality. The subsequent generations of the world of Islam owed much to al-Ghazali for a new kind of briefing on religious outlook, that helped them not to be disturbed by those worries, which had informed the lives of men during the life of the Prophet and his Companions. He made religion a personal affair. He was a Luther in Islam, but of a different fabric. By making individual responsible for his religion, Luther of the West democratized the spirit, and began an era of progress

leading to science and industrial revolution, new theories of government and political reformations. Al-Ghazali of Islam, by individualizing religion, left the reins of society to the worldly men, legitimized their exploits and authority *and reoriented the souls to taste the world of heart*. It was not an aspect, but the whole religion itself that took a full turning with AlGhazali. He prepared the believer to be at peace with every kind of authoritative arrangement of the society.

By invoking the idea of *Idtarar* (emergency) under the concept of *darurah* (necessity), he over-rides every provision of the Sharia which could impeach the believer in this behalf. The concept of necessity, used with the connotation of *Idtarar*, i. e. emergency, produces a condition in which normal Shar'i duties and requirements no longer have the same force. When a man is ill, and the Ramdan fasting is likely to impede his improvement or futher deteriorate his health, the principle of *Idtarar* exempts him from the obligation for the time being, with the explicit provision that he would complete the required number of fasts after illness was over. Similarly, in a situation of acute danger, the believer is allowed to postpone his obligatory prayer rather than endanger his life. All the authentic illustrations of the principle have one thing in common, viz. they are primarily related to those basic wants the non-fulfilment of which may lead to death. There is no further extension of the principle inferable from the living sunnah (actions and practices) of the Prophet and his Companions. Umar b. Khattab, by his ordinance, once suspended the Qurnic punishment for theft during the period of starvation which swept the country. Al Ghazali in his exposition of the principle could not cite a better instance than that " **w**e know that we are not allowed to feed on dead animals, still it would be worse to die of hunger." From this special case of *Idtarar*, he infers, as if by analogical reasoning, the rule that necessity makes lawful what is fobidden. His full statement is as follows : " The concessions made by us are not spontaneous but necessity makes lawful what is forbidden. We know, it is not allowed to feed on dead animals. Still it would be worse to die of hunger. Of those that contend that the Khilafah is dead for ever and is irreplaceable, we should like to ask : which is to be preferred, anarchy and stoppage of social life for the lack of a properly constituted authority or acknowledgement of the existing power ? What may be the nature of these alternatives, the jurists cannot but

choose the latter."⁴⁵ Al-Ghazali's argument constitutes in no way a direct analogical inference from a given composition of events to other like events, and consequently in its effects, it is a *hila* directed to give a Shar'i touch to what is otherwise impermissible according to the code of Islam. Logical structure of this *hila* rests on the contextual fallacy that *causes* far-fetched parallels, not within the intentions of the methodic movement of the juristic reason, whether of ordinary law or that of the Shariah.

From the case of a man who has no choice but facing death or feeding on dead animal, a corresponding case for social situation cannot be corroborated, for there is a lot of difference between the *constitution* of an individual man and the *nature* of society; it cannot be instantaneously closed down without begging upon a suitable fictional device. Treatment of society as an organism with the implication of a genetic frame and unacquired physique may serve the purpose, but introduction of this fiction as a bridge for transition from individual to society is an act of so gigantic a character that in itself it institutes an outlook, an interpretation of experience that cannot be provided except by the original ideology which underlies the deductive system of the law. In other words, the fiction should be either an independent element of the axiom system of the law, serving as one of the principles of its development, or it has no provision at all. Only on the basis of its axiomatic provision, the legal reasoning may extend it with the usual methods of juristic analogy and legal precedence, etc. from individual to society and draw valid inference. But, since the conception of society as a living organism with all its full implications, has never been articulated in the articles of faith in Islam, it cannot be used as a ground of legal deductions and Shar'i conclusion, without impairing the structure of its sacred Law. Development of recent philosophical thought shows the hollowness of the organic fiction in the representation of society, and also clearly alludes to such doctrinal, meta. physical, political and moral implications as are sharply antagonistic to the basic outlook of Islam. It cannot be therefore used as a device for legal deductions in the Shariah, and if and when it is so used, it constitutes a *hila-tool*. But, unfortunately it was so used. It means that Muslim political thought deteriorated into sheltering under anti-religious fictions,

⁴⁵ Al-Ghazali, *Al-Iqtisad fi'l-Itiqad* (Cairo, 1327), p. 98; *Legacy of Islam*, p 302; Al-wajeez, Volume II, p. 216.

serving as devices for making lawful what was unlawful for a straight religious reasoning. Ghazali's extension of the idea of *Idtarar* is one of the major symptoms of this deterioration, involving an element of interpretive fiction that undermines the spirit of religion.

Moreover, the biological fiction, hidden in his argument, is not efficacious in bringing the cases of individual and society closer in comparison any more, for the idea of *Idtarar* in its Shari connotation is saturated with the exact definition and predictability of the events given in the logical composition of the situation. Starvation to death or survival on the support of the prohibited provision are exact, self-evident and predictable components of the situation surrounding the individual. In their combination they produce the state of *Idtarar*. In this and in similar situations alone the Shariah reverses its ordinances and withdraws its prohibitions. This emergency concession is not for all the aspects of life, but for one and only for that one which is relevant to the situation. Granting that organic fiction for society has some truth, the analogy between the two cases is hardly admissible, for social order is a very intricate system of events; at no moment is it entangled with the starkest minimum of only two unmistakable, sure and clearly foreseeable alternate situations. It highly complex moments defy exactness, contain many venues, admit a number of solutions and thus seldom come down to death or a single course of action. Consequently, the Shar'i idea of *Idtarar* has no field of application in the social order of reality.

Natural calamities, earthquakes, floods and starvation are mass events, not social events which directly hit the individuals. Mankind meets their challenge by organised efforts, by developing institutions, and improving administration. Thus, the human response is social in its character, and for this response no problem of reversing the orders of permission and prohibition arises. For the individuals hit by the calamities there is the Shar'i concession which prevails in the state of *Idtarar*. There are also times of trouble for the nations; for instance, the hours of war. Here the response of the people matters as a social phenomenon. Nations reassert their individuality by keeping their frame intact in the perils of war. In relation to this problem also the idea of *Idtarar* does not warrant the suspension of the Shariah and its sociopolitical implications. Added to it is a more profound consideration. When a man is allowed to touch the prohibited food in a state

of *Idtarar*, this concession gives his frame a new lease of life. It means that he is to continue with his *constitution, figure and identity*. *The idea of Idtarar therefore in its basic implications, consists of those allowances and concessions, which help one in keeping up with one's body and composition, form and content in the severity of hard times.* Its ultimate meaning is some sort of functional readjustment for the preservation of the *life structure* as the most fundamental obligation. A man is dead when his frame is impaired. "This consideration may apply to nations. They are shorn of existence when their frame is damaged; they die out by slow or sudden transfiguration while their surviving generations become some other nation. The structure of Islamic society was laid down in the principle of *Imamah* by consultation. But when the Muslim society departed from this constitution, it became a new kind of society. Attempts to rationalize this departure in order to keep its identity proved futile. If there were emergency measures, their intent would have been to preserve and restore the original figure of the society, but the jurists evoked the idea of *Idtarar* for producing the semblance of the continuity of Muslim *Ummah*, in spite of drastic transfiguration it had undergone.

Al-Ghazali's assertion that *darurah* (necessity) condones the reversal of permissions and prohibitions, licentiates every form of naked relativism that unsparingly encroaches upon every right, duty and obligation on which the edifice of culture, morality, law and religion is raised. Consequently, the idea of *darurah* cannot have an indisciplined place in the *usul al-Shariah*. Waliullah brings to light the inward logic and objective rule which controls the system of concessions and postponements in the body of the Islamic jurisprudence. He states that every Shar'i obligation consists of two aspects: one principal and the other subsidiary.⁴⁶ The principal aspect is identical with the very root and essence of the obligation and forms its substantive component, while the other is subservient to its end, and consequently represents the Shar'i medium of its accomplishment.⁴⁷ The subject-matter of Shar'i concessions and suspensions is furnished by this subsidiary component providing for an element of change in the modes of accomplishment and means of realization in concord with the circumstances, in which the obligation is to be honoured.

⁴⁶ Waliullah, *Hujjat Allah al-Balagha*, Vol. 1, Urdu Trans. by Abdul Haque (Karachi, 1302 A H), p. 218.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

It follows from this exposition that the principal obligation remains immutable ⁴⁸ It has to be accomplished in every circumstances, only its instrumental form will change. This canonical law suffices to bear upon all the cases of *darurah* so much so that even emergency state being specifiable as a special case of concordance with the prevailing conditions, cannot be underlined as an independent principle of Shari deductions, beyond its range. The Shar'i provision of concessions and suspension yields a system of substitutive forms for the achievement of the principal essence of the obligation. As a corollary, Waliullah explains that the substitutive forms also follow a law: they must bear as much resemblance as possible with the normal (subservient) component. If *Imamah* by consultation is a Shar'i obligation, then the concept of *darurah* or the idea of emergency cannot affect the principal component of the foundation of *Imamah* ; it may however affect the form of its accomplishment, the way in which it is realized. Consequently, Al-Ghazali's attempt to exempt the *Imamah* from its principal component, i.e. the agreement of the people on the plea of emergency conditions, is a hila-reasoning in complete violation of the canons of the Shatah, stipulated for encounter with the unexpected, abnormal and peculiar circumstances. In no situation a *darurah* can overthrow the principal component of a shar'i provision and mitigate the intensity of its obligatory fulfillment.

Al-Ghazali's meticulous effort in demonstrating the Shag-complex of the *darurah* on the basis of which the de facto or circumstantial ruler-ship of the *ummah* could be condoned and recognized as endowed with legitimacy, leads him to examine the significance and position of the political phenomena in the life of a society. He is at his best in this probe, and makes some very far-reaching contributions in the field of political theory. By giving an original exposition of the nature and place of the political authority and its relation with the functioning of the society, he secures for himself a permanent position in the history of the world political thought. According to his revealing probes, political authority does not represent an aspect of the larger societal system. In its extent it includes the entire spread of the society and in depth penetrates into the very fabric of all the transactions between the individuals and consequently is directly at the nucleus of the community

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 219-220.

life. The origin of rights and duties amidst the individual members of the society depends on the *sanctity* and *binding character* of their mutual bargain, contracts, adjustments and settlements. This element of *authoritativeness* and *binding commitment* is imparted by the politico-juristic matrix of the community through its functionaries, registrars, magistrates and judges.⁴⁹ In the words of Al-Ghazali, Caliphate is institutionalization of the shariah, i.e. organ of the sanctioning, confirming, validating and endorsing process that necessarily forms an integral core of every give and take in the human group.⁵⁰ Absence of this element turns a bargain into an illicit interaction, dissolves it completely, and makes it void of effect. These consequences do not follow from the principle that the political authority of the community is coercive power immanent in the social transactions; they follow from some higher principle. According to Al-Ghazali, the authority is a creation of law and its sanction or permission is a priori ground of the lawful coming into being of a social event, in which a number of individuals partake. Consequently, Caliphate as medium of the Shariah is fountain-head of the shar'i element in the birth of interactions and their legitimacy and sanctity in the orderly functioning of the Islamic society. It performs its function by proper delegation of its authority to the civil judges, magistrates, registrars and Amirs. No verdict has any legal, religious and Shar'i meaning, unless it is delivered by the duly commissioned jurist, who represents the Authority (Caliphate) in exercise of his juristic opinion, and by this commission his judgement becomes the Shar'i decision binding upon the persons of the community. Legitimate authority therefore is a priori condition of the administration of justice as distinct from individual opinions.⁵¹ All functionaries of the state derive their proper authority, religiously and legally binding on all the members of the community, from the authority of the Khalifa.

Logical analysis of the nature of state, organic character of its authority, and immanent presence of its role in every authentic interaction of the individuals, as Al-Ghazali holds, makes the problem of the sanctity and

⁴⁹ Al-Ghazali, *Al-Iqtisad fi'l-Itiqad*, (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 104-107.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Leonard Binder, "Al-Ghazali" in M.M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, I, (Weissbaden, 1963), p. 781 ; Shah Ismael Shahid, loc. cit., pp. 146-150

constitution of the political authority hundred times more important than that of the functionaries to whom it delegates the Shar'i authority of the community. But Al Ghazali does not follow this natural and logical conclusion. He represents a de facto state of affairs : judges perform their function, registrars of marriages administer the contracts of marriage, magistrates issue decrees on civil suits. He admits that all these acts are valid and obligatory from the legal (Shar'i) point of view, provided their agents have legitimate authority. But this legitimacy and commission is a derivative function of the legal character, i. e. Shari position of the Imam from whom they receive their appointment. This argument leads to only one conclusion that without the lawful, Shar'i, constitution of the *Imamah*, all the acts performed under its original or delegated authority would be void of effects, and thus would carry no Shari obligation, on the members of the community, and that therefore it is obligatory upon the believers to institute the de jure Khilafah according to the principal obligation provided by the Shariah in this behalf.

Al-Ghazali however departs from this conclusion, and immediately takes a *hila-plea*. He says :

If the functionaries are devoid of de jure authority, the entire social system is ruined, marriages dissolve, social deeds turn into illicit exchange. This is an emergency, and in emergency the prohibited is permissible. The authority of the de facto functionaries should be legalized in order to save the system from collapse. This can only be done by Shar'i concession to the one, who occupies the seat of supreme authority of the *Ummah*. Let us recognize under the pressure of *darurah* that the de facto ruler, who has himself besieged the *Imamah* or is led to the *Imamah* by the possessors of power, is the de jure Imam and proper organ of the Shariah.⁵²

In this manner, he gets rid of the principal component of the *Imamah*, viz , its constitution by the agreement of the people. But, as it has been demonstrated above, the hila-element is not warranted by the nature of his own discussion and analysis of the nature of state. The shar'i conclusion is only one that no illicit authority can deliver a licit decision, and delegate the

⁵² Al Ghazali *al-Iqtisad*, pp 107-109; Binder, pp 780-783.

component of legality to the social acts, which need authoritative sanction and endorsement from the lawful constitution of the authority that embraces the entire community.

(Continued)

A. H. Kamali

THE IMMUTABLE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM AND WESTERN EDUCATION⁵³

Reflections on the Aga Khan Chair of Islamic Studies at the American
University of Beirut

THE establishment of a chair of Islamic studies by His Highness the Aga Khan at the American University of Beirut is an event of great significance both for the field of Islamic studies and the university in which it is situated. As the first occupant of this chair whose duty it has been to lay the foundation for its later activity, we feel obliged to express what we feel are the particular duties and responsibilities of the chair. It is our hope that eventually over the years they will be realized and the chair will be able to fulfill the important functions and achieve those ends for the sake of which it was founded.

Today in the Muslim world there is a chasm created through the presence of two contending educational systems between a Western educated minority and a majority which on both the popular and intellectual levels is rooted in traditional Islam. A generation of Muslims in many lands are trained in a mode of thought based on modern science and philosophy that makes it difficult for them to understand the language of the traditional works in which Islamic wisdom is contained. One sees in many parts of the Muslim world two men externally, but who do not understand each other because they are using different systems of reference. At the same time, for over a century, a large number of works have been produced by Western orientalist, many of whom have been hostile to Islam, and in fact have written on Islam not because of their love of the subject but in order to refute it. Yet, these works, even the prejudiced and distorted ones, are the only sources available on Islam to those trained in the modern educational system and they appeal to many by what appears to be a scientific method and language.

⁵³ Reproduced with the kind permission of the author

To this situation is added the need o.' different parts of the Muslim community to come to know each other better and on a larger scale, to come to gain a more intimate knowledge of the other great religious, traditions of the world. The problem of the encounter with other religions is a counterpart of the contact with modernism. A traditional Muslim who has not encountered the modern world need not think of Christian theology or of Hindu and Buddhist metaphysics. But once contact is made with the different forms of modernism, there is a necessity to come to know other religions as well. In fact such knowledge is often an antidote for the scepticism brought about as a result of the influence of modernism whereas in a homogeneous Muslim climate such knowledge would be in most cases unnecessary and redundant.

With these factors in mind and considering the particular position of the Aga Khan Chair, it is our belief that its function is to become instrumental toward the realization of several goals, which are of concern to the whole Muslim world:

1. Islam is a living spiritual and religious tradition not a dead religion that is simply of historical interest. The role of the Chair should be first and foremost to present to the modern world the many treasures of wisdom which continue to exist in the Islamic tradition but which are half forgotten by a generation of modern Western educated Muslims. It means to translate the traditional truths of Islam in a contemporary language without betraying them. Such a difficult task requires one who himself firmly believes in Islam and has not become enamoured with the noise and clamour of modernism. It calls to task a person who judges the world according to the immutable principles of Islam and does not seek to so-called "reform" the God-given truths of Islam in the light of the transient and ephemeral conditions which are called "the times". Such a person must be free of a sense of intellectual inferiority vis-a-vis the West. On the contrary he should consciously uphold and be proud of the Islamic tradition with all its intellectual and spiritual riches and not just as a simple rational faith devoid of a spiritual dimension that some have tried to make it.

At the same time, he must know the Western world well, know it well but not in a second hand fashion that would make him take for new clothing

what has already been discarded by the Western intelligentsia as outmoded. He must know the inner forces that motivate the Western mind and have a clear grasp of the philosophical, scientific, religious, artistic and social life of the West in their religious and historical roots as well as in their present day manifestations. Only a person who himself knows through first hand knowledge the intellectual life of Islam and has mastered the contemporary medium of expression can hope to present in a fresh form and language the perennial wisdom which exists in the Islamic world. Only such a person can provide the necessary knowledge of Islam for a new generation that has been cut away from this wisdom by having become trained in another mode of thought and expression and who at the same time is in desperate need of the saving truth contained in the Islamic message.

2. The study of Islam by orientalists has produced a large number of works which are studied the world over by all interested in Islamic studies, not only in the West and in non-Muslim countries of Asia, but even in those Muslim countries where a European language such as English or French is widespread. Unfortunately, Islam has not received favourable treatment in most of these works, even in comparison with other great religions of Asia such as Hinduism and Buddhism. Many factors such as the historical contacts between Christianity and Islam which have not always been friendly the medieval fear of Muslims in Europe, the fact that Islam comes after Christianity historically, the Semitic origin of Islam for the predominantly Indo-European people of the Western world, who are thus naturally more attracted toward Hinduism and other Aryan religions, all play a role in the unfavourable treatment that Islam has received and continues to receive. In fact many orientalists writing about Islam have not embarked upon this field because they have had a love for some aspect of it, but because they have been somehow unwillingly pushed into it as philologists or missionaries.

The considerable amount of research done on Islamic studies by orientalists contains much of scientific and historical value, even if there are many elements that are unacceptable in it from the Muslim point of view, and even if one finds distortion and misunderstanding in interpretation in many cases. Whatever the value of these studies may be they cannot be refuted nor can their influence be annulled by simply denouncing orientalists or using language of demagoguery against them. What the orientalists have done

is to study Islam for their own ends and needs. The duty of the Muslim scholars, and one in which the Aga Khan Chair shares particularly, is to provide a Muslim answer to the challenge of the orientalists in a language and method appropriate for such a task. Such an undertaking would also be of great interest to the world of orientalism itself. What is needed is a study of all domains of the Islamic tradition and civilization by Muslim scholars who, while firmly believing in their tenets, can deal with them in a scholarly manner so as to provide a response to the challenges posed by the works of many orientalists to Islam. Only an undertaking of this kind could curtail the influence of such works on Muslims themselves who study Islam from their writings. Such an undertaking could at the same time help to present Islam and its culture and history to the outside world in its true colour.

3. Closely allied to the challenge of the study of orientalists to Islam is the whole modern scientific, historical and philosophic attitude of which the approach and method prevalent among most orientalists is but a reflection. This immense challenge which Islam faces, as do all other religions, is to be seen today especially in such matters as the theory of evolution, psychoanalysis, existentialism, historicism and on another level dialectical materialism. It is not, of course, possible for the Aga Khan Chair of Islamic Studies to provide answers to all of these questions which require concerted effort on the part of the whole Muslim intelligentsia. However, traditional Islamic wisdom possesses within itself the metaphysical doctrines which alone can provide the answers to such problems. These modes of thought in fact have come about for the most part as a result of the forgetting of metaphysical principles.

To present the traditional doctrines in a contemporary language would therefore itself contribute toward facing these and similar challenges posed by modernism. The very situation of the Aga Khan Chair in a Western-oriented University places it in the forefront of this vital task to provide a Muslim answer to the fashionable ideas of the times, some of which are pseudo-science parading in the dress of science and others are purely and simply the fruit of the secularism of the past four centuries in the West. Also by studying Islam as a living reality and emphasizing the perennial nature of the truths contained in the Islamic tradition, the Chair can provide an antidote to the malady of historicism which is so prevalent today and which

Islam opposes in its philosophical roots by refusing to admit that the truth can become incarnated in history.

4. Every religion by the fact that it enters into the world participates in the multiplicity that is characteristic of it and therefore divides into different schools and perspectives. In fact it is through the presence of these dimensions, providentially placed within a revelation, that it is able to integrate into its structure people of differing psychological and spiritual temperament. Islam is no exception to this rule, although it has displayed more homogeneity and less diversity than other world religions. One of the tasks of this Chair is to study this diversity in Islam in the light of the unifying principles, to delineate the structure of the two great orthodox dimensions of Islam, namely Sunnism and Shiaism, as well as the movements and sects that have diverged from them. It is to make each one better known to the other.

Family feuds occur naturally in every family, but they are immediately put aside when the whole family group is endangered. In the present situation in the Islamic world an intellectual and spiritual understanding between Sunnism and Shiaism is essential, as is a firm comprehension of the total orthodoxy of Islam which consists of these two main branches. It is also important to make a critical study of the small religious groups who over the centuries have separated from the mainstream of Islamic religious life and to discover their relation to the main body of Islamic orthodoxy. Nowhere can this study be carried out with greater success and more immediate and tangible results than in Lebanon where nearly every part of the Muslim community is represented and where inter-community understanding is a problem of daily concern.

5. Also due to contact with the modern world, which both corrodes the homogenous religious world view and at the same time facilitates knowledge of other religious traditions, the carrying on of a serious dialogue between Islam and other religions is a necessity. Until now Muslims as a whole have been less interested in the study of other religions than either the Christians or the Hindus and Buddhists perhaps because the presence of other religions was an already accepted truth in Islam before modern times. Islam of all the religious traditions is the only one to have had contact before the modern

period with nearly every important tradition, with Christianity and Judaism in the western and central territories of Islam, with Hinduism in India, with Buddhism in northwestern Persia and Afghanistan and with the Chinese tradition in Sinkiang. Also the principle of the universality of revelation is clearly stated in the Qur'an and was in fact explored to a certain extent by some of the older Muslim masters such as Rumi and Ibn Arabi. Therefore, in principle it is easier for Islam to make a sympathetic study of other religions and remain completely faithful to its own principles than is the case with many other religions which may find an acceptance of other traditions difficult from the point of view of their own accepted dogmatic structure.

However, serious studies of other religions have not as yet been carried out extensively by Muslim scholars and few attempts have been made to penetrate into the inner message of other religions. The Aga Khan Chair could also be instrumental in this domain particularly as it pertains to Christianity. In Lebanon Muslims and Christians live side by side with little profound and sympathetic understanding of each other, especially since intellectually Islam is on the defensive. Nowhere could a more meaningful dialogue take place between Islam and Christianity than here, provided there will be a meeting of equals who respect each other as these two religions did in medieval times.

A meaningful dialogue can only result when two religions meet as conveyors of God's message to men, and not when one is on the offensive through its identification by some with the modern Western world with all the military and economic advantages that it enjoys and the other on the defensive before these very forces. Christianity was an eastern religion before it became providentially the religion of the Occident. And here in Lebanon representatives of both its eastern and western branches are present amidst the world of Islam. No better site could be found for the creation of an atmosphere in which mutual comprehension and respect on the intellectual and spiritual levels could be brought about. It is perhaps not accidental that at this time the official Christian authorities in the West have expressed the wish to have a closer relation with Islam and seek to create understanding between the two religions.

Of course to carry out all these tasks, to present the traditional wisdom of Islam in contemporary language, to answer the questions posed by the works of orientalists, to provide an answer to the challenges of modernism, to bring about closer understanding between the different groups of Muslims, and finally to provide a dialogue between Islam and other religions, especially Christianity, is a momentous undertaking. It cannot be fulfilled by one person or one Chair at all. Rather, it is the work of a whole younger generation of Muslim scholars who must be trained and prepared to carry it out. Yet the Chair could aid in the realization of these goals by striving toward them in its own activities. Moreover, it could seek to achieve these ends in a centre of Islamic studies of which it could serve as a nucleus and also by training students in this field. Only then could it function properly and be of maximum benefit both to the Islamic world and the Western world of scholarship.

It is our hope that as the activities of the Chair become fully integrated into the life of the American University of Beirut and the Chair finds a place in the academic community it will be able to achieve these goals. In so doing it would render a great service to Islamic studies as well as to the cause of inter-religious and inter-cultural understanding in which the American University of Beirut itself is destined by its very nature to be called upon to play an important role.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr

NOTES AND VIEWS

Tenth Jubilee Conference of UNESCO in Finland

The Finnish National Commission for UNESCO decided to hold an East-West Conference, in Jyvaskyla, a provincial University town in Finland, under the auspices of the Department of Cultural Activities, UNESCO. I was deputed by the Ministry of Education, Islamabad, to participate in this Conference as a non-official delegate from Pakistan.

This Conference had a very broad based programme consisting of different seminars and studia generalia discussions between East and West besides lectures on Art, Music Architecture, etc., and platform discussions on different faiths.

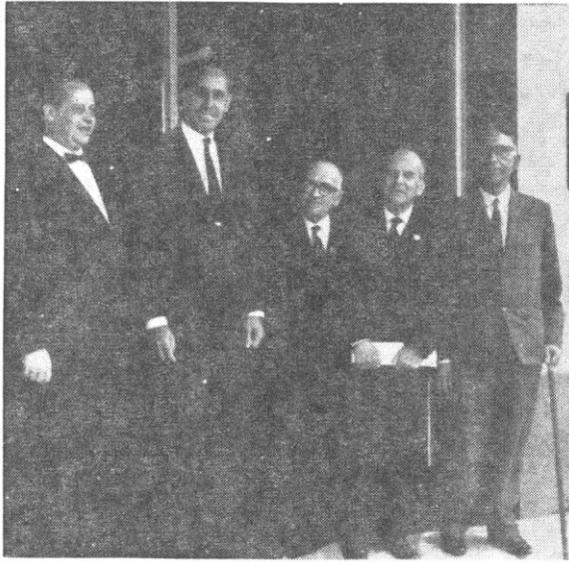
The Inaugural session of the Conference was held on the 3rd July at noon and Dr. Bommate of the UNESCO addressed the meeting.

There was a Seminar on different subjects in which scholars from East and West participated—it was designated Studia Generalia, a series of dialogues. The main subjects were: Exact sciences, Architecture, Music, Film, Philosophy, Religion. First a scholar from Finland and then from some Eastern country read papers about the subject Under Religion, Mr. Salah Dassouki, Ambassador of U.A R in Finland, read a paper on 'Islam'.

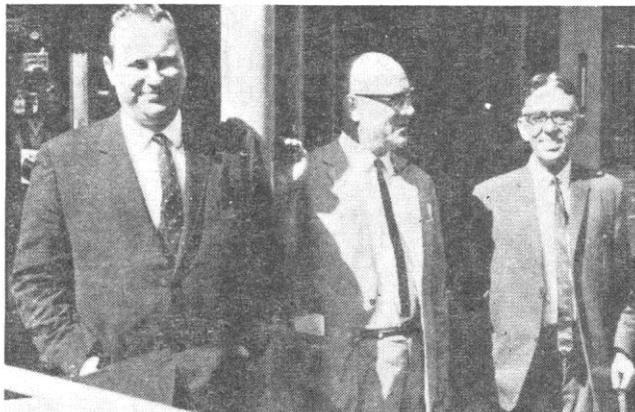
Another feature of this Conference was called "Platform Discussions" or meeting of faiths. The subjects for discussions were: Judaism and Christianity; Islam and Christianity; Hinduism and Christianity; Buddhism and Christianity; Marxism and Christianity, etc. Here again Mr. Salah Dassouki spoke on Islam. Reading of papers was usually followed by questions first by the other speakers and then by the audience.

The main programme of the Conference was "Seminar of the East" in which each day was devoted to the discussion of a country of the East. The purpose was to chart the history, traditions and present situation of the East, with the object of fostering better understanding between peoples of the East and West. There were usually two lectures every day: Finnish experts discussed the background of Eastern Cultures in the light of present circumstances and representatives of Eastern countries were expected to speak on the burning questions of today in their country. There were lectures on China, Japan, Indo-China, Indonesia, Iran, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Arab countries.

DELEGATES AT UNESCO, FINLAND



(Left to right) Dr. Armas Salonin; Mr. Salah Dassouki; Professor Kenan Ozlul; Dr. Vedat Nadim Tur (Turkish delegates) with Mr. B.A. Dar (Pakistan)



Dr. Vedat Tor Nadim (Istanbul) and Professor Annemarie v. Gabain (Germany) spoke on Turkey. Dr. Peter Avery of Cambridge University (United Kingdom) and Dr. Monchi Zadeh, an Iranian scholar (Sweden), spoke about Iran. Mr. Saleh Dassouki and Professor Armas Salonen read papers about the United Arab Republic.

Professor Armas Salonen spoke on Pakistan also. He is Professor of Assyriology in the University of Helsinki. He is a scholar of Arabic and has translated the Quran into the Finnish language. He is the President of the Finnish-Pakistan Friendship Society. He was well-informed about Pakistan and, as he himself told me, receives regular supplies of literature about Pakistan from the Pakistan Embassy at Stockholm. In his paper he described first the geographical position of Pakistan, then its ancient history from Mohanjodaro and Harappa downwards up to the partition, emphasising the important role which the Muslim League, under the leadership of the Qaid-i-Azam, played in demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims on cultural and ideological basis. He gave a detailed history of the Muslim struggle for the liberation of Kashmir, the efforts of the UNO to resolve this problem and the intransigence of the Indian leaders. His approach was very sympathetic and fully informed. Dr. Peter Avery, Professor of Persian, Cambridge University, who was present during the lecture, remarked later on in my presence : "I have never heard such an illuminating lecture on Pakistan and on the history of the problem of Kashmir before." After his lecture I read my paper on "Socio-religious trends in Pakistan."

On my way back to Pakistan.I stayed for 3 days in London, where I was asked to give two talks on the BBC. The one was in Urdu, broadcast for Pakistan entitled "Tenth Jubilee Conference of UNESCO in Finland." It was later broadcast on 19th July. The other, in English, in the form of question answer, was broadcast on 21st July in the World Service Programme "Outlook"—dealing with the utility of UNESCO in the present world. The questioner particularly asked me as to what UNESCO could be expected to do for Pakistan.

Visit of Foreign Dignitaries

Parliamentary delegation from West Germany came to Pakistan to visit and review institutions established here for promoting Pakistan-German cultural contacts. On 10th September the delegation visited the Iqbal Academy. Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, Vice-President of the Academy, received them. In his introductory speech he traced briefly the history of the Academy, the purpose for which it was founded and the work it has done so far. He gave a detailed history of the movement started by the Muslims in the sub-continent for preserving their ideological identity and attaining cultural autonomy which culminated in the creation of Pakistan through the efforts of the Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad AU Jinnah.

He explained very explicitly the important role which Iqbal played in the regeneration of Muslim Society of this sub-continent both politically and ideologically. The inspiration that Iqbal derived from the great genius of the nineteenth century, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, as he stated, is unmistakable. Iqbal's poetry no less than his prose writings (e.g. his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930) moulded the thought of the Muslim people in the twentieth century. It was he who for the first time conceived the idea of a separate Muslim state in order to solve the chronic Hindu-Muslim problem that had unduly prolonged the agonies of the people of the sub-continent living as they were under the oppressive rule of a foreign power which had been always exploiting this situation to its own advantage.

Pakistan, he concluded, is thus the sacred legacy left to us by Iqbal. He explained that the word "Pakistan", coined by Chaudhri Rahmat Ali, does not have any ethical connotation as the "land of the pure"; it is a mere collective name derived from the first letters of the names of the different territories which, according to its author, should form its constituent units, viz., Punjab, Kashmir and Sind with the last three letters of Baluchistan, with a and *i* as vowels to make the word sound properly. The last war that Bharat treacherously imposed on Pakistan proved the indissoluble bonds that exist between this country and the man who not only first conceived it in its present dimension but tried to give it its ideological content. The main targets of enemy's attacks were Lahore and Sialkot, the two cities that have been hallowed by association with his name—Sialkot was the place where he was born and passed his early life and Lahore, where the major part of his creative life was spent.

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan then stated that it was Iqbal who first introduced German literature and literary figures like Goethe to the people of this sub-continent. He mentioned that *Payam-i-Mashriq* of Iqbal (1923) was written under the inspiration of and in answer to Goethe's *Diman*. He quoted the following verses from Iqbal:

پیر مغرب شاعر المانوی

آن قتیل شیوه ہائی پہلوی

بست نقش شاہدان شوخ و شنگ

داد مشرق را سلامے از فرنگ

در جوابش گفته ام پیغام شرق

ماہ تابی ریختم بر شام شرق

او چمن زادی چمن پرورده

من دیمدم از زمین مرده

ہر دہ خنجر صبح خند آئینہ فام

او برہنہ من ہنوز اندر نیام

او ز شوخی در تہ قلم تپید

تا گریبان صدف را بر درید

من با غُوش صدف تا بهم بنوز

در ضمیر بحر نایا بهم بنوز

GERMAN PARLIAMETARY DELEGATION VISITS THE IQBAL ACADEMY



(Left to right) Mr. A.H. Kamali, Dr. Athar Rashied, Dr. Tidten (German Embassy), Mr. A. Muhajir, Dr. Kahn-Ackermann, Dr. Berthold Martin (leader of the delegation), Mr. Hays, Dr. Schramm, Mr. Zaam, M. Mumtaz Hasan, Mr. Zimmermann (Goethe Institute) and Mr. B.A. Dar





Mr. Mumtaz Hasan with Dr. Martin,
the leader of the delegation, holding
the reprint of *A Voice from the East*
(published by the Iqbal Academy)

That sage of the West, the poet of Allemagne,

Who lost his heart to the winning ways of Iran

Who painted a picture full of the beauty of sweethearts young and saucy

And sent the salutations of the West to the East :

The Message of the East is my response to his greeting.

I have illumined the Eastern evening with moonlight.

For that I am self-knowing but not vain,

I tell thee who he was and who I am :

He was one of Europe's youthful ones, with the quality of lightning;

While my love-flame is born of the breath of the wise men of the East.

He was born and nurtured in a garden,

While I sprang from barren soil.

The mysteries of the Universe have been revealed to both,

Both are messengers of life in death.

Both are like daggers, bright as the mirror and smiling as the dawn.

He is unsheathed, but I am yet in the scabbard.

His insistent urge made him restless in the depths of the ocean

Till he burst forth from his shell ;

While I am still striving in my shell's confines,

Undiscovered yet in the ocean's abyss.⁵⁴

Goethe, he explained, was greatly influenced and inspired by Hafiz of Shiraz, an Iranian poet of the fourteenth century (of the Christian era), a fact which Goethe acknowledges in several places in his *Divan*. Thus the wisdom of the East enriched and deepened by the sages of the West reached Iqbal who represents in his person a mingling of the best traditions of the wisdom of the East and West.

In the end, Mr. Mumtaz Hasan presented to each delegate books by Iqbal and the publications of the Academy.

The leader of the delegation, Dr. Berthold Martin, Chairman, Committee for cultural Affairs of the Bundestag, informed Mr. Mumtaz Hasan that a fellowship for post-graduate studies on Iqbal will soon be established at the University of Munich.

Besides the members of the delegation, Mr. A. Muhajir, Hony. Treasurer of the Academy; Dr. Athar Rashid, former principal, Government College, Karachi and a great scholar of German literature; Dr. Wilfried Stache, Director of the Goethe Institute, and some members of the embassy of the Federal Republic of West Germany in Karachi were also present.

⁵⁴ Translation by Mr. Mumtaz Hasan. See *Muhammad Iqbal : poet and philosopher*. The Pakistan-German Forum, Karachi, (1960), p. 21.

Dr. (Mrs.) Annemarie Schimell, a well-known German Orientalist, visited the Iqbal Academy on 28th September. A few years back she was specially invited by the Academy to participate in Iqbal Day function at Karachi. She was formerly attached to the Ankara University and is now Incharge of an Arabic Journal *Fiker-o-Fun* issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn (West Germany). She is the author of *Gabriel's Wing*, a beautiful book on the religious thought of Iqbal and has translated Iqbal's *Payarn-i-Mashriq* into German for the Iqbal Academy.

She was presented with the latest publication of the Academy. Syed Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi, a member of our Governing Body ; Dr. and Mrs. Stache, of the Goethe Institute, Karachi and Khwaja Hamiduddin Shahid were also present on the occasion.

On 29th September Mr. Kanadid Ahmad Yusuf, Education Minister of the Republic of Somalia, accompanied by Mr. M. Shinah, a senior officer of the Ministry of Education, visited the Iqbal Academy. I explained to them briefly the history of the Academy and the role which Iqbal played in the creation of Pakistan, the vision that he had about the commonwealth of Muslim people of the world extending from Malaysia and Indonesia in the South East Asia to Morocco in the West.

The works of Iqbal as well as the publications of the Academy were presented to the guests. Mr. Kenadid Ahmad Yusuf wrote in the Visitors' Book: "I have been pleased to visit this famous Iqbal Academy in Karachi. I was pleased to note the revival of Islamic teachings in an Academy of this kind and I hope that in our country such an academy will be established to help the survival and living of famous Islamic leaders and their thoughts. We thank authorities for the warm welcome given to us in this visit." This message was written in Italian which was translated into English by Mr. Shinah.

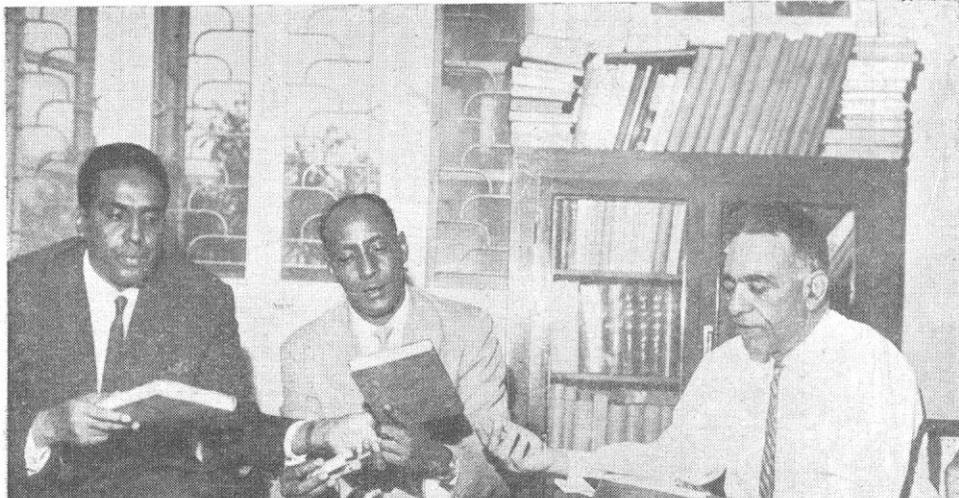
Iqbal Memorial Plaque at Heidelberg

A plaque commemorating Iqbal's stay at Heidelberg in West Germany during 1907 was unveiled on September 16, 1966 by Mr. Abdur Rahman

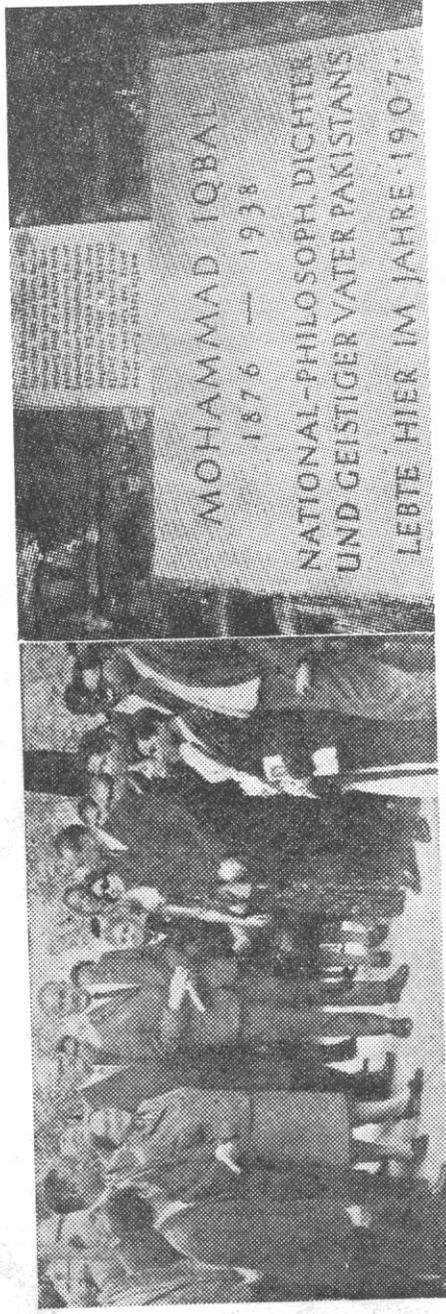
Khan, Pakistan's Ambassador to West Germany. Pakistan Much hard work and devoted energy lies behind this important event.



The leader of the Somali Delegation Mr. Kendid Ahmad Yousuf (First from Left) receiving a set of books of Iqbal from Director of the Iqbal Academy, Mr B.A. Dar



IQBAL MEMORIAL PALQUE AT HEIDELBERG



An Iqbal Memorial Plaque (right) has been recently installed in the Heidelberg University (W. Germany)
The plaque reads : —

Mohammad Iqbal 1876-1938 National poet and spiritual father of Pakistan
lived here in the year 1907.

Professor Dr. Wilhelm Hahn, Minister of Baden-Wurttemberg Province (left centre); Mr. Abdur
Rahman Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan in W. Germany (extreme right) ; Miss Wegenast (on Dr. Hahn's
left) and Professor Dr. Margot Becke, Rector of the Heidelberg University (on Dr. Hahn's right)

Locating the house where Iqbal lived at the beginning of the century was no easy task. An enterprising Pakistani student, Mr. M. S. Boikan, wrote a letter to a local newspaper which finally solved the mystery. Miss Sofie Wegenast, now in her eighties and slightly stooped, came forward with the address. She is the sister of Emma Wegenast, Iqbal's professor and friend. The house overlooks the beautiful river Neckar about which Iqbal wrote a poem in Urdu included in *Bang-i Dara*. Authorities of the Baden-Wuerttemberg State extended their full co-operation in this noble task. Dr. Hahn, cultural minister of the State and former Rector of the Heidelberg University, was nominated by the State Government at the ceremony.

The guests assembled under the shadow of the house where Iqbal lived. Dr. Hahn delivered a moving speech when he feelingly spoke of the contributions that Iqbal had made not only in the world of thought and poetry but also his great contribution towards the creation of Pakistan. "Heidelberg is proud to have had Iqbal, Pakistan's poet-philosopher for this is in the hoary traditions of this city which has attracted scholars, poets and philosophers, from the four corners of the globe." He concluded by saying that the deep intellectual bonds weaved by Iqbal would be a beacon of light for future generations.

The Pakistan Ambassador then addressed the gathering:

"Of the many ties that bind the people of the Federal Republic of Germany and Pakistan, none is more enduring than the one that was built by Pakistan's poet-philosopher Mohammad Iqbal".

He spoke of the "deep debt of gratitude that we in Pakistan owe to Mohammad Iqbal, who conceived an independent homeland for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

"Iqbal, the poet of the East, not only carried his message from East to West, but he was the bridge over which Western ideas travelled to the East.

"Heidelberg, the great city of learning of Germany and also its beautiful natural setting, provided him with the inspiration to write some magnificent poetry.

"Later, Iqbal drank deep of German philosophy, a philosophy which contributed so greatly to Western thought.

"I have no doubt that between our two friendly nations, in the long march of history, this spiritual bond of Iqbal is one that will outlive all others."

REVIEWS

The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih, by M. Abdul Haq Ansari, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; 1964. Pages: 200.

"The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih" is a thesis on which Dr. Ansari was awarded Ph. D. degree in Philosophy by the Aligarh Muslim University in 1962. Ansari has presented the ethical thought of Miskawaih in a lucid style. His work is a valuable contribution to the study of Muslim Philosophy and the late Prof. M. Umaruddin deserves special appreciation for guiding this research.

Ansari has given a very clear exposition of Miskawaih's ethics in its religio-social context and has viewed his thought, not only in its Greek influence, but also as determined by Islamic ideals. I think it is our foremost duty to present clearly the Islamic ideas and trends in the Muslim thought and separate them from the Greek ones, so as to remove the charge that Muslim philosophy is nothing but an offshoot of the Greek Thought. Until we make a deep comparative study of the Islamic and Greek ideals and bring out the basic differences between the two, we will be failing in our endeavour to place Muslim philosophy in its proper place.

Ansari has made a careful attempt in accordance with these requirements and has pointed out the difference between the Muslim and the Greek Ideals, but, I think, it would have been more valuable, had he written a separate chapter on the ethics of Plato, Aristotle, and the NeoPlatonists (a reference to the Greek ethical ideal is found on p.33 but it is insufficient) and thereby would have clearly distinguished the contribution of Miskawaih from them. He has, no doubt, made references to this effect at some places.

Ethical thought before Miskawaih was not purely ethical,* was blended with socio-political contents. Miskawaih was the first to differentiate pure ethical content from politics and present it in an elaborate theoretical system. Ansari has now reproduced it for the English readers.

The present work has been divided into 8 chapters. Chapter I is biographical with an analysis of socio-political conditions of the time. Chapter II deals with ethics before Miskawaih. Chapters III to VIII deal with the various aspects of Miskawaih's ethics as Metaphysical foundations of ethics, Happiness, Virtue, Cardinal Virtues, Practical Ethics, Society and the State. Chapter IX is conclusion. In the end a valuable bibliography has been given.

Ethics in Islam is bound up with religion which is concerned with human life as a whole. Ethical ideals are, therefore, based on religious principles, the conception of God, Life after death and prophethood. The good in Islam is a social good, it is both of the body and the soul. Islam allows individual differences in realising the good through the concepts of justice, right actions, obligations to God and obligations to fellow men.

The fundamental concept of his ethical thought is al-Sa'dah or happiness discussed in chapter IV. The concept al-Sa'adah comprehends the whole of life in all its aspects, philosophical, economic, political, religious and social. According to Miskawaih (in *Tandhib*) "one cannot attain to perfect sa'adah without learning all kinds of wisdom and philosophy". Both kinds of perfection, theoretical and practical, are required. Theoretical perfection is the ultimate sa'adah (al-sa'adah alquswa) and moral perfection is subservient to it. Sa'adah is a comprehensive term (not equivalent to hapiness) as it includes happiness, prosperity, success, perfection, blessedness and beautitude. It means the attainment of some desirable end or good involving happiness as a necessary correlate. But the good or the end embraces our whole life and becomes the supreme ideal. Miskawaih, while analysing it, says that "it does not consist in pleasure, honour, wealth or health Every thing is good if it serves its own special purpose and it is perfect or sa'id (happy) in proportion to which it achieves its purpose. This is true of all things in nature." Thus sa'adah becomes a universal concept, as it is applicable to every thing that exists in nature and realizes its object.

The sa'adah of man according to Miskawaih consists in the perfection of his reason as his distinctive mark in his free voluntary activity. Perfection of reason is of two kinds: theoretical, the ultimate perfection, and practical, the proximate or moral perfection. The proximate perfection of man lies in

acting according to reason, but his ultimate perfection lies in the pure activity of thought. The pure activity raises man above his humanity and unites him with the Eternal Being. The Ideal Man of Miskawaih has perfect knowledge of all that exists. He has a vision of God. His life is completely regulated, desires are subdued and the virtues are developed. He lives in society and performs social duties. All these excellences are contributory to the attainment of the supreme Sa'adah, i.e. the contemplation of intelligibles leading to the beatific vision.

No discussion on ethics in Islam may be fruitful without a reference to religion. So Miskawaih's conception of sa'adah has an Islami connotation. It is no doubt that the conception of sa'adah had been borrowed from Greek Philosophy and was also discussed by al-Kindi and al-Farabi; it is to Miskawaih alone that we owe its thorough analysis in keeping with the teachings of Islam. The Greek ethical ideal centred round the conception of happiness, particularly in Plato and Aristotle, and all discussion on virtue was to realize that happiness. Ansari is of the opinion that in Miskawaih's ethics primary importance has been given to the acquisition of knowledge and contemplation of the spiritual realities while pleasure has been given a secondary place and that too only as a diversion or relaxation for the soul. Virtue comes next to knowledge in Miskawaih's scheme. He rightly puts knowledge before virtue, because virtuous living cannot be without the knowledge of the right and the wrong. So, if the emphasis is placed on the primacy of thought, it is not undue and contrary to Islam.

Miskawaih has not only identified sa'adah with the Platonic Good but has gone a step further to identify it with God. It thus becomes a very comprehensive term including knowledge, virtue, character and the whole life. There seems to be a difficulty in Miskawaih when he says that "sa'adah does not consist in pleasure, honour, wealth or health." Though it does not consist in any one of them, they have a claim to become its constituents because denying them would mean denuding the concept of sa'adah. Pleasure is not only related to body but also to the soul (though of a different kind). To make sa'adah consist in pleasure would not mean subjecting the spiritual and eternal to the material and transient, because the two are not really opposed to each other but complementary.

Miskawaih further says that sa'adah consists in the 'proper or distinctive function' of a thing for which it is created. But what is the proper function of man for which he has been created ? It is perfection of reason, the pure activity of thought about God; all pure thought ultimately must lead to God. But this theoretical perfection is to be supplemented by practical perfection. So, we find that all aspects of human nature are ultimately combined, without which no perfect sa'adah can be realized. Miskawaih's emphasis on the theoretical perfection is because of some of its merits—individual contemplation, peace, tranquility, reason directed to itself, no interruption, perfect and exact knowledge. He says: "Here is one most God-like in his actions. Only the pure contemplation can make possible the closest intimation of the Divine Being" (p. 75). But, it is incomplete, if not nourished on practical perfection. S3 Miskawaih calls for a 'more intimate and organic relation between the two' (p.77). Pure contemplation, in this organic relationship, should lead to the exercise of reason in all the spheres and human activity, namely (i) the acquisition of knowledge, (ii) the rational ordering of desires and impulses and (iii) creation of the beautiful and too useful objects according to rational norms. Each activity can be considered the distinctive function of man so far as it is regulated by reason. The distinction of man lies, besides acquiring knowledge, in the performance of functions common to other animals, but *with a difference that he is guided by reason*. So, all human activity guided by reason becomes an aspect of Sa'adah.

With regard to the question: is perfect sa'adah attainable in this life? Miskawaih gives an interesting answer. "Perfect sa'adah is realizable in the life of contemplation of the intelligible and it can be attained in this life and the next." He further says, "Every thing that is perceptible through the senses is lower, even if it pertains to the next world and every thing that is intelligible is higher, even if it is attained in this life." He then hastens to add that the perfect sa'adah does not turn away from the world but abiding at the higher level of spiritual and intellectual activity, takes interest in the affairs of the society, its organization and well-being (p. 80). There seems to be a contradiction. Either the world of senses is lower and as such cannot contribute to the perfect sa'adah or it is not lower, as it is complementary to the perfection of sa'adah. The conflict seems to run all through Miskawaih's work and he wants to have it both ways.

The Ideal Man of Miskawaih is a social being striving for the perfection of his own self, of the family and society. There seems to be a complete harmony between the dictates of the head and the heart. Such examples are found in the personality of the prophet and the four Caliphs.

Miskawaih is right in saying that morality is essentially social. The perfect virtuous life can be found only in society. He is against the ascetic tendencies and believes in the supremacy of the shari'ah and the sovereignty of God.

Miskawaih has interpreted various virtues in the light of Islamic teachings. For example, courage is defined 'as a patient struggle for noble and pious ends', character is defined 'as the internal state of soul'. It is neither formed nor a finished product of nature, but it takes shape by education, training and habituation. Motive is that which determines the action in its being right or wrong. He has also discussed justice, love, friendship. There are many interesting points in his discussion, which, however, cannot be taken here.

His concept of the mean is Aristotelian. It aims at avoiding the extremes and tries to follow a middle course. The principle is a reaction against Plato's exaggeration of the world of Ideas and the depreciation of the world of percepts. Aristotle tries to keep a balance between the two. Morality is realizable not in its ideal form but in its actual form and that with the help of the golden mean, as Aristotle calls it. In Islam also emphasis has been given on I'tidal, i.e. moderation in all walks of life. The principle is, therefore, not opposed to Islam. It is, however, difficult to work it out in each and every case, yet it can serve as a guiding principle for striking a balance between the hedonic and the ascetic tendencies inherent in man. In the words of Ansari, Miskawaih has " drawn upon diverse sources. The underlying psychology and the metaphysical conception are Neo-Platonic; the conception of Sa'adah is a unique combination of Platonism, Aristoteleanism and Islam; the conception of virtue is Greek in form but Islamic in content. The conception of the State and society is Islamic."

S. A. Rahim

‘Wisdom’ Vol. 3, 1964—Journal of the Sind University Philosophical Society

It is the annual Journal of the Sind University Philosophical Society. The Society had published two Journals previously and the third (under review) is definitely an improvement upon the previous ones. The Department of Philosophy, University of Sind, deserves appreciation for this venture.

The issue contains a number of articles both from Foreign and Pakistani Scholars. Among them are (i) Berkeley in a Cartesian content by Richard. A. Watson of Michigan University (U.S.A) (ii) The Philosophy of Islamic Art by Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr of Tehran University (iii) The Principle of Falsifiability, by S. A. Rahim, Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of Sind (iv) Some aspects of Kantian Ethics by A. Hanif Khan (v) Ethics of Ibn Miskawaih by Qubais Ahmed and (vi) Reorientation of Muslim Philosophy by Mr. B. H. Siddiqi. Dr. Ahsan Farooqi has discussed Satre's Existentialism in Litrature. All these articles have educative value for the senior university students.

A. H. Kamali