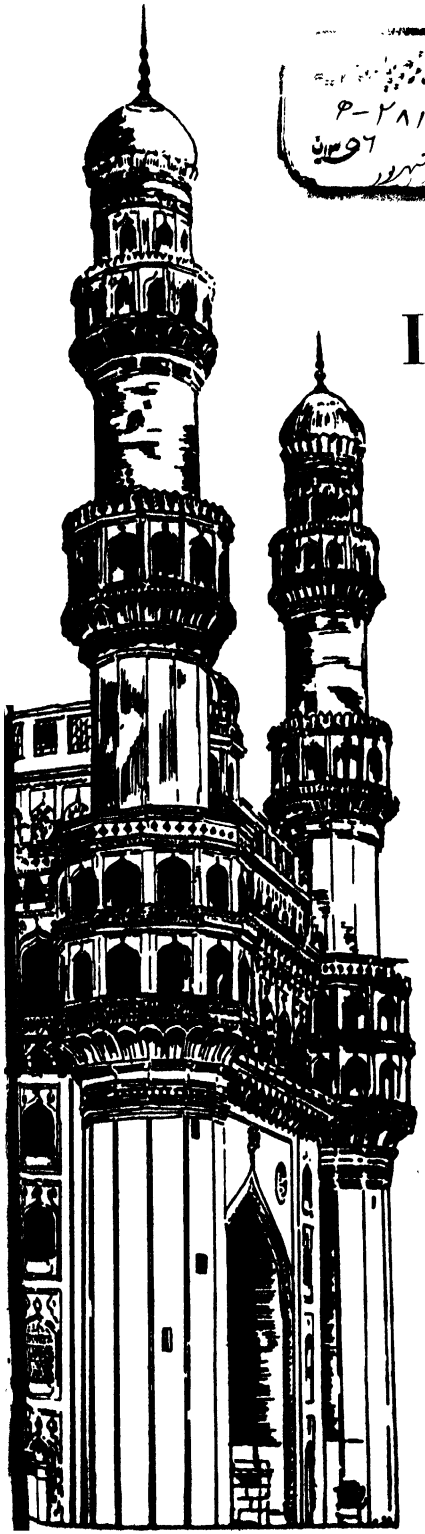
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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

# ISLAMIC CULTURE

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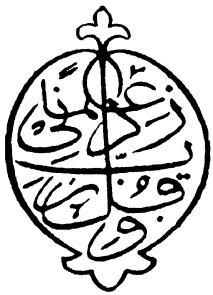
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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

# HIS HOLINESS SHAIKH MUṢṬAFA AL-MARĀGHĪY

SHAIKH Muhammad Muṣṭafà al-Marāghīy, rector of al-Azhar University, Cairo, died at Alexandria on August 21 last.

Born on March 5, 1881, at Marāghah, in the Girga Province of Upper Egypt, he was educated at al-Azhar, where he obtained his diploma of " al-'Ālimīyah " in 1904. The same year he was appointed Shar'īy Judge at Dunqulah (Dongola), in the Sūdān, and thence was transferred two years later to Khartoum. In 1907 he became inspector in the Ministry of Waqfs and in 1908 was nominated as Chief Shar'īy Judge in the Sūdān, which post he held until 1918. In 1919 Shaikh Muṣṭafà was made Chief Inspector of the Shar'īy Courts in Egypt, and soon after President of the Cairo Shar'īy Court of First Instance. While holding that post he was attacked by a litigant, who threw sulphuric acid over him, covering his chest and left arm and only just missing his face. He was promoted in 1921 to be judge in the Supreme Shar'īy Court, of which he became President two years later.

In May 1928, he was appointed rector of al-Azhar University, the biggest and, after the Qarawīyīn of Tūnis, the oldest in Islamic world, and thereby became the chief religious dignitary in the country. He introduced a number of useful changes, for instance he abolished the daily bread to professors and the alumni and in its stead awarded bursaries in cash, and also reformed the curricula and systematized teaching, but his more far-reaching plans for curriculum were rejected, and the next year he resigned. He was succeeded by the Shaikh Muḥammad al-Ahmadīy az-Zawāhirīy, who was associated with reactionary political activities. With the change of ministry, the position of az-Zawāhirīy became untenable. The students of al-Azhar, reflecting the general

political reaction of the country, began to clamour for the dismissal of their rector, in whom they saw a survival of the régime lately ended, and the ferment grew so powerful that the Azhar University had to be closed.

The reappointment of Mustafà al-Marāghīy to take the place of the man by whom he had been superseded was received with satisfaction by the students. He took up again his task of modernising the thousand years old University, and he was presented by an Indian Muslim society with a gold medal for his work and also for his arranging for the translation of the Qur'ān into all languages and for his sending missions throughout the world to spread true facts about Islam. He also provided grants and scholarships for Azhar graduates to spend some time in Paris and other of the biggest Christian Universities of the West and get them acquainted with modern needs and modern methods of Europe.

Shaikh Muṣṭafà exercised a considerable influence upon King Fārūq, whose religious tutor he was for some time. His liberal sympathies, however, did not extend so far as to enable him to collaborate with the Wafdist party. In the general elections held in the spring of 1938 the influence of al-Marāghīy was flung on to the side of his friend Muḥammad Mahmūd Pāshā. During the 1939-45 war he maintained a strictly orthodox Muslim attitude, but as time went on he became more and more convinced that to help the allied cause was more in the interest of the Muslim world.

Probably it was also at his instance that an Egyptian student was sent to Paris in 1934 to prepare a thesis on the history of al-Azhar which was soon to celebrate its completion of thousand years of existence, a period unequalled by any non-Muslim University in the world now existing.

The celebration was postponed owing to world situation, and though papers announced that it is to be held at a grand and international scale in December 1945, alas the Shaikh did not live longer to see it done under his own supervision and shed lustre to it by his great personality.

The writer is indebted for some of the above data to English journals.

M. Ḥamidullah.

# LIBRARIES IN MUSLIM INDIA

(*Continued from page 347 of the October 1945 Issue*)

## TĪPŪ SULṬĀN'S LIBRARY

TĪPŪ Sulṭān, who was a patron of the learned, had within his fold men of genius and exceptional learning such as were never to be seen there afterwards. Tīpū had the rare gift of judging every man's talent, giving him the post for which he was best suited. Among scholars and men of learning some were entrusted with the task of education, some with the writing of books, some with translation work.

He founded a university with various branches of arts and learning. It had a good library which included books on various subjects.

When the Sultān met his heroic death and Seringapatam fell into the hands of the British, they got hold of the library along with other royal booty. They looted and destroyed mercilessly, and the remaining books were lying uncared for for six years afterwards. Later on some of the books were sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the rest to London.

The catalogue of the remaining books prepared by Major Stuart in 1808 and published at Cambridge shows the following number of books on the subjects noted against them.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Holy Qur'ān | .. 44 | Ṭibb .. | .. 62 |
| Taṣawuf.. | .. 56 | Stories .. | .. 18 |
| Astronomy | .. 20 | Ḥadīth .. | .. 42 |
| Poetry .. | .. 19 | Arts .. | .. 19 |
| Commentary | .. 41 | Language | .. 45 |
| Ethics .. | .. 24 | Turkish .. | .. 2 |
| Mathematics | .. 7 | Ilāhiyāt .. | .. 42 |
| Hindi Poetry | .. 23 | Philosophy | .. 54 |
| Wazā'if .. | .. 35 | Dictionary | .. 29 |
| Fiqh .. | .. 62 | | |

The most notable books entered in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal are :

*Risāla Padkha, Muntakhab Ḍawābiṭ Sultānī, Ḍābta-i-Imsāl, Rāhe-e-Fatan-waṣ-Ṣuwar, Fatḥ-ul-Mujāhidīn, Wāqi'a Manāzil, Roznāma-i-Hyderabad, Atālīq-i-Shahzāda, Majmū'a-i-Sanadāt, Ḥukm Nāma* and *Collection of Farāmīn.*

The notable and rare books in Urdu only entered in the India Office, London, are as follows :—

*Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Hindu* by Fatḥ 'Alī Ḥusain. *'Ali Nāma* by Mullā Nuṣratī.

*Gulshan-e-'Ishq* by Mullā Nuṣratī. *Kuliyāt-e-Quṭb Shāh* by Quṭb Shāh.

*Rūh Afzā* (*Qissa-i- Riḍwān-Shāh*) Fā'iz. *Qiṣṣa-e-Māh-i-Paikar.*

*Qiṣṣa Bahrām-o-Gul*, by Ṭab'ī Gulkandawi. *Phūlbun* by Ibn Nishāṭī. *Ṭūṭī Nāma* by Ibn Nishāṭī. *Qiṣṣa Padmāvat Dakhinī* by Ṭab'ī Gulkundawi.

*Qiṣṣa-i-La'l-o-Gauhar* by 'Ārif-ud-Dīn Khān 'Ājiz.

*Dīwān-i-Yaqīn* by In'āmūllah Khān Yaqīn.

*Bhogbal* translated by Shihāb-ud-Dīn.

*Mufarraḥ-ul-Qulūb* by Ḥusain 'Alī.

*Qiṣṣa Riḍwān Shāh* by Fā'iz.

*Qiṣṣa Māh Paikar* by Fā'iz.

*Qiṣṣa Bahrām-o-Gul Andām* (Ṭab'ī Golkundawī written in 1081 A.H).

*Dīwān Rafī' Saudā* by Saudā.

*Qaṣā'id Rafī' Saudā.*

*Sri Ganesh*, translation from Sanskrit.

*Sunder Sukhar* translation from Sanskrit,

*Dhori Hindi* by Shāh Durvēsh Gujrātī (Taṣawuf).

*Rauḍat-ush-Shohadā'* by Seva Gulbargavī.

*Risāla Sarūd Rāg i.e. Majmu'a-i-Qadūm Dakhan Qaṣba.*

*Nishāt-ul-'Ishq Sharh Ghauthiya* (translation).

*Translation of Miftāh-uṣ-Ṣalāt* by Fatḥ Muḥammad Burhānpūrī.

*Khulāṣa-i-Sulṭānī* by Sayyid Imāmuddīn and Muḥammad Ṣamad Qāḍī of Seringapatum.

*Kalīd-i-Zabān-i-Telingi.*

The library of Windsor Castle has a copy of the Holy Qur'ān which is written in the hand of Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr. It is in fine Khaṭṭ-i-Naskh, decorated with beautiful painting and colouring. It is said to be worth ninety thousand rupees. This was also a rare treasure of Tīpū Sulṭān's Library.[1]

## THE LIBRARY OF MADRAS ARABIA KHĀNQĀH

SAHSARAM, the birth-place of Shēr Shāh, is a famous place in Bihar. Shāh Kabīr, a saint, lived here in the beginning of the twelfth century

1. *Tārīkh-i-Mysore*, p 355, Bangalore edition.

Hijri. In 1129 A.H. Farrukh Siyar created a trust of eighteen villages free of rent, fetching an income of one lakh of Dirhams. Shāh Khalīlullāh, the successor of Shāh Ṣāḥib, got possession of it. In 1175 Shāh 'Ālam II again gifted 41 villages by way of Mawazatut-Tamgha.[1] A Madrasa was attached to this Khānqāh, and it still exists as Madrasa Arabia Khānqāh.[2] Probably the library was founded along with the Khānqāh, as usually happened ; but with the establishment of the Madrasa Arabia the library was attached to that Madrasa. This was a very large and valuable library. It is approximately valued at Rs. one lakh. Probably this library still exists at the Madrasa.

## RĀJA SHITĀB RAY'S LIBRARY

RĀJA Shitāb Ray was the Nāẓim of Bihar in the last days of Mughal rule in India. He was a patron of the arts, learning, and the learned. His son Rāja Kalian succeeded him as Nāzim after his death. He was a poet and the author of many books. He had a library of his own, which contained mostly Persian books and some books on history. But the library gradually deteriorated as the descendants of the Rāja had ceased to take interest in Persian. Some years ago, on the occasion of an exhibition, the living descendant of the family—a very respectable man—was kind enough to allow people to see the books of his library which were heaped in trunks like waste paper. There was no rare book present.

## RĀJA RĀM NARĀ'IN'S LIBRARY

RĀM Narā'in, who was the Nāẓim of Bihar before Shitāb Ray, also had a personal library, and his descendants have still some of the books.

## ṢĀDIQPŪR PATNA LIBRARY

ṢĀDIQPŪR, a Moḥalla of Patna, has ever been famous for men of learning. Maulavī Aḥmedullāh Ṣāḥib ibn Maulavī Ilāhī Bakhsh Ṣāḥib Ja'farī, and Maulavī Wilāyat 'Alī Ṣāḥib ibn Ḥakīm Erādat Ḥusain Ṣāḥib were most distinguished scholars of Ṣādiqpūr. They had their own libraries. In the revolt of 1857, the Government confiscated all their property, including the library. A major portion of this library reached London and some portion found its way into Khudā Bukhsh Khān's library at Patna. Some of the books are still preserved by the descendants of that family, and they regard them with love and respect. *Shams-ul-'Ulūm*, a dictionary, is one of these books.

It is a piece of history that rich men of Muḥalla Kaiwān Shikoh, Ḥājīganj, Shād Manzil. Terhi Ghat, Dholpur, had every one of them a

1 *Tārīkh-i-Sahsaram*, p. 79, Deoband edition

2 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

personal library. But the libraries perished as the descendants of the founders took no interest in them. The books are either no more or are in a hopeless condition.

## KHĀNQĀH 'ABBĀSĪ LIBRARY

KHĀNQĀH 'Abbāsī of Bhagalpur is a well-known place in the province of Bihar which also had a library.

The Khānqāh of Phulwārī Sharīf is very old and has always been centre of scholars. It is still conspicuous for its religious services in the cause of Islam. It has had a library for a very long time.

## LIBRARIES OF FĀRŪQĪ SULṬĀN

THE Nāẓims appointed in different provinces in the last days of Fērōz Shāh Tughluq declared themselves independent after his death. Malik Rāja was one of them. He claimed his descent from Haḍrat Fārūq A'zam, and therefore the Sultanate founded by him was called Fārūqī Sultanate.

This kingdom was founded at the close of the seventh century Hijri and it came to an end at the hands of Akbar A'ẓam in 1005. This dynasty patronised scholars, poets, and Ṣūfīs, and they also had a fine library. According to Ferishta, Khwāja Mīrzā 'Alī Isfarā'īnī had seen this library. When Ferishta himself reached Burhanpur in 1013, he visited this library, and there he found a book which contained the years of coronation and death of the Fārūqī kings. Ferishta says he copied the dates in his book from there.[1]

The British Museum has a letter of Malik-ush-Shu'arā' Faiḍī addressed to Rājā 'Alī Khān, the kıng of Khandesh, in which Faidī had requested the Khandesh ruler to send some pages from the beginning and some from the end copied from *Tughluq Nāma*, which they had. The words were :—[2]

التفات فرموده دو حرو ار اول وهمیں ودر از آخر به یکے ار حدمت گاران امر فرمائند که بر حطے

مسوده نموده بجهت بنده مصحوب حاملان عریضه فرسند

These lines do not disclose the existence of any big library at Khandesh, but this much may be inferred that Khandesh rulers had a love for learning and art and kept in their possession selected books of their liking. This proves that they had personal libraries besides an official library.

## LIBRARIES OF OUDH KINGS

BURHĀN-UL-MULK Sa'ādat Khān was appointed governor of Oudh in the decaying days of the Mughal empire. He declared himself independ-

1. Ferishta, Vol II, p 277, Lucknow edition.
2. *Ma'ārif*, A'ẓamgarh, Vol. 36, No. 5, p. 346.

ent and became the founder of the kingdom of Oudh. This dynasty for eight generations ruled Oudh from its capital, Lucknow.

Now Lucknow attracted people more than Delhi. The generosity of Nawāb Āṣaf-ud-Dawla attracted scholars and men of genius. Schools of different arts and crafts were opened side by side with the Madrasa. Libraries were also founded. Lucknow had numerous libraries. Sprenger, an Englishman, who visited Lucknow in 1848, has described the Royal Library.

The Royal Library stood in the old Daulat Khāna, behind the iron bridge near the Gomti, just at Rūmī Darwāza. The site of that library was most probably the place which is now an open field between the Iron Bridge and Qaiṣar Bāgh. Nothing remains of that illustrious library, no sign, no mark to tell us that woeful tale. It had more than ten thousand books. Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Ḥaidar had improved it greatly.

There was another library in the palace of Moti Garden. It had mostly books on literature. This garden is on the side of the river Gomti, at some distance from Qaisar Bāgh. Sulaimān Qādir lived there after 1857. Now it is called " Moti Mahal." This Mahal had books numbering above three thousand, which were chosen and rare.

There was another library in Farrukh Bukhsh Mahal. Though it had books less than a thousand in number, the pecularity about it was that it was a very valuable library. Every book of this library was gilded and coloured, and there were many fine specimens of painting and gilding. The library was specially collected by the orders of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, and can rightly be called his personal library.

These libraries were well looked after and they were in good condition, but the decay in the kingdom at last had its effect on the libraries also. The Nāẓims of the libraries were changed quickly, which resulted in mismanagement as no Nāzim could get any opportunity to survey the library and check what was going wrong with it. The books were heaped in wall almirahs and shelves in a disorderly manner. The result was that the outgoing librarians, whenever they gave over charge, only pointed to the numbers of the books, and it was never discovered until later that many of the most valuable books had been removed and ordinary books had been put in their place to make the numbers complete. Sprenger says that the Nāzim of the library sold books worth ten thousand rupees and married his sons on the proceeds. The writer of this article has also seen many books bearing the seal of Royal Libraries in various libraries of India, which proves the truth of Sprenger's assertion. Rāja Salīmpūr's Library has such books in large numbers even now. After 1857, the rest of the books were sent to London.

It had books in the Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Sanskrit, Turkish and Pushto languages, and as regards subjects it had mostly books on Taṣawuf, Tadhkira, history and literature, Dīwāns in large

numbers of course. Lucknow had another famous library belonging to Mīrzā Sulaimān Shikoh, the third son of the blind ruler of Delhi, Shāh 'Ālam. In 1205 he fled from the Qil'a-i-Mu'alla and reached Lucknow. Lucknow at that time was ruled by Āṣaf-ud-Dawla. Terhī Kothī was chosen for his residence with great respect, and he was given six thousand rupees for his expenses. Mīrzā Shikoh was a great lover of the learned, and distinguished scholars and masters of their art gathered round him. Himself a poet, he always patronised the poets. He also had a library. This library had various copies of *Dīwān* of Shaikh Ghulām Hamdānī Muṣḥafī, written under the supervision of the author himself. Rampur Library has fine copies of that *Dīwān*, bearing the seal of Mīrzā Sulaimān Shikoh.

Kākori, a famous town in the district of Lucknow, has always been a centre of learning. Many scholars, poets and literary people lived there because of the patronage of the rich people of that place. They had several Madrasas, libraries and literary institutions to their credit. One such place was Amīr Maḥal, where a large library was established. *Bayāḍ Nūr-i-Azal*, a Tadhkira, written by Shaikh Ghulām Hamdānī Mushafī in 1209, was there. It was copied from a copy of the original in 1239, and was entered in Amīr Maḥal Library. Now this copy belongs to Mushīr Aḥmad 'Alavī, B.A., of Kākori.

The description of the Royal Library of Oudh by Sprenger relates to the period when the kingdom had already become defunct and the library ruined. 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf, Shustrī, who came to Lucknow in the time of Āṣaf-ud-Dawla, has given the following description in his *Travels* :—

> " I visited the library along with 'Allāmī Tafaḍḍul Khān. It has books to the number of approximately three lacs and a servant is deputed for every hundred books.
>
> " Books of different languages like Arabic, Persian and English, both prose and poetry, were there. Besides Qaṭ'āt of penmen, there were fine specimens of Indian, Iranian, European and Turkish paintings, in such large numbers that it would require Noah's life to see them all. I had the opportunity of seeing literary books in countless numbers —books like *Madārik*, *Masālik*, *Mafātīh*, *Kashkūl*, *Baḥr-ul-Anwār*, etc.
>
> " It has numerous books written in the hand of the authors themselves. On enquiry the Muhtamim told me that it contains some seven hundred such books. When Delhi was ruined, the greater part of that library came to the Royal Library of Lucknow.
>
> " The truth is that this library is rare and valuable to such an extent that even the precious stones of the Royal Library can hardly equal it."[1]

This gives a vivid picture of the grandeur and the excellent management of the Royal Library of the kings of Oudh.

1. *Tuhfat-ul-'Ālam*, p. 349, 350, Bombay edition.

## NAWAB ROHILA'S LIBRARY

THE Rohila Pathans, who had become very strong in the time of Muḥammad Shāh, gradually became the masters of Rohilkhand. The most outstanding Rohila Pathan was Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān. He was a brave and also a learned man, and a patron of Sayyids, scholars and distinguished people. During his rule he carried out many public works like the construction of mosques and Madrasas. He had a great library also.

In 1188 Nawab Shujā'-ud-Daula of Oudh murdered Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, annexed his estate to his own kingdom, and looted and plundered the Royal Palace. [1]

The library was part of the the loot, and Shujā'-ud-Daula removed it to the building of Tōp Khāna and it was generally called Tōp-Khāna Library in Lucknow. This was near the British Residency, now called Bailly Guard, a corrupted name for Bailly Garden. Major Bailly was the resident at the time of Nawāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. Most probably that was the place where the Balram Hospital now stands. The big open field in front of Bailly Guard was also connected with it. There was a big two-storeyed building on the field where the hospital is. One portion of that building was used for military purposes, and in the other portion stood the library.

The books were heaped in big trunks in a very disorderly manner. Sprenger has expressed his disapproval of such carelessness and apathy. These trunks had become the permanent abode of rats ; and, without the help of sticks, it was dangerous to put one's hand into them.

Next to rats, worms had destroyed the books most, and many of the best books fell a prey to these worms. *Haft Qulzum*, and *Tāj-ul-Lughāt*, considered to be the rarest books of the time, were destroyed. It seems that Shujā'-ud-Daula cared more for the gold, silver and precious stones of the Rohilas, and criminally neglected these books. The generals, considering them to be useless, threw them into a corner, and they remained in that condition till the time of Sprenger's visit.

Besides books in Urdu and Persian, the library had a large number of Pushto books. Books on literature exceeded those on other subjects. There were duplicate copies of books, for example there were a hundred copies of *Gulistān* and *Būstān*. Sprenger has expressed no opinion regarding these books, but it was a point demanding attention, because there may have been peculiarities about some of them. Certain copies may have had some distinguishing feature as regards correctness, penmanship, and antiquity. It is also possible that the Nāẓim of the library in Lucknow may have re-stocked it with valuable books.

---

1. *Gul-e-Rahmat*, p. 173, Bombay.

## RĀJA SALĪMPŪR'S LIBRARY

SALĪMGARH is a village in the suburbs of Lucknow, now called Salīmpūr. The owners of it have been called Rājas of Salīmpūr ever since the days of Oudh kings. Like other chieftains, they have been men of taste and patrons of learning and the arts. The Rājas of Salīmpūr have been famous for their love of tents, precious stones, and books, and they have collected an excellent library. It had books on almost all subjects. There was a big collection of manuscripts. Some books were good specimens of painting, and ten thousand rupees were offered for a painted *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausī. *Manzar-ul-A'yān* is considered to be very rare in India. Only one other copy of this book is known, and it is to be found in the Dīwānī Library of Hyderabad. But the library of Salīmpūr is not well managed. When the writer saw this library, it was, in spite of the care taken of the books, in a bad condition. The building of the library is in such a dilapidated state that it can hardly last long.

The books are kept in closed almirahs and are in good condition. They are in three languages, *viz.* Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. As regards subjects, they are mostly on Fiqh, Tafsīr (both Shī'a and Sunnī), and their principles. Books on history and literature are also sufficiently numerous. Manuscripts are kept in several big trunks as well as in the library in Tōsha Khāna.

## LIBRARY OF DARYĀBĀD

DARYĀBĀD, a town in the district of Bārābankī is one of those places in the Kingdom of Oudh where the torch of learning was alawys kept alight. Maulānā Ḥakīm Nūr Karīm Ṣāḥib, Maulānā Ḥakīm 'Abdūl-'Azīz Sāḥib, and many other great scholars were born there. It was the birthplace of many accomplished and distinguished men, Muslims as well as Hindus, even before 1857. Libraries are to be seen there, dating from the eighteenth century. The library of the Jains was established in 1744. There was also another library for Hindus, some two hundred years ago. Both these libraries were destroyed in 1857, but some books preserved from them still remain.

Several libraries were founded by Muslims as well. Ḥakīm Nūr Karīm's was one of these. Many of his valuable books were destroyed in the anarchy of 1857, but there are two thousand books still in existence, mostly on medicine. There are some books which were written four hundred years before. Hakim Ṣāhib himself was a great penman, and there are several specimens of his writing. *Tārikh-ul-Khulafā', Sharḥ-e-Muwaqif, Tafsīr Baiḍāvī, Hidāya, Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī, Sharḥ-i-Waqāya, Futūh-ul-Ghaib, Miṣbāḥ-ul-Maṣābīh, Qānūn Shaikh, Nafīsī, Iqsara, Tuqūm-ul-Buldān* in Arabic and *Jadhb-ul-Qulūb, Madārij-un-Nabuwat,*

*Ḥayāt-ul-Ḥaiwān, Mir'at-i-Maṣ'ūdī, Mir'at-ul-Wujūd, Gulistān, Būstān* are specimens of fine penmanship and faultless manuscripts.

There are some old publications as well, like *Tafsīr Kashshāf* (1856), *Burhān Qāṭi'*, *Dīwān-i-Wājid 'Alī Shāh, Dīwān-i-Mehr, Diwān-Zakhmī, Durra-i-Nādira*. And among rare books *Madīnat-ul-'Ulūm* by Arnīqī deserves mention as a specimen of fine penmanship.[1]

## THE LIBRARY OF FARANGĪ MAḤAL

SAHALI also occupies an important place among the famous towns of Oudh. Shaikh Niẓām-ud-Dīn Ansārī, the famous scholar and saint, lived there and taught people.

His grandson, Shaikh Ḥāfiẓ became very famous in the time of Akbar. The king, when he knew of his learning, granted Jāgīrs to him in recognition of his attainments. Mullā Quṭb-ud-Dīn was in the fourth line of descent from him. He was such a great saint, that even Aurangzēb desired to see him. When his enemies had slain him, his son Nizām-ud-Dīn came over to Lucknow. The king gave him Farangī Mahal for his residence, which was formerly the 'Kothi' of Portuguese traders. Mullā Niẓām-ud-Dīn, like his ancestors, gained such fame as hardly any scholar except Shāh Walī'ullāh can boast. The Madrasa which he founded at Farangī Mahal became later on a kind of university and it also had a library. Details are lacking about this library in the time of Mullā Nizām-ud-Dīn, but this much is certain, that books were being multiplied by his descendants till the time of Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Ḥai, when it had grown stupendously large. The rare books fell into the hands of other people at the time of Maulānā's death. When the writer visited the library, it had books mostly on Fiqh.

At present, this library is in the eastern hall within the premises of the two-storeyed building of the Yūsufī Press. Some of the books are kept in closed almirahs and some in open ones, subject-wise. Probably it is now rarely opened except for visitors who desire to see it.

The writer had occasion to see the library of Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Bārī also. It contained books mostly on Fiqh and Taṣawuf. These books were placed in the recess of the arches in Dīwān Khāna and on shelves in the walls. Some manuscripts were kept in open almirahs in the second storey of Madrasa Niẓāmia.

There was also another library in Lucknow under the supervision of the Mujtahids, and it remained under their care even after 1857. The writer in his school-days heard that at the death of Janāb Qibla Allan Ṣāḥib it had been given to the other Mujtahid. After him, Qibla Nāṣir Ḥusain became Mujtahid. His library is very famous in Lucknow. When the writer visited the library, he found two kinds of books: one consisted of those which were already there and were classed as Qadīm (old), and

1. *Tārikh-i-Daryābād* by Brij Bhookan Lal, pp. 276, 277, 278, Lucknow edition.

the second of those which Mujtahid Ṣāḥib himself had added and were classed under the head Jadīd or new. By old, perhaps they meant those books which the Mujtahids had inherited from the outgoing Mujtahids continuously for a very long time.

## THE LIBRARIES OF BILGRAM

BILGRAM is also a well-known town in the suburbs of Lucknow. Men like Shaikh 'Abdul-Wāḥid, Shaikh Niẓām, Qāḍī Mahmūd, Qāḍī Kamāl, Mīr 'Abd-ul-Wāḥid, Muftī Amīr Ḥaidar, Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, Mīr 'Abd-ul-Jalīl Bilgrāmī, Dr. Sayed 'Ali Bilgrāmī, and Nawab Syed Ḥussain were born there. They were highly intellectual people and were gifted with literary attainments. How could they rest without a library? There were in fact many libraries in Bilgram which were destroyed by the lapse of time. Some have been traced through the pages of history.

(1) Qāḍī Abu'l-Fatḥ Shaikh Kamāl Farshari Bilgrāmī had a big library. He was born in 917 A.H. and was the Qāḍī in the time of Akbar the Great. He was a scholar as well as an administrator. His library consisted of books on grammar, logic, philosophy, eloquence, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence and Tafsīr. The collection of Tafsīr was the biggest.

Being himself a fine penman and calligrapher, he wrote a great number of books in his own hand. He also contributed such elaborate footnotes that he left no necessity for a commentary. He cared so much for correctness that there was hardly any mistake even in points. Āzād Bilgrāmī has called one of his works *Ṣuhaf Āsmānī* (Divine Books), because of its accuracy.[1] Shaikh Kamāl died in 1001 A.H. at the ripe age of eighty-four. The library was ruined after his death and most of the rare books went out of Bilgram.

The second library belonged to Syed 'Abdul-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī. He was a fine penman and collected books on different subjects. This library had countless copies of the Holy Qur'ān.

The third library in this town belonged to Syed 'Abdullāh Bilgrāmī, who was a reputed scholar of his time and a poet, Qābil was his pen-name, and he was a master of penmanship. He died in 1132 A.H.

His library contained rare and fine books. But unfortunately it fell into the hands of worthless people and the books were scattered, misplaced, and at last destroyed.

The fourth one belonged to 'Allāma Syed 'Abd-ul-Jalīl Bilgrāmī, who was ranked very high for his scholarly attainments. He graced high government posts after 'Ālamgīr. He was a great lover of books, and took necessary books with him even on his travels, while the rest of the library

1 *Ma'āthir-ul-Kirām*, Vol I, p. 228.

remained at Bilgrām. The books were mostly kept in big trunks. He writes in one of his letters to Syed Muḥammad :—

" My boy, the book *Rauḍat-un-Nāẓir* is put in that trunk which was brought home from Gujrat." Further he directs him to look after the book in these words, " What should I write to you about the care and precaution to be taken for the books. You know well how much I love my books, and after how much labour and search I have collected them .....air the books in the sun as often as possible." It had books in Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hindi, Sanskrit. The subject-matter was mostly literature, Ḥadīth, Medicine, lexicography, jurisprudence and grammar. Syed 'Abdul-Jalīl died in Delhi in 1138, at the age of about 67.

After the death of Mīr Ṣāḥib, the library was well looked after by his descendants for some time. But later on they neglected it as they themselves had little touch with learning, and gradually they sold all the books until not a single page remained in Bilgrām. But it is a matter of great satisfaction that a very large number of books, and especially Mīr Ṣāḥib's own work, reached the Kutub-Khāna-i-Āṣafiya, Hyderabad.

The fifth library was owned by Shāh Ṭayyib (d. 1152), a notable personality of Bilgram. He lived for a long time in Gurat, a suburb of Ahmedabad, in connection with his occupation. He was a very fast writer and a high-class calligrapher. This library had fine specimens of calligraphy in abundance. Āzād Bilgrāmī writes :—

وکتب خانهٔ عظیمے از خط خوش بخط خود یادگار گذاشت

(He left to his memory a big library with fine specimens of calligraphy).[1]

The sixth library belonged to Nawab Shaikh Mīr 'Ālamgīrī. He was a rich man but had a spiritual turn of mind. He inhabited a Moḥalla in the eastern side of the city coming out of Sayedwara. He provided that Moḥalla with all the necessities of life. While he was constructing a mosque his soul departed from this world. He willed at the time of his death that the mosque should be completed after the sale of his books, which he loved very dearly.[2] It was probably a very rare collection.

## THE LIBRARY OF THE CHIEF OF FARRUKHĀBĀD

THE Rohilas founded a kingdom in Farrukhābād in the last days of the Mughals. The Farrukhābād rulers were lovers of learning and patrons of scholars. This became the first Manzil of the scholars who departed from Delhi.

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1. *Ma'āthir-ul-Kirām*, Vol. I, p. 53.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 98.,

Badr-ud-Daula Shujā'-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad Sa'ādatmand Khān Bahādur Asad Jung was the ruler of Farrukhābād in 1263 A.H. He had the traditional generosity, bravery and love of learning and the arts. He had a notable library. In one of the books he has written in his own hand "On 12th Dhil-Hajja 1263 A.H. on Friday the copy of *Mājalis-ul-'Ushshāq* has been entered in the library of Badr-ud-Daula Shujā'-ul-Mulk Muḥammad Sa'ādat Khān Bahādur Asad Jung, son of Nāwab Amīn-ud-Daula Md, Khiradmand Khān Bahādur Bābar Jung, son of Nawāb Shams-ud-Daula Md. Khudā Bandē Khān Bahādur Ghaḍanfar Jung, the chief of Farrukhābād." This book is now in Rampur Library.

## THE LIBRARIES OF JAUNPŪR

After the downfall of the Tughluqs every governor of India declared independence. Khwāja Jahān Nā'ib-i-Ḥukūmat-i-Jaunpūr founded the Sharqī dynasty under the title of Malik-ush-Sharq. His descendant ruled from Qanauj to Bengal.

This was a most fertile place, which helped the rulers to become very powerful in a short time. They rose rapidly and speedily, provided Jaunpūr with all the paraphernalia of civilisation: a grand mosque, Khānqāh, Sarā'is, Madrasas, Ḥammāms and magnificent palaces were built.

Although this kingdom lived for only eighty years, the patronage and generosity of the Sharqīs gathered round them a galaxy of scholars. Whom they held in such high esteem that they personally visited them.

Estates with an income of lakhs were created in trust for Madrasas and Khānqāhs, and the scholars were given big stipends.

When the Mughals came, the royal patronage continued and the literary activities of these scholars did not diminish. Shāh Jahān always said proudly, "Our Sharq is over Shīrāz." When Burhān-ul-Mulk became the governor of Oudh, he took all these Jāgīrs from them and naturally they migrated to different places in distress, and this literary assembly was dispersed.

The Sharqī Sulṭāns established countless Madrasas in their time. This continued up to the time of the Mughals. The following Madrasas have been traced:—

(1) Madrasa Qādī Shahāb-ud-Dīn Daulatābādī, (2) Madrasa 'Ādil, (3) Madrasa Ustād-ul-Mulk, (4) Madrasa Mullā Ma'mūr, (5) Madrasa Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn, (6) Madrasa Mullā Khiḍrī, (7) Madrasa Madāriya, (8) Madrasa Mullā Ṣhams Nūr, (9) Madrasa Ṣādiqiya, (10) Madrasa Khalīliya, (11) Madrasa Jamīliya, (12) Madrasa Mullā Bābullāh, (13) Madrasa Ṣadr-Jahān, (14) Madrasa Mullā Shams-ud-Dīn.

These Madrasas had the same status as our colleges. The teachers were well known masters of their subjects. These institutions had their own

buildings, with residences (hostels) for the pupils and mosques and libraries. They were equipped with all the requirements of education.

Besides these, there were many personal libraries. The library of Maulavī Ma'shūq 'Alī (d. 1262) was well known in Jaunpūr. It had five thousand books.[1] He was interested in teaching and was always surrounded by students. This naturally leads us to conclude that the library contained books on various subjects. The owner compiled a book *Tuhfa Tafīfa* on Ethics, and another book on Farā'iḍ, which discloses his special aptitude for Ethics and (Fiqh) Jurisprudence. This tempts us to say that his library contained books mostly on these two subjects.

There was another library belonging to Muftī Syed Abu'l-Baqā' (d. 1040). He was Muftī of Jaunpūr in the time of Shāh Jahān. He had such a rare intelligence and memory that he got by heart any book he read once. Shāh Jahān once sent to him for correction a book which had been damaged in several places. He read it once and put it in the library and forgot it. After six months, when reminders came from Shāh Jahān, he searched for it everywhere but in vain. At last he wrote the whole book from memory and sent the complete work to the king. There was not the slightest difference. The king was very much pleased with him, and bestowed rewards and Jāgīrs upon him.[2]

## 'ĀDIL SHĀHĪ LIBRARY

After the break up of the Bahmanī kingdom, five new kingdoms were set up, namely, Barīd Shāhī, Qutb Shāhī, Nizām Shāhī, 'Imād Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī. 'Ādil Shāhī was the most powerful of all. It had friendly relations even with countries outside India. There was an exchange of ambassadors with Persia and Turkey. Rare presents used to come from and go to those countries.

The 'Ādil Shāhī Sulṭāns were as keenly interested in arts and literature as they were shrewd in politics. Mullā Zuhūrī, Mullā Malik Qummī, Mullā Fatḥulla Shīrāzī, Khwāja 'Ināyatullāh Shīrāzī, and Qāsim Ferishta adorned this court.

The royal patronage attracted men of extraordinary knowledge and ability from Persia, Iraq, Azarbaijan and Arabia. Rafī'-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī, the Khān Sālār and Khazānchī, once stated, "As Shīrāz is my native place, I know definitely that ten thousand people were benefited by the king's patronage."[3]

Original works, as well as works of compilation and translation, were carried out on a scale such as was known in hardly any other contemporary kingdom. Mosques, Madrasas, inns, bridges, monasteries were

1. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'-i-Jaunpūr*, Vol. II, p. 116.
2. *Ibid.*, p 64.
3. *Basātīn-us-Salāṭīn*, p 144, Hyderabad.

built in large numbers. These Ṣulṭāns were second to none in their taste and love for books. A very grand Royal Library was established at Bijapore. 'Ādil Shāh (d. 988 A.H.) himself was very fond of books, and was a constant reader. He had, besides the Royal Library, his personal library, which remained with him whether on a journey or at home. It is reported that he had a great taste and liking for books. He collected different kinds of books and entered them in his library. There were sixty employees such as scribes, penmen, gilders, margin-drawers, bookbinders, painters, who were always busy with their work. Four trunks full of books always accompanied the king even on a journey. Once it so happened that on the last day of the journey, there was a heavy shower of rain and the troops went in different directions. The king also encamped at one place and, he called for books there. On enquiry it became known that the books had gone with the troops to another village. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh became very angry and said: "I have told you several times that the books should not be kept apart from me, but you do not heed my orders." A special Amīr was deputed on the spot to go and fetch the books and the king was restless until they arrived.[1]

## THE LIBRARIES OF BENGAL

THERE was no dearth of libraries in Bengal also. Nawāb Murshidābādī's family were interested in learning and the arts, although political troubles did not spare them. Nawab Mu'īn-ud-Daula had a library which probably contained a great number of books, because we see that there was a Dārōgha (Muhtamim) named Mīr Aḥmadullāh for the library. His seal is inscribed, "Aḥmadullāh Shāfianā." Another officer of this library was Ḥāfiẓ Asadullāh, who was Taḥwīldār.

*Nigāristān* by Maulānā Mu'īni Johīnī, written in the time of Sulṭān Abū-Sa'īd Bahādur Khān, was present in that library. The scribe of the book is Muḥammad Ḥusain ibn Md. Muẓaffar. He finished it in 953 A.H. This book is at present in the library of Shanti-Niketan. It probably graced the Royal Library also, because at one place it is written: "In 997 Hijri was presented."

## RAMPUR LIBRARY

RAMPUR is one of the several States which were set up in Rohilkhund after the collapse of the Mughals. The Rampur rulers have been conspicuous for their patronage of art and literature. It was the only hospitable place for scholars and accomplished people after the ruination of Delhi and Lucknow in 1857, and the Rampur ruler received them with open arms and the greatest generosity. When Rampur became the seat of such distinguished scholars, naturally all doors of learning were opened. A very

1. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, p 148, Hyderabad

grand Arabic Madrasa was started with 'Allāma-i-Zamān Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Alī, Baḥr-ul-'Ulūm Farangī Maḥlī as the principal. Translation and original work began side by side. After thorough research into the history of Rampur it is revealed that a library in the proper sense of the word was started in the time of Muhd. Faiḍullāh Khān. All the translation, compilation, and original work was carried on in Rampur. The books presented to the rulers were collected in this library.

In the time of Nawab Sayyid Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān (1843 A.H. 1259) books worth one thousand four hundred and eighty-nine rupees and eight annas were bought and entered in the library. At that time it had rare books like *Humāyūn Nāma, Akbar Nāma, Khazā'in-ul-'Ālam, Tārīkh Nādirī, Khulāsat-ut-Tāwarīkh, Tārīkh Jahān Khānī, Tārīkh Majma'-i- Mahfil.*

In the time of Nawab Sayyid Muhd. Yūsuf Ṣāḥib (1855), books worth two thousand, seven hundred and fifty-seven rupees and ten and a half annas were bought to be enetred in the library.

After him Nawāb Kalb 'Alī Khān became the ruler, and the library improved tremendously during his reign. Books worth forty-three thousand, six hundred and eight rupees, thirteen annas, nine pies (Rs. 43,608-13-9) were bought. These figures do not include the sums which were spent in purchasing rare books which chanced to come in the middle of the year. They are *Tārīkh Ghaznī* (illustrated), the writer of which was rewarded by two thousand rupees, or the rare illustrated copy of *'Ajā'ib-ul-Makhlūqāt*. In the time of Nawāb Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān (the successor of Nawab Kalb 'Alī Khān) four lakhs twenty-eight thousand, one hundred and thirty-six rupees, fourteen annas, ten pies were spent on the library, out of which forty thousand were spent on the building. The remaining sum includes the purchase of books and the salaries of the staff of the library for the whole year.

The staff consisted of Secretary, manager, registrar, Taḥwīldār, Khush-Navīs, Naqqāsh, Warrāq, Ṣaḥḥāf, Pāsbān, Farrāsh, etc. This library is still in full bloom. It contains books on the following subjects :—Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Asmā'-ur-Rijāl, Principles of Jurisprudence, Kalām, mysticism, ethics, philosophy, astronomy, logic, medicine, lexicography, grammar, literature, history, biography, etc.

The books are written in the following languages :—

Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English, Turkish, Pashto, Bhasha, Sanskrit, Nagri, Punjabi.

As regards old books, الکتب العیون by 'Abd-ul-Ḥasan, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Māwardī Shāfi'ī (d. 450) is the oldest. And التیسیر فی علم التفسیر by Imām Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd-ul-Karīm ibn Hawāzin Nishāpūrī (d. 465) is the oldest so far as Kitābat is concerned. It was written per pen Ja'far ibn 'Uthmān-aṣ-Ṣairāfī al-Ḥaddādī, in 679 A.H. . . . If penmanship is to be taken into account, the Katbas of Yāqūt Musta'ṣamī, the most famous calligrapher of the

Muslim world take first place. In the same way the complete *Dīwān* of Alhadra from the pen of the same calligrapher is to be found there.

There is no record to show the number of books in the time of the early rulers of Rampur. In the time of Nawab Kalb 'Alī Khān, the famous poet Amīr Mīnā'ī, the then Nāẓim, gave the number of the books as 9347 in 1889. Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān the well-known physician, succeeded him as Nāzim. He prepared an elaborate catalogue (Vol. I) of Arabic books, enumerating 12,451 books. The second volume was published in 1927. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad 'Alī Khān was then Nāẓim. His figure is 24,115.

## HOW LIBRARIES WERE MANAGED IN OLD DAYS

THERE was a special department to look after the management of the library and this department had under its control many officers of different ranks. Besides Madrasas, monasteries and mosques and personal libraries, all the libraries established by the ruler of the time or by some courtier of the king had their own special separate building. Particular care was taken to provide the building with sufficient light and air. The floors were kept free from worms and from dampness, since these things destroyed the books very soon, as is evident from the library buildings of Humāyūn and Akbar.

The highest official of the library was the Nāẓim,[1] who was also called Mu'tamad. He was in charge of income, expense, the appointment and dismissal of servants. This post in the library was generally reserved for nobles of the court, as is revealed by the seals of royal books.

The post next to that of Nāzim was of Dārōgha[2] or Muhtamim. He used to look after the internal management of the library under the direction of the Nāzim. It was essential that he should be a man of extraordinary ability and well versed in all arts and sciences. He also had his assistant. Apart from management he had to select, purchase, and classify the books subject-wise. He had many clerks under him, whose duties were to enter the books in the register, and to keep separate registers for separate subjects, and number the books,[3] as was the usual procedure in the libraries of Oudh.

Under the Dārōgha there were several employees who arranged the books in trunks and almirahs in serial numbers. Along with them were the Ṣaḥḥāf and Warrāq,[4] whose work was to take out every book and to remove the dust and to clean the book after turning every page, and to separate the pages if they had stuck together.

1 *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 505.

2. *Ma'ārıf*, Vol XIV, p 423, 424 and *Shāh Jahāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p 55 *Ma'āthır-ı-Rahīmī*, Vol. III, part II, p. 1686.

3 *Catalogue of Rampur Library*, Vol I, p 7.

4. *Ma'āthır-ı- Raḥīmī*, Vol III, p. 1680.

There was also a bookbinder for the library, one or more according to requirements. These bookbinders were masters of their art. They knew the prevalent types of bookbinding fully well. There are still some bookbinders at Hyderabad who are their real successors.[1]

## Painters

In the same way there were several painters who painted fine pictures for the books. Their paintings were a marvel for the people. The same was the condition of Naqqāsh. They were experts in colouring and in making colours. The colours were so fast that even now, after the lapse of two or three hundred years, the colour, the polish and the glaze have hardly undergone any change. It seems as though the work has just been finished.[2]

## Khush Navīs

There were several penmen or calligraphers, who were considered essential. They were experts in different types of calligraphy, Khaṭṭ-i-Kūfī, Khaṭṭ-i-Naskh, Khaṭṭ-i-Nasta'līq, Khaṭṭ-i-Shikasta. They used to write the complete book or complete some unfinished book.[3]

## Kātib (Scribe)

Several scribes were employed, who used to copy the rare books. There were copyists also working along with them, who used to copy some particular portion at greater speed.

## Muqābila Navīs

The books written by these two were sent to the Muqabīla Navīs, or the comparing scribes, who were specially employed to compare the copy with the original and correct any mistake.[4]

## Muṣaḥḥih

Besides all these a Muṣaḥḥiḥ or corrector was employed. He was generally a man of great ability and learning. If any books were eaten by worms so that only half of the words remained, it was the duty of the Muṣaḥḥiḥ to restore those words in a correct way. He was also expected to remove any defects or mistakes in the original.

1. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, Vol. III, p. 1680.
2. *Ibid*, p. 1681, Cal.
3. *Ibid*, p. 1683, 1678.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 1696.

JADWAL SĀZ

He was also one of the members of the staff of the library, who used to make plain, coloured, silvery, golden, original and artificial marginal drawings round the page.

S. A. ZAFAR NADVI.

(*Concluded*).

# LOWER-CLASS UPRISINGS IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

THE history of India during the Muslim period has been presented until now chiefly by writers whose attention has been confined to the life of the upper class. Even within those narrow limits, their choice of subject-matter has been still further restricted in many cases to but two aspects of that life : war and government. The word ' history ' instead of being used in its true meaning, as full as life itself, has been narrowed to describe that segment of specialized study which we ought to label merely 'political history.' And even more than to-day, before the rise of democracy politics covered a very small area of life indeed. One of the chief tasks, therefore, facing the modern Indian historian is to broaden historiography so that it may include other aspects of the life of the upper class, becoming a true social and cultural history of the aristocracy instead of merely a court chronicle ; and also, perhaps even more important, so to broaden it that it may include too something of the life of the other classes of society. At the same time, history must become analytical, rather than merely descriptive ; and dynamic, rather than merely chronological. In other words, the historian must search for the way of life of all the people ; and must search also for the slow transformations in that way of life, and for their causes.

Our present purpose is to investigate a little the life of the lower classes in the Mughal Empire. The persons forming those classes constituted, of course, the overwhelming majority of the population. (It is doubtful whether the Mughal nobility comprised in all one-tenth of one per cent. of the people).[1] No doubt, the individual lives of the peasantry and the

1 Using Moreland's estimates, from his *India at the Death of Akbar*, one might put the total population of north India (including Bangāl and Gujarāt) in Mughal times at something like seventy million , of which 0 1% is seventy thousand. The total numbers of Mughal *manṣabdārs* are given by Sri Ram Sharma (*Organisation of Public Services in Mughal India, 1526-1707*, reprint from *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol *XXIII*, 1937, *Part II* , p 16) as follows under Akbar (1590) .. 1,658
Jahāngīr 2,069
Shāh Jahān (1637) 8,000
Aurangzēb (1690) 11,456
These figures should be multiplied by, say, five in order to include families (—though the standard histories devote very little space to the life of women and children in those days).

town poor were very much less full, less varied, and less influential, than those of their rulers. None-the-less, the humble folk were so immensely more numerous that, taken together, they are surely as important as the upper class. An unbiased historian would perhaps admit that the most important question to ask about a military campaign is not 'Who won it ? ' but ' How did it affect the common people ? ' ; about an administrative system, not ' How efficient was it, or how much revenue did it bring to the State ? ' but ' How much income did it leave to the producer ? ' ; about a reigning emperor, not 'What was his name ? ' or 'What sort of character did he have ? ' but ' How did the masses fare under his sway ? '—and in general, the most important history of India is not the record of its kings but the story of its people.

Few historians would actually deny this principle explicitly. Those who have denied it in practice by writing history books or articles or doctorate theses in which the common man does not figure, have done so usually either by ignoring the issue, or on the plea that only for the upper class is source material available. With few exceptions,[1] they have not decided the issue in favour of the aristocratic minority after deliberation. Rather, their attention has simply not been called to the place of the lower classes in Oriental history ; or, if it has been called, they answer that the extent sources deal only with the great ones of the earth.

This answer is on the whole true, and must be frankly faced even by those of us who deem the argument based on it invalid. The materials for constructing a history of Muslim India are primarily written materials ; and the fact is that writing in those days was an undemocratic art. To it only a tiny minority, of nobles or of nobles' protégés, was initiate. With small exceptions (such as the wealthy foreign merchants' account-books), the basis of modern historiography is literature produced by and/or for the upper class. Even the few non-written sources, such as architecture and coins, are monuments to the life of the rich.

This means that for us to learn about the poor in those days is difficult. It may be difficult ; but it is also important. And perhaps even the difficulty will appear less formidable once one has boldly set oneself to deal with it. Perhaps the important explanation of modern Indian historiography's remoteness from the common people is not only that the mediæval Persian chronicles were neither written nor read by the lower classes, but also that those lower classes still to-day are cut off from the academic historian. The modern writer, whether British imperialist or nationalist professor, has been in general not interested in the life of the villager or the town proletariat. (For this reason, our understanding even of mediæval upper-class politics has been shallow).

For material would not be entirely wanting for writers who undertook a social and cultural history of the Indian people. There is, for instance,

1 *E g.*, Vincent A. Smith : *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 386.

the religious literature. Religion was life, and life was religion, for the ancient poor to a remarkable degree. A rich harvest awaits research workers who examine the poetry of, say, Tulsī Dās and the writings of the Ṣūfīs from this point of view ; and the amount of social evolution that lies embedded in the rise of popular religious movements has still to be investigated, and is probably large. Moreover, stray references to the life of ordinary men and women are to be found here and there in almost all contemporary records, and could be assiduously culled and carefully studied. The comprehensive studies[1] of Moreland and Ashraf illustrate what can be done.

Without going so far afield, however, one can study one aspect of lower-class life in the writings of the upper class themselves ; namely, the conditions under which the two groups came in contact with each other. No doubt the aristocracy was much of the time unconcerned with the plebians ; but they could not ignore them altogether, for, after all, they had to get their food from them. The most obvious and most continuous relation between the ruling class and the people was in revenue collection. It involved the major part of the administrative system and a good deal of the army.

The upper class was enormously wealthy. But its wealth did not appear out of nothing, at the *fiat* of the emperor. It was taken from the lower class, by force or the threat of force, in the form of what is called " taxes " or " revenue." Approximately one-third of the country's agricultural produce was taken for the nobility from the villagers who, by the sweat of their brow, produced it. Any notion that those villagers parted with their produce willingly is sheer romanticism. They paid their taxes only when they had to.

Bābur remarks of India in his *Mémoirs* : " In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes."[2] In other words, they seized any opportunity to evade payment ; as is entirely natural. Such chance quotations could be multiplied many times. In fact, almost all modern historians have noted that the revenue was taken from the lower classes against their will. But they have failed to interpret this fact, or even much to consider it. We may choose almost any modern writer at random. Thus, Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār, speaking of what he calls " the Indian peasant's habitual reluctance to pay revenue,"[3] remarks : " A careful student of Indian history is very much

1. W. H Moreland . *India at the Death of Akbar* , *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* ;
Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindūstān (1200-1550 A D)*, reprint from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters Vol I*, 1935, No 2

2. *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī*, in Elliot & Dowson *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol IV, p. 222.

3. J. N. Sarkar *Mughal Administration*, 1935 edition, p 76 , *cf* Table of Contents, p. v

struck by the chronic antagonism between the rent-payer and the rent-receiver from very ancient times. European travellers in India have noticed how the ryot was averse to paying even his legitimate rent and that force had to be employed to get from him the dues of the State."[1] (The use of the word 'legitimate' betrays this writer's social bias). Vincent Smith, in his life of Akbar, writes: "The Faujdār was expected to reduce rebels, always numerous, and, whenever necessary, to use his troops against recalcitrant villagers in order to enforce payment of the government dues. . . . Akbar usually had a rebellion somewhere or other on his hands."[2] Benī Prashād, in his *History of Jahangir*, refers in passing to "the village tendency to refuse payment of taxes."[3] And Saksena, biographer of Shāh Jahān, says: "The mass of the people in medieval ages were more warlike and has a greater aversion to obedience and submission than now. Evidence of the existence of this spirit of defiance is to be found in the numerous expeditions undertaken to suppress local trouble in regions as near to the capital as the Doāb. Moreover troops were also stationed at important centres in a province to assist the *'Āmil* in revenue collection."[4]

And so on. The fact is that (in India as in the rest of the world) the relation of the upper-class and the lower-class was one primarily of conflict, and, in technical terms, of exploitation—that is, the upper-class expropriated from the lower a portion of the produce of their labour. Certainly there was at times sympathy from the nobles for the peasants, or alms, or redress of grievances. But the basic fact is that the villagers were having a portion of their little wealth regularly taken from them by their rulers, and they did not like it. Here then is the class struggle; permeating the whole of Mughal society, underlying all its aristocratic culture, colouring all its peasant life.

It is not our purpose here to investigate the Mughal revenue administration system as a class process.[5] We shall confine ourselves to a few instances in which the class struggle broke out into overt violent form. One must bear in mind that the conflict between classes existing in all non-socialist societies is a continuous and inherent process, which perhaps only occasionally flares up in pitched battle, but at other times is suppressed, not absent. Perhaps it is also necessary to add that the socialist calls attention to class antagonism and to its causes not in order to stir up conflict, but on the contrary as a first step towards eliminating it. He believes that to solve the clash of interest between the rich and the poor, it is better to understand their struggle than, ostrich-like, to deny that it exists.

The struggles between classes in Mughal times are totally different from the conflicts within one class: between States, in which one ruling

1 J N Sarkar *Mughal Administration*, p 76, with reference to *Storia do Mogor*, II, 450

2 Smith, *op cit*, p. 381.

3 Benī Prashād *History of Jahangir*, 1940 edition, p 173.

4 Banarsi Prasad Saksena. *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, 1932, p. 283.

5. The present writer has been preparing some material on this, which he hopes to publish shortly.

class fought another ruling class ; or between individual nobles, fighting for position within the ruling hierarchy. Historians are slipshod who use the same word (for instance, ' rebellion ') for two quite different occurrences : on the one hand the rising of a provincial governor and his aristocratic entourage and army against the hegemony of the central authority, and on the other hand the insurrection of peasants or workers against the local police. In the one case, members of the ruling class were trying, while preserving the system of rule intact, to replace others by themselves as chief custodians and beneficiaries of power. In the other case, members of the ruled class were trying to do away with the system altogether. Text-books which fail to distinguish these are misleadingly gross. For one thing these class wars were always bitter, fierce, brutal ; they usually ended in pillage, massacre, and a devastation that makes many upper-class wars of the time seem picnics. Secondly, the final result in their case was always the same : the upper class, with more or less atrocity, won, the lower class was beaten down. Thirdly, we may note that more frequently than with ruling class wars, these class struggles were fought with religious ideologies (this is also true of class struggles in Europe). Religion, often an opiate, is sometimes a powerful revolutionary force.

To illustrate the thesis of class conflict, some eight or ten active outbreaks of Mughal times may be considered.

We begin with three very minor instances from the reign of Jahāngīr. An uprising near Dihlī in 1610 is dismissed by the emperor in his *mémoirs* in one solitary sentence : " On Monday, the 24th, Mu'azzam Khān was despatched to Delhi to punish the rebels and disaffected of that neighbourhood. " [1] Equally casual is his treatment of a peasant uprising two years later in Thatta : " I sent 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, the bakhshi of the palace (*darkhāna*) to settle the country of Thatta (Sind) until a Sardar should be appointed who could conciliate the soldiery and the cultivators, and so bring the province into order. "[2] It is clear that the rulers expected to find, and probably did find, little trouble in suppressing such outbreaks. Between these two, however, a rising in the *dū'āb* was apparently serious enough to call forth extreme measures, and apparently annoyed Jahāngīr enough to make him vindictive—though he can still pass over the incident in a sentence : " I ordered the Khankhanan to have a jagir in the Subah of Agra in the Sarkars of Qanauj and Kalpi, that he might inflict condign punishment on the rebels of that region and exterminate them (pull them out by the roots). "[3]

The royal wrath and contempt, however, were roused in earnest by our next instance, which was too formidable to be dismissed summarily or ignored : the seizure of Paṭnā by a proletarian mob which held the town

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, or Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, trans. by A. Rogers, ed by H Beveridge, London, 1909-14, Vol I, p. 171.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. I. p. 199.

for a week. This insurrection (1610) was led by a lower-class Muslim who impersonated the popular hero Khusraw, gathered about himself the discontented elements of the town and district poor, and, seizing an advantageous opportunity when the governor was absent from the capital, ousted the only upper-class representatives of authority, appropriated the treasury, and proceeded to dominate the city. After the success of his *coup*, numbers of the lower-class aligned themselves with him. These proletarians even organized a minor army from amongst themselves, which they were foolish enough to send out against the upper-class army advancing under the irate governor. Of course, they quickly lost the ensuing encounter, some miles from the city. Within the fort, on the other hand, they were able to hold out for a considerable time ; it was only with difficulty and after suffering several casualties, including thirty dead, that the imperial troops were able to overcome these commoners and restore upper-class " order. "

Jahāngīr was furious. His reactions, both emotional and practical, were severe. He refers to the leader of this desperate venture, whose name was Quṭb, as " an unkown man. . . . a mischievous and seditious fellow. . . . " with " the look of a dervish and the clothes of a beggar. . . . that wretch ," [1] and to his associates as " men of those parts, who were always seditious. . . . those simpletons. . . . those rebels. . . . some of those wretched creatures who wait on events. . . . these scoundrels. "[2] Qutb, though asking quarter, was summarily executed ; and the *manṣabdārs* who had let the situation get out of hand in the first place were not treated as nobles would have been who had merely lost an encounter with equals, failing to suppress some ordinary upper-class conspiracy ; but were publicly degraded and ridiculed at the imperial capital, being paraded through Āgrā on asses, heads all shaved and dressed as women.[3]

There is another, very minor, incident reported in Jahāngīr's autobiography, of a villagers' rising near Āgrā in 1618. " In one of the villages of Agra, " he says, [4] " which was not wanting in sedition "—notice how these lower-class people are hardly ever mentioned without some such epithet, about their rebelliousness—" the people rose to assist " a certain fugitive from the court, Subhān Qulī, who had appeared among them and apparently incited their anti-imperialist feeling. When a detachment of the upper-class troops, however, arrived to take the matter in hand, those peasants, " seeing their own ruin in the mirror of the case, "[5] changed their minds, and gave the fugitive up. Nothing more is heard of this village ; nor is it even clear whether the name ascribed to it (Jahanda)

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* Vol I, pp 173, 175

2 *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 173, 174, 175

3 For this whole incident, see *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), Vol I, pp. 173-176; and Benī Prashād *History of Jahangir*, 1940 edition, p 143 f, with the other references given there.

4 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol II, p 28.

5 *Ibid*, *loc cit*

properly belongs to the village or to one of the characters in the story.[1] Referring to Subḥān—whose last name, Qulī, *i.e.*, 'coolie', is perhaps significant for our purposes—Jahāngīr writes: "This wretch....this ungrateful fellow....this scoundrel."[2]

The final instance to be considered in Jahāngīr's reign is not so clear a case of class conflict. It is the disturbances in the Kishtwār district, between the Panjāb and Kashmīr. This area was taken from its Rājā (and some upper-class Chaks) by the Mughals in 1620; there were disturbances later, which were not effectively suppressed. The accounts do not make it quite clear who was involved in the insurrections. Then, "An order was given to Irādat K.....to inflict severe punishment on the rebels, and make such arrangements in the hill-country that the dust of dispersion and calamity might not settle on its frontiers. He, as ordered, hastened there and did approved service, and the people of sedition and disturbance, having turned their heads towards the desert of exile, escaped half dead. Thus once more was the thorn of calamity and mischief rooted out of that country."[3] Later: "As it was reported that the Zamindars of Kishtwar had again raised their heads in disobedience and sin, and engaged in sedition and disturbance, Irādat K. was ordered to proceed hot-foot, before they had time to establish themselves firmly, and having inflicted condign punishment on them to tear up the root of sedition....Irādat K., who had hastened to punish the rebels of Kishtwar, having killed many of them and regained the mastery and established himself firmly, returned to duty."[4] Still later: "Though Irādat K. had done his duty in Kishtwar well, yet as the ryots and inhabitants of Kashmir complained of his treatment of them, I promoted I'tiqād K. to the governorship of Kashmir"[5] and made the ex-Rājā of Kishtwār again Rājā.

From this rather confused account it would appear that the struggle was, in the beginning at least, between the Mughal ruling class and the Kishtwār ruling class (the princes and the landlords); but that the latter were able—probably partly because of the religious issue—to get extensive support from their own common people. Thus the affair took on also the characteristics of an inter-class conflict, and it seems evident that the lower classes—usually unconcerned in their rulers' quarrels—in this case both fought and suffered to a very considerable degree.

The reign of Awrangzēb presents instances of lower-class uprisings which were really formidable. The first two that we shall consider are those of the Jāṭs in Mathurā district (1669, and again in 1681, 1686) and of the Satnāmīs in Nārnawl. One of these outbreaks was occasioned by religious persecution, apparently; and the ideology under which both

1 See footnote, *loc. cit.*

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 27.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p 210. See also pp. 135-140, 170 f.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p 234 f.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p 238.

were fought was to some extent religious. (Actually, there seems to be less evidence than is usually assumed that communal differences were primary in the minds of the revolting Jāṭs). But, religious or not, these were lower-class uprisings in the straightforward sense that they were risings of lower-class people against their rulers. They desecrated some mosques, the symbol of their class enemies, perhaps much as a group of French workers in a German-occupied factory during the recent war might desecrate a swastika, the symbol of their exploiters. We are not suggesting that peasant or proletariat struggles fought in religious guise were in fact class conflicts rather than religious ones. We are not even contending that they were class conflicts in addition to being religious ones. Our thesis is that the two things are different but simultaneous aspects of the same fact. Religion expressed, motivated, and hallowed for these persons a struggle which the class situation engendered. It has been said that the French Revolution is the first major class struggle in history that was not religiously expressed.[1] It may also be pointed out for India that, in Mughal times, no class revolt attained significant proportions that did not have a religious ideology to sustain it.

In the Jāṭ revolt, 1669,[2] thousands of peasants, under the leadership of one Goklā (a small land-holder), rose, and overpowered the local military police, killing the commander and routing his forces. They then began to ' loot the neighbourhood '—which presumably means to loot the landlords and upper-class rich, not the peasants, since the latter sided with them more and more. The peasantry in neighbouring areas also rose in revolt against their exploiters ; the villagers threw off the governmental yoke, and remained in control of the situation for almost a year (which is a very considerable while). Awrangzēb, of course, sent big forces against them ; but they resisted long and bitterly. The final result is obvious : the upper class won ; but only after a bloody struggle. These peasants had been able to muster a revolutionary army of 20,000, and their class spirit was so intense that the imperialist armies of the Mughal upper class, for all their artillery, training, and almost unlimited resources, could defeat them only with the utmost difficulty. And the havoc wrought on both sides was terrifying. The peasants lost five thousand dead and seven thousand captured ; the rulers, four thousand dead. These figures become more impressive when we compare this encounter with, for instance, the second battle of Pānīpat. There also the Hindū-Muslim issue was involved, but the fighting was between two sections of the upper class ; one of the armies (Akbar's) was numerically of the same order as the Jāts' on this occasion ; and the casualties on both sides in that instance were quite possibly no greater.

1 This is doubtless not accurate One apparent exception that comes to mind is Spartacus's revolt of the Roman slaves Perhaps the French Revolution was the first *successful* class struggle with a secular ideology All such generalizations, however, are much too sweeping to be put forward except as challenging ideas, or as hypotheses worth investigating

2 For this revolt, see Sarkar *History of Aurangzib*, Vol III, pp 334 ff.

An interesting reflection on moral ideas, mediæval and also modern, can be derived from a comparison of the penalties inflicted on the vanquished at these two battles. After Pānīpat, the captured Hēmū was brought before Bayram Khān and Akbar, and was executed. No attention is paid, by either ancient or modern historians, to the number of common soldiers or even subordinate officers who may have suffered or been killed in this battle ; but much interest is taken in the question of whether Akbar did or did not kill this upper-class leader, presumably his equal. Those who believe that he did personally despatch Hēmū, seem to feel that this action requires apology ; others, that it requires refuting. When it was a matter of suppressing the lower classes, on the other hand, not only was the punishment more severe, but also the need for condemnation or apology is less sensed, or is not sensed at all. Goklā, taken to the imperial capital, had his limbs hacked off one by one in a public display ; his family were forcibly made Muslims ; and as late as the following spring those who had taken part in the insurrection were being killed or enslaved, their houses were being plundered, their families wiped out, by the upper-class troops. It is instructive to calculate that in half-a-dozen standard text-books chosen at random,[1] more than two-thirds as much space has been devoted to the insignificant question of whether one Mughal emperor personally despatched an enemy ruler or merely watched it being done, as is given to the whole account of this Jāṭ uprising. (Two of these books,[2] which give a discussion of both sides of the former question, do not even mention Goklā's being hewn in pieces ; one of them [3] does not even mention Goklā).

The Jāṭ revolt was followed a couple of years later by a rising of some lower-class people in Nārnawl : the famous Satnāmī outbreak, 1672. This wasa desperate class struggle, emotionally intensified by religious valuations. The persons involved were apparently small townsmen—petty traders and workers, either propertyless proletariat or men with a very small professional property—with perhaps some peasants as well. Musta'idd Khān describes them as " goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings ; "[4] Khāfī Khān says that they were " householders " who " carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale "[5]—according to another translation, " their trade is on a small

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1 Ishwari Prasad *Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p 338 and p. 645.
Wolseley Haig : *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p 339 and p 429
S R Sharma *Mughal Empire in India*, 1940 ed , p 209 and p 530.
S. C Sarkar & K K Datta *Text-Book of Modern Indian History*, 1937 ed , Vol I, p 51 and p 204.
S M Edwardes & H. L. O Garrett . *Mughal Rule in India*, p 24 and p 188
C S Srinivasachari & M. S Ramaswami Aiyangar *History of India*, Part II, pp 213 f and p 273.

2. Edwardes & Garrett , Srinivasachari & Aiyangar

3. Edwardes & Garrett

4. *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 114 ; as translated in Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit* , Vol. VII, p 185

5. *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Vol II, p. 252 , as translated in Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit* , Vol VII, p 294

capital." [1] These men were held together in a small religious sect-community; this gave them, presumably, an intense community feeling and sense of solidarity, as such small sect-groupings habitually do. One contemporary historian charges them with immoral practices, but that kind of accusation is the common fate of isolated sects, and probably means no more in this case than that their social customs were different from those generally accepted; for instance, they ate pork and dog-meat. [2] Khāfī Khān pictures them as law-abiding citizens so long as they be not molested: "They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it."[3] It is interesting also to note, inasmuch as their revolt is usually dismissed as a Hindu-Muslim conflict, that "they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans." [4]

An instance of that molestation which they were said not to be able to endure occurred one day near Nārnawl: one member of this sect had his head broken by a minor government official (whether Hindū or Muslim is not mentioned) as a result of a quarrel. Other Satnāmīs came to his rescue and assaulted the official. What is more, they and their friends managed to overpower the police force subsequently sent to arrest them; and continued to defeat the larger and larger forces sent by higher and higher authorities. The regular troops of the city of Nārnawl proved equally ineffective; whereupon their commander appealed for help to nearby landlords (whether Hindū or Muslim is not mentioned), whose sympathy with the right rather than the left in a class struggle would be assured. [5] The Satnāmīs, however, defended themselves with a bravery and effectiveness which to their enemies and perhaps to themselves seemed miraculous and magical. All troops sent against them were defeated, until Nārnawl was left without an upper-class police force and without an upper-class commander. The Satnāmīs held the city.

What did they then do? Turn the city and district over to plunder and anarchy? Not according to the extant sources; rather they at once organized an administration of their own, collecting revenue throughout the district and maintaining order. We can hardly believe that, even if they themselves did not turn to plunder, some rowdy element in the area did not take advantage of the situation to commit excesses. Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār accuses them of plundering and demolishing mosques in Nārnawl; this is perhaps based on the unpublished manuscript of Īshwar Dās Nāgar to

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1 Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār *Short History of Aurangzib*, 1930, p. 162.

2 Īshwar Dās Nāgar, quoted in Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol III, p 337

3 Khāfī Khān, *op cit*, in Elliot & Dowson, *loc. cit.*

4 Īshwar Dās Nāgar, quoted in Sarkār, *loc. cit*

5 "Matters grew worse, and the *faujdār* set about collecting more men, both horse and foot, and called to his assistance the *zamindārs* of the neighbourhood"—Khāfī Khān, *op cit.*, in Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol VII, p. 295.

which he refers.[1] No excesses are mentioned, however, by Khāfī Khān (who certainly had no reason to be partial to them); his account reads: "The town of Nárnaul fell into the hands of the *Sat-námís*. They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own."[2] The only disorders that he mentions were later, and not in Nārnawl itself but round about, and not from the common people but from the upper class attempting to establish their independence of Dihlī: "The *zamíndárs* of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rájpúts, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke into open violence, and the flames daily increased."[3] Similarly, Musta'idd Khān says, "Cities and towns were plundered,"[4] but does not say by whom. In fact, in all the published source material, no charge of looting or disorder is laid against the Satnāmī brotherhood, or of violence except against the upper class forces attacking them. Apparently they did not initiate any of the recorded fighting, and were not aggressive. Manucci, even, relates that they explicitly refused to take the offensive: "Elated at having gained one battle, they would not consent to march any further, although urged on by the old woman"[5] who had been inciting them. Apparently they wanted to be left alone by the Mughal upper class and by the rest of the world, and to leave the rest of the world alone.

One wishes that there were some way of finding out more about the administration that they set up. How did they plan to spend the peasant revenue that they collected? Was the assessment for it less than or the same as that imposed by the Mughals? On the answer to such questions as these depends the status of this brotherhood in the annals of the people's movements of the world. It would seem that this group of lower-class townsfolk did not ally itself with the peasantry at large in its attempt to throw off upper-class control; if it also proceeded to exploit the villagers in the place of the Mughals, once it had seized power in the district, then it was sociologically confused. But it seems unlikely that this was the case; for the Satnāmīs had no power to enforce levies on the peasantry, and the defence outposts that they organized must have been manned by the villagers themselves. This is all presuming that the sentences in the sources are to be taken seriously. At least this much seems reliable: that the removal of upper-class rule was followed not by chaos but by some form of people's rule. Probably more than that we shall never be able to say definitely; it is a pity, for it would be interesting to know more of this early people's government in Hindūstān.

In any case, it was short-lived. Awrangzēb and his court were thoroughly alarmed. For one thing, we are told that the grain-supply at

1 Sarkār, *loc. cit.*

2. *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, in Elliot & Dowson, *loc cit*

3. *Loc. cit*

4 *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, in Elliot & Dowson, *op cit*, Vol VII, p. 186.

5. Niccolao Manucci: *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India 1653-1708*, trans. Irvine, 1907, Vol. II, p. 168.

Dihlī was becoming scanty ;[1] which reminds us how dependent was the empire on its control and exploitation of the villages. The emperor fitted out a very formidable army, complete with important leaders, artillery, and magic spells ; he being resolved " to exterminate the insurgents. "[2] The battle was fierce and devastating, as class violence habitually is. Even Musta'idd Khān writes that it was just like any other class uprising : " They fought with all the valour of former rebels whose deeds are recorded in history."[3] In the end, of course, the upper class won ; it is not so much that the Satnāmīs were suppressed as that they were wiped out. Khāfī Khān's version is : " At length,. . . . several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled."[4] Musta'idd Khān is even more vivid : " The people of Hind have called this battle Mahábhárat, on account of the great slaughter of elephants on that trying day. . . . . These desperate men. The struggle was terrible. . . . . At length the enemy broke and fled, but were pursued with great slaughter. Few indeed escaped with their lives. . . and those regions were cleansed of the presence of the foul unbelievers ;" [5] and he goes on to indicate the delight of Awrangzēb at the victory, and the honour with which he rewarded those who had effected it.

It seems entirely clear from a study of the sources that, in the minds of the Muslim ruling class, these people were their enemis and were to be crushed primarily becuase they were unsubmissive lower-class persons, not because they were Hindūs. In fact, the communal element is remarkably subordinated ; what caused surprise, contempt, and horror was that such a challenge should be thrown to the Empire by mere plebeians. It was always a surprise to the upper class when such uprisings were not at once suppressed. " It is a cause for wonder. . . . ";[6] " One of the most remarkable occurrences. . . . "[7] (cf. Jahāngīr on the lower-class successes at Paṭnā : " a wonderful event ").[8] Had a Hindū ruling class challenged the Mughals, they might have been perturbed or fanatical ; but not surprised. Musta'idd Khān's attitude of class, rather than communal, antagonism is crystal-clear from his own words : he introduces his account of the uprising as follows : " It is a cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants

1 Sarkār *Short History of Aurangzib*, p 163

2 Musta'idd Khān, *op cit*, in Elliot & Dowson, *op cit*, Vol VII, p 186.

3 *Ibid*, *loc cit.*

4 *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit*, Vol VII, pp 295 f

5 *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, *loc cit*

6 *Ibid*, p 185

7 *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Elliot & Dowson, *op cit*, Vol VII, p. 294.

8. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit*, Vol VI, p 321.

of Mewát, collected suddenly as white ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies...." He continues the story, somewhat in this acrid vein, until after the fall of the city of Nārnawl has been related and the matter has gone up to the emperor himself, who resolves to take action, fits out a well-equipped army, and finally sends it " to effect the destruction of the *unbelievers* "[1] (italics ours). This last is his first reference in the whole account to the fact that the insurgents are not Muslims. It is true that later on he again refers to their being " unbelievers," and calls the members of the finally victorious imperial army " hoeroes of Islám."[2] But this last is not strictly true ; for Khāfī Khān mentions the " great rájás " as well as the " veteran amírs "[3] that were sent against them with powerful armies, and closes by stating that they were put down in the end " by the exertions of Rájá Bishan Singh, Hamíd Khán, and others."[4] Finally, we should note that of our three Indian authorities for the whole affair, by far the most contemptuous and antagonistic[5] is Īshwar Dās Nāgar, an upper-class Hindū with a government job.

We do not mean to suggest that religion had nothing to do with this or similar outbreaks. On the contrary, it had much to do, colouring the affair vividly for many of the persons concerned. But essentially, the evidence suggests, it was a conflict of classes.

Lest it be said, moreover, that we have instanced as class struggles only those conflicts which might better be understood as communal riots, let us turn for our final illustrations to perhaps the most formidable people's movement by which the empire of the Mughals was challenged . the risings of the Paṭhāns. In this case, it was Muslim versus Muslim, as well as class versus class ; and while the ideology of the insurrections was indeed religious to an important extent, yet it was not communal in the ordinary sense. Common people who were Hindū revolted against Mughal rule, as we have seen ; but they did not revolt so successfully or so repeatedly as did at least one set of common people who were Muslim : those of the north-west frontier.

The Pathāns rose against the Mughal upper class under two principal ideologies : the religious one of the Rawshanī movement (especially 1585, 1611-16, 1628 ff.), and the nationalist one expressed chiefly by the poetry of Khush-hāl Khān Khaṭak (1672-75). We have not the space here to investigate these uprisings in fine detail ; the Rawshanī movement in itself, studied sociologically, could well form the subject of an entire article. The results of research have already been published concerning, as usual, the leaders,[6] but little has been said about those many persons who followed them,

1 *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* , Elliot & Dowson, *op cit* , Vol VII, pp 185 f

2 *Ibid* , p 186

3 *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* , Elliot & Dowson, *op cit* , Vol VII, p 295

4 *Ibid* , pp 295 f

5 See quotations from his account in Sarkār *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 337.

6. See *The Encylopædia of Islam*, s vv. RAWSHANĪYA (Vol III, pp 1133 f ) (D S Margoliouth) and BĀYAZĪD ANṢĀRĪ PĪR ROSHĀN (Vol I, p 686 )(H. Beveridge)

or why they did so. Twenty-five thousand men are said to have participated in the Rawshanīs' unsuccessful fight against the Mughals in 1587; and five years later, according to Badā'ūnī, the number of prisoners taken by the imperial forces in an expedition against them reached fourteen thousand. These figures,[1] without necessarily being accurate, are evidently significant; with them one may compare Nizām ad-Dīn's contemptuous but impressive reference to " this sect of Afgháns, who were as numerous as ants and locusts."[2] Clearly a very sizable group of Paṭhāns saw some good reason for joining in this movement. Something by no means negligible was stirring in their society.

Analysis will quickly reveal that probably this struggle of theirs, and certainly that under Khush-hāl, was not a clear class conflict in the strict sense which has been applicable to our previous examples. The reason is simple: that the Pathāns' society was not a class society in the same sense. These people live in a rather barren land where productivity is limited and therefore surplus wealth is small. Hence their society is not divided into two rigid economic classes, the rich and the poor, the one living off the labour of the other. Instead, it is strongly democratic, like other societies whose productivity is not abundant, such as Arabia where Islām arose, or the American frontier in the nineteenth century.

Pathān society, then, is not itself a class society, to a developed degree. None-the-less, the attempt to impose on that society the rule of the Mughal State was in fact an attempt to impose on the common people there a ruling class, an attempt to make it a class society on the pattern of the rest of the Mughal empire. The idea was that a group of administrators appointed from Dihlī should collect tribute and issue orders, which the Paṭhāns were expected respectively to proffer and obey. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Mughals were astute enough to choose as members of their ruling class some of the Pathāns themselves; and we shall presently see the implications of this in at least one personality. In general it may be said without too great inaccuracy that the Frontier under the Mughals became a class community in which the common people, Paṭhāns, were the lower class and the rulers, Mughals (with some Pathān *khāns* in the Mughal imperial service), were the upper class. And when these two came into conflict with each other, it was a struggle between classes (the common people striving to throw off the rule of a group of people not of themselves), as well as between religious interpretations or between nationalities.

This analysis minimizes, then, the internal social structure of the Paṭhān community, according to which each tribe and sub-group had its leader, and these leaders taken together were distinct from the rest of the people. That structure, we feel, was not so rigid or so highly developed, and that distinction was not so sharp, but that we may feel fairly confident

1 Quoted by Margoliouth, *loc. cit.*

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, in Eliot & Dowson, *op. cit*, Vol V, p. 451.

in almost ignoring them. Further research, however, might show that the class struggles which arose in this area were in fact significantly more complicated than here appears. With this word of caution, then, let us examine them.

The Rawshanī movement was a socio-religious sect, comprising at different times very varying numbers of the Paṭhān masses who acknowledged as religious and political leader one Bāyazīd, whom they called Pīr Rawshan (in Pashto: 'Rokhān,' 'Roshān'), and later his descendants. He was influenced, through a Mullā Sulaymān,[1] by left-wing Shī'ah traditions —the depository in Islām for ideas of theological heresy and sociological revolution.[2] The doctrines of the sect included various metaphysical tenets, such as a form of theopanism; but the elements that chiefly interest a modern historian are the same as those which probably chiefly interested the Afghān commoner of that time—such as freedom from observing the *sharī'at*, absolute obedience to the Pīr, lawfulness of seizing the property of non-Rawshanīs, and the promise of "in time, the dominion of the whole earth."[3] It seems proven that had the movement confined itself to theology, it would hardly have attracted persecution; for the founder's son and subsequent successor, Jalāl ad-Dīn, was "kindly received"[4] by Akbar (in 1580), and even the founder himself was acquitted in a heresy trial before the *'ulamā'* of Kābul.[5] The movement attracted repression for the same reason that it attracted followers: namely, that it added to its theological principles practical exploits such as seizing caravans as they moved through the Khaybar Pass.

Akbar set out to "repress this base sect"[6] not at the time of his meeting with Jalāl and presumably discussing metaphysics with him, but five years later when the latter and his men "shut up the roads between Hindūstān and Kābul."[7]

The first adherents of Bāyazīd were tribesmen of the Khalīl and Mahmūd-zā'ī, some of whom acted as missionaries and raiders for him. Later the Yūsuf-zā'ī joined the Rawshanīyah; they presently abandoned the cause and its leader and even fought against them, though continuing to fight against the Mughals also, under other ideologies. At one time

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1. In "Kalindjār, S W of Allāhābād", according to Margoliouth, *loc. cit*; presumably Kālinjar is meant. Raverty, H G, calls him "Mullā Sulīmān Jālandharī" (*Selections from the Poetry of the Afghāns*, 1867, pp 51-55 "Notes on Mīrzā Khān, Anṣārī")

2. Students of Islamic history have recognized, but not adequately, the extent to which the Shī'ah movement, and especially the Ismā'īlī group and its later left-wing sects, have been connected with *social* discontent The present writer is contemplating preparing an introductory discussion of *Shī'ah* history from a sociological point of view

3 Elphinstone *History of India*, ed Cowell, 9th ed. (1916), p 505

4 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*; in S R Sharma *Mughal Empire in India*, 1940, p. 277

5. "For a consideration"- Margoliouth, *loc. cit*

6. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*; in S. R. Sharma, *op. cit*, p 278.

7. *Ibid.*, p 277 f.

enough of his fellow countrymen lent Bāyazīd their support for him to proclaim himself ' king ' of Afghānistān and to dream of conquering the whole Mughal empire ; and some, apparently, were willing to buy the drafts which he issued on Akbar's treasury. However, he was presently overcome by his enemies (Paṭhāns), and died. It was under his son Jalāl ad-Dīn's leadership (1585-1600) that the movement reached its most formidable proportions. The large figures that we have previously quoted belong to this period; tens of thousands of Paṭhāns became Rawshanīs and were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the cause which that represented. As such, they not only offered the Dihlī empire a serious challenge, but also in 1600 seized the city of Ghaznah. What they did with it is not clear, before they were shortly driven out.

Despite their very large numbers, they were not able to unite all the Pathāns. In fact, they continually attracted vituperation and persecution at the hands of one section of their own people. Their fight for freedom from outside control and for domination had to be waged as much against other Paṭhāns as against the Mughals.

In Jahāngīr's time, the numbers taking part in Rawshanī affairs seem very much smaller ; though they again managed to give the Mughals much trouble. We first hear of them attacking Kābul in 1611, under the leadership of Jalāl ad-Dīn's son Aḥdād (Ahad-dād). This was perhaps nothing more than a raid for booty, taking advantage of the governor's momentary absence ; the accounts, written by their enemise, do not indicate whether the intention was to plunder or to rule.[1] In any case, the attack was beaten off, with the assistance of the local citizens.[2] Three years later we hear of five thousand followers of Ahdād in another engagement. In two subsequent defeats the numbers of their losses to the imperialists are mentioned as fifteen hundred and four hundred respectively.[3] Apparently the Paṭhāns' interest in the movement was waning.

An interesting side-light on the times is thrown by an incident a year or two later. The Pathāns of Bangash district, adopting perhaps not the theology or the name of the Rawshanīyah but at least its spirit, ' rebelled ' —decided, presumably, not to pay tribute or to accept the domination of the alien rulers. In the encounter with the Mughal arms that ensued, they found as officer-in-charge of a contingent facing them none other than a brother of Aḥdād, called Allāh-dād, who had gone off to the imperial court and had been given by the Mughals a post in the government. His fellow Pathāns succeeded in making his conscience uncomfortable, it would seem ; for he fought shamefully, and before long they had the joy of seeing him relinquish his imperial service and, instead of fighting against his own people, side with them in their fight for freedom.

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1 See Benī Prashād *History of Jahangir*, 1940, pp. 186 ff

2 *Ibid*, p. 186

3 *Ibid*, pp 186 f

The governor of Kābul was, of course, furious, and spent two years pursuing him. He was eventually caught, and was sent to the emperor for punishment. On condition that he totally renounce his nationalist activities, Jahāngīr magnanimously pardoned him and gave him back his official job. One does not know whether years later the Paṭhāns heard occasional reports and gossip trickling through to their home area of his very successful career in the distant government service : he showed no subsequent lapses from loyalty, and, earning his due reward, " rose to high distinction under the title of Rashid Khan, during the reign of Shah Jahan."[1]

These Bangashī continued to ' be troublesome ' for the rest of Jahāngīr's reign, cutting to pieces at least one considerable army sent against them,[2] but seeing their lands devastated and their people slaughtered by the avenging Mughals.[3]

The last that one hears of Rawshanī exploits is under Shāh Jahān. Aḥdād was killed in 1625 or '26 in an engagement with the imperial force (led by Ẓafar Khān) ; a year or two later a group of Paṭhāns accepting the leadership of his son, 'Abd al-Qādir, annihilated a Mughal army in the Khaybar (under the same Ẓafar Khān) and took much booty. In 1628 Shāh Jahān, we are told,[4] took steps to crush the Rawshanī movement. In the following year a number of Pathāns attacked Peshāwar, among whom was a group of Rawshanīs under 'Abd al- Qādir, as well as other Afghāns under another leader.[5] This attack was beaten off ; also, the Rawshanīs lost their leader. For 'Abd al-Qādir was evidently persuaded of the futility of his career ; he submitted to the Mughals, and four years later went off to join their imperial service. Shāh Jahān made him a *manṣabdār* of sixteen hundred, and later gave other honours to some of his relatives.

By this time, clearly, the movement was petering out. The loss of its leaders was probably not only a cause but also a result of that fact. There was a brother of Aḥdād and Allāh-dād, by the name of Karīm-dād ; he had taken part in the assault on Peshāwar in 1629. The people of Bangash now asked him to come and lead them in their continued struggle. He did so, and in 1638 many of the tribes in that neighbourhood rose. Soon, however, they lost his leadership, and subsided ; for the Mughals attacked vigorously, and succeeding in capturing him, put him to death.

From this time forward one reads of the Rawshanīyah only as a small group with certain religious predilections ; they have undertaken, it appears, no further political or military enterprises. Some individuals

1. Benī Prashād *History of Jahangir*, p 187. For instance, he was one of the chief officers under Prince Shujā' in the Dakhin, 1633 f — Saksena · *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, 1932, p. 160. See further *ibid.*, pp 82, 317.

2 Under " the impetuous Izzat Khan "—Benī Prashād, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3 *Ibid*, p. 188 : " Rapine and slaughter filled Bangash."

4 *Shāh Jahān Nāmah* of Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, cited in Margoliouth, *loc. cit*

5. Kamāl ad-Dīn. Saksena, *op. cit*, p. 124, Margoliouth, *loc. cit.*

are still perhaps to be found amongst the Paṭhāns who perpetuate till to-day traces of the theology of the sect,[1] and a few even have developed a separate heresy from it.[2] But after 1638 the movement drops out of political and military history, and has presumably negligible sociological significance.

Not, indeed, that it was long before the Paṭhāns were rising again against their Mughal would-be overlords. But by that time (under Aurangzēb's reign) they had a new ideology and new leaders. Before we observe their next uprisings, however, let us pause to ask what generalizations we can pass on the Rawshanīyah. From the above sketch it would seem fair to infer that the movement comprised different sets of persons at different times; in other words there was not really one movement but several. Of these, some are of sociological significance, others perhaps are not. Some of those Pathāns who challenged the Mughal empire as Rawshanīs were fighting for freedom, some only for booty. There is no reason to doubt that there were individuals motivated towards both goals at once. A movement which promised its followers personal plunder and the liberation of their community and home-land, as well as religious salvation, would find that if one of these inducements was insufficient to attract many members, all three of them together would at times add up to do so. Finally, the sociologist notes that one finds almost to names of *khāns* attracted to the Rawshanīyah (also that the spokesman for its opponents amongst the Paṭhāns was an Akhūnd[3]): in all its different forms it remained a movement of the common people.

We need not detain ourselves over the Pathāns' later uprisings against Mughal imperialism; partly because they are already well known, being extensively treated in the standard histories, and partly because they were not people's movements unqualifiedly. For although the ordinary folk did take part, they were led by their own *khāns* and upper class. In 1667 the Yūsuf-zā'ī, with regal and religious trappings, set themselves up as an independent people, and attacked Mughal outposts.[4] The Empire soon crushed them with great severity: thousands were killed, crops destroyed, villages burned. One is reminded of the accusation against the Roman empire: "They made a desert, and they called it peace."

The peace lasted in this case for five years. In 1672 the Afrīdī, whose grandsires had fought under Pīr Rawshan,[5] were enthusiastic when their *khān*, Akmal, set himself up as an independent ruler, with his own kingly crown and his own coins, and declared war on the Mughal empire.

1 "It is asserted that some relics of the community still exist in this" (*i.e.*, the Bangash) "region"—Margoliouth, *loc. cit*, (1936)

2. The 'Īsawī group. *Ibid*, citing "T C Plowden, translation of the *Kālid-i-Afghānī*, Lahore 1875" (sc. *Translation of the Kalid-i-Afghani*)

3. 'Abd al-Karīm, Akhūnd Darwīzah, author of *Makhzan al-Islām*

4. For this and the following movement, see especially Sarkār · *History of Aurangzib.*

5 Hell, article AFRĪDĪS, in *The Encyclopædia of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 176*b*.

To his appeals that all tribes should join him to make this a united national movement, the other Paṭhāns listened with an interest which was heightened when they heard that the Afrīdī, annihilating a Mughal army in the Khaybar, had taken as booty, in cash and goods, more than twenty million rupees. (In appreciating this figure, one should recall the large purchasing power of the rupee in Mughal times). The Khaṭak, whose *khān* was the inspiring anti-imperialist poet Khush-hāl, were the first to join; it was not long before practically all the Paṭhāns were involved. It was a full nationalist movement. The people were ardent; the leaders well trained, many having served in the Mughal imperial service; and except for artillery, the Paṭhāns were as well armed as their would-be masters.

In fact, the Empire was not able to down by military might this united Paṭhān resistance. Aurangzēb degraded his governor of Afghānistān, who proved helpless, and sent a new and formidable one.[1] He, too, was unsuccessful, and was degraded. Next, the suppressor of the Satnāmī uprising[2] was sent, and along with him one of the leading Rājpūt *mahārājās*.[3] The Paṭhāns defeated and slew the former; of the latter they frustrated every manœuvre. For four years, inspired and unified by the ideology and poetry of nationalism and by their own success, they held the Empire at bay and would not be overcome. In the end, Aurangzēb's cunningness won, where Mughal military strength had failed. He himself went north, and realizing that a united Paṭhān nation could not be conquered, managed to 'divide and rule.' By bribery; by gifts to the *khāns* of titles, of high-paid posts in the imperial service, and of *jāgīrs*; by the setting of one group against another in their traditional rivalries; and then by ruthless piecemeal terrorization of the remaining irreconcilables; imperialism was finally re-established.

At this point we end our study; though we have not, of course, exhausted the tale of folk warfare in Mughal times. Another nationalist movement against the Empire under Aurangzēb could be called a people's movement, but only in a still more qualified sense: the rise of the Mahraṭṭās. This was led by the Mahraṭṭā feudal nobility; but the lower classes participated in it in its early stages, as V. V. Joshī has shown in his able work, *The Clash of Three Empires*. Their participation had also its religious aspect; for instance, in the democratic-nationalist ideology of Rām Dās's preaching. The rise of the Sikhs, similarly, awaits study from a class point of view. The writer has conceived the idea, too, that a sociologically-minded investigator might find it worth his while to examine the repeated revolts[4] against Jahāngīr that were led by Khusraw, whose upper-class support was small, the suppression of whose uprisings was excruciating,

1 Mahābat Khān. He had already proved his prowess at suppressing Afghāns.

2 Shujā'at Khān

3 Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.

4 See Benī Prashād, *op. cit.*, chapter VI, "Prince Khusrau's Revolt" (pp 120-134) and other references *ibid.* from the index. The leader of the Paṭnā outbreak, Quṭb, pretended to be Khusraw.

and who undoubtedly caught the imagination of the masses, so that his name lived on among them as that of some legendary champion. One wonders how and why this prince succeeded in doing what most other aristocratic rulers of the time never even thought of trying to do, and would certainly have failed had they tried—namely to win the emotional and practical support of the common people in campaigns.

Before concluding, perhaps it is necessary to add, with a touch of emphasis, that the present article is in no sense an attack on Mughal civilization; which civilization was unquestionably one of the grand achievements of the human spirit in past history. The attainments of the Mughal rulers in many fields are the object of the most legitimate admiration. And not their least attainment was the very wide measure of peace and prosperity which they created for the common people under their sway. The peasants and the workers of north India enjoyed, while Mughal rule was at its height, a life of greater calm and comfort than their ancestors had known for centuries, and than their descendants were to know again for many a long day.

Our purpose is merely to point out that the Mughal empire, for all its virtues, and they are many, was none-the-less an empire. And all empires, and all class societies, whatever their virtues, involve along with rulers a group of ruled. The two tags which we quoted above with reference to the Mughals were first formulated to docket the Roman empire: it was Romans who made a desert and called it peace, and Romans who divided to rule. Yet anyone who in sympathy for the exploited of Roman days ignored the achievements of that empire would be dubbing himself a barbarian or crank rather than a liberal. Similarly for the Mughals: in examining the life of the poor, it would be unbalanced to forget the glories of the culture and contribution of the aristocracy—just as the more usual procedure, we have suggested, is unbalanced, whereby we note that aristocracy but overlook the poor. One does not choose between the two; for historical accuracy as well as human understanding one must realize that they went together.

Our particular thesis is simple, and we call attention to it only as one small but surely interesting aspect in the complex of Mughal culture. It is that throughout history, one group of men has lorded it over another; but that also, throughout history, from time to time the oppressed and exploited have risen in resistance and struggled that they might be free. This is true not only in Europe where it has been already studied, but throughout the world, including India. Until modern times it has not been possible that such movements should be successful; it is only recently that the objective conditions for social freedom and a classless society have been approximated. But we must appreciate, none-the-less, the attempts, however misguided, that man has made in the past; and must realize that the urge to freedom is universal, persistent, and in the end indomitable.

W. C. SMITH.

# SOME MODERN TURKISH POEMS

(*Translated with notes*)

## ENVOI

*by*

AHMET HASHIM

DO not think it is a rose, nor yet a tulip,
It brims with fire, touch it not, lest you burn,
The rose-hued beaker standing there before you...

Fuzuli drank of that flame,
By this elixir Mejnun fell
Into that state of which the poet speaks...

They burn, who quaff this cup;
With it the night of love is filled
From end to end with anguish and with sighs...

It brims with fire, touch it not, lest you burn,
The rose-hued beaker standing there before you.

## DAWN

*by*

AHMET HASHIM

SHALL we return then from this dawn of love?
And shall we travel to the realms of night?
Now those who came here earlier than we
Weep for the phantom of an earlier light.

Return ? How can there be a turning back
When hearts are fallen in so sad a plight ?
—It is a hand that reaches from the skies—
The darkness draws to oneness and delight.

## BULBUL

*by*

AHMET HASHIM

IN the morning of an autumn of regret
What need is there, O bulbul, to insist ?
For know, that in the gardens of our heart
The rose you sang has faded into mist.

And now the scattered petals are in flight,
The day is dawning in another light.

## THE DEATH OF HAFIZ

*by*

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI

A ROSE-TREE blooms in Hafiz' garden grave,
Each day anew its crimson leaves unfold,
Each night the Bulbul weeps until the dawn,
Its cadences evoke Shiraz of old.

For him, death is a land of peaceful spring,
His heart like incense permeates the years.
Each night amid the cypress by his tomb
A Bulbul sings, each day a rose appears.

## NIGHT

*by*

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI

KANDILLI floated upon sleep—
We trailed the moonlight on the deep.

We took a shining silver track
And spoke no word of turning back.

Phantom trees on the dreaming crest...
Pensive slopes where the waters rest...

The season's end was such a time—
The distant note of a hidden chime.

We passed and vanished far away
Ere the dream was lost at break of day.

## VOICE

*by*

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI

FOR many days I saw and questioned no-one.
I said, "O God! At last my griefs are stilled."
Is there a feeling sweet as convalescence?
My heart, winged with the impulse of this joy,
Saw a new world of spring amid the skies,
A time of dreams, an evening in Bebek,
An evening like a fine unblemished face,
Windows reflecting on the hills beyond,
The quiet bay, the gaily-fronted keep
Of Kuçüksu, the lonely woods beside,
The hills encompassed with tumultuous joy,
The swaying trees, moved by a single urge,
Pensively listening to the cadenced wind...
I saw two boats glide from the open sea,
And in a moment, from unshuttered summer,
The sound of a vast song rose from the Straits,
Pulsed with an endless memory of love,
Echoed along the range of wakening hills;
It passed from peak to peak and all about
And sank into the weary, travelled sea.

I woke from dreaming with a sudden pain;
Again I burned as in shirt of flame.
I saw her everywhere, with that same look,
With that same hope and beauty; in her mouth
A blood-red rose, a wine-glass in her hand.

I thought this very day was once again
The day when first she overcame my heart.

## GAZEL

*by*

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI

THE ancient carouse of Jemshid
With a tinkling of wine-cups returns;
And pleasure from nightfall till dawn
With cyclical dances returns.

The mirrors of pleasure reflect
The flames of the torch of the heart;
With a thousand moons and stars
Beauty with passion returns.

The souls of the chantings of old
Rise open and bright to the sky,
And Rast and Mahur and Ushshak
Are here as Muhayyer returns.

The fountain of joy is redeemed,
The kingdom of heaven descends,
And gliding from Heaven to earth,
With the plume of an eagle returns.

The mystics who came to this feast
Are sated with joy—and Kemal
Returns to the mercy of God
With the last of his wine-cups returns.

## HOTEL ROOMS

*by*

NECIP FAZIL KISAKÜREK

IT is pity burns in those narrow rooms
In the smoky lamps, in the smoky lamps,
A reflection lingers of faces known
In the misty glass, in the misty glass,

The scattered clothes are a strangled man
On the broken chairs, on the broken chairs,
And the shuffling slippers tap secret things
On the dingy floors, on the dingy floors,
In the naked walls throbs the pulse of pain
In the wounds of nails, in the wounds of nails,
And the teeth of time gnaw the rotting wood
In the dusty lofts, in the dusty lofts,
Weep for those who die without voice or friend
In hotel rooms, in hotel rooms.

## WEEPING WILLOW

*by*

NAZIM HIKMET

THE water flowed
    showing the weeping willows in its mirror,
in the waves the weeping willows rinsed their hair,
striking the willows with burning, naked swords,
red horsemen rode to the place where the sun had set!
Suddenly,
like a bird
        stricken in the wing
a wounded horseman tumbled from his horse!
He did not call
nor cry to those who went,
only he saw with tear-filled eye
the glinting hooves of their receding horses!
Oh alas!
        alas for him
who shall no more bestride the sweating neck
of swiftly galloping horses,
nor flash his sword behind white armies.
The hoof-beats slowly fade away,
the horses vanish in the setting sun.
Riders riders crimson riders,
wind-winged riders

wind-winged horses
wind-wings
wind-horse
ride....
Like wind-winged riders life itself has passed.
The sounds of flowing waters cease.
The shadows thicken
and the tints are blurred.
The black veils fall
on his blue eyes,
the willows droop
on his yellow hair.
Do not weep, weeping willow
do not weep,
In the black water-mirror do not wring your hands
do not wring your hands
do not weep !

## MORNING

*by*

AHMET HAMDI TANPINAR

OPEN your window to the cool fresh wind
And see the colour of the whitening skies,
Let slumber flicker from your tipsy eyes.

Come, let the breezes frolic in your hair,
And do not hide your body that is fair,
Its silver nakedness another spring.

Ethereal lips adore you with caresses,
All of you, throat and breast and winding tresses,
For you are fairer even than the dawn.

*Notes*

FUZULI :— A classical Ottoman poet of the 16th century.

MEJNUN :—A legendary Arab youth, whose unhappy love for Leyla, a maiden of a rival tribe, forms the theme of countless Arab, Persian and Turkish poems, among them one by Fuzuli, generally regarded as his masterpiece.

KANDILLI :—A village on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.

BEBEK :— A village on the European shore of the Bosphorus.

KÜÇÜKSU :—A stream on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, sometimes known as the " Sweet Waters of Asia. " An Imperial Kiosk, built in 1853, stands on its right bank.

HAFIZ :— A classical Persian Poet of the 14th century.

TANBURI JEMIL :—One of the last famous performers of old-style Turkish music.

JEMSHID :— A legendary king of ancient Iran, supposed to have invented wine.

RAST, MAHUR, USHSHAK, MUHAYYER :—The names of modes in old-style Turkish music.

AHMET HASHIM (1889-1933) :—Born in Baghdad, where his father was Governor, and educated in Istanbul ; he was for a while a civil servant and later a teacher of French and Turkish literature. He was one of the leading figures of the Fecri Ati (Dawn of the Future) group, the chief literary movement of the period immediately following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Fecri Ati was a development of the earlier movements of literary reform which had done much to emancipate modern Turkish literature from the rigid conventions of the decaying Ottoman tradition and to open it to the influence of Western and especially French literature. Though much influenced by French writers, Ahmet Hashim retained, in most of his poems, the *Aruz*, the Perso-Arabic quantitative measure of the classical literature ; but into the old bottles of Ottoman prosody he poured a potent new wine of French symbolism. The rose, the bulbul, the cypress, and the rest of the customary properties of Ottoman poetry are there, but they have suffered a sea-change into something rich and strange. His early death in 1933 deprived Turkey of one of her most distinguished contemporary writers.

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI (1896— ) :—Born in Üskup (Skoplje) in present-day Yougoslavia ; educated in his birthplace and in Salonica, Istanbul and the Sorbonne (1908-1912). He has been a professor at Istanbul University, ambassador in Warsaw and Madrid, and, for a while a member of parliament. He was for a time associated

with the Fecri Ati movement, and, like Ahmet Hashim, was deeply influenced by French literature, though his inspiration was Parnassian rather than symbolist. A master of classical metres and themes, he is however not mere reactionary, but an exponent of a deliberately evocative neo-classicism that plays on the glories and legends of the half-forgotten Ottoman past and on the storied beauty of Istanbul and the Bosphorus. He is to-day generally regarded in Turkey as the " grand master " of contemporary Turkish poetry.

AHMET HAMDI TANPINAR (1901- ) :—Born in Istanbul, educated in southern Anatolia and at Istanbul University ; a teacher by profession and a member of parliament since 1943. Much influenced by both Ahmet Hashim and Yahya Kemal, whose very diverse techniques he has assimilated and adapted to his own medium. This is the so-called " *Hece*," the syllabic verse of Turkish folk-poetry, which has in recent years been cultivated by many Turkish poets in place of the " *Aruz.* " Ahmet Hamdi is perhaps the most successful practitioner of this form of verse, and, while adapting its simplicity of language and metre, has infused it with a rare depth and subtlety of feeling.

NECIP FAZIL KISAKUREK (1905- ) :—Born in Istanbul, studied at the Naval College and at Istanbul University, and later at the Sorbonne. A highly subjective and imaginative poet, with a melancholy and introspective vein that often displays a curious commingling of old Turkish mysticism and new French symbolism. Though by no means a popular writer, he is highly regarded in literary circles, and is considered by many to be one of the most original of the younger generation of Turkish poets.

NAZIM HIKMET (1905- ) :—Born in Istanbul, educated at the Naval College ; went to Russia in 1920, where he studied political science at Moscow University. A communist in politics, much influenced by the futuristic trends in Soviet literature. He brought completely new rhythms and themes to Turkish poetry, and, unlike a host of lesser imitators of the latest French and Russian tendencies, succeeded in producing poetry of real value and originality. Although politically in disgrace, he has a considerable literary following. He has published numerous volumes of verse, many of them with a strong political colouring, some plays, and a verse epic based on the life of Sheyh Bedreddin, a Turkish dervish who led a revolution inspired by a kind of religio-mystical communism which came within an ace of overthrowing the Ottoman Empire in the 15th Century.

BERNARD LEWIS.

# THE MARATHAS AND NAJĪB-UD-DAULAH
## (1757-1760)

THE Maratha policy in Northern India during the years 1757-59 was extremely ambitious. Their dominion in Hindustan had grown out of a humble beginning, and now their idea of Hindū Pādshāhī embraced the whole of the country including the north-western Ṣūbah of the Punjab and the eastern-most province of Bengal. By a special agreement[1] with the late Emperor Ahmad Shāh and his Wazīr Ṣafdar Jung in April 1752, the Peshwa had taken upon himself the responsibility of guarding the Mughal north-western frontier from the perpetual danger of an Afghan invasion in lieu of the imperial recognition of their claim to Chouth on almost all the provinces of the Empire. He had thus incurred the hostility of the Abdālī monarch of Kabul, who claimed this Ṣūbah (Punjab) as his by inheritance from Nādir Shāh Since that time the Marathas and the Afghans had entered the lists as the two chief rivals for mastery over the Punjab and supremacy at Delhi. At this period the Mughal Wazīr was a quiescent pliable tool in their hands, ever ready to comply with their demands, for they were bolstering him up in his ministerial *Gaddī*. But the Mīr Bakhshī Najīb-ud-Daulah was a secret supporter of the invader with whom he was linked by racial and religious ties, and with whose armed assistance he desired to establish his own dominance at the court. Hence the first object of Maratha policy in 1757 was not only to humble Najīb but also to cripple[2] him permanently so as to make him impotent for evil ; and to let the friendly and pacific 'Imād-ul-Mulk conduct the imperial administration peacefully in order to enable him to remit regularly to the Peshwa's treasury the money contribution which had been agreed upon in return for the Maratha guarantee for his and his royal lord's safety. The next long-cherished desire of the Peshwa and his lieutenants in the north was the conquest of the Punjab and the bringing of it under effective Maratha control.

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1. For this treaty and its provisions, etc , see my *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 200-201.

2. The Peshwa wrote to Dattaji and Jankoji on 21st March, 1759 —Najīb "is wicked and a breaker of faith. Advancing him is like feeding a serpent with milk He should be crushed." (See *Aitihasik Patren yadi wagaire lekh, L* No. 167). Peshwa's letter to Ramaji Anant, dated 2nd May, 1759 (see *Aitihasik*, etc., No. 171) says "Najīb is treacherous and half-Abdālī."

Thirdly, Balaji Bajirao clearly saw that his supremacy in northern India could not be complete without the reduction of the rich eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal.[1] For the realisation of this last dream the Peshwa had three alternative schemes in his mind, and these he unfolded to Dattaji Sindhia, recommending him to adopt the one that might appear to him as the most feasible under the peculiar circumstances in the north, and bring a Krore or two of rupees from the two Ṣūbahs. The first contemplated the putting of the Emperor and the Wazīr at the head of the expedition and conquering the eastern provinces with the weight and prestige of their name ; the second urged the simultaneous march of two Maratha armies upon Bengal from two different directions, *viz.*, the Sindhia from Delhi, and Raghunath Rao *via* Bundelkhand and Allahabad ; and the third recommended the formation of an alliance with Shujā'-ud-Daulah by promising him half of Bengal and Bihar, in case the Wazīr refused to join the expedition, and the undertaking of the enterprise with his assistance.[2] Closely connected with these schemes was the question of the settlements of the Maratha relations with Shujā'-ud-Daulah. Ever since the days of Ṣafdar Jang the Peshwa's representatives had been anxious to secure the cession of the Hindu holy places (Allahabad, Benares and Ajodhya in the Oudh dominion) by a friendly agreement and failing that by threat or force of arms. Safdar Jang had managed to evade compliance, for the cession was bound to create an *imperium in imperio*. But Shujā'-ud-Daulah, threatened by a combination of Wazīr 'Imād-ul-Mulk with Ahmad Khān Bangash and the Ruhela chiefs in April-June, 1757, had reluctantly promised, after much wavering, to cede Benares and Ajodhya[3] —a promise which he did not intend to fulfil. Two years passed by, but he did not yield possession to the Maratha agents. Balaji Bajirao was therefore repeatedly urging the Sindhias to induce Shujā'-ud-Daulah to make good his promise by surrendering the two towns referred to, and to enter into a fresh agreement providing for the cession of Allahabad city also.[4] The next important point recommended by the Peshwa was to approve of Shujā'-ud-Daulah's candidature for the Wazirship, after which he had been hankering since the death of his father, and to elevate him to that post, if he paid fifty lakhs of rupees and ceded Benares and Allahabad, or fifty lakhs and at least Allahabad. But the payment was not to be put off for 2 or 3 years : it must be made within six months.[5] If he did not wish to be appointed prime minister on the above conditions, then Dattaji was directed to wrest Allahabad from him by force ; and if, finding himself thus threatened, Shujā'-ud-Daulah agreed to make over Benares and Allahabad and pay a handsome amount of money in addition, then he

1 *Aitihasik Patren yadi*, etc , Letters, 166 and 167 , *S P D.* Vol. XXI, L 143

2 *Ibid.*, L. 167

3 *Peshwa's Letter to Ramaji Anant*, dated 23rd February, 1759, *Aitihasik Patren*, etc , No 166.

4. *Ibid* , Nos 166 and 167.

5 *Peshwa's Letter to Ramaji Anant*, dated 2nd May, 1759, *Aitihasik Patren, etc* , No. 171

should be appointed Mīr Bakhshī in place of Najīb-ud-Daulah. And the third alternative suggested was to enlist the support of Shujā'-ud-Daulah in an expedition for the conquest of Bihar and Bengal by promising him half the share in the two provinces, when reduced, and in that case securing from him the cession of Benares and Allahabad only.[1] In short, the object of the Maratha policy in 1759 was not only the acquisition, by peaceful means or otherwise, of these three flourishing towns in Oudh, but also the bringing of Shujā'-ud-Daulah under effective political control.

## THE MARATHA CONQUEST OF THE PUNJAB (1758-59)

To carry out this policy, adumbrated long before 1757, Raghunath Rao, better known in Mahrashtra as Raghoba Dada, began his march to Delhi, where he arrived with his legions on the 11th of August, 1757. After a brief contest he forced Najīb-ud-Daulah, who had openly been, acting as an agent of the Abdālī invader, out of Delhi on September 6th, and banished him to his estate in the modern Bijnor and Saharanpur districts. The imperial capital, thus cleared of the Afghan traitor, was put in charge of the friendly Wazīr 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who, finding himself freed from the bitter rivalry of Najīb, exerted himself against the Crown Prince 'Alī Gauhar, and, as we have seen in the last chapter, eventually hounded him out into exile in the eastern provinces. The Marathas, after a few months' interval, marched on the Sarhind, and on March 21st, 1758, wrested it from the hands of 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad Mohmand. Emboldened by this success the victors advanced to Lahore and occupied it on the 20th of April without much resistance, Tīmūr Shāh, son of the Abdālī, having fled away the previous day. Having established his sway over the largest part of the province, as far north as the river Chinab, Raghunath Rao conferred the governorship on Ādīna Bēg Khān, who bound himself to pay an annual revenue of 75 lakhs of rupees, and then returned to the Deccan. But the Punjab was not destined to enjoy peace and prosperity for long. Ādīna Bēg, the newly appointed Satrap, having died on the 13th of October,[2] the province relapsed into confusion. Apprehensive of an Abdālī invasion, Raghunath, on his way back to the Deccan, had sent urgent letters to Jankoji Sindhia, then in Rajputana, asking him to proceed to the Punjab and make proper arrangements for its defence and for the prevention of a recrudescence of the internal troubles which had become a permanent feature of the life there. In response to this call Jankoji, with his uncle and guardian Dattaji Sindhia, reached Delhi about the end of

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1 *Peshwa's Letter to Dattaji and Jankoji Sindhia*, dated 21st March, 1759 and *Peshwa's Letter to Ramaji Anant*, dated 2nd May, 1759. (For both see *Aitihasik Patren, etc*, Nos. 167 and 171)

2 *T. 'Ālamgīr Thānī*, 151b, 164 b, and 178b, Ghulam 'Alī I, 55-57, Miskin, 171-82, *T M* 179*a*-180*a*, *S P.D*, Vol II, 41, 78, Vol. XXI, 111, 116 and 150, Vol XXVII, 148, 218 and 220.

December, 1758, and after overawing the delinquent Wazīr into submission and making a fresh agreement for the payment of money contributions due to the Peshwa's treasury, they moved on to the Punjab. Early in April 1759 they arrived at Machhiwārā on the Satlaj, and deciding to put the province in the charge of a Maratha officer, they appointed Sābājī as governor and stationed him at Lahore with a strong force to root out the lawless elements and protect the people from external danger. This done, the Sindhias returned to Delhi in May, 1759.[1]

## THE SIEGE OF SHUKARTAL

NAJĪB-UD-DAULAH had been deprived of his dominant position at the Court, but his power had not been broken. The snake had been scotched but not killed, and there was reason to fear that he would strain every nerve to regain his power by forming an alliance with his Pathan kinsmen of India and Afghanistan. Dattaji had been entrusted with the important mission of crushing the Ruhela's power beyond any future possibility of recovery, and soon after his return from the Punjab in May, 1759, he approached his task in a spirit of single-minded devotion. The Sindhia desired, first of all, to accommodate matters with Najīb and make use of his armed assistance in an invasion of Bihar and Bengal, and to come to extremities only after he had failed to secure the latter's aid. Accordingly, soon after crossing the Jamuna, he met Najīb in a conference at Shāmli, where the terms of the proposed alliance were discussed. Dattaji agreed to confirm Najīb in his possessions, but as the Ruhela could not rely on Sindhia's promise and even suspected treachery, the conference broke down. Dattaji now marched to Miranpur and demanded the cession of certain *paraganas* of Saharanpur district, a request with which Najīb refused to comply.[2] The former then captured a few of Najīb 's outposts (about the end of June), and this led to an open rupture.[3] A big war was not long in coming.

Realising that a regular Maratha invasion of his domain was imminent, Najīb-ud-Daulah, with his characteristic vigour and foresight, planned the defence at Shukartal, a low-lying expanse of land many miles in area and situated on the western bank of the Ganges, about 16 miles east of the town of Muẓaffarnagar; and here he concentrated almost all his military resources, leaving his family and treasure at Najibabad in charge of his son Zābita Khān. Surrounded on three sides by numerous deep and tortuous ravines and on the west by the broad and deep Ganges, Shukartal was marked out by Nature as a place of first class strategic importance, well-suited for warfare of a defensive character. Najīb fortified it by

1 *T 'Alamgīr Thānī, 205b , T M 192b.*

2. *T Ahmad Shāhi, 210a ,* Nūr-ud-Dīn, *22a and b*

3 *Ibid.*

erecting redoubts and setting up batteries all round it, and by stationing mobile musketry on the two sides, namely, south and south-west, which alone had been exposed to attack by an invader. " Thus," writes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, " a perfect sunken fort was formed which only starvation could have made untenable in the age before the invention of modern shells."[1] Najīb had, however, obviated this defect by connecting his entrenchment with the country south-east by a bridge of boats for communication and safe transport of supplies. Early in July Dattaji, at the head of his powerful and sturdy force, arrived near the place and erected an entrenchment two miles west of Shukartal. He proceeded to invest the Ruhela position, with a grim determination to fight to the finish.[2]

From the batteries set up in the front lines of the two fortified encampments a hot fire was kept up, and daily skirmishes were also fought. Now and then only, when the Marathas issuing out of their posts made assaults on the enemy's position, did open pitched battles take place, but without deciding the contest one way or the other. The siege lingered on for three months, and Dattaji, realising the futility of this kind of warfare, resolved to make a diversion on Najibabad, where Najīb's treasures were stored and his family and those of his followers were lodged. As soon as the rainy season drew to a close and the uppermost course of the Ganges became fordable, he despatched Govind Ballal at the head of 10,000 light cavalry on this mission. The latter, leaving the camp on or about the 20th of October and marching northwards, crossed the river a little south of Hardwar, 34 miles north of Shukartal, and after hustling out of the way a contingent of Pathans posted at Sabalgarh,[3] a fortalice 10 miles north-west of Najibabad, he made a sudden dash for Jalalabad, 2 miles south-west of Najīb's capital. Fortunately, Najīb-ud-Daulah's Ruhela kinsmen, Sa'dullāh Khān, Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat and Dundē Khān, had arrived in time and were encamped[4] near Sabalgarh. Hence Govind Ballal, instead of risking a battle with them, marched away in a south-westerly[5] direction, ravaging the country as far as the bridgehead opposite Shukartal, and for a time cutting off supplies to the belligerents and causing great want in their camp. Najīb was reduced to great straits, and his followers were filled with alarm about the safety of their families. At this very moment news arrived of the arrival near Shukartal of the Oudh vanguard under Anup Giri Gosain, and this at once raised the spirits of Najīb and his men.

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1. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol II, p 206

2. *T. 'Ālamgīr Thani*, 210*a*-213*b*, Nūr-ud-Dīn, 22b-27*b*, *I M* 195*b*, Rajwade, Vol I, 142 & 146, *Selection from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol XXIX, 56, *Delhi Chronicle*

3. For Sabalgarh see *Survey of India Atlas*, Sheck, 53 K The place is clearly mentioned in *Gulistān Rahmat*, tr by Elliot (see p 57)

4 *Gulistān*, 56-57.

5 For the siege see—*T. Ahmad Shāhī*, 210*a*-211*b*, Nūr-ud-Dīn, 223*a*-226*a*, *Gulistān*, 56-57, *Siyar*, III

# SHUJĀ'-UD-DAULAH COMES TO THE RELIEF OF NAJĪB

EVER since war clouds threatened to darken his political horizon, Najīb-ud-Daulah had set to work to enlist the support of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī of Kabul and his own important neighbours. Every month he sent men to Kabul to induce the Shāh to come to his rescue, and he despatched messengers to his Ruhela kinsmen of Katehr and Farrukhabad and to Shujā'-ud-Daulah of Oudh, urging them to hasten to his assistance. " These men " (Marathas), he wrote, " have come against me, and I do not possess the power to resist them single-handed. You should join me." But Ḥafiz Raḥmat and other Ruhela chiefs, feeling themselves sheltered by the mighty Ganges, sent evasive replies, and said to themselves that it was nothing short of madness on the part of Najīb to have antagonised the Marathas in the hope of getting aid from Qandhar.[1] Meanwhile Dattaji had ravaged and reduced most of Najīb's country, as we have seen, and had closely invested him at Shukartal. The hard-pressed Ruhela chief now began desperately sending envoy after envoy to Aḥmad Shāh, writing to him, " In the hope of Your Majesty's help, I have fallen into the hands of the Maratha infidels. It is very likely that the destruction of the Afghans will take place in spite of there being an Afghan Emperor. So long as I am alive, I shall not slack in sacrificing my life and slaying infidels."[2] The Indian Pathan chiefs and Shujā'-ud-Daulah were again and again requested to hurry up to assist him, and he thus concluded his letters to them, ".....For six months I have been fighting, and not one of you has come to my aid. Such a day is in store for you " (also).[3] These stirring appeals eventually produced the desired effect. The rainy season was about to close, and Dundē Khān, Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat and other Trans-Ganges Ruhelas decided, though not without much hesitation, to march up to Shukartal.

On receipt of appeals from Najīb-ud-Daulah, to which were added those from Dundē Khān, Ḥafiẓ Raḥmat and other chiefs of Ruhelkhand,[4] Shujā'-ud-Daulah also promptly decided in favour of affording relief. His decision must have been influenced by the following important considerations. In the first place, the Marathas were the aggressors, while Najīb was fighting in self-defence. Secondly, the Marathas were firm friends and allies of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, a hereditary arch-enemy of the Oudh ruling family, and it was then almost universally believed that he had invited them from the Deccan to crush all his rivals, of course including Shujā'-ud-Daulah.[5] Thirdly, the Maratha policy, which had recently been

1. Nūr-ud-Dīn, 23*a*

2 *Ibid*, 24*b*-25*a*

3 *Ibid.*, 25*a*.

4. *Gulistān*, 56; *T M.* 195*b*; *Siyar*, III, 907

5. Harcharan, 449*a*; *Gulistān*, 56, *Siyar* III, 907; Nūr-ud-Dīn (Najīb's message to the Ruhelas and Shujā' in Sept. 1757), p. 20*a*.

fully unmasked, being nothing short of an unquestioned supremacy over the whole of Northern India, the overthrow of Najīb was sure to be a prelude to the conquest of Ruhelkhand and Oudh, and the latter could not be expected to hold out long after the political destruction of the Indian Pathans, whose possessions were a sort of bulwark to Shujā'-ud-Daulah's dominion.[1] This last consideration, more than any other, made the Nawab determined to march to the relief of his hard-pressed brother Muslim chief, and thereby earn his personal gratitude.

Leaving Lucknow in the beginning of the rainy season, Shujā'-ud-Daulah, at the head of 5 to 6 thousand horse and 10 to 12 thousand foot,[2] marched to the western frontier of Oudh, while the Ruhela chiefs were still wavering; and finding the roads impassable on account of rain and mud, he remained encamped near Shahabad in the modern Hardoi district for about three months[3] of the rains. When the wet season was over and the roads became dry, he resumed his journey and entered Ruhelkhand. His arrival in their midst encouraged Ḥafiẓ Rahmat and other Ruhelas, who, though anxious to go to Najīb's help, did not dare to venture out of their estates.[4] Now they united their forces with Shujā'-ud-Daulah's and advanced from Bareilly in the direction of Shukartal. When they arrived at Hasanpur, news came that a Maratha army had crossed the Ganges, and was making its way to Najibabad in order to enter into Ruhelkhand. So 4000 Ruhela troops under Mulla Sardār were quickly detached to oppose this enemy force,[5] and it seems that the other Ruhela chiefs also soon after advanced to the Mullā's support. Shujā'-ud-Daulah, having himself crossed the Ramganga on a bridge of boats[6] about the 1st of November, hastened to Chandpur, 18 miles south-east of Bijnor, and thence to the village of Haldaur, 10 miles due north of Chandpur, and here he encamped, sending his advance-guard, 10,000 strong, under the two Gosain commanders, Anup Giri and Umrao Giri with instructions to attack the enemy wherever he could be found. Mīrzā Najaf Khān and Mīr Bāqar, relations and partisans of Muḥammad Qulī Khān, who had been released and employed in the Oudh forces, were placed under the Gosain's orders. All of a sudden one day this force came upon the Marathas under Govind Ballal who, after plundering and burning a few hundred villages of the modern Bijnor district and carrying depredation as far as Najīb's bridge-head on the eastern bank of the Ganges, was lying in security, absolutely ignorant of Shujā'-ud-Daulah's movements. Fatigued though the Naga troops were by the whole night's march, they

1. Harcharan, 449*a*, *Gulistān*, 56, *T M* 195*b*-196*a*, *Siyar*, III, 907.

2. Rajwade, Vol. I, 139.

3. *Siyar*, *T.M*, and *Ma'dan* say that he had to halt for four months, which seems an unduly long period of time.

4. Nūr-ud-Dīn, 25*b*.

5. *Gulistān*, 56.

6. Rajwade, Vol I, 139.

attacked the unsuspecting Marathas with great vigour and determination, routing them in an instant, slaying two to three hundred of them and acquiring much booty and many prisoners. Overwhelmed with shame, the aged Maratha commander hastily collected his dispersed followers and took to flight towards Hardwar. But, missing the ford in their hurry, half the number of his troops and horses were drowned in the Ganges. After enduring much misery and hardship, Govind Ballal with the wreck of his once fine army rejoined Dattaji at Shukartal.[1] Anup Giri, in exultant triumph, crossed the Ganges with his 5,000 Nagas by Najīb's bridge, and joined the latter at Shukartal, where, about half a mile away from the Pathan entrenchment, he set up his own camp.[2]

Elated at the success of his vanguard, Shujā'-ud-Daulah pushed on to the bank of the river and halted there for some days. The first thing that he did was to send an envoy to the Maratha camp with a message to Dattaji that his sole object in coming over there was to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a peace of friendship between the combating forces.[3] But the Maratha commander does not appear to have made an encouraging response. Meanwhile, Ḥāfiz Raḥmat and other Ruhelas also arrived at the river bank, and there was a strong rumour in the Maratha camp that Shujā'-ud-Daulah was coming to attack Dattaji from the side of the Ganges, while Najīb was ready to issue out and fall on him from the other direction so that,[4] he would be caught between two fires. This was enough to frighten the common Maratha soldiers, who did not pause to ascertain the authenticity or otherwise of the rumour but began to flee to places of safety. But Dattaji, a warrior to the backbone, was not the man to yield to any such weakness. He promptly brought back his dispirited fleeing troops in order to make a firm stand against odds. But the news was utterly unfounded, for Shujā'-ud-Daulah was not ready to take sides in the struggle. He was only against the total destruction of Najīb's power. Accordingly, from his camp on the left bank of the Ganges, he exerted himself to bring about an amicable settlement of the dispute, offering his services to mediate between the parties. It was proposed that Najīb-ud-Daulah should pay an indemnity of twenty lakhs of rupees, whereupon Dattaji should raise the siege and retire. But the negotiations broke down, and the war continued.[5]

## DATTAJI RAISES THE SIEGE; SHUJĀ' RETURNS TO OUDH

WHILE the negotiations set on foot by Shujā'-ud-Daulah were still in progress, news came that Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī had invaded the Punjab,

1. *Govind Ballal's Letters*, dated 4th, 7th Nov, Rajwade, Vol. I, Nos 140 & 141, Nūr-ud-Dīn, 26*b*, Harcharan 499*a* & *b*, *Siyar*, III, 907, *T M*, 196*b* and 197*a*, *Ma'dan* IV, 205*b*-206*a*

2 Rajwade, Vol I, L. 141.

3 *Govind Ballal's Letter*, dated 4th Nov, 1759, Rajwade, Vol I, L. 140

4 *Ibid*, dated 24th Nov. 1759, *Ibid* No. 146

5. *T Ahmad Shāhī*, p 211*b*

and that Sabaji, the Maratha governor, not havnig been able to withstand the Afghan onslaught, was in head-long flight towards Delhi. On November 8th the governor himself reached the camp in a miserable plight. Still the brave Dattaji would not recognise the hopelessness of his position. Considering it humiliating to raise the siege without extorting a war indemnity, he made a last appeal to his allies to hasten to Shukartal. Surajmal sent a good number of troops and Aḥmad Khān Bangash arrived in person. Stung by Dattaji's sharp taunts the Wazīr also sent out reinforcements,[1] and the Sindhia now directed Govind Ballal to cross the Ganges and devastate Ruhelkhand so as to draw away Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat and other Ruhelas for the defence of their homes and families and thereby dissolve their combination with Najīb. But Govind Ballal could not embark on this strategy, as there was a strong presumption (about the 28th of November) that if he started on this mission, Shujā'-ud-Daulah would cross over to Shukartal and effect a junction with Najīb-ud-Daulah.[2] Then came the alarming news that the Shāh had occupied the whole of the Punjab and Multan and annihilated the Maratha army posted at the latter place. Close upon the heels of this arrived reports from Delhi that the Wazīr, learning of the Afghan occupation of the Punjab, had had the innocent 'Ālamgīr II treacherously murdered on the 29th of November and Intizam-ud-Daulah strangled to death the following day.[3] The deluge from the north-west now appeared to engulf the imperial city, so that Dattaji had no option but to abandon the siege and advance northwards to check its progress. This he did, though not without reluctance, on the 8th of December. Najīb-ud-Daulah was thus saved from ruin, and Shujā'-ud-Daulah, whose presence was badly needed in his own Ṣūbahs in view of a local Rajput rising therein,[4] struck camp about the 10th of December and set out on his return journey to Lucknow. Having crossed the Ramganga, he reached Bilgram on the 17th, and entered Lucknow[5] on the 19th of December, 1759.

A. L. Srivastava.

1. *T. Ahmad Shāhī*, 212*a*-213*b*
2. *Govind Ballal's Letter*, dated 24th Novr. 1759, Rajwade, Vol. I, 146.
3. *T. Ahmad Shāhī*, 214*a*-215*a*, *D.C.*, 166
4. Ghulām 'Alī, Vol I, p. 99.
5. *Siyar*, III, 907; *T M*, 197*a*, *Ma'dan*, IV, p 206*b*

# DEVIL'S DELUSION

## *TALBĪS-IBLĪS* OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

(*Continued from page* 383 *of the October* 1945 *Issue*)

### ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES MANY OF THE ṢŪFĪS IN ASSOCIATING WITH THE YOUNG[1]

I MAY observe that most of the Ṣūfīs have barred against themselves the door of looking at strange women, by keeping at a distance from their company and declining to associate with them. Devotion leaves them no time for matrimony. But association with the young has come in their way, since the young become neophytes and aspirants to asceticism. And so the devil has inclined the Ṣūfīs towards them. Their association with the young takes seven forms. The first class are the worst, being people who simulate Ṣūfism and profess the doctrine of immanence. We have been told by 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Abū-Naṣr 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī as-Sarrāj according to which the latter said: A number of the believers in immanence assert that God has chosen certain bodies to inhabit with the ideas of divinity, whereas others say that He is immanent in such as are regarded as beautiful. Abū-'Abdallāh b. Ḥāmid (a member of our school) states that certain of the Ṣūfīs declare that they see God Almighty in this world, and that He takes human form. They found no difficulty about His taking His abode in a fair form, and professed to see Him in a black slave-boy.

The second class are people who imitate the dress of the Ṣūfīs with immoral purpose.

The third class are people who regard it as lawful to gaze on what they regard as beautiful. Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī composed a book with the title *Sunnahs of Ṣūfism*, at the end of which he has a chapter on general licences, among which he mentions those of dancing, singing, and gazing on a fair face. In this chapter he records the tradition that the Prophet said: Seek good among the fair of countenance; and three things brighten the eyes: looking at verdure; looking at water; and looking at a fair face.

These traditions, I would observe, have no foundation for their ascription to the Prophet. As for the first, we have been told it by 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Īsa with a chain of transmitters going back to Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Mukhayyir after Nāfi' after Ibn 'Umar. Yaḥya b.

1. Continued from p. 282 of the Arabic text.

Mu'īn asserted that Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān was of no value.[1] I should further observe that this tradition is reported by various " paths. " Al-'Uqaili says that none of them are trustworthy. As for the second tradition, we have been told by Abū-Manṣūr b. Khairūn with a chain of authorities going back to Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaid ar-Raiḥānī that the latter said : I heard Abu'l-Bakhtarī Wahb b. Wahb[2] say : I used to visit ar-Rashīd when his son al-Qāsim was present, on whom I would fix my gaze. Ar-Rashīd said : I observe that you fix your gaze on him ; you would like, I fancy, to appropriate him.—I said : Prince of Believers, God forbid that you should ascribe to me something that is not in my mind at all. As for my fixing my gaze on him, we have been told by 'Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq after his father after his grandfather 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain after his father after his grandfather (Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) that the Prophet said : Three things increase the vision : Looking at verdure ; at running water ; and at a fair face.

I would observe that this tradition is a fabrication. Scholars are agreed that Abu'l-Bakhtarī was an unscrupulous liar. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaid is a man about whom nothing is known. Further when Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī mentioned looking at a face regarded as fair, he should have interpreted it as looking at the face of one's wife or slave-girl, whereas to leave it unqualified harbours something suspicious. Our Shaikh the Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad b. Nāṣir states that Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī composed a book on the permissibility of looking at beardless lads.

I would observe that jurists say that it is unlawful for anyone whose passion is aroused thereby to look at the beardless. Now a man who asserts that his passion is not aroused by looking at a handsome face of the sort lies : such gazing is in general allowed only because prohibition would involve difficulty where association with such lads is frequent. Steady gazing indicates conduct such as the arousing of passion involves. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab said : If you see a man steadily gazing at a beardless boy, suspect him.

The fourth class are people who say : We do not gaze with passion, but only to contemplate, so the gazing does not harm us.—This is absurd ; for human nature is uniform, and anyone who claims that his nature is different from that of others of his species is claiming what is absurd. We have made this clear at the beginning of our discussion on music.

We have been informed by Shuhdāh, daughter of Aḥmad al-'Ibari,[3] who furnished a chain of authorities ending with Muḥammad b. Ja'far

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1. His name is not found in the *Tahdhīb* or the *Mīzān*.

2. Account of him in *Lisān al-Mīzān* VI, 231-234, where his death date is given as 200, and unfavourable opinions of him are recorded. This tradition is mentioned on p. 234.

3. Account of her and her father in Sam'ānī, p 17 The latter died in 506 She had a good script, and was in consequence called *al-Kātibah* " *the writer,* " and was in the service of the Caliph al-Muqtafī.

the Ṣūfī, after Abū-Ḥamzah the Ṣūfī,[1] that according to the last he had been told by 'Abdallāh b. Zubair al-Ḥanafi the following: I was sitting, he said, with Abu'n-Nādir ash-Ghanawī, who was a devotee of the first order, when his eye fell on a handsome lad. He kept on gazing at him, and presently, approaching him, said: I implore thee by God who hears, and by His exalted might and His firm sovereignty, to stand still so that I may gaze my fill at thee.—The lad stood still for a little, then started to go; then Abu'n-Nādir said to him: I implore thee by the Wise, the Glorious, the Bountiful, the Creator, the Restorer, to stand still.—The lad stood still for a time. Abu'n-Nādir proceeded to look him up and down. Presently the lad started to go, when Abu'n-Nādir said: I implore thee by the One, the Unique, the Potent, the Eternal, who neither begot nor was begotten, to stand still for a time.—He gazed at him for a long time, and when the lad started to go, Abu'n-Nādir said: I implore thee by the Kindly, the All-knowing, the Hearing, the Seeing, the Unrivalled, to stand still.—The lad stood still, and Abu'n-Nādir proceeded to gaze on him. Then he looked down at the ground; the lad went away, and after a long time Abu'n-Nādir raised his head, sobbing. Then he said: Looking at this lad has put me in mind of a Face too grand for comparison, too holy for a likeness to be found to it, too mighty to be defined. By Allāh I will exert myself to attain His favour by warring against all His foes and befriending all His allies, so that I may finally attain my desire to look upon His sublime countenance and His surpassing splendour. I could wish that He would show me His countenance, and imprison me in Hell so long as the heavens and the earth endure.—Then he fainted.

We have also been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Fazārī[2] as follows: I heard Khair an-Nassāj[3] say: I was with Muḥārib b. Ḥasan the Ṣūfī in the Mosque of Khaif, we being in pilgrim attire. A handsome lad from the Maghrib came and sat down beside us. I noticed that Muharib gazed on him in a manner of which I disapproved. After the lad had departed, I said to Muharib: You are in pilgrim attire in a holy month, in a holy town, at a holy rite. Yet I have seen you gazing on this lad in such a way as only those who are tempted gaze.—He said: Do you say this to me, you libertine of heart and eye? Know you not that three things preserve me from falling into the devil's net?—I asked him to name them.—He said: The mystery of faith: the chastity of Islam: and, chief of them, shame at God's seeing me engaged in some wrong action which He has forbidden.—Then he had a fit, causing a crowd to gather round us.

Here I would observe: Look at the ignorance of the first fool, who suggests anthropomorphism, though he employs phrases which contradict

1. Account of him in the *Kashf*, p 154.

2. Probably the narrator is still Abū-Hamzah

3. Died 322. Accounts of him in Sam'ānī, p 558*b* and *Kitāb Baghdād*, *II*, 48. He was an associate of Abū-Hamzah (Muḥammad b Ibrāhīm)

it. And look at the folly of the second, who supposed that the immoral act is the transgression, and was not aware that a lustful look is itself forbidden. Then he clears himself of the natural effect by a profession which is shown by the lustful glance to be false. A certain learned man told me how a beardless boy had said to him : A certain Ṣūfī who loved me said to me : My boy, God must have a kindly regard for you, since He has made me need you.—It is recorded that a party of Ṣūfīs visited Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī when he was alone with a beardless boy ; there were roses between them, and Aḥmad was looking alternately at the roses and at the lad. When the Ṣūfīs had sat down, they said : Perhaps we disturb you.—Yes, you do! he replied.—They cried aloud, expressing their regret.

Abu'l-Ḥusain b. Yūsuf records how he received a note containing the words " You are in love with your Turkish slave-boy." He read the note, summoned the lad, gazed on him, and kissed him on the brow. " This " he said " is the reply to the note."

I would observe that I am not surprised at this man's conduct and his barefaced impropriety, but I do wonder how the beasts who were present failed to rebuke him. However, the code is of no importance in the minds of many people.

We have been informed by Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī that Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī said : I have heard how this community which listens to music in addition gazes on the face of a beardless lad, often decking him with ornaments, dyed garments, and ribbons. They pretend that their purpose is to increase their faith by gazing, taking note, and reasoning from the work of art to the Artificer. This is going to extremes in following after passion, deceiving the mind, and going counter to knowledge. God says (li. 21), *And in yourselves cannot ye see* ? and (lxxxviii. 17) *And look they not at the camels how they were created* ? and (vii. 184) *And have they not looked on the dominion of the heavens and the earth* ? So they turn away from what God has commanded them to observe to something which he has forbidden them. Now this community only do what we have mentioned after partaking of dainty dishes and luscious foods. When their souls have taken their fill of these things then they clamour for the sequel—music, dancing, and the enjoyment of the sight of beardless faces. If they would moderate their appetite they would not yearn for music and such sights. Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib proceeds : Now one of them has described in verse the state of those who listen to singing, and what they feel when they hear it :

Dost thou recall the time when we did meet
And listen till the dawn to music sweet ?
Among us did the song-cup circulate,
And without wine our minds intoxicate.
Lo, every one was drunken in that rout,
And yet quite sober was that drinking-bout.

"Haste to prosperity," joy's herald cried;
Each pleasure-lover's voice "I come" replied.
Of all possessions save our life-blood bare;
And that we shed for glances of the fair.

Now if (he observes) music has on their minds the effect which the poet describes, how can it be either useful or profitable. Ibn 'Uqail observes that when a man says he is not afraid of looking at fair forms, his assertion is of no value. For the code addresses the whole community, and makes no distinction between individuals. And the texts of the Qur'ān traverse these assertions. God says (xxiv. 30) *Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and be chaste,* and (Lxxxviii. 17) *And look they not at the camels how they were created, and the heaven how it is raised, and the mountains how they are set up?* Gazing then is not permitted save at forms which have no attraction for the soul and wherein the latter has no part, except that of observation unmixed with lust, arousing no sense of pleasure. Forms suggestive of passion, impassion to the detriment of observation, and gazing that is not merely contemplative should not be indulged, since it may well involve temptation. For this reason God never commissioned any woman to be apostle, judge, or leader of prayer or *mu'adhdhin.* All this is because she is seductive and arouses passion, and looking at her might well frustrate the purpose of the code. We reject the assertion of anyone who declares that he finds edification in beautiful forms. Similarly we reject the claim of anyone to a nature different from our own. All these are deceptions practised by Satan on those who make the claims.

The fifth class are people who while associating with the beardless restrain themselves from immorality in the belief that this is warring against the lower nature, not knowing that their associating with them and looking at them lustfully is an offence. This is one of the reprehensible practices of the Ṣūfīs. Those of old time were not of this opinion; some however, assert that they were, offering as evidence some verses which Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit told us had been recited to him by Abū 'Alī ar-Rūdhabari [1]

I feast my eyes on flowers in beauty's mead,
Yet keep my soul intact from evil deed.
And so the weight of love which I sustain
Would split a mount of solid rock in twain.

We shall presently give the story of Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain and how he said "A hundred times did I vow to my Lord that I would not keep company with the young, and violated my vow by reason of straight forms and languishing glances."

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1 Died 323. His name was Muhammad b Ahmad b. al-Qāsim. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* I, 329-333 This is the work to which the text refers, and the verses with two more are to be found on p. 332.

We have been told by Shuhdāh, the lady-writer, who furnished a chain of authorities going back to Abu'l-Mukhtār aḍ-Ḍabbī, that the latter said : I was told the following by my father. I asked (he said) Abu'l-Kumait al-Andalusī,[1] who was a great traveller, to tell me what was the most remarkable act that he had seen performed by a Ṣūfī. He said : I accompanied one of them named Mihrajan, who had been a Mazdian, but had become a Muslim and a Ṣūfī. *Vidi cum eo puerum pulcrum quem nunquam relinquebat. Prima nocte surgebat, tum precatus juxta puerum jacebat ; postea surgebat perterritus et aliquantum precatus rursus juxta eum jacebat. Saepius hoc facto cum dies illucesceret vel orturus esset vel albesceret, levatis manibus dicebat : Domine noster hanc noctem mihi praeterivisse salvam, neque ullum scelus in ea a me admissum esse, neque custodes angelos peccatum mihi ascripsisse.* Thou knowest too that mountains would split if they had to sustain what is concealed in my heart, and the earth would be pulverized if it were set thereon. Fear of God has kept me from pursuing what is forbidden and putting myself in the way of guilt. Then he would say : O Lord, unite us in piety and separate us not on the day whereon Thou shalt unite lovers.—I remained with him a long time, seeing him do this every night and hearing him utter these words. When I thought of departing I said to him : I have been hearing you say so and so at the close of night.—He said : What, did you hear me ?—Yes, I said.—My brother, he said, I have to endure from my heart what would earn forgiveness for a Sulṭān were he to put up with the like from his subjects.—What then, I asked, causes you to associate with one from whom you fear you may incur guilt ?

Abū-Muhammad b. Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh the Ṣūfī stated that Abū-Ḥamzah the Ṣūfī said : I saw in Jerusalem a young Ṣūfī who had for his companion a slave-boy for a long time. Then the young man died, and the slave-boy lamented him so long that he became mere skin and bone from emaciation and misery. One day I said to him : Your lamentation over your friend has gone on so long that I fear you will never be consoled. —How, he replied, can I be consoled for a man who revered God too much to give Him offence in his relations with me for the twinkling of an eye, and throughout my association with him in privacy night and day kept me from the defilement of immorality ?

I would observe that these are people whom the devil found himself incapable of dragging into immoral conduct, so he won their approval of its commencements, in consequence of which they eagerly indulged in the pleasure of gazing, of society, and of conversation, only resolved to resist their lower nature by keeping it from sin. If they truly claimed to have succeeded therein, still their hearts, which should have been occupied with God and nothing else, were distracted, and the time wherein their hearts should have been exclusively engaged on what would profit them in the future world was spent in struggle with nature to restrain

1. Mentioned by Ibn al-Abbar in his *Takmilah* I. 86, who, however, gets his information from this passage.

it from wrong-doing. All this is ignorance and transgression of the practices enjoined by the code, since God commanded the lowering of the gaze, which is the path to the heart, in order that the heart might be given wholly to God without any dangerous contamination. Such people might be compared to a man who plunges into a thicket where there are wild beasts who neither see him nor are concerned with him ; he rouses them, and has to fight for his life. He is unlikely to come out scatheless even if he is not killed.

In this class there are persons who have held out for a time, after which their resistance has weakened, and feeling tempted by their lower nature to immorality they abandon the society of the beardless.

We have been told by Shuhdāh, the lady-writer, the following on the authority of 'Umar b. Yūsuf al-Baqillānī.[1] Abū-Ḥamzah, he stated, said : I said to Muhammad b. al-'Alā' ad-Dimishqī, who was chief of the Ṣūfīs, whom I had seen walking with a handsome youth for a time, but who afterwards parted from him : Why have you left that lad whom I used to see with you after having been so much attached to him and inclined towards him ? —I assure you, he replied, I parted from him with no ill-feeling or weariness of his society.—Then why, I asked, have you done so ?—I found, he said, my heart suggesting to me, if we were by ourselves and he came near me, something which, were I to perpetrate it, would cause me to fall from God's sight. For this reason I left him, out of reverence for God and to keep myself from the precipice of temptation.

Some of them have repented and wept long for having indulged their gaze. We have been told the following by Muḥammad b. Naṣir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī with a chain of authorities going back to 'Ubāidallāh. I heard, he said, my brother Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad say . I heard Khair an-Nassāj say : I was with Umayyah b. Ṣāmit the Sūfī when, having looked at a lad, he recited (lvii. 4), *And He is with you wherever ye are, and God seeth what ye do.* Then he said : And where is the escape from God's prison, which He has secured with angels, strong and fierce ? Blessed be God ! Severely hast Thou tried me with the sight of this lad ; I can only compare my gaze upon him with fire falling upon rushes on a windy day, sparing nothing and leaving nothing.—Then he said : I entreat God's pardon for the trial which my eyes have inflicted on my heart. I fear that I shall not escape from its hurt or be saved from its guilt though I were to produce on Resurrection-Day the works of seventy saints. Then he sobbed till he almost expired.—I heard him say as he sobbed : O eyes, I shall employ you in weeping so that you will not be able to look at temptation.

Some of them have been convulsed with sickness owing to the violence of their attachment. We have been told by Shuhdāh, the lady-writer, a tradition going back to Abū-Ḥamzah the Ṣūfī according to which the

1. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* XI. 232.

latter said :— 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā was one of the chief and most eminent Ṣūfīs. Looking one day at a handsome lad in a street he was overcome and went mad with ardent love. Every day he would stand in his path in order to see him coming and going. His infatuation continued so long that ultimately he became so emaciated that he could not move. He was unable to walk a step. One day I went to visit him and said to him: Abū-Muḥammad, what has happened to you, and what is it that has brought you to your present condition ?—Various things, he replied, with which God has been trying me, and which I have not the strength to endure. Many an offence which a man thinks light is with God of the utmost gravity. One who exposes himself to seeing what is forbidden deserves a long illness.—Then he wept.—Why, I asked, are you weeping ?—I fear, he replied, that I shall suffer long in Hell.—I left him, pitying the misery in which I saw him.—Abū-Ḥamzah proceeded: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ash'ath ad-Dimishqī, who was one of the best of mankind, having looked at a lad, fainted. He was carried to his house, and so chronic was his ailment that it paralysed his feet, and for a long time he was unable to stand on them. We visited him repeatedly, to ask how he was, and what had happened to him ; but he declined to tell us his story and the cause of his illness. People, however, were talking about his glance. Hearing of this, the lad paid him a visit ; the man brightened up, moved, smiled in the lad's face, and was cheered by the sight of him. The lad then repeated his visits till the man was able to stand on his feet, recovered. The lad asked the man to accompany him to his dwelling, but this he refused to do. The lad besought me to ask him to come to his house for a change, which I did, but he refused. I asked the Shaikh what was his objection and he replied : I am not immune from temptation, nor safe from falling into it. I fear that I may be tried by Satan, and that we two may commit a sin, in which case I shall be " one of the losers."

Some of them, having contemplated a criminal action, have put an end to themselves. The following was told me by Abū-'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad ad-Damaghānī: There was in Fars a Ṣūfī of high rank, who conceived a passion for a lad, and was unable to restrain his soul from tempting him to crime. He was however mindful of God, and repented of his evil thought. His house was on an eminence with a lake behind it. Overcome by remorse, he mounted the roof and flung himself into the water, reciting the text (*ii.* 51), *So turn in penitence to your Creator and slay yourselves ;* he was drowned.

Consider, I would observe, how the devil led this wretched man on from seeing this beardless lad to gazing on him, till he put wicked thoughts into heart, and finally urged him to commit a crime ; then, when he saw how the man abominated it, he persuaded him in his ignorance to commit suicide. Perhaps the man merely harboured the evil thought but did not resolve to commit the crime, and a thought is pardonable, as the Prophet said : My people are pardoned for the thoughts

of their minds.—Then the man regretted his thought, and regret is repentance; so the devil made him suppose that to commit suicide would be the consummation of his regret, as was done by the Israelites,[1] who, however, were commanded to do this as in the text cited, *and slay yourselves*, whereas we have been forbidden to do it in the text (*iv.* 38) *and slay not yourselves;* so he committed a capital offence. In both *Ṣaḥīḥ* there is a tradition that the Prophet said: Whoso kills himself by throwing himself from a height shall throw himself into the fire of Gehenna to abide there for ever.

There have been cases in which a man, being separated from his beloved, has put the latter to death. I have been told that there was a Ṣūfī in a monastery here in Baghdad who had a lad living in the same apartment. Scandal having arisen they were separated. The Ṣūfī thereupon went to the lad's room with a knife, killed him, and sat weeping by the corpse. The people of the monastery came and seeing this asked what had happened, and the Ṣūfī confessed to the murder. Being brought before the chief of police he repeated the confession. The lad's father came weeping and the Ṣūfī sat weeping also and saying to the father: Why did you not make me his ransom ?[2] Now, said the father, I pardon you. The Ṣūfī then went to the lad's grave and wept over it, and repeatedly made the pilgrimage for the lad to whom he made over the reward.

Some having approached temptation have fallen into it, getting no profit from their profession of patience and striving. There is a tradition going back by a chain to Idrīs b. Idrīs[3] that he said: I witnessed in Egypt certain Ṣūfīs who had with them a beardless lad who sang to them. One of the Ṣūfīs was overcome by his feelings, and not knowing what to do said: My friend, say, "There is no god but Allāh." The lad said it. The Ṣūfī said: I must kiss the mouth that has said "There is no god but Allāh."

The sixth class are people who did not intend to associate with the beardless, only some lad becomes penitent, practises asceticism, and joins their society as a neophyte. The devil proceeds to delude them, saying, You must not exclude him from what is good. Then without any design they repeatedly gaze on him, and temptation is aroused in their hearts till Satan gets what he can out of them. Oftentimes they rely on their piety, and Satan so seduces them that he involves them in the worst offences, as he did with Barsisa.[4] We have told his story at the beginning of the book and how they err in exposing themselves to temptation and associating with persons in whose company they are not immune from it.

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1. After the worship of the Calf
2. Probably meaning, Why did you not kill me first ?
3. This is the name of the founder of Fez, died 213, but it is unlikely that he is meant here.
4. Apparently referring to the story of a monk who, having seduced his ward, murdered her and her child.

The seventh class are persons who are aware that it is unlawful to associate with or gaze at the beardless, only they are unable to abstain therefrom. There is a tradition with a chain of transmitters according to which Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain ar-Rāzī[1] said: Whatever you see me do, do the like, except associating with lads, for that is the most terrible of temptations. More than a hundred times have I vowed to my Lord that I would associate with no lad, but the beauty of the cheek, the erectness of the stature, and the languishing of the eyes have caused me to break my vow, yet God has never had to question me concerning any offence committed with them. This sentiment was expressed in verse by *the Belles' Victim*: [2]

The rose of the cheek and the eye that appeals,
The teeth which the lip like camellias reveals,
The locks which no ordered arrangement arrests
As they circle the head, the pomegranate-like breasts
Have left me a victim subdued by the fair,
And that is the cause of the name which I bear.

I would observe that this person has exposed a failing which God concealed, letting it be known that each time he saw a tempting object he annulled his repentance.[3] What has become of the Ṣūfic resolve to inure the soul to hardships? Further he foolishly supposes that only a guilty *act* is a sin; had he possessed any knowledge he would have known that association with them and gazing on them are sinful. Consider then what havoc ignorance effects with its possessors!

There is a tradition with a chain of transmitters according to which Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: I have been told that Abū-Muslim al-Khumshu'ī,[4] having gazed for a long time at a handsome lad, said: Good gracious, how eagerly does my eye rush to its own torture, how persistent it is in angering its Lord, how provocative it is to what is forbidden, and how delighted it is with what it has been warned against! Assuredly I have been looking at this lad with a gaze which I am sure will disgrace me among all my acquaintance at the Resurrection tribunals, and has left me ashamed before God even though He forgive me. He then collapsed.

There is also a tradition going back to Abū-Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd according to which he said: I heard Abu'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī[5] say: I saw a handsome lad in Baghdad and gazed on him, then wishing to

1. Accounts of him are given in the *Kashf* and *Kitāb Baghdād*, XIV, 314, without date This is given in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, p 279, as 304

2. Sobriquet of the poet Muslim b al-Walīd These verses are not found in his *Dīwān*, edited by de Goeje

3. The reference is to Yūsuf b al-Husain.

4. This name is probably corrupt.

5. A famous Ṣūfī His name was Ahmad b. Muhammad, died 295. There is a long account of him in the *Kitāb Baghdād*, Vol V, this story occurs on p. 132.

look again I said to him : Do you walk in the streets wearing creaking shoes ? He said : Bravo ! Do you use your learning for philandering ?[1]

Now every one who fails in knowledge is bewildered, and yet more so if he becomes possessed of knowledge but fails to act according to it. One who practises the rule of conduct given in the Code (*xxiv.* 30), *Tell the Believers to lower their gaze,* is secure at the start from what will ultimately prove difficult. The Code also forbids sitting with the beardless and learned men have enjoined the same. There is a tradition going back to Anas b. Mālik by a chain of transmitters according to which he said : The Prophet said : Sit not with the sons of kings, for the soul desires them more than it desires blooming maidens.—The same tradition in a slightly different wording is traced to Abū-Hurairah. There is another going back to ash-Sha'bī [2] according to which he said · The deputation of 'Abd-Qais came to the Prophet, having with them a conspicuously handsome lad. The Prophet seated this lad behind his back, saying : David's offence was gazing.

A tradition going back to Abū-Hurairah is to the effect that the Prophet forbade gazing intently on a beardless lad. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said : The danger to a wise man from a beardless lad is greater than that from a wild beast. A tradition going back by a chain to al-Ḥasan b. Dhakwān[3] is that the Prophet said : Sit not with the sons of the wealthy, for they have forms like those of women, and are more tempting than virgins. Another, going back by a chain to Muhammad b. Ḥimyar after an-Najīb as-Sarī,[4] is that the latter said : There was a saying that a man should not pass the night in a room with beardless lads. Another, adduced by the same person after 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abi's-Ṣā'ib after his father, that the last of these said I fear more for a devotee from a lad than from seventy virgins. Abū 'Alī ar-Rūdhbārī is reported to have said : I heard Junaid say : A man came to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal accompanied by a handsome lad. Aḥmad asked who he was. My son, said the man. Aḥmad said : Do not bring him with you another time. When the man rose to go Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān said to him (in the Khaṭīb's account " there was said to him ") God prosper the Shaikh ! He (the visitor) is a virtuous man, and his son even more so. Aḥmad replied : Their virtue does not affect our purpose in this matter. My conduct is that which I have seen my Shaikhs observe, and the same as they told us of their predecessors.

There is a tradition going back by a chain to Abū-Bakr al-Marwazī according to which Hasan al-Bazzāz[5] came to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal accom-

1 The reading of the *Kitāb Baghdād* has been followed The point of the dialogue is not very clear

2 'Amir b 'Abdallāh, 19—103, famous jurist and traditionalist

3 Of the second century untrustworthy according to the *Tahdhīb*

4 Several persons named M b Himyar and as-Sari are mentioned in the *Tahdhīb*

5 Probably this should be al-Bazzār, the person meant being al-Hasan b. Ṣabāh, of whom there is a biography in *Kitāb Baghdād,* VII, 330 He died in 249

panied by a handsome lad. Ahmad conversed with Ḥasan and when the latter wished to leave, Abū-'Abdallāh (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) said to him: Abū-'Alī, do not walk with this lad in the street. Ḥasan said to him: The lad is my sister's son. Even if he is, was Aḥmad's reply, do not occasion peoples's ruin. It is recorded of Shujā' b. Makhlad [1] that he heard Bishr b. al-Ḥārith [2] say: Beware of these young folk!

It is recorded that Fath al-Mauṣilī [3] said: I associated with thirty Shaikhs, regarded as *Abdāl*,[4] each one of whom on parting bade me to be on guard against conversing with young lads.

It is recorded that al-Ḥalabī was in the habit of saying: Salām the Black observed a man gazing at a lad, and said to him: My friend, guard your dignity with God, for you will retain it so long as you reverence Him. Also that Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ṭāhir was in the habit of saying: Whoso associates with lads falls into evil ways. Also that Abū-'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī said: A saying of Muẓaffar al-Qirmisīnī [5] was: If a man associates with lads on a basis of virtue and good counsel, still this leads to disaster. How much more so if one associates with them without such a basis?

The ancients went to extremes in avoiding the society of the beardless. We have already cited the tradition according to which the Prophet made the handsome youth sit behind him. There is a tradition going back to 'Aṭā' b. Muslim[6] according to which Sufyān would not allow any beardless lad to sit with him. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī recorded that Yaḥya b. Mu'īn[7] said: No beardless lad has aspired to my society. (According to Ahmad b. Ḥanbal he added, "in the street"). There is a tradition going back to Abū-Ya'qūb according to which he said: We were with Abū-Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith, when a girl, of unsurpassed beauty, stopped in front of him and asked him where the Ḥarb Gate[8] was. He said to her: This is the gate called Ḥarb Gate. Presently there came a lad, also of unsurpassed beauty, who asked the same question. The Shaikh lowered his head, and when the lad repeated the question, closed his eyes. We said to the lad, Come, what do you want? He said Ḥarb Gate. We told him it was in front of him. We observed to the Shaikh that when a girl had come to him, he had spoken and answered her, but when a lad came he had

1. 150-235 Biography in *Kitāb Baghdād*, IX, 251.

2. Famous ascetic known as the Barefoot Died 227 Biography *ibid*, VII, 67-80.

3. Died 220. Biography *ibid*, XII, 281

4 According to Massignon, *Lexique Technique*, p 112, "saints who succeed by permutation, constituting the spiritual pillars without whom the world would collapse" Their number in the *Kashf* is given as 40

5. Account of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 150, whence it can be inferred that he lived about 300 The saying given here is found there with an addition

6. Probably 'Aṭā' b Abī-Muslim, 50-135, is meant

7 158-233 Long account of him in the *Tahdhīb* An Ibrāhīm b. Hānī is mentioned in *Lisān al-Mīzān*.

8. A gate of Baghdād.

not spoken to him. He said, That is so. It is recorded that Sufyān ath-Thaurī said: A girl has one demon with her, but a lad has two, and I was afraid of the two demons with that lad.

There is a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak[1] according to which he said: Once when Sufyān had entered the bath there entered after him a handsome lad. Sufyān bade them remove him, saying: I can see one demon with every woman, but more than ten demons with every lad.—There is a tradition going back to Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi'l-Qāsim[2] according to which he said: We visited Muhammad b. al-Ḥusain, associate of Yaḥya b. Mu'īn of whom it was said that he had not lifted his head upwards for forty years. There was a lad with us in the room facing him; he bade the lad go and sit behind him instead of in front of him. There is a tradition going back to Abū-Umāma according to which he said: We were with a Shaikh teaching reading (of the Qur'ān), and when I wished to leave a lad, who was reading remained. The Shaikh, seizing my garment, begged me to wait till the lad had finished, being unwilling to be left alone with him. There is a tradition going back to Abū-'Alī ar-Rūdhbārī[3] according to which he said: I was asked by Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad the instructor whence the contemporary Ṣūfīs had got their practice of associating with lads. I said to him: You, sir, know more about them than I do; in many cases the association is harmless.—That is not so, he replied. We have seen people stronger in faith than they are, when they see a lad approach, fleeing like fugitives from a battlefield. This varies with the times, which cause the predominance of "states" on those who are subject to them, and diminish the natural control.[4] Truly the danger and the error are great!

Association with the young is one of the most powerful snares wherewith the devil tries to entrap the Sūfīs. We have been told by Ibn-Naṣir after Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī that the latter had heard Abū-Bakr ar-Rāzī say: Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain[5] said: I have studied people's misfortunes, and learned whence they have been assailed; and I find the misfortune of the Sūfīs to be in their association with the young, familiarity with those of different age,[6] and civility to women. There is a tradition going back to Ibn al-Faraj ar-Rustamī,[7] the Ṣūfī, according to which he said: I saw the devil in my sleep, and said to him: What think you of us? We have abandoned the world, its pleasures, and its goods, so you

1. 118-181 Account of him in the *Tahdhīb*.

2 Ar-Rudhbārī, see below.

3. Muhamhad b Ahmad b. al-Qāsim, died 323. Account of him in Sam'ānī

4. Tentative rendering.

5. Abū Ya'qūb ar-Rāzī, died 304 Long account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VI, 314-319

6. The text has a word meaning "contraries," what is meant here is shown by a passage in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 117.

7. Perhaps Abu'l-Qāsim al-Fadl b. al-Faraj al-Ahdab, mentioned by Sam'ānī, 252*b*, where another dream is recorded.

have no access to us. He replied: What think you of the content of your hearts resulting from listening to singing and associating with lads?

There is a tradition going back to Abū-Sa'īd al-Kharrāz according to which he said: I saw the devil in my sleep turning aside from me, and I bade him approach. He said: What can I do with you, who have cast off from your soul that wherewith I cajole mankind?—What, I asked, is that?—The world, he replied. But when he was departing he turned to me and said: Only you have one tender point.—I asked what it was. Association with lads, was his reply.—Abū-Sa'īd added: And few Ṣūfīs escape it.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued*).

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD

*Muslim Ladies Central Majlis :*

HER Royal Highness Princess Nafīsah Bēgum presided over the recent annual gathering of the Muslim Ladies Central Majlis, Hyderabad, at the Bashīr Bāgh Palace. She said, in the course of her presidential address, that the life of the Holy Prophet is the only criterion by which we can and must judge our progress or deterioration. Referring to the enthusiastic and painstaking working of Christian missionaries, she asked whether there was a single Muslim lady who could be compared with them and we could be proud of her ? According to her, it was the Islamic principles of work and morality which have been adopted by the present day progressive nations and neglected by the declining Muslim peoples. As a remedy, she suggested that the Arabic language should be popularized among Muslim girls of Hyderabad, so that they could have direct approach to their religious commands unmixed with superstitions,—and she paid a warm tribute to the work of the Arabic school founded by the Majlis, which is working under Maḥbūb-un-Nisā' Bēgam,—and to train poor girls in handicraft and other industrial pursuits. In this connection, H.R.H. the Princess praised the work of three centres already established by the Majlis for this purpose in three localities of the Hyderabad City.

*New Year Celebration* :

The 1st of Azur, the new year day of the local calendar, was celebrated this year, with Hon. the Municipal and Public Health Member in the chair. The royal message, received at the institution of the day several years ago, was recited, and a resolution of unswerving loyalty on the part of the citizens of the metropolis, irrespective of castes and creeds, was passed under great acclamations. Among the speakers, all the political parties and religious communities were represented.

*Cultural and Industrial Exhibition* :

The Eighth Annual Exhibition was opened this year also on the 1st of

Dhul-Ḥijjah by H.E.H. the Nizam in person. The exhibition has now become a national institution thanks to the youthful and enthusiastic enterprise of the Osmania graduates. Among many novelties, the Deccan culture, the literary product of the Osmania alumni, the Deccan fine arts and many other sections were of abiding interest. The organizers have published an analytical catalogue of the literary work, printed as well as manuscript, of the sons of the Osmania University, and the third edition shows considerable technical improvement as also collection of data.

*Osmania University Extension Lectures :*

Principal Asaf Fyzee of the Law College, Bombay, delivered a set of extension lectures during the trimester under review. One of his lecture was entitled " Future of Islamic Studies in India " He argued that in order to raise the standard of Indian scholarship, it was necessary that Universities in India paid greater attention to teaching of foreign languages, especially German and French among European languages and Turkish among Islamic ones besides the usual Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Again, in order to acquire proficiency in a language, it was necessary to study its philology and its allied and cognate languages, and hence Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic were indispensable for the correct interpretation of the words even of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth.

Principal Fyzee was entertained at a select gathering of the local Islamists, and it was related to him that German or French or Hebrew was compulsory in the Osmania University M.A. (Arabic), and that the Senate of the same University has resolved to create a chair for Turkish as soon as practicable. That, there was provision in the Osmania University not only for Arabic, Persian and Urdu literatures, up to Ph. D. class, but also Islamic philosophy, Islamic history and the unique and full-fledged Theology Faculty where Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Fiqh and Kalām are taught along with English and Arabic, which are compulsory and of the same standard as for the students of the Arts Faculty.

The Board of the Theology Faculty has passed a resolution to publish a descriptive booklet on the Theology Faculty and its achievements during the last quarter century.

The Dean of the Theology Faculty, Dr. Nāẓir Yār Jung, has moved the University authorities to strengthen the religious education, which is compulsory in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions from primary schools up to B.A. and B.Sc. classes; and for that purpose the method of teaching theology should be included in the optionals of the Dip. Ed. course, and provision made for it in the Training College as soon as possible. He has pointedly drawn attention of the authorities to the recent British legislation and quoted from a Government report which is remarkably

identical with the proposals he had already made :—

THE REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT

The President of the Board of Education has presented a programme of educational reconstruction to Parliament by command of His Majesty.

In paragraph 36 of the Report it is laid down that ' there has been a very general wish, not confined to representatives of the Churches, that religious education should be given a more defined place in the life and work of schools, springing from the desire to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in our national tradition. The Church, the family, the local community and the teacher all have their part to play in imparting religious instruction to the young.'

The Report in paragraph 37 further says that ' in order to emphasize the importance of the subject provision will be made for the school day in all primary and secondary schools to begin with a corporate act of worship.'

In paragraph 39 it is laid down that ' in country schools the religious instruction will be in accordance with the agreed syllabus, examples of which are already in use in many areas. A provision will be made for such a syllabus to be drafted by those who can speak for the Church of England, the Free Churches, the teachers and the authority.'

In paragraph 41 it further lays down that ' the value of teaching depends on the availability of suitable teachers. To ensure a steady flow of persons willing and competent to give this instruction it has been decided to include this subject among the subjects in which a student can obtain a pass in the *teachers' certificate examination.*'

In paragraph 42 it says that ' hitherto the most economic use of teaching power has been prevented by the statutory limitations on the times at which religious instruction may be given. These restrictions will no longer be imposed. Similarly, the statutory prohibition forbidding His Majesty's inspectors to inspect this subject will be removed but their inspection will be limited to the agreed syllabus of instruction.'

*Institute of International Affairs :*

A branch of the Indian Institute of International Affairs was opened in Hyderabad, in October last, in the presence of Hon. Sir Sulṭān Aḥmad, chairman of the Delhi centre. It is a purely non-official organization and aims at studying and creating popular interest in international affairs. His Excellency the President of the Council has consented to become its honorary president, and Mr. 'Abdul-Qādir of the Economics Department of the Osmania University has been elected its secretary.

Besides the Delhi centre, there have already been opened branches in Bombay and Lahore, before Hyderabad.

*Pilgrimage*:

After six years of suspense, due to war conditions, the government of Hyderabad have again sent the official Qāfilah of pilgrims to Mecca this year. Though the expenses have risen almost fivefold, some seventy persons have left this year under official supervision. It is a centuries-old tradition in Hyderabad that the ruler despatches several poor people, on State expense, every year, for pilgrimage. Ordinarily about 500 persons go to Ḥajj yearly from Hyderabad.

A curiosity of Indian pilgrims this year was Shāh Ṣabāhī Aḥmad, an old religious leader of Sahasrām (Bihār), who left his district for Hajj on foot twelve years ago. At every five steps, he celebrated a religious service (Ṣalāt) of two Rak'ats. So far he traversed 1500 miles in India and intended to continue his journey to Mecca on foot, but his old and sick mother having asked him to return early, he has left Karachi by the first boat sailing this year.

*Tīpū Sulṭān Day*:

The personality of Tīpū Sultān is gaining greater respect and popularity day by day. This year the Tīpū Sultān Day was observed on 27th Dhu'l-Qa'dah (3rd November) on an All-India plan, even non-Muslims associated themselves with the celebration. So, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariya, ex-Premier of Madras sent a message to the Seringapatam Committee, regarding Ḥaidar 'Alīy Khān and Tīpū Sultān, the immortal sons of India, who have not only been pillars of bravery in the struggle for independent existence, but also of toleration and religious broadmindedness. There are in fact scores of Hindu temples which were granted lands by these rulers of Mysore, especially Tīpū, and these royal ukases are preserved up to this day. Communal tension and foreign calumny should not hinder us from recognizing their towering personalities.

*General*:

A Jamīy'at 'Ulamā'-e-Hind existed in India since many years, but of late it had been leaning towards party politics of India instead of the religious guidance of Indian Muslims without reference to political schools. The lamentable consequence was inevitable that a rival Jamīy'at 'Ulamā-e-Islām be founded. The former sides with the Indian National Congress and the new one with the Muslim League and its Pākistān policy.

There is also a provincial Jamīy'at 'Ulamā' of Bengal, yet the new All-India body was established on 1st of Sha'bān 1364. It aims at the propagation of Islamic teaching and its enforcement among Indian Muslims by establishing Qāḍī courts, posts of Muftī, Muḥtasib and boards for

"commanding for the good and preventing from the evil" (الامر بالمعروف والنهى عن المنكر), and supporting the Pākistān movement in India.

Under its auspices, an All-India Conference was convened in Calcutta from 26th to 28th October, and was attended by 700 'Ulamā' from all parts of India. The deliberations were divided into the following sections :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Public Affairs and Islamic Politics, | *Chairman* : | Ghulām Murshid of Lahore Big Mosque. |
| 2. | Preaching and Propagation of Islam | ,, | Nazīr Ahmad Thānawī. |
| 3. | Civilisation and Culture of Islam | ,, | Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Siyalkot. |
| 4. | Mystic Orders | ,, | Saiyid Shāh Sadīduddīn of Dera Ghāzī Khān. |
| 5. | Philosophy and Intellectual Side of Islam | ,, | Dr. Zafar Ḥasan of Delhi. |
| 6. | Education and Schools | ,, | Prof. 'Abdul-Hakīm, Dacca. |
| 7. | Protection of the Honour of the Prophet, (mainly against the *Satyārth Prakāsh* of the Aryasamaj) | ,, | Ẓafar 'Alīy Khān, of Lahore. |

M. H.

## DECCAN

*The Dagger of an Early Malaya Conqueror :*

DR. H. Goetz has described a dagger with suitable reproductions, which is at present preserved in the Baroda State Museum, Baroda (*Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. I, Pt. II). He has based his description on an inscription found on the dagger. Dr. Goetz has very ably devoted about a dozen of pages in discussing the history of the Muslim conquest of Malaya. He says : "Islam had reached Malaya and the Archipelago at an early date. Already in the 8th century Muslim traders from Hadramut, Coromandel and Ceylon had been well acquainted with the kingdom of Zabāj (Srivijaya). Muslim colonies were to be found side by side with Chinese settlements in most parts.—Many details of the agitated Hindu history of Indonesia still are doubtful.—But so much has been ascertained that the small original Hindu colonies were in the second half of the 7th century united in the mighty empire of the Sailendras which survived for seven centuries, until A.D. 1377.—In 1411 the 'Parameswara'—his name is not known to the present day—was acknowledged as a vassal by

the emperor of China. His son, Raja Kechil Besar—Muḥammad Iskandar 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Mu'aẓẓam Shāh (1313-24), the possessor of our dagger, was the first ruler of Malacca. ' Paramesvara ' must have been a Hindu, but it seems that already under his rule Islam had become strong. For the Chinese traveller Ma-Huan who visited Malacca in 1413 reports that the people 'revered the doctrine of the Muslims, observing their fasts and penances.' Malik-aṣ-Ṣālih, Sulṭān of Pasai in Sumatra (died 1309) had already set the example, and Muḥammad Iskandar seems to have been a Muslim already when he succeeded his father, for Ma-Huan describes him as ' wearing a white turban, a fine green flowered robe and leather shoes, *i.e.*, a costume of Muslim style. Though tradition says that a dream induced Muḥammad Iskandar to become a Muslim, political motives seem to have played a considerable role in his conversion. For neither his internal nor his external political position can have been very strong. For Malacca lay on territory claimed by Siam. And Majapathi, though divided between queen Suhita and her consort Vikramavardhana, and the rebellious Bhra Daha, was still formidable. Like his father, Muḥammad Sikandar sought the protection of the Chinese, and himself went with his whole family to the imperial court (1419-21) But it must have seemed advisable to him to have a nearer ally. This was the likewise new Sultanate of Pasai. Muḥammad married a princess who soon afterwards persuaded him to become a Muslim and to be instructed by Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz But apparently the Hindu opposition thus created remained formidable. For the fact that his successor Muhammad Shāh (1424-44), although likewise a pupil of Sayyid 'Abdul-'Azīz and married to a half-caste Muslim lady, was chiefly known as ' Sri Maharaja,' and the son of the latter from a princess of Rokan (Sumatra), Rāja Ibrāhīm, as ' Sri Paramesvara Deva Shah ' (1444-46), reveals that after the death of Muhammad Iskandar a Hindu reaction had won the upper hand reducing Islam from a State to a private affair of the ruler. First under Muẓaffar Shāh (1446-58) not only Islam definitely became the State religion but also Malacca became the champion of Muslim supremacy in Indonesia."

*Has the Tārīk̲h-i-Muẓaffar Shāhī reached us ?*

Under this title Mr. C.H. Shaikh has contributed a small article to the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna's recent issue. As it directly deals with our Western Indian Muslim history's one of the most important incidents of the reign of Sulṭān Muẓaffar of Gujarat (A.H. 916-932), therefore we feel it necessary to clear here with reference to the *Islamic Culture*, April, 1944, p. 213, item *Sources of the Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*. Mr. Shaikh asserts that its name as *Tārīk̲h-i-Muẓaffar Shāhī* occurs in the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* belonging to the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and it was not known to scholars. Accordingly, the writer, in his article *Sources of the Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* has already pointed out about this

*Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffar Shāhī*, (vide *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Bombay, January 1944) and he says: " This brief account composed by poet Qāni'ī—who has expressed his motive in its preface to describe the *Fatḥ-i-Qal'a-i-Shādīābād.*" The printed edition of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* quotes one *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī* for this very particular incident of the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II, while the M.S. of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* in the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, No. 195, ff. 108-9, bears the mention of one *Muẓaffar Shāhī*. Besides, the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī* (i, 54) being a much later compilation, also cites one *Muẓaffar Shāhī*. In these circumstances we gather that at least one compilation under the name of *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffar Shāhī* existed which has been utilised by the later writers.

*Deccan Muslim History and Culture*:

The writer of these activities had the pleasant opportunity to see some original MSS and miniatures in the Library of Nawab Ṣadr Yar Jung Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Khān Shērwānī at his residence Ḥabīb Ganj (Aligadh). The following two items specially concerning our Deccan Muslim history and culture had interested us very much.

(*a*) A Manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*.

Its fly page bears :—

جلد اول صحیح بخاری بخط نسخ عرب در آخر کتاب خط حضرت الاستاد عفیف الدین گاروونی

جلد سیاه و برنج سرخ و حدول طلا نو بسته بادیه فتح شهر محمد آباد المعروف بدار جمع کتابخانه معمور

عالم پناه ابراهیم عادل شاه خلد ملکه سنه ۹ سعدان ۱۰۲۸—

" First volume of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*—In Arabic Naskh characters. Calligraphed by the great traditionist 'Afīfu'd-Dīn Gāzrūnī. Its binding is black and orange-red and bears newly drawn margins in gold. An account of the conquest of the city of Muhammadābād known as Bīdar, on 9th Sha'bān, year 1028 A.H. (22nd July 1619 A.D.), it was added to the library of the Asylum of the World, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, may his kingdom perpetuate. "

Its colophon runs thus :—

هذا خط اقل عباد الله عفیف الدین بن سعید بن مسعود بن محمد بن مسعود الگاروونی باب الله علیه

وغفر لوالد یه والحمد لله رب العالمین. . . . . وکان ذلک بمدینه . . . . . اواسط ربیع الاول سنه

سبعین و سبعمائه

" Transcribed by the humble 'Afīfu'd-Dīn, son of Sa'īd, son of Mas'ūd, son of Muḥammad, son of Mas'ūd, al-Gāzrūnī—completed by the middle of Rabī' I, year seven hundred and seventy-eight (3rd July 1376 A.D.). "

(*b*) The other Manuscript is of حوارق بنده نواز the *Miracles of the Bandeh-Nawāz of Gulbarga.* Its introduction begins thus :—

اما بعد عرضه میدارد بندهٔ محب . . . . . عبد العزیز بن سیر ملک بن محمد واعظی که باسارت حضرت مرید و معتقد مرضوی و قدوی بالتحقیق نبوی الموید بتائید الرحمن الغنی السلطان ابن السلطان ابوالمظفر علاء الدنیا والدین احمد شاه ابن احمد شاه الولی البهمنی خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه است ـ مسند عالی مسند وزارت خداوند منصب . . . . . وزارت فخر ملا د . . . . . نظام الملک و ملک خان جهان سخاعت زبدهٔ عالم . . . . . ولادت و فطنت حضرت قطب المسائخ سر ورسروران سر فراز برگزیده حضرت بے نیاز خواجه صدرالدین ابوالفتح الولی الا کبر الصادق سند محمد الحسینی الملقب بگیسو دراز نورالله مضجع و مرقده . . . . . معمولات و تالیف وحوارق و کرامات دین داری وحالات ـ محضر منحصر کرده باهر طالبے صادق مطالعه کند الح

From these two items particularly concerning the Deccan we can easily conclude that from the very early days since the Musalmans conquered the Deccan, Islamic literature and Muslim savants began to flourish under the patronage of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan. It also shows that they had very nice up-to-date libraries. Similarly at Kalyani, which is an estate in the Nizam's Dominions, there is a very fine library, very ably kept in the fort. The main feature of this library is Mughal and Deccani miniatures of a very high order. Particularly one of them is of the Chānd Bībī which may be regarded the gem of the Kalyani collection. It is of a large size 45 into 30 inches. It has already received the attention of a scholar like Mr. G. Yazdānī who wrote a note on it. Other miniatures are of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Nawab Ṣādiq Khān by Mīr Qāsim. etc. etc. And among the Persian MSS. worthy of note are :—

(*a*) *Dārāb Nāma,* which was presented in the house of Mīrzā Nūrullāh;

(*b*) Khusrau's *Dēwal Rānī* or *'Ishqiya* which belonged to the library of Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, and it was purchased for his library on 14th Dhu'l-Ḥejja, year 1034.

(*c*) *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī* by 'Afīf.

(*d*) *Dīwān* of 'Urfī with an introduction, dated 1074 A.H. and others. In short, this whole valuable collection is kept in the fort under the care of Maulavī 'Aṭā'ullāh of Kalyani. We have noted here only those which attracted us in our short visit to this library.

M.A.C.

## DELHI

*Sā'il Dehlawī :*

Literary circles all over India have mourned the death of Abu'l-Mu'aẓẓam Nawāb Mīrzā Sirāj-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Sā'il Dehlawī.

Delhi has lost not only a famous Urdu poet but also a most picturesque figure. Tall and handsome, with a European complexion and silvery locks and beard, dressed like a Mughal noble of the eighteenth century, Sā'il was the last link between the modern capital of India and the old world. He was a scion of the house of Lohārū who are Mughals by race and who still maintain the polish and culture of their ancestors. Sā'il was the grandson of Nawāb Ḍiyā-ud-Dīn Khān Naiyar, a famous contemporary of the great Ghālib. Students of history are familiar with the name of Sā'il's grandfather, because Elliot was indebted to him for a number of manuscripts which he translated in the *History of India as told by its own Historians* The *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī* in the Elliot collection in the British Museum is in Nawāb Ḍiyā'-u'd-Dīn's handwriting. Sā'il was a pupil of Dāgh and also his son-in-law. In his poetry Sā'il followed the style of his teacher and was known for writing the simple, crisp and sweet language of Delhi. He has a large collection of Ghazals to his credit, mostly scattered and some even unpublished. He also had finished the major portion of a historical romance in Mathnawī form dealing with Nūr Jahān and Jahāngīr. Sā'il was born in 1865, so that he lived for eighty years, but during the last few years he had been an invalid and was a pathetic figure being pushed about in his private rickshaw. People shared with him his great grief, when during this war his only son Captain Niẓām-ud-Dīn was snatched away from him by death. Sā'il bore the loss bravely, but he was never the same again. Before he grew too old, Sā'il had been fond of riding and polo ; he was an excellent player of billiards ; sport always interested him. He had a warm heart and a kindly, affectionate nature. The writer of these lines, as an undergraduate partook in a college Mushā'irah and as a part of his Ghazal read the following couplet —

صف ماتم بچھے گی میکدہ میں میرے مرنے پر  بہائے گی کسی کی جسم میگوں نیلی لہو رسوں

Sā'il at once exclaimed, " You children, must not write verses like this : such couplets when recited by the young lacerate the hearts of us, older men ! " Bowed down by grief and informity, Sā'il expressed his thoughts well in the following couplet :

خواب لحدمے ترسکوں ، قید حیات سے نالم  موت نہ کیوں ہو طعنہ زن زندگی دراز پر

May his soul now get the peace for which it had been yearning for some time !

*Maulavī Iḥtishām-ud-Dīn* :

Delhi also mourned the death of Maulavī Iḥtishām-ud-Dīn who collaborated with Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaq in compiling the Urdu dictionary. He also translated *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ* into Urdu verse and wrote a number of learned articles.

*A Popular Translation of the Qur'ān :*

Miyān Ḥafīz-ur-Raḥmān, M.A., Principal, Panjabi Islamia Higher Secondary School, Delhi, is doing excellent work by writing popular tracts on Islam. His latest work is the translation in Urdu of the second half of *Āl-i-'Imrān* in the series *Kalām-ullāh* with a simple commentary. It is his intention to publish the translation of the entire Qur'ān with a similar commentary. The first part has 112 pages of close lithograph and is moderately priced at twelve annas. Principal Ḥafīẓ-ur-Rahmān has published some other tracts and illuminating articles on various aspects of Islam.

*Periodicals :*

The *Burhān* has maintained the excellence of its standard. Maulānā Sayyid Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī has concluded his learned article on the codification of Muslim law ; and there are notable articles on the philosophy of unitarianism, ancient history and Ḥadrat Shāh Walī-ullāh's translation of the Qur'ān by various authors.

*Hamārī Zabān* has published a thoughtful article on various spelling mistakes which have crept into Urdu. This article also suggests certain reforms in orthography. The controversy regarding the simplification of Urdu spelling has evoked valuable contributions defending the present system. The Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs contains an article by Dr. I.H. Qureshi who has joined issues with Lt.-Col. Wheeler on the question of the adoption of the Latin script by the Middle Eastern languages and has produced weighty arguments in favour of the retention of the Arabic script. There is also an article on the Persian Gulf by J.B. Howes.

I.H.Q.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

A BRANCH of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu for Assam was opened at Sylhet in the third week of September, 1945, with a view to urge upon the Muslims of the province to learn Urdu. Khān Ṣāḥib Dīwān Muhammad Ahbāb Chowdhury, who is an ardent advocate of learning and culture, and a reputed scholar of Assam, has been elected President of the Anjuman. Khan Bahadur the Hon'ble Maulavī Say'īd-ur-Raḥmān, the Minister for Education of Assam, heartily welcomed the formation of a branch of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu in the province and in a congratulatory message observed :—" Urdu is one of the richest languages of India and the Osmania University of Hyderabad-Deccan has

adequately shown how education in all its stages, both in arts and science can be successfully imparted through the medium of Urdu. Urdu bids fair to be the lingua franca of Independent India. It is therefore considered essential that all possible steps should now be taken to popularise the learning of Urdu all over India." The Hon'ble Maulavī Munawar 'Alī, Minister for Forest in his message appreciated the laudable efforts of the workers of the Anjuman and said :—" The Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-e-Urdu of Assam will remove the handicap which was rendering cultural contacts of the Muslims of the rest of India with those of Assam increasingly difficult." We also believe that the opening of a branch of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu in Assam is undoubtedly a step in the right direction and needs encouragement. For a common language amongst the Muslims of India will help greatly to evolve a common test and a common trend of thought in their different spheres of life.

The Dacca University proposes to bring out the Persian text of the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī* by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Isfahānī *alias* Mīrzā Nāthan. The author was also an able and efficient Mughal general, who rendered splendid services in expanding the Mughal empire in North-Eastern India during Jahāngīr's reign. He bore too the title of Shitāb Khān and adopted the pen-name of Ghaybī, hence the work is named, *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*, which was compiled in 1041 A.H. (1632 A.D.), the fifth year of Shāh Jahān's accession. It gives a wealth of details about the wars of the Mughal emperors with the chiefs of Bengal, the Ahoms, the Kuches, the Kacharis, the Afghans of Sylhet, the hill-tribes of Assam and the Rājas of Tippera and Arakan. It is divided into four Daftars (sections) each treating at length the various events happened during the period of different governors who governed Bengal in Jahāngīrs' reign. The first section (Daftar) having twelve chapters termed as a Dāstān or story, narrates the governorship of Islām Khān, hence it is named *Islām Nāma*. The second Daftar consisting of eight Dāstāns describes the administration of Qāsim Khān. This portion is not named after Qāsim Khān, and this was due to the strained relation which the author had with Qāsim Khān. The third Daftar, containing six Dāstāns, and named *Ibrāhīm Nāma* delineates the rule of Ibrāhīm Khān. The fourth Daftar comprising three Dāstāns and entitled *Wāqi'āt-i-Jahān Shāhī* presents an exhaustive account of the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which Prince Khurram (afterward Shāh Jahān) usurped in his father's lifetime. The entire work is in the nature of personal memoirs, so it is written in a simple and easy style. A photograph copy of it obtained from the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris is in the Dacca University Library. Its English translation was rendered in two volumes by Dr. M.I. Borah (now deceased), formerly Head of the Department of Persian and Urdu in the University of Dacca, and published in 1936 by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, Gauhati. But the original Persian text was badly needed. So its immediate publication will be keenly awaited. A similar work dealing with military operations in

Cooch Bihar and Assam in 1662-63 A.D. under the leadership of Khān-Khānān Muḥammad Sa'īd Ardistānī, otherwise styled Mīr Jumla, is written by an eye-witness of the campaign, Ibn Muḥammad Walī Aḥmad commonly called Shihāb-ud-Dīn Tābish. It was published by the Āftāb-i-'Ālamtāb Press, Calcutta in 1849 A.D. But the printed text is no longer available. A long abstract of it was given by Mr. Blochmann in the *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1872, part I, No. I, pp. 64-96 . But its manuscripts exist in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vide its cat. p. 48, Nos. 157, 158) and India Office Library (cat. p. 130, Nos. 341, 342, 343) and Oriental Public Library, Bankipore (cat. Vol. VII, Nos. 573, 574, pp. 82-85). The manuscript is invariably known as *Tārīkh-i-Asham or Tārīkh Mulk-i-Asham or 'Ajīb Gharība* or *Fathiyya-i-'Ibratiyya* or *Fathiyya-i-'Ibriyya*. A continuation of this work, which relates the events down to Buzurg Ummīd Khan's victorious entry into Chatgaon (Chittagong) in 1666 A.D. is in the Bodleian Library (cat. Vol. I, p. 124, No. 240), Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has given a long extract of this book in his *Studies in Mughal India.*

The *Morning News*, a Muslim daily of Calcutta, has, as usual brought out its 'Id Number ' which has the following articles of our interest :—

(1) *Urdu in our Universities* in which Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥaq, D.Litt., gives a learned discourse how Urdu was made the subject of varying fortunes during the course of British educational policy in India. This led to the disastrous consequence of moulding the conquered people in the culture and civilization of the conquering nation. The learned writer, therefore, advocates the cause of Urdu as the medium of instruction in universities by saying that " We should banish for ever from our mind the fear that our language is unable to interpret higher thought and learning. In fact a language never fails. It is those who speak the language that really fail." He also wants an Urdu university to be established at an early stage.

(2) *Landscape Architecture of the Mughals* by Miss Waḥīda 'Azīz is a brief but lucid and interesting survey of the royal gardens founded by the Mughal emperors. Bābar commemorated his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī by establishing a large garden called the Kābul Bāgh at Pānīpat. And then he planted suitable gardens in every corner of Agra. Ram Bāgh of Agra is now the only garden associated with his name. It is said to have obtained its Hindu name from the Marhattas in the 18th century. Zohrā Bāgh is another garden in Agra, named after one of Bābar's daughters. It contained the largest garden palace and possessed no less than sixty wells, one of which was 220 ft. in circumference. Humāyūn had a floating garden on the Jumna. Fatehpur Sīkrī rose to be a great garden city under Akbar, who also constructed the Nasīm Bāgh in Kashmir. Jahāngīr planted Dilkushā Garden at Shahdara in Lahore, Nishāt Bāgh, Shālīmār Bāgh, Achibal and Verinag Bagh in Kashmir, the Royal Garden at Udaipur, the Garden Tomb of I'timād-ud-Dowlah at

Agra, and Wah Bagh at Ḥasan Abdāl. Nūr Jahān laid out the ' Garden of Delight ' at Shahdara in Lahore, where she buried her royal husband. This, according to the writer, has been called the Versailles of the Punjab. The exquisite gardens, which form an inseparable part of the general lay-out of the magnificent mausoleum, are emblematic of Shāh Jāhan's æsthetic fancy. The Roshan Ārā Garden at Delhi, constructed by his daughter is still a retreat of greenness, of glowing bougainvillea and water reflections. The writer makes her readers believe quite rightly that these 'gardens mirror the outlook and taste of their builders in a truly elegant style.'

(3) *Arab Ambassadors to China* is a chapter translated from Dabry Thiersant's *Mohametanism en Chine* by K. M. A. Ghaffār. This article shows that the first relation between China and Arabia started during the dynasty of Tsin while the political reports concerning the two countries date only from the dynasty of Tsang about the year 650 or 651 A.D., when Yezdejerd III, king of Persia, after waging wars for ten years, followed and tracked incessantly by the Arabs, ended his life by being killed near Merv on the Oxus. The annexation of Māwarā-un-Nahr in 713 is an important event in the history of Islam in China, for it is from this time that the establishment of Islam dates in Khwarizm, which later on became the kingdom of Hoey-Hoey or the Chinese Muhammadans. In 724 Caliph Hishām sent an ambassador to the emperor of China with presents among which were horses and belts. When the ambassador was introduced to the emperor, he refused to perform the ceremony of Koteos, which consisted of kneeling and bending the head down to the ground, and said that a true Muslim kneels only before God, the King of kings. In 738 Caliph Hishām sent to the Chinese emperor another envoy, who was honoured with the title of Ko-y and also a red cloak and a magnificent belt. In 794 Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd sent to China three ambassadors named Ḥamzah, Chapon, and Ouky. The Chinese emperor gave Ḥamzah (Muphty-Chah) the title of Tchang Lang Hiang along with many presents. Two Arab ambassadors are mentioned in the history of Tsang from 960 to 1280 A.D. In the reign of Hieun Tsang (1436) an Arab ambassador named Cha-Sien brought to the emperor some presents among which were a few lions. This seems to be the last political mission from Arabia after which no trace of any other Arab mission is to be found in the history of ancient China.

(4) Under the Caption, *The Excellent Dewan*, a writer describes the various political, social and educational activities of Faḍl Rubbī who served as the Dīwān of Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad till 1914. He belonged to a very illustrious family. One of his ancestors Khwāja Ḍiyā'-ud-Dīn was a saint and a contemporary of Niẓām-ud-Dīn Awliyā'. He settled at Kara Manikpore near Allahabad. His son Khwāja Sīrāj-ud-Dīn was appointed by Sulṭān Ghiyāṯh-ud-Dīn of Bengal as the Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt. It was he who dragged the Sulṭān to the dock by asserting that under Muslim laws the king was not the fountain of justice and that he

could be brought under the law like any of his subjects. His grandson Shāh 'Azīz Allāh was the chief disciple and successor of Nūr Quṭb-ud-Dīn the celebrated saint of Bengal, who, with the help of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpore compelled Raja Kans to abdicate in favour of his son. The latter adopted Islam and ruled as Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn. The titles of 'Azīz-ul-Millat-wad-Dīn and the hereditary title of Khondkar, shortened form of Khudāwandkar, were conferred on 'Azīzullāh. His grandson Shāh Quṭb-ud-Dīn, one of the most learned men of his time, was given the title of Ḥaqqānī. He is also the author of a book on Ṣūfism entitled *Masā'il-ul-Mashā'ikh*, which is still preserved in the family. Under the East India Company the members of the family held the posts of the Muftīs of the Supreme Court of Judicature and the courts of Ṣadr Dīwānī and Niẓāmat 'Adālat. One of them Maulavī Muhammad Rashīd, who was Qādī-ul-Qudāt of the Ṣadr Dīwanī 'Adālat, Calcutta, translated the *Hidāya* into Persian, and this was re-translated into English by Sir William Jones. Fadl Rubbī was himself a scholar. He wrote *Origin of the Musalmāns of Bengal, Life of Meer Ja'far, History of Murshidabad State* (from Murshid Qulī Khān to Farīdūn Jāh, the last Nāzim), *Genealogy of the Nāẓims, Ra'ıs, Ra'īyat* (a treatise on the land tenure system in Bengal) and *History of Khondkar Family*. He compiled also *Letters of Mubārak-ud-Dawlah*. The only two books which were published by him were the *History of Khondkar Family*, and *Origin of the Musalmāns of Bengal*. The latter book was written in a contradiction to Mr. Risley's ' *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*,' in which it was shown that the Bengal Muslims were converts from low caste Hindus.

J. C. Houpert, S. J., a Christian missionary, writes a chapter entitled ' The Muslim Peril ' in his book, *The Catholic Church History* which is prescribed in some educational institutions of Calcutta. In this chapter he makes some disparaging mis-statements against Islam and the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!). These misleading remarks have attracted the notice of a renowned Muslim scholar of the U. P., and he has given a spirited reply to each and all the allegations made by the Christian author. We will deal here only with one or two of these allegations. The Christian author wrote that ' when asked to show supernatural signs in proof of his mission,' he (the Prophet) would answer ' God has sent me not to work miracles but to preach and to fight.' He has authenticated his version by asking his readers to refer to Qur'ān 13,17c. The Muslim scholar seriously challenges the accuracy of this statement by asserting that the Holy Qur'ān does not contain such a verse as bears the above meaning. He then writes :

In the Thirteenth Chapter *Ar-Ra'd* (Thunder) the seventh and not the seventeenth verse, runs as follows :—' And those who disbelieve say : Why has not a sign been sent down upon him from his Lord ? You are only a Warner ( نذر ) and a guide for every people. There is no word in this verse, which shows that the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!) declined to show supernatural signs by saying that God had sent

him to fight. It may be that in some translation of the Holy Qur'ān مذر , which means Warner has been translated in the sense of a terror or a frightener, who may invite war. But مذر in Arabic signifies a person who tells the future miseries and at the same time makes people ready to avoid these miseries by some means, just as a physician after examining the conditions and symptoms of a patient warns him of the future danger by saying that if he (the patient) does not try to improve his condition, he will develop such and such diseases. So, انذار has in it no sense of 'fight' or 'war.' It means warning of divine punishment to be inflicted in the next world on people who do not accept the message of Islam and act accordingly. This word occurs in many verses of the Holy Qur'ān and conveys one and the same meaning. For example in Surah 'Az-Zumar' (The Troops) we find that an angel in the Day of Resurrection will say to those who are driven to hell in groups : "Did not there come in you a messenger from among you, reciting to you the revelation of your Lord and warning ( ينذرونكم ) you of the meeting of this your Day?" (Section 8 : 71). Is the field of the Day of Resurrection of a battle-field ? Again in Sūrah An-Nāzi'āt (Those who drag forth) we have : "You are but a warner ( مذر ) to him, who would fear it (the Day of Resurrection)" (Section 2 : 45). In this verse too we have the word ( مذر ) having the same significance. Again in Sūrah Yāsīn there are : "And it is alike to them whether you warn them or warn them not ( انذرتهم ) they do not believe. You can only warn ( تنذر ) him who follows the reminder and fears the Beneficent God in secret, so announce to him forgiveness and honourable reward." (Section 1 : 10 : 11) Is this warning ( انذار ) a declaration of war ? And is he, who announces forgiveness and honourable reward, a seeker of fight and war ? The Holy Qur'ān says again : "And there is not a people but a warner ( نذير ) has gone among them (XXXV : 24). A prophet was sent to every people. He warned them of punishment for their evil and sinful actions and inculcated in them the fear of God. Is this an ultimatum to fight ? So this discussion will show that انذار means 'to make aware,' 'to inform' and to warn of the punishment for evil action. This word does not at all carry the meaning of fight or war. Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!) of course refused sometimes to indulge in miracles. He asked the people plainly to judge the truth of Islam by their wisdom and intelligence rather than be led away superficially by some extraordinary exhibition of the supernatural. But it is not a fact that the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him! ) always declined to show supernatural signs. The Holy Qur'ān, which in itself is the grandest miracle, describes the various supernatural deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him !). Some of these are 'the rending asunder of the Moon,' 'the phenomenal victories of the battles of Badr and Ditches' as well as the prophetical references of the conquest of Rūm. Prophet Muhammad (Peace be on him !) appealed to the inner consciousness of man, to his reason and not to his weakness or credulity. Christ also did not like to resort to the miraculous to assert his influence or

enforce his warnings. So he also declined to perform any miracle when asked to do so. In the New Testament we read:" Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying : Master we would see a sign from thee. But he answered and said unto them : " An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas ." (S. Matthew, 12 : 39). And again : " And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit and saith, Why doth this generation seek after a sign ? Verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation. (S. Mark 8 : 11, 12). These quotations from the Holy Bible, the present text of which has clothed the revered figure of Jesus in a mist by describing so many of his superhuman actions, is an obvious proof of the fact that prophets can work miracles but they decline to provide a command performance demanded by miracle-seeking heathens. For according to the Divine Laws, demonstration of such peremptory supernatural signs leads to the destruction of the unbelieving host and lukewarm spirits. So miracles were performed at their appointed times, and requests to perform were simply ignored.

Another objection by the Christian author is that " Islam was nothing new, only an amalgam of principles and facts borrowed from Jewish and Christian sources." The Muslim scholar retorts thus : Christ also had to deal with the same kind of objection, so he told the people, " Think not that I am come to destroy the law (*i.e.*, Torah) or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one title shall in no wise pass from the law (Torah) till all be fulfilled." (S. Matthew, 5 : 18). The Holy Qur'ān also says that its " Scriptures confirmed that which was revealed before it." (Cow : 97). Islam's preaching is that Divine faith is one and the same, which was sent to this world through different prophets. And the Holy Qur'ān consists of the same teaching, which was preached in former revealed books. In part VI, Chapter V, verse 48, we have : " And we have revealed to you the book with truth confirming whatever scripture was before it, and a watcher over it." Again in part XXV, Chapter XLII, verses 13, 14, we have " He has ordained for you that religion which He enjoined upon Noah and that which We have revealed to you and which We enjoined upon Abraham and Moses and Jesus." Islam preaches definitely that all the prophets were commissioned to deliver the same message, minister to the same want and impose the same laws, but their followers failed either to obey them properly or forgot them altogether. So the same things were revealed afresh in the Holy Qur'ān, which God has promised to preserve from variations, corruptions and destructions. For He says in Part XIV, Chapter XV, verse 10 : " Surely We have revealed the Reminder and We will most surely be its Guardian." It does not, of course, consist of the amendments, innovations, and additions which were made from time to time in the Old and New Testaments. If the objection

is that the subject-matter of the former revealed books should not have been repeated in the Holy Qur'ān then this objection can be equally made concerning the present Bible. For the latter contains many repetitions of what had been told in the Jewish scriptures. For example, Jesus Christ's last sentence *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (My God, God, why hast thou forsaken me?), which occurs in Psalm (22-1) in a piece of David's prayer. David also claimed to be God's son. In Psalm 2 : 7 David says, "I will declare the decrees : the Lord hath said unto me : Thou art my son : this day I have begotten thee." Many biblical similes and metaphors are found in ancient books. Besides, there are a large number of sentences in the present text of the Bible which occur in Egyptian and Greek mythology and even in Buddhist teachings. An Egyptian scholar has collected them in a book namely البطش بين الدياته الوسيه والدياته المسيحيه

A lover of Islamic learning and theology has published from Bihar Sharīf, Patna, the first part of كتاب معرفة السنن والاثار by Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī Baihaqī, who was a great Arabic author and authority on Tradition and Shāfi'ī Fiqh. He was born in 384 A.H. at Khosrugerd in the district of Baihaq, and died in 458 A.H. at Nisābūr. His great compendium on Tradition *Kitāb Mā'rifat as-Sunan wa'l-Āthār* has not yet been printed. A manuscript of it was in the possession of Abū-Salmāh Shafi' Ahmad of Bihar Sharīf, Patna. He has undertaken the laudable task of editing and publishing it, the first part of which is now available from Shafīq Aḥmad, Mohalla Sakūnat Kalān, Bihar Sharīf, Patna. A criticism of this work entitled الجوهر النقى فى الرد على البيهقى by 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān ibn at-Turkamānī (died 747 A.H.) was printed in two volumes at Hyderabad (1898). Abū Bakr Aḥmad Baihaqī's chief work on ethics is الجامع المصنف فى شعب الايمان the manuscripts of which are in Cairo (*Fihrist*, Vol. I, 324). Escurial (Cat. Vol. II, 743) and Leipzig (No. 319). His letters to 'Amīd al-Mulk and al-Juwainī, father of Imām-al-Ḥaramain may be read in طبقات الشافعية الكبرى by Tāj-ud-Dīn Abī Nūr 'Abd-ul-Wahhāb ibn Taqī-ud-Dīn as-Subkī, Vol. I, p. 272 and Vol. III, p. 210.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

S. S.

*New Publications* :

Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore has recently published a number of new books. *Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (940 pp.) is an authentic record of the political career of the great Muslim leader, by Mr. Maṭlūb-ul-Ḥasan, who had the rare opportunity of coming in close contact with him as his private secretary. The book is, necessarily, also a survey of the political movements in India during the last fifty years, and as such is indispensable for a proper study of contemporary India. *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* by Dr. A.B.M. Ḥabībullāh of the Calcutta University, is a history of the establishment and progress of the

Turkish Sultanate of Delhi from 1200 to 1290 A.C. The book deals with an important period of Indian history, which witnessed a tremendous clash of different cultures—Islamic and Indian ideologies acting and reacting on each other and thus producing new cultural syntheses. The work is mainly based on Persian sources ; but Indian evidence—epigraphic, numismatic and literary—whenever available, has not been ignored.

Shaikh M. Ashraf has also brought out the 3rd edition of *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* by K.G. Saiyidain. The author has made some minor changes and modifications, and has also added English translation of the poems of Iqbāl, from which the author had gleaned his ideas about the various problems of education. The second edition of Principal Hārūn Khān Shērwānī's *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration* is also passing through the press. The book has been entirely remodelled and partly rewritten, while the title has been simplified. A special chapter has been devoted to Nizām-ul-Mulk Ṭūsī, who becomes the subject of a more detailed study. A chapter on Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān has also been added.

Shaikh M. Ashraf has acquired for sale the whole stock of a booklet, *Glimpses of Islam,* which was jointly written by Prince Aga Khan and Dr. Zakī 'Alī and printed at Geneva in 1944. As mutual understanding between the various nations is essential to the peace and progress of the world, the authors have written this book to promote correct understanding of Islam. The booklet which consists of 72 pages, is made up of three chapters. In the first chapter, the Aga Khan seeks to survey the fundamentals of Islam for the perusal of the Western reader. It is remarkable that his exposition of the Islamic doctrine and life is not in accordance with the tenets of the Isma'īlī sect to which he belongs or even of the Shī'ah school in general. His interpretation rather follows the main stream of Sunnī thought. In the second chapter, Dr. Zakī 'Alī tries to show that Islam has always encouraged the pursuit of knowledge and favoured the progress of science and to illustrate his point, he outlines the achievements of Mediæval Islam in the field of medical sciences. This chapter, which is by far the longest in the book (44 pages), is very valuable as it contains a mass of relevant information in a lucid and compact form. In the concluding chapter, the authors frankly discuss one of the vital problems facing the Muslim world, that of religious revival. The authors believe that it can be solved by utilizing the Islamic principle of Ijmā', and they accordingly propose the holding of a Conference of the delegates of the various Muslim countries and sects at the al-Azhar University in Cairo, in order to arrive at an appropriate interpretation of Islam in the light of the present conditions so as to meet the spiritual and material needs of our times. They feel the urgent necessity of making a sincere effort for a real rapprochement between, and consequent union of, the various sects of Islam.

SH. I.

# CEYLON

*Muslims and the New Education Scheme :*

IN 1940 a Special Committee was appointed by the Executive Committee of Education to investigate the defects of the then existing educational system and recommend measures of reform. Their report was published in 1943 and many of their recommendations were accepted by the State Council in June 1945. Para 7 of the report which is reproduced below is of special interest to the Muslims :

" 7. This diversity should not be a source of weakness but a source of strength. Each community has some peculiar contribution to make to the common stock. It can effectively be made, however, only if there is equality of opportunity, and it is one of our tasks to iron the inequalities so that every individual may contribute his utmost. When we emphasise the special needs of the Kandyans and Muslims our purpose is not to forward their interests as communities but to enable the members of those communities to share equally with others the facilities that the nation affords. We refer to the communal problem not because we favour communalism, but because owing to the accidents of history the members of certain communities as individuals have not been able to claim equality. Our essential aim is to secure a sentiment of national unity, and so long as members of particular communities labour under a sense of frustration and a sense of grievance neither they nor the rest of the population will be able to think in other than communal terms. The more the nation as a whole determines its own destiny, the more its sections claim their right to take part in the determination. Sectionalism may thus appear to develop precisely because a national consciousness is developed. Our effort should be to remove inequalities so that national unity may be developed still further."

The following are some of the important decisions connected with the new scheme :

1. The system of State Schools and denominational schools shall continue in respect of the existing schools, provided however it shall be the duty hereafter of the State exclusively to establish schools of all types where necessary.

2. Religious instruction (appropriate to the religion to which the parent of the child belongs) shall normally be provided in all Assisted Denominational Schools and in State Schools, including State Training Colleges subject to the right of individual parents to withdraw their children from such instruction by written request addressed to the Headmaster, provided that it shall not be compulsory to provide such

religious instruction to such children if their number on the roll does not exceed fifteen.

3. The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the mother-tongue with English as an optional language. The medium of instruction in the lower department of the Post-Primary Schools may be either the mother-tongue or bilingual, the medium in the higher department of the Post-Primary Schools may be English, Sinhalese, Tamil or bilingual. In the case of the Muslims the definition of "the mother-tongue" permits of the parents choosing either English, Sinhalese, Tamil or Malay.

Concessions have been granted to the Muslims in respect of maximum age limits and the following extract is reproduced from the Report of the Special Committee.

"We have also to give special consideration to the Muslim community among whom a long-standing religious custom of sending the children to a Quran School until the age of 7 prevails. We are told that with the introduction of religious instruction in Government Schools and the teaching of the Arabic language, Muslim parents will find the Quran School no longer necessary, so that in the course of a few years, they will accept the normal age of 5 for entry of their children to the primary schools. Until then some concession is reasonable."

The most important decision, from a financial point of view, relating to the new scheme is that in State-aided or State Primary and Post-Primary Schools and Training Colleges, in the State Technical, Agricultural and Trade Schools and in the University no tuition fees shall be levied.

Speaking generally the new education scheme has been received enthusiastically by the Muslim community and it is hoped that full advantage will be taken of the additional facilities offered.

*The Arabic Study Association :*

This association was established by a body of Maulavīs and other educated Muslims assembled at the Zahira College Hall on 14th July 1945 on the invitation of Dr. Ian Sandeman, the Director of Education, for the purpose of assisting the promotion of Arabic education, etc. One of the chief functions of this newly formed association is to ensure that satisfactory standards are being maintained in the teaching of Arabic in Primary and Post-Primary Schools, both State as well as Aided. The current estimates of Government contain provision for the payment of 100 Arabic teachers at Rs. 480-12-600 per year. It is anticipated that this Association will interest itself actively as regards the recruitment and the training of these Arabic teachers.

*The Ceylon Muslim Scholarship Fund :*

The first reading of the Bill to incorporate the Board of Trustees of the above Fund was passed by the State Council in November 1945 and has been referred to the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce. The chief purpose of this fund which has been recently inaugurated is to provide financial assistance to those Muslims who are unable to pursue studies for which they are fitted, owing to lack of sufficient money. A sum of about Rs. 1,36,000 has already been collected.

A. M. A. A.

## FOREIGN

### AFGHANISTAN

DURING the last few years, Afghānistān has made giant strides, especially in the field of education. From the annual *Almanach de Caboul*, a bilingual (Pashtau-Persian) year-book of the Pashtau Academy for the year 1323 Shamsī (1944-45), we learn that during the last 13 years there have come into existence faculties of medicine, law, political science, and science. During the year under review, a faculty of arts and a college of religious studies have been added, along with many reforms and improvements in the older institutions.

In the faculty of arts the Pashtau language (philology and literature), philosophy, sociology, history and geography have been started with. As means of supplementary studies to the Pashtau language, the study of Arabic, Persian, Avesta, and Sanskrit have been provided. One foreign, *i.e.*, European language is also compulsory. English, French, German and Russian seem to be the alternative optionals. In the curriculum of philosophy both Islamic and modern European thinkers are included. There is also a thesis to be prepared by the candidates at the end of their studies.

In the College of Religious Studies, it is thought necessary that the future 'Ulama' of the country should possess a good knowledge of world affairs and at least working knowledge of one European language, besides Arabic. The old Dār-ul-'Ulūm 'Arabīyah has thus taken new expansion. Eighty students have joined in the very first year of its existence. The college is located at Paghmān, a place about 30 miles from Kābul and a health resort. The course consists of the art of reciting the Qur'ān, Tafsīr, Usūl-i-Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Uṣūl-i-Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Uṣūl-i-Fiqh, dogmatics, Arabic, Pashtau, English, mathematics, history, geography, natural sciences, physics, chemistry, drawing, logic, sociology, ethics, economics and philosophy. It will take nine years to complete, and begins

with the Secondary Schools. At the end, a " licence " in theology is to be awarded to the successful candidates. In future the teachers of theology will be selected from among these graduates. Later specialized courses will be arranged and will consist of three departments, *viz.*, Responsa prudentium, propagation and preaching of the faith, and pedagogy.

## Sudan

A group of twenty teachers and police officers has officially been sent to England for higher training. Three Sudanese students have also gone to England privately for higher studies.

The Gordon College of Khartum has now been raised to the status of a University College, and it is expected that soon the Sudan University will come into existence.

The Egyptian Government, sympathizing fully with the aspirations of the Sudanese to serve their country, is anxious to see that its share in the Sudanese condominium becomes a reality.

## America

The proposed project of the mosque of Washington is expected to be completed at a cost of 500,000 dollars. The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad has also contributed a sum of 5,000 dollars towards the same.

## Egypt

The Cultural Section of the Ministry of Education in Egypt has appointed a strong board to supervise the translation of one hundred classical works of different subjects from different languages into Arabic. The series will be called the *Ummahāt-ul-Kutub* Series.

The present king of Egypt is a great patron of the art of recitation of the Qur'ān, and the finest experts demonstrate their ability from time to time before him, especially in the month of Ramaḍān, in the royal palace. King Fārūq has ordered that the gates of the Rā's-ut-Tīn Palace, Alexandria, should be opened to public at the occasion of the recitation demonstration.

Shaikh Muṣṭafà al-Marāghīy, the rector of the thousand years old Azhar University of Egypt, has passed away at the age of 67 in the last week of August last. He had served in Sudan also as a judge and was tutor to King Fārūq when he was heir-apparent. The Shaikh won for himself an international reputation for learning, piety, broadmindedness,

political sagacity and religious fervour. His death was publicly mourned in all parts of the Islamic world, including Hyderabad.

*Death of Dr. Max Meyerhof:*

We regret to announce that the famous Orientalist, Dr. Max Meyerhof, has died in Cairo on 20th April last. We learn from Dr. L. Keimer, Professor of Egyptology in Cairo, that Dr. Meyerhof has left a widow. We tender our condolence to her in her great sorrow of losing an erudite savant, whose life she had shared with such devotion. As a medical man, Dr. Meyerhof had contributed much to a side of Muslim sciences where he had few predecessors and fewer collaborators. A bibliography of his published works was prepared only last year by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and nobody knew that it was going to be an almost complete list, without need of re-edition with additions.

## Iraq

The ministry of education has instructed Irāqian embassies in Egypt and Levant countries to secure service of 44 teachers for Irāq this year. Mr. 'Abdur-Razzāq al-Hilālīy has been deputed to England to study for one month the scout movement there. Dr. Ahmad Sūsah of the Translation and Publication Bureau of the Ministry of Education has been deputed to Syria and Egypt to study the working of similar institutions in these countries. The problem of the curricular books is very acute in Irāq.

Marjān mosque is a very old monument of Baghdād. During its recent repair work, the engineers have discovered pieces of coloured Arab mosaic of the ninth century, which show remarkable craftsmanship of the Arabs in the art.

The government of 'Irāq have decided to establish a new Bureau of Translation and Compilation consisting of professors, writers and other *litterateurs*, both from government services and private circles. The bureau shall consist of between ten to twenty workers. The translators will be engaged on a four-years' term with provision for extension in case of necessity. A library will also be attached to the bureau for reference purposes. The bureau will not only translate important foreign works into Arabic but also edit MSS. of Arabic classics. The coining and popularizing of technical terms is also among its functions. Its expenses will be borne by the ministry of education. The bureau will also select published works and award prizes to encourage local talent.

## Palestine

The London *Times* of 5th September last announces discovery of some remarkably rich and beautiful examples of architectural decoration in the

early years of Arab rule, discovered during recent excavations carried out by the Government Department of Antiquities in Palestine at Khirbatul Mafjar, Arab Palace near Jericho. There is a monumental gateway with colonnaded porticos on either sides looking northwards across the fore-court. There are mosaic pavements with coloured stucco or plaster behind, representing life-like jungle scenes—lions hunting deer, etc.—much of which is still in good condition. The carved stucco round the pavement, which is partly preserved, shows that carving in stone was carried by Arabs to a new pitch of originality and skill. The lintel of the main gateway discovered is also very elaborately carved, and from the vivid impression of the splendour of the building it has been concluded that probably it was a winter residence of one of the Umaiyed caliphs.

M. H.

# NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

*MAKHZANOL ASRAR; The Treasury of Mysteries of Nezami of Ganjeh; translated for the first time from the Persian with an Introductory Essay on the Life and Times of Nezami by Gholam Hosain Darab, M.A. (London), etc.; Arthur Probsthain, London, 1945; 8vo 258 pp*

When Ahlwardt published his German translation of the Rajaz-poems of the Arabic poet Ru'ba, he expressed the hope that his translation might give inspiration to future German poets. Similar sentiments are given expression to by Darab on the first page of his preface. I believe the time has long since gone and the world is faced with so many serious problems that such idyllic conditions will not come again which for more than a century moved young and old poets in Europe as they were introduced to a new literature dawning upon them Then translators like Hammer, Schwannau, Ruckert and Fitz-Gerald could awaken a new spirit which inspired Goethe and other poets in the German and English tongues to effusions emulating Persian models. Today a translation however good or eloquent can only serve to show to a wider public, not knowing Persian or Arabic, what has been achieved in lands exotic after all to the Western European and any work of this kind has to be judged on this account.

The author states in his preface further that he uses his own transcription of Persian names and so disarms at the outset any criticism on this score. It does not matter much to those who have no knowledge of Persian, but we have to consider that Niẓāmī lived at about the time when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles were written and it would be utterly foolish to apply to names found in them modern English phonetics. As far as we can judge now Arabic was well-known in Persia before the time of the Mongol invasion among educated people and many names were certainly pronounced in accordance with Arabic vocalisation so the great national poet called himself Firdausī however his name may be pronounced today in various districts of Iran (which at that time was called Eran with a long E يا ے مجہول). After all it does not matter much; in India the Majhūl letters are still pronounced while they have long been abandoned in Persia proper.

The translator takes as the basis for his translation the type-printed edition of Teheran, 1353/1934 and for his historical introduction the lithograph of the *Khamsah*, Teheran, 1316/1898. He says they are easily procurable. Our University Library possesses neither, nor are they in my possession as I have found it not only difficult to obtain books published in Persia, but even to get the knowledge of their existence. The latest edition in the University Library is a lithograph of 1886 which contains as ornament some of the most ludicrous illustrations. There are in the Library over ten manuscripts of varying value. I have Bland's edition of the *Makhzan* and a lithograph of the *Khamsa* dated Bombay, 1304. These have sufficed for comparing several passages of the translation with the Persian text. Bland's edition contains 2220 verses while the translation has 2262, that is forty-two lines more. As however the

two editions in my possession have occasionally lines not translated the number of extra verses may be slightly higher After v. 352 of the translation Bland has one verse (v. 339 of his text) which is also found in the Bombay lithograph.

حاص کد ملك جهان ر عموم
هم ملك ارمن وهم شاه روم

(Bland gives حاص کن ). Here Bahrām Shāh is claimed to have suzerainty over the rulers of Armenia and the Greek Empire. I believe that this line is genuine and belongs to the poem and is not a later addition.

Dārāb Khān has in his introduction collected all that is possible concerning the life of the poet and the dates at which he composed the five poems which go under the name of *Khamsah* and have been the model for innumerable later Persian poems of a similar nature. He has considerably added to our knowledge and corrected errors which are found in all *Tadhkirahs* and European authors who have had to rely upon the former.

Nizāmī lived a retired life in the extreme North-West of Persia while the home of Firdausī had been the extreme East and Sa'dī lived later far South. It was at the outskirts perhaps that the Arabic influence was least felt and this accounts for the earliest Persian poetry being cultivated in Transoxania, Khorasan and Shirwān. The author has with great acumen tried to solve the problem of the exact dates of the works of the author as very little reliance, unfortunately, can be placed upon the biographical dictionaries which, all with the exception of 'Aufī, were written after the Mongol catastrophe and we can accept the dates he has ascertained as substantially correct His name was according to the *Ātash Kadah* Abū Muhammad Ilyās, son of Yūsuf, son of Mu'ayyad (some authorities add Zakī between Yūsuf and Mu'ayyad) while Nizāmī was the name he assumed in his poetry, no doubt after the title of some of his early patrons. His mother Ra'īsah was the daughter of a Kurdish chief and he was born at a place, not named, near the town of Qumm in the year 540/1145. His father must have died while he was young as he was brought up by his uncle Khwājah Ḥasan with whom he probably emigrated to Ganjah, South of the Caucasus mountains and there he spent the remainder of his life. As he did not compose his earliest *Mathnawī*, the *Makhzan*, before his fortieth year, he most likely wrote the ordinary laudatory poetry which was collected in a *Dīwān* which, if I am not mistaken, is in the Berlin Library. Some manuscripts of the *Makhzan* have at the end a verse dating the completion of the work. This date, which varies, cannot be correct and Dārāb Khān fixes it at 580/1184. The poem is dedicated to Bahrām Shāh who reigned from 578, the poet was then forty years old For the other poems the dates can be fixed with comparative ease, *Khusrau Shīrīn* 581, *Laili Majnūn* 588, *Haft Paikar* 593, *Iskandar Nāmah* 597 and the continuation of the latter the *Iqbāl Nāmah* 599. According to a biographical note found in some manuscripts the poet died in the middle of the year 604/1207 at the age of over 63 years. Dārāb Khān goes to some length in unfolding the very tangled political history of the life-time of Nizāmī to explain the position of the various princes with whom the poet came into contact or might have been, but especially those to whom he dedicated his various works. Nizāmī appears, however, to have lived a contemplative life and the rewards he received from his patrons were apparently no greater than to allow him to live under moderate circumstances and care for the education of his son, Muhammad, who had been born by one of his three wives he married in succession This son seems to have left no record of his life.

It is a bold undertaking to translate into any European language, Sufi or so-called romantic Persian poetry. Nicholson's translation of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī being perhaps the most gigantic task, but Rūmī does not indulge to such an extent in extraordinary turns of mind as Nizāmī. A friend, departed years ago, summed it up as *bad taste*. Certainly many lines would defy being translated verbally and the translator has often with great skill rather para-

phrased the meaning of a verse than given a translation. In many cases it would seem that a commentary is urgently required to grasp the exact meaning of what the poet really wishes to say.

I have compared the translation at various points with the Persian text as I have it In any translation there is always considerable scope of expressing the words of the original in a different way. In some cases I think we could express the meaning in less words.

v. 335—I who in this world-wide globe have become like knot-bound to a town.

v. 336—Have no chance to stretch my limbs... .

v. 338—I cast the parting of my hair beneath the feet and made the head the foot-step to my knee-cap (*i.e.* I bent it to the ground).

v. 339- Altogether the brightness of my face has been a mirror of the heart on the top of my knee-cap.

v. 345 - The Polar Star . .

v. 357- He is the spring (origin) of the sea with fish and pearls

To come to some verses requiring a commentary

v. 365- The ears of the two fishes above and beneath thee....
So the text and translation, but fish have no ears and I do not know what meaning to attach to it ; really, according to the text, only one ear for two fishes.

The tales are easier to understand and I have again compared the tale of the poor woman with Sultān Sanjar which I ventured to translate over fifty years ago. I have only the two editions mentioned. In v 1114 Bland has رطل زنان which would stand for "drunkards" but the Bombay lithograph has طبل زنان "drum-beaters" (merry-makers). This verse has also the word play زنان "beaters" and "women." The Bombay edition has also نجابت which in my opinion is wrong.

v. 1127—Translated : Thou art not a Turk, thou art a plundering slave. Bland reads هندوی the Bombay edition هندو which gives : "Thou art a plundering Hindu" which seems to me a good and probably the original reading.

v. 1128—"The dwelling-place of the townsman has become without a house, while the barn of the villager has become void of grain." This is the literal translation and need no paraphrase. The Bombay edition has a different reading of the first half of the verse

مسکن شادی زتو ویرانه شد

v. 1137.—"Hold thy ear at the door of those who utter sighs, give defence to those few who sit in a corner (as beggars)."

This verse also contains a pun on the words گوش and گوشه

From these few sections which I have discussed, and I have compared several others, it is evident that the translator has endeavoured to convey to English readers an insight into the mode of thinking of this ancient Persian poet which is so utterly strange to us, Westerners, but it is worthwhile for those who have no knowledge of Oriental languages to get an idea of a literature which has been cherished by Persians for centuries. In India where Persian language and literature are still cultivated in a more or less degree the translation of a difficult text will be welcome to those who know English.

I should have liked that the translator had in a few short foot-notes explained the meaning of the more mysterious utterances. This would have increased the size of the book and its cost.

The quality of the paper, printing and get-up might make us forget by its excellence the difficult times we live in.

F. K

*LIFE AND WORKS OF IBN AR-RŪMĪ, 'ALĪ IBN AL-'ABBĀS ABUL-ḤASAN, A BAGHDAD POET OF THE 9th CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA—HIS LIFE, AND POETRY by Rhuvon Guest, London, Luzac & Co., 1944. 8vo. 143 p.*

IBN ar-Rūmī lived a little over a century later than Bashshār and there is some analogy in their lives and poetry, but we are in a better position to apprize his work

as we possess his collected poems and our sources of information about the history of his times are more abundant. His name and his verses have long been known and in 1917 appeared in Cairo the first volume of his *Dīwān*, well-published and vocalised, which publication unfortunately has not been continued. A selection edited by Kāmil Kīlānī, which appeared ten years later, I have not seen Fortunately, as already said, the collected poems of the author have been preserved in at least three good manuscripts which apparently represent different recensions They are described by the author and facsimile specimens are reproduced at the end of the work It is on these sources that Guest has built up his most scholarly and painstaking account which will always be a model for the treatment of similar studies in monographs.

Ibn ar-Rūmī was born in Baghdād in 221/836 and like Bashshār was not of pure Arab blood. As his name indicates, he claimed Byzantine extraction and his mother, Hasana, also was Persian by birth, apparently originating from Sijistān, modern Sīstān. His father al-'Abbās was certainly a Muslim, whether his father Juraij (Georgios) was a convert we do not know. Like in similar cases Ibn ar-Rūmī at times claims noble descent from his Greek ancestors, which need not be taken very seriously.

His early life was spent in Baghdād where his family may have been in comfortable circumstances. We know little of his education, but Guest enumerates a number of older poets with whose works Ibn ar-Rūmī, according to his own statements, was acquainted and from whose poems he no doubt borrowed the names of places in Arabia, the exact position of which he did not know. They were a kind of stock-in-trade of poets which has lasted to our days. His poetical talent showed itself at an early age. His violent lampoons for which he was dreaded in later years, gave vent in attacks upon the venerable Qādī Abul-Ḥasan az-Ziyādī who died in 242 at the age of about ninety years. The opportunity of gaining a livelihood by rewards in Baghdād became scanty as the court had moved to Samarra and when Ibn ar-Rūmī did not receive the presents which he had expected from the governor Muhammad b 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir he began first to reproach him, becoming gradually more outspoken. The caliph al-Musta'in had to see worse times, fleeing from Samarra to Baghdād, the Turkish garrison making al-Mu'tazz caliph, a general upheaval set in, admirably delineated by the author. Ibn ar-Rūmī changed his attitude in accordance with the fluctuating fortunes of the persons to whom he addressed his poems, but he became genuinely attached to 'Ubaid Allāh, the brother of Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir who succeeded his brother as governor of Baghdād when the latter died in 263. This attachment lasted till Ibn ar-Rūmī's death. The author traces in a masterly way how Ibn ar-Rūmī from time to time tried to get into favour, and obtain presents, from various persons of importance, to attack them when he had not obtained what he had hoped for often in the lowest terms so that they cannot very well be given in a translation in these days

The last years of Ibn ar-Rūmī were connected with the Wahb family which proved fatal to him. It was principally 'Ubaid Allāh b. Sulaimān, who became wazir to al-Mu'tamid in 278 and retained this post till his death in 288. Poems by Ibn ar-Rūmī are addressed to his two sons al-Hasan and al-Qāsim with both of whom he seems to have been on friendly terms, but 'Ubaid Allāh was his principal patron. This connection became gradually less friendly, probably because the presents upon which the poet relied for his livelihood became less generous for causes now very difficult to ascertain. However the poet resented it and began to attack his former patron who may have become tired of his perpetual demands

Ibn ar-Rūmī died in 283 or 284 poisoned by order of al-Qāsim. The details as to how it came about are discussed by the author and he comes to the conclusion that these are unreliable. Biographers favour the first date and no poems of Ibn ar-Rūmī indicate that he lived later unless an epigram on the death of al-Qāsim's brother al-Ḥasan, who died in 284, be

genuine However this same epigram is by other Arabic authors attributed, probably appropriately, to Ibn Bassām, a contemporary poet who was also dreaded for his evil tongue.

The collected poems of Ibn ar-Rūmī, though they do not contain all he composed, are more extensive than those of his contemporaries Abū Tammām, al-Buhturī, etc., whose *Dīwāns* are preserved and these exist in several very good manuscripts, one of which in the Cairo Library (Adab 139) has been utilized as the basis for this study. A manuscript in the Escurial and another in Istanbul, all three representing different recensions, would furnish as complete a text of the poems of Ibn ar-Rūmī as we can expect from any author of that time. All three manuscripts are carefully written as can be seen from the facsimile-pages at the end of the study A detailed index of the persons and places occurring in the Cairo MS 139 concludes the monograph

Apart from persons of historical note many poems of Ibn ar-Rūmī consist of bickerings with less important contemporaries, mostly rival poets. The most renowned of these was al-Buhturī (see index) while several names would be entirely unknown but for the poet composing poems against them

A feature, which cannot be overlooked, is that the *Dīwān* contains a number of poems which are most obscene, a kind of poetry in vogue since the time of Bashshār.

The most amazing accounts are told of the superstition of Ibn ar-Rūmī. Thus he would not leave the house because a blind beggar had taken up his stand opposite and meeting him would bring the poet bad luck He and his family were thus shut up for days and had finally to ask neighbours over the garden-wall for water to drink. The nephew of the eminent author al-Jāhiz, who had the curious name Yamūt (he shall die) used to visit him but dare not announce his proper name when he knocked at the door and had to say . " The son of Muzarri." The author mentions that the quarrel which Ibn ar-Rūmī had with the renowned philologer al-Akhfash was due to a practical joke by the latter. Once visiting the poet he was asked his name when knocking at the doors and gave it as Harb ibn Muqātil (War son of a Fighter), both names which the poet believed to forbode evil.

For the justification of the historical account pages 72-128 contain elaborate notes with the Arabic texts translated or mentioned in the preceding pages and they give an idea of the amount of research which had been necessary

I have only two remarks to make where I differ in the pronunciation of proper names. Note 2 instead of Rab'i this name is usually pronounced Rib'ī (cf *Lisān al 'Arab*, IX 145 12, Ibn Duraid, *Geneal*, 170.7, Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 236, etc.). Note 229 read Jahwar (Ibn Duraid, *Geneal*, 208.17). I do not understand in note 458 Sayfa 192 sol. Does it mean that an odd leaf 192 contains a Lāmīya ? Similarly in Note 461 *sag* and *sol* which I assume mean obverse and reverse of the leaves in question. Notes 458 and following. I have made during the many years of studying Arabic poetry index-notes of citations, but as I do not possess the complete *Dīwān* of the poet I cannot say how many lines may not be found in the existing manuscripts of the collected poems.

I should like to enlarge upon this admirable monograph but it has to be studied It has been done as such investigations ought to be done and I know no higher praise

F K.

*AL-GHAZALI THE MYSTIC, A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF ABŪ ḤĀMID MUḤAMMAD AL-GHAZALI by Margaret Smith, M.A., D.Litt., Luzac & Co., London, 1944, Rs. 21*

OF all the mystics of Islam, there is probably none who has received as much attention from Western writers as al-Ghazālī. Though much has been written on this great mystic, there is still much of his work which is little known to the West or even to the East. There was, therefore, still room for the monograph under review, in which Dr. Margaret Smith has made a fresh study of the

life and teaching of al-Ghazālī. The work is mainly concerned with his mystical teaching and the influences which moulded that teaching and which, in the opinion of the author, were not only Islamic, but also Hellenistic, Jewish and Christian. The learned author has further shown that al-Ghazālī's teaching, in its turn, had an influence upon many subsequent writers, not only his fellow Muslims, but also Christian and Jewish writers such as St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Pascal and Johanan Alemanus.

Since al-Ghazālī's thought is nothing but an intimate expression of his personality, Dr. Smith has done well in giving a full account of his life, for which she has laid to contribution the mystic's own self-revealing works as well as others by later writers on Sūfīs and Ṣūfism The various stages of his life help us to understand the development of his personality and thought , and we get, at the same time, interesting side-lights on his charming traits of character such as his tolerance and charity to others, his sociability and love of travel, his love of beauty, his interest in gardens and plants, his love of animals and birds, etc.

The second and main part of the book is devoted by the author to an exposition of the mystical teaching of al-Ghazālī, which is necessarily partly based on the specialist studies of her predecessors such as Macdonald, Asin, Wensinck and others. There is nothing absolutely novel or extraordinary for serious students of al-Ghazālī in this book , but her lucid presentation makes it an ideal introduction to the subject for the general reader. The talented author, who is already well-known in learned circles for her several works on Muslim Sūfīs, has thus rendered a great service to those who are interested in mystic thought. The book deserves to be widely read, in spite of some errors of interpretation, which she—like other European writers—has not succeeded in avoiding and which are perfectly excusable in view of the nature of the subject under investigation.

SH. I.

*SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS OF IQBAL, compiled by "Shamlo," Al-Manar Academy, Lahore, 1944; Rs. 4-8.*

THIS is a collection of the addresses and speeches which Dr. Iqbal delivered on various occasions and the statements which he issued to the press on topics of current interest. These were buried in the proceedings of the various conferences and of the Panjab Legislative Council and in the old files of newspapers ; and the compiler has rendered a real service by bringing them together in book-form and thus making them easily accessible to the reading public

Iqbal was not a prolific writer or a voluble speaker. He rarely made his appearance on the public stage ; but when he did open his lips on matters of importance to his community, his expression of opinion always carried great weight, commensurate with his high intellectual attainments, his rich experience of life and his penetrating insight into the spirit of Islam and Islamic culture. In his own words, he had given the best part of his life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and civilization. He was, therefore, in a unique position to see things from a truly Islamic point of view and guide his community in the light of Islamic teachings. For instance, at a time when most people in India and abroad were asserting that politics must be separated from religion, Iqbal had the courage to declare that the divorce of religion from politics was the greatest misfortune which could befall mankind.

The book opens with the presidential address which Iqbal delivered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on the 29th December, 1930. It was on this occasion that he visualized the formation of what is now generally known as Pakistan. The great seer said, "I would like to see the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be

the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India." In the course of this address, which possesses a great documentary value, Iqbal gave an enlightened lead to his co-religionists at a critical moment of their political life, by warning them against the dangers of a narrow regional nationalism and by exhorting them to be true to the spirit and ideals of their universal faith.

In his addresses and statements, Iqbal has given invaluable advice to his community and thrown out suggestions which deserve the most serious attention of Indian Muslims. In one place, for instance, he suggests " the establishment of male and female cultural institutes in all the big towns of India. Their chief function should be to mobilise the dormant energy of the younger generation by giving them a clear grasp of what Islam has already achieved and what it has still to achieve in the religious and cultural history of mankind." On another occasion, he suggested " the formation of an assembly of *'Ulamā*,' which must include Muslim lawyers, who have received education in modern jurisprudence. The idea is to protect, expand and, if necessary, to reinterpret the law of Islam in the light of modern conditions, while keeping close to the spirit of its fundamental principles. This body must receive constitutional recognition, so that no bill affecting the personal law of Muslims may be put on the legislative anvil, before it has passed through the crucible of this assembly. Apart from the purely practical value of this proposal for the Muslims of India, we must remember that the modern world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, has yet to discover the infinite value of the legal literature of Islam and its significance for a capitalistic world, whose ethical standards have long abdicated from the control of man's economic conduct. The formation of the kind of assembly I propose will, I am sure, bring a deeper understanding of the principles of Islam, at least in this country."

It will thus be seen that the utterances of Iqbal are of no passing interest. They have a permanent value, and the compiler has done well in preserving them in book-form, so that Muslims may ponder over them and shape their future policy in their light.

SH. I.

*IQBAL AS A THINKER, essays by various scholars; Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1944; Rs. 5.*

THIS book is a collection of eight essays by different writers, who deal with different aspects of Iqbal's thought. Although the essays are of unequal merit, they are all by competent hands and offer instructive reading of varied interest. Some of them have already appeared in English or Urdu journals. They are well documented, their writers having freely drawn upon the works of Iqbal for illustrative material.

The book opens with a paper by Dr. M. Razī-ud-Dīn of the Osmania University on Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space. After surveying the ideas of Greek and Muslim philosophers on the subject, the learned professor gives an exposition of Iqbal's views and shows that they are in general agreement with the theory of Relativity as regards the nature of time and space. Iqbal conceives of life as a continuous movement in time, which is a reality for him.

In another thoughtful essay, Professor M M Sharif of the Aligarh University shows that Iqbal's conception of God passed through three stages of development, and that he finally came to regard God as the Ultimate Ego, who is not a mere vital impulse in his forward movement, but is purposive in the sense that He is selective of different possibilities and thus consciously creative.

Dr. Khalifa 'Abdul-Hakīm contributes an exceedingly readable paper on " Rūmī, Nietsche and Iqbal." He compares the basic ideas of Rūmī and Iqbal and shows the spiritual affinity of the two. He also investigates his relations with Nietsche, and points out that, although Iqbal regarded with general approval some of the ideas of the German philosopher such as the fortification of self, the building of personality and the emergence of the superman, he did not accept his influence in a passive manner, but reacted to his

doctrines in his characteristically independent way.

While expounding the political ideas of Iqbal, Dr. Aziz Ahmad of the Muslim University, Aligarh, fully explains Iqbal's conception of the Muslim *Millat* as a community, which is not formed on the basis of a common race, country or language but on a common religious and ethical outlook.

Owing to careless proof-reading, the book abounds in misprints of various kinds, which detract from the pleasure of reading an otherwise interesting and important work.

SH. I.

*GOD, SOUL AND UNIVERSE IN SCIENCE AND ISLAM, by Sir M. Yāmīn Khān; pp. 134; publisher Shaikh Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; Rs. 2-8-0.*

IN this small booklet, the author first of all makes a study of the conception of God in Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism and Jainism. Yet these studies are superficial and based on popular notions. Regarding Islam, he takes the first three verses of the first chapter of the Qur'ān as basis, more particularly the expression "Lord of the Universes," and makes a lengthy excursion in modern notion of astronomy. Much of this, though interesting in a way, is quite irrelevant to the main topic; and this alone takes half the bulk of the work. Some pages then follow on prayers, unity of God, soul, etc., in separate chapters though their sequence is not quite intelligible

The book may prove a good pastime to those who have not studied modern science and would like to know its rudiments regarding the several subjects touched upon in the book.

M. H.

*WHAT IS ISLAM?, by Md. Mazharuddin Siddiqi; pp. 82; publisher Maktabai Jamā'at Islāmī, Dārul Islām, Pathānkot, Punjab; Rs. 1-8-0.*

THE brochure represents the present throbbing renaissance of Islam in India. Economic System of Islam, Position of Women, Treatment of non-Muslims in an Islamic State, etc., all are signs of the same revival of consciousness.

The work may usefully be corrected and improved in later editions, *e.g.*, one wonders why the author has given (on p. 59) only a few of the items of the expenditure of the so-called Poor Tax and neglected the others equally important though all are mentioned in the same verse of the Qur'ān, such as the help of the indebted well-to-do, the wayfares and in the so-called path of God. The question of interest and usury is a great problem to poor Muslims all over the world, and the questions of interest-free lending by State organized by Caliph 'Umar, based apparently on this very verse of the Qur'ān, is worth serious consideration.

In general, the booklet gives a good initiation in Islam.

M. H.

*GLIMPSES OF MODERN URDU LITERATURE, by Ziaul-Islam of U. P. Civil Service, pp. 128, publisher Kitābistān, Allahabad; Rs. 3-12-0.*

THE book would better have been entitled "Modern U. P and Punjab Urdu Literature," since there is no mention of even the Osmania University not to speak of other parts of India. Poetry, prose, art, periodicals and literary criticism are the main topics discussed, though extremely superficially, which however, we may excuse in a Civil Servant to whom literature is a mere pastime and hobby during leisure time, in busy days. Everything seems to have been jotted down from mere memory of past reading, and no special study of sources has been made for the compilation of the work. To give an example, the author knows on religious research only the work of Dr. 'Abdul 'Alīm on the progress of the Muslim Dogma of the Inimitability (*I'jāz*) of the Qur'ān, in the whole modern Urdu literature.

The only value of the book seems to be that those who do not know Urdu may find some information about modern Urdu though it cannot be guaranteed that such readers would not be misled to

think that the contents of the book represent a true picture of the really best that modern Urdu literature has produced.

The price is also high according to local standards.

M. H.

*INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, by A. C. Banerjee, Vol. 1; pp. 344; publishers A. Mukerjee & Co., College Square, Calcutta; Rs. 7.*

IN this first volume of a work, a lecturer of history in the University of Calcutta has tried to give important extracts of constitutional documents of British India and Indian States from 1757 to 1858, that century of the formation, expansion and consolidation of British Empire in India. There are not merely documents; statutes, speeches, and minutes, even private letters have also usefully been incorporated.

At the end the author has added some notes and references and also a brief introductory survey which may be useful to young and fresh students of constitution of British India. There is also an index at the end

We warmly welcome this book which is a useful addition to our reference literature. It would be to the advantage of the work and would render it more usable and useful if a select bibliography were added in either the next edition or in the final volume of the present edition.

M. H.

*MUHAMMAD ALI HAZIN, HIS LIFE, TIME AND WORKS, by Sarfarāz Khan Khattak; published by Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; pp XXI, + 238, price Rs. 8.*

THE author of this well-documented monograph, with a lively cover-design, handsome get-up, and neat printing, deserves our praise for giving us an elaborate account of the life of Muhammad 'Ali Ḥazīn, who migrated to India from Iran in the eighteenth century A.D.

Hazīn, in his intolerable conceit and arrogance, had deep dislike for India, but he is one of those poets, who enjoy a greater repute and are much more highly esteemed in this country than in their own lands of nativity. It is therefore that the author of the above volume has spared no pains in supplying us with every scrap of information available concerning the poet's life. In sifting some of the funny anecdotes ascribed to Hazīn's life, scrutinizing the reasons, which led him to come to India, studying the peculiar traits and individuality of his character, as well as enumerating the long list of his literary outputs, the author has undertaken a considerable labour. But the value of this book would undoubtedly have been much enhanced if the author had undergone an equal amount of toil in making a thorough and keen study of Hazīn's poetical accomplishments and literary attainments, which have not as yet been fully assessed

Hazīn is admired, because he occupied a conspicuous position in the Valhallah of Persian literature by virtue of his great scholarship and high poetic genius. His admirers will not be, of course, indifferent to the details of his occultism or ejectment suit fought for his property after his death. But as a matter of fact they are more interested in his wonderful command over the technique of verse, his mastery over varied and vigorous expressions replete with rich vocabulary, his high flights of fancy, and tragic gloom of thoughts as well as different aspects of his learning and erudition. The author has, no doubt, discussed the 'distinguishing features,' 'diction' and 'style' of Ḥazīn's poetry. But the whole tenor of this discussion is based on scanty references to the criticisms made by some or other writers on Ḥazīn. The author's own analysis of some aspects of Hazīn's poetry leaves much to be desired. For example, on p. 79, he asserts that "the Ghazal of Hazīn imbibes all the meritable (?) qualities of Ḥāfiz, Sa'di and Jāmī, whom he faithfully imitates." And then follows the lines. "In the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition, Hazīn imitates Sa'dī, Qāsim-i-Anwarī, Fughānī, Rūmī, Hāfiz, Jāmī, Sanā'ī and Wahdat." This claim has been substantiated not by making any comparative study of the verses of these respective poets, but the

readers have been asked to consult this or that page of the *Kulliyāt*. This sort of hurried survey does not give a warm glow of satisfaction to readers.

The following verdict of the author is unduly harsh "Maulānā Shiblī, who, in his *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, might have profitably stated something about the poetry of Hazīn is dumbfounded and does not even mention him." (p. 59) *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. III, is not a comprehensive study of each and all the Persian poets of India. It deals with only seven poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., who produced what has been happily termed as the 'Indian Summer' of the Persian poetry. Hazīn, along with other notable poets of the eighteenth century A.D., did not come within the scope and purview of this book. Again, the author says that Maulānā Shiblī ignored Ḥazīn because he had a personal grievance against him. For Maulānā Shiblī once composed an ode in the same Radīf in which Hazīn had already composed one. Some of Maulānā Shiblī's pupils ridiculed him for making a vain pursuit to imitate Ḥazīn. But when the Maulānā's Ghazal was submitted to learned scholars for opinion, it was considered superior to Hazīn's ode. This contest, according to the author, 'lowered the poetry of Ḥazīn in the eyes of Shiblī' (p. 2). The above details have been garnered from one of Maulānā Shiblī's letters But as we make a perusal of this letter, we find that the Maulānā did not at all underrate Hazīn's poetical talent He rather revelled in the fact that he was placed in line with some of the classical poets like Ḥazīn and could compose verses in genuine Persian. This was a tribute to Ḥazīn, whom Maulānā Shiblī liked sometimes to imitate. For in the same letter referred to above, he writes, "These days he has composed some more Ghazals after Ḥazīn's models. They are interesting" (*Makātīb-i-Shiblī*, Vol. I, p. 71). And Maulānā Shiblī's most undoubted compliment to Ḥazīn is found in one of his Urdu verses, when he says :

یہ نظم آپ یہ طرز بدش سخن وری کیا فسوں گری ہے
کہ ریختہ میں بھی میرے شبلی مزا ہے طرز علی حزیں کا

Again, the author's observations on pp. 225, 226, require to be mellowed to suit an elegant taste. He writes, "Shaikh Chānd in his *Life of Sauda* unjustly calls the *Tadkhirat-ul-Ahwāl*, 'the *Mother India* of his time.' Even the most cursory reading would have revealed to Shaikh Chānd that Ḥazīn declined to write anything about India or its people in the book. The time spent by Shaikh Chānd in passing remarks about the books of others could have been more profitably utilised in finding out the date of death of Saudā." Moreover, it is not correct to say that Hazīn declined to write anything about India or its people in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* We have before us a text of this Tadhkira entitled *Tārīkh-i-Ahwāl-wa-Tadhkira-i-Hāl-i-Maulānā Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hazīn*, lithographed in Bombay in 1323. This text gives some useful historical information regarding the political relations between the rulers of Iran and India as well as Nādir Shāh's invasion and the terrible massacre he made in Delhi ( vide p. 123-139). Most of Hazīn's remarks concerning the people and rulers of India are really harsh and pungent. For example, he says that the rulers of 'Ajam could have conquered India and settled here. But they avoided this, because they knew that they could afford to reside in India only at the risk of being absolutely ضعیف الاحساس (weak-tempered) سفله نهاد (mean-natured) (p. 125). Further on, he quotes a *Mathnavī* of Asadī Tūsī to show that if troops stay in India they lose their reputation, honour, wisdom and manliness. Some of such verses are :

عاقی دراں بوم سالی تمام
کہ لشکر گراں گیرد ار سنگ و نام
گرت نگذرد چار موسم دراں
ز فرهنگ و مردی نیاید نشاں

Ḥazīn also makes unpalatable and bitter remarks against Bābar's successors and prefers the rulers of the Ṣafavī dynasty in all aspects of life (pp. 126, 127). His notions of the people of India may be read in the following words. "In the

Punjab, there was the horror of doom's-day at Lahore, *i e.*, I fell ill in that city and was confined to bed. I had known the people of India fully well. I was aggrieved by their manners, and was highly disappointed of their sense of intelligence and wisdom. So my heart burnt over the condition of the helpless and feeble ones" (p. 132)

A few historical inexactitudes have crept into the book under review. From the genealogical table, which shows the order of succession from 'Ālamgīr I to Bahādur Shāh II, we learn that 'Ālamgīr II was succeeded by Muhi-us-Sunnat. (p. 25). This is obviously a flaw. 'Ālamgīr II's successor was Shāh 'Ālam The table has been left incomplete, for the names of Shāh 'Ālam and his successors, Akbar II and Bahādur Shah II, are missing. The name 'emperor 'Ali Gauhar' (p 102) causes confusion. Prince 'Alī Gauhar assumed the title of Shāh 'Ālam when he became emperor So instead of emperor 'Alī Gauhar, it is better to write emperor Shāh 'Ālam.

The author has taken utmost care in transliteration, but he has grown overcautious when he writes Banaras and Illahabad instead of Benares and Allahabad And Abd Ullah, Ata Ullah, and Khalil Ullah would more precisely be Abd Allah, Ata Allah and Khalil Allah.

The language of the book, although fluent, is not always perfect. A good number of sentences require the full attention of the author, who, we trust will revise and reconstruct them in a subsequent edition

We do not find in the book a bibliography and index, the inclusion of which is essentially needed in modern research publications. S. S.

تعلیم کا مسئلہ *by Dr Radi-ud-Din Siddiqi (of Osmania University), published by Maktaba-i-Pakistan, Lahore, price Rs 1-8-0.*

IN this admirable brochure, consisting of 132 pages of medium size, the author, who is an eminent scientist and a capable educationist of varied experiences, makes a critical study of the existing system of education and draws prominent attention to its various defects and shortcomings. He deplores the static conception of education, which has, of course, led to discord, disharmony and incompatibility in all spheres of the life of a youngman. The author advocates therefore such a reorientation of the course of study in different stages of primary, secondary, higher and University education as are likely to create a new and wider type of mental and sociological outlook amongst the community of students. According to the author, education instead of producing crammed youths for earning livelihood must develop in them a sense of ethical and spiritual consciousness and inculcate in them intelligence and rationalism needed for the fuller utilization of opportunity now being presented by social, economic, scientific and other problems. The curriculum, in all its respective stages, must, therefore, make the youths capable of co-ordinating their activities to the requirements of the society, endeavouring at the same time to make real and solid contributions to the sum total of knowledge, culture and civilization.

A list of the various chapters will give profitably a panoramic view of the subject-matter dealt with in this booklet. They are (1) Ideals of Education and Instruction, (2) The Period of Education, (3) Defects in the Modern System of Education, (4) The Right Type of the Ideals of Higher Education, (5) The Unity of Knowledge, (6) Education for the Unity of Manhood, (7) Faith and Knowledge, (8) Primary and Secondary Education, (9) Higher Education, (10) Different Stages in Education and Curriculum, (11) Departments of the University, (12) Students and Practical Politics, (13) New Organisations and Higher Education.

Each chapter, written in a compendious and digestible form, bespeaks of careful analysis, deep perception and scientific approach of the subject-matter by the author, and the views expressed by him are commendably sober, sane and sound. It is possible to differ from

some of his views, but it is not possible to ignore them.

We trust, this booklet will serve as a capital little guide for a layman in having an active and dynamic view of education. It must at the same time merit serious attention for educationists, who propose to reconstruct the educational system of India in the post-war period.

Amidst a very elaborate course of study, the author has advocated very enthusiastically religious education also, particularly to the Muslim youths, in their primary, secondary and higher stages of academic career. This reminds one of the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who wrote in 1933 that "experience shows that secular education has not created any sound effect on the moral life of Muslim youngmen. Unless the education of Muslim youngmen is grounded on the rock of religious and moral principles, he cannot be imbued with the qualities of breadth of vision, largeness of heart and self-reverence which constitute the differentia of Muslim character."

S. S.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, Vol. I, Pt. II; edited and published by Dr. H. Goetz, Curator, Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda.

2. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. III, No. 1; published for the University of Ceylon by the Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd, Colombo, Ceylon.

3. *Ramdān Annual*, August-September 1945 issue; published by Mr. Md. Makki, Durban, Natal.

4. *'Id Thanksgiving Number of the Muslim Youth Bulletin*, organ of the Mauritius Muslim Youth Brigade; edited by Mr. Eshack Abdullatif, 23 Sir William Newton St., Port Louis, Mauritius.

5. *Islam*, organ of the South African Islamic Mission, P. O. Box 7583, Johannesburg.

6. *France Orient*, Vol. V, No. 51. Director: Francis Brunel, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.

7. *La Revue De L'academie Arabe.*

8. *A Catalogue of the Library of the late A. G Ellis, M A.*, Part III; published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russel Street, London, W.C. 1.

9. *Muṣannif* (an Urdu Quarterly); published by the Majlis-i-Muṣannifīn, Aligarh.

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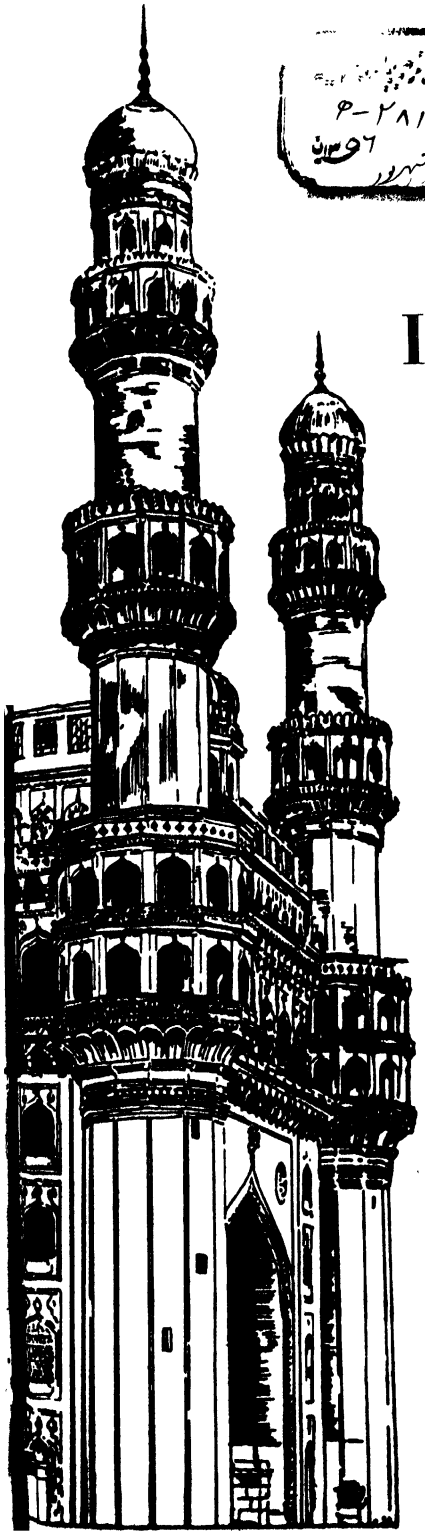
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Ed., I. C.


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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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HYDERABAD-DECCAN

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# THE DRUG-BOOK OF BĒRŪNĪ

DR. Meyerhof's article in the October issue of the *Islamic Culture* brings the encouraging news that he is working on an edition of this important last work of the great scientist and I wish to make a few remarks of facts which have escaped him. Bērūnī was not always treated well by Mahmūd as is apparent from casual remarks in his book on stones and metals and also from anecdotes in other places.[1]

The Persian translation, apparently made in India, has been preserved, as far as is known at present, only in a comparatively modern copy in the British Museum. Unfortunately this is at present not available, but I used it for the account on *Tea* which I published in an abbreviated translation in an article in the *Islamic Culture* some years ago. The manuscript is in a deplorable condition. The leaves, through damp, have nearly all stuck together so that a complete reading of the text is impossible. As I possess also photographs of the Brussa manuscript I was able to compare some articles and I believe that the translator has in several places made additions of his own. It contains, however, the rather lengthy earliest account on tea, and it might be assumed that this could be an addition of the translator. This is not the case.

The University Library at Aligarh possesses a fairly ancient manuscript, claiming to be the same work and I commenced to make a copy shortly before leaving Aligarh in 1930, but did not accomplish my wish and a student who promised to complete the transcript failed to keep his promise. I wanted to make sure that the work of Bērūnī really contained an article on tea and I asked my friend Sayyid Muḥammad Badr-ud-Dīn to copy it for me if it was contained in the Aligarh manuscript. The article there consists of one line only but confirms that the original work *had* such an article. The Aligarh manuscript is badly worm-eaten and difficult to read though the scribe knew Arabic and the writing is in clear Naskh. It is, however, certain that the scribe only made an abstract leaving out much of the matter which forms such an important feature of the work of Bērūnī. As this manuscript, however, contains *all* the

1. Bērūnī, however, when referring to Sulṭān Mas'ūd always speaks in terms of reverence calling him in his *Stone-Book* the Martyred Amīr (al-Amīr ash-Shahīd).

articles originally in the work, it ought to be consulted if only to use the manuscript as an *index* for the articles which are lost in the Brussa manuscript. There will be great difficulties as an application I made at the time to have it on loan at the Library of the India Office was refused. I fear that this copy may deteriorate further as the manuscripts, at least in my time, were kept in a wooden almirah with free access to works.

F. KRENKOW.

# ḤĀFIẒ AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS

## I

A CENTURY and a half ago, when the East India Company had but recently stumbled into a great Imperial inheritance in Bengal, and its servants were concerned to equip themselves linguistically for the onerous responsibilities that had settled upon their shoulders, it was a mark of polite culture in the brilliant society of Calcutta to be able to illustrate a point or adorn an argument with quotations from the Persian poets. Warren Hastings was himself an early convert to the fashion, which continued well into the nineteenth century, until in fact Persian ceased to be the common medium of politics and business in the ruined Mughal Empire, and Macaulay was pleased to condemn the scholars of India because they were ignorant of Greek and Latin. In this interval the vogue of Persian poetry spread rapidly from India to England, and from England to the Continent. This was the background against which Edward Fitzgerald grew up ; otherwise it could hardly have occurred to him to spend his time and convert his genius translating the quatrains of Omar Khayyam. Of the many Persian poets whose words were on the lips of these enthusiastic orientalists, none enjoyed greater esteem and admiration than Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz. It was a devotion that persisted through three generations, bridging the years that separate Sir William Jones from Gertrude Bell. A book could be written about all the Englishmen and Englishwomen who have worshipped at the shrine of Hāfiẓ : this article only touches the fringe of the matter, in accordance with the Arabic saying that what cannot be entirely attained need not therefore be entirely abandoned (ما لا يدرك كله لا يترك كله).

Travellers in Persia during the seventeenth century, among them Sir Thomas Herbert, did not fail to report on the esteem in which Hāfiẓ was held by his fellow-countrymen. But, so far as can be traced, the first English scholar to translate any of the poems of Ḥāfiz was Thomas Hyde (1636-1703), a Cambridge scholar who succeeded Edward Pococke the Elder as Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford; and is best known for his remarkably learned treatise on the religion of the Ancient Persians (*Historia Riligionis Veterum Persanem*, Oxford, 1700), and his edition and translation (Oxford, 1665) of the astronomical tables (*Zīj*) of Ulugh Bēg, the grandson of Tamerlane. Hyde was an adventurous scholar, and

made the most of his opportunities as Bodley's librarian to indulge a Catholic taste for linguistics ; but it is not necessary for us here to follow him in his easy progress through Samaritan, Ethiopic, Syriac, Pahlawi, Singhalese, Telugu, Tartar and Chinese. It was probably about the year 1690 that he transcribed the first Ghazal of Ḥāfiz and rendered it into Latin, with the aid of a Turkish commentary : This trifle was ultimately printed in 1767, in the second volume of Gregory Sharp's edition of Hyde's miscellanea.

It happened that Hyde's halting attempt first came before the public at a time when a far greater oriental scholar, in the first fresh enthusiasm of youthful erudition, discovered for himself that Persian poetry was a rich and yet unexplored mine of glittering jewels, and Ḥāfiz the brightest among them. Sir William Jones (1746-1794), newly a fellow of University College, Oxford, had just begun work on his remarkable thesis on Asiatic poetry (though the *Poeseos Asiatical Commentarionem Libri Sex* were not published until 1774), and was already familiar with the Persian Language. Early in 1768 he met Count Reviczki, a Polish diplomat who was a true fellow-spirit : the new friends were inexpressibly delighted to find they shared a boundless admiration for Persian poetry. Reviczki was especially interested in Ḥāfiz, and from time to time sent Jones ' une de mes dernières traductions....dont je n'amuse qudque fois quand J'ai du loisir': he published a small selection of the odes with a Latin translation at Vienna in 1771. But Jones had already preceded him in the mission of introducing the Nightingale of Shīrāz to the cultured society of Europe. Being commissioned by King Christian VII of Denmark to prepare a French translation of a Persian biography of Nādir Shāh, he improved the occasion by publishing as an appendix (1770) French verse-translations of thirteen Ghazals of Ḥāfiz. Thus the first poetical translations of Ḥāfiz ever to be printed by an Englishman were actually done in French, and that of excellent quality. A single example will perhaps be sufficient illustration:

صبا اگر گذری افتدت بکشور دوست — بیار نفحهٔ از گیسوی معبر دوست
بجان اوکه بشکرانه جان بر افشانم — اگر بسوی من آری پیامی از بر دوست
وگرچنانکه در آن حضرتت نباشد بار — برآی دیده بیاور غباری ار در دوست
من گدا و تمنای وصل او هیهات — مگر بخواب ببینم خیال منظر دوست
دل صنوبریم همچو بید ار زانست — زحسرت قد وبالای چون صنوبر دوست
اگر چه دوست بچیزی نمی خرد مارا — بعالمی نفروشیم موئی از سر دوست
چه باشد ار شود از بند غم دلش آزاد — چوهست حافظ مسکین علام و چاکر دوست

O toi, léger & doux Zéphire,
Quand tu passes par le séjour

Où l'objet de mon tendre amour
Entousé des grâces respire,
Fais qu'au retour, selon mes vocux
Ton habine soit parfumée
De cette senteur embaumée
Qu'épand l'ambre se ses cheveux.
Que de son souffle favorable
Mon être seroit ranimé,
Si par toi de mon bien-aimé
J'avois un message agréable !
Si trop foible tu ne peux pas
Porter ce poids, à ma prière
Jette sur moi de la poussière,
Que tu recueilles sous ses pas

Mon âme languit dans l'attente
De son retour si désiré,
Ah ! quand ce visage adoré
Viendra-t-il la rendre contente ?
Le pin put moins haut que mon cœur,
A présent au saule semblable,
Pour cet objet incomparable
Il tremble d'amoureuse ardeur

Quoique celui que mon cœur aime,
Pour ma tendresse ait peu d'égards,
Hélas ! pour unde ses regards
Je donnerois l'univers même.
Que ce seroit un bien pour moi,
Puisqu' à ses pieds le sort m'enchaîne,
De n'avoir d'autre soin ni peine,
De ne vivre que pour mon Roi.

We see in this rendering a characteristic that marks a far more famous version of Ḥāfiẓ which Jones published in the following year in his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, namely, the expansion of the original Persian to something like one and a half times its length. This feature, which has appeared in many translations by other hands—though seldom to so great an extent—has often been discussed, and the conclusion has generally been reached that it is inevitable : having regard to the fact that many of the ideas and figures used by Ḥāfiz are unfamiliar to a Western reader not versed in the religious, literary and historical background of the Persian poet, it seems beyond hope to achieve the same pregnant brevity and concise felicity of phrase in any other language if the richness and variety of Ḥāfiẓ's style are in any way to be reproduced. The celebrated version now to be quoted scored a remarkable success immediately upon publication, and has remained a firm favourite ever since : in fact, until outshone

by the brilliancy of Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát*, it *was* Persian poetry for the vast majority of English readers not familiar with the Persian language.

اگر آن ترك شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا — بخال هندوش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را
بده ساقی میٔ باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت — کنار آب رکنا باد و گلگشت مصلا را
فغان کاین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهر آشوب — چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان یغما را
ز عشق ناتمام ما جمال یار مستغنیست — بآب و رنگ وخال وخط چه حاجت روی زیبارا
حدیث از مطرب و می گو و راز دهر کمتر جو — که کس نکشود و نکشاید بحکمت این معما را
من از آن حسن روز افزون که یوسف داشت دانستم — که عشق از پردهٔ عصمت برون آرد زلیخا را
نصیحت گوش کن جانان که از جان دوست تر دارند — جوانان سعادتمند پند پیر دانا را
بدم گفتی و خرسندم عفاك الله نکو گفتی — جواب تلخ میزیبد لب لعل شکر خارا
غزل گفتی ودرسفتی بیا و حوش بخوان حافظ — که بر نظم تو افشاند فلك عقد ثریا را

Sweet maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,
And bid these arms thy neck infold;
That rosy cheek, that lily hand
Would give thy poet more delight
Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
Whate'er the frowning zealots say:
Tell them, their Eden cannot show
A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

O! when these fair perfidious maids,
Whose eyes our secret haunts infest,
Their dear destructive charms display;
Each glance my tender breast invades,
And robe my wounded soul of rest,
As Tartars seize their destin'd prey.

In vain with love our bosoms glow:
Can all our tears, can all our sighs,
New lustre to those charms impart?
Can cheeks, where living roses blow,
Where nature spreads her richest dyes,
Require the borrow'd gloss of art?

Speak not of fate: Oh! Change the theme,
And talk of odours, talk of wine,

Talk of the flowers that round us bloom :
'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream ;
To love and joy thy thoughts confine,
Nor hope to pierce the sacred gloom.

Beauty has such resistless power,
That ever the chaste Egyptian dame
Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy !
For her how fatal was the hour,
When to the banks of Nilus came
A youth so lovely and so coy !

But oh ! sweet maid, my counsel hear
(Youth should attend when those advise
Whom long experience renders sage) :
While music charms the ravish'd ear ;
While sparkling cups delight our eyes,
Be gay ; and scorn the frowns of age.

What cruel answer have I heard !
And yet, by heaven, I love thee still :
Can aught be cruel from thy lip ?
Yet say, how fell that bitter word
From lips which streams of sweetness fill,
Which nought but drops of honey sip ?

Go boldly forth, my simple lay,
Whose accents flow with artless ease,
Like orient pearls at random strung :
Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say ;
But O ! far sweeter, if they please
The nymph for whom these notes are sung.

'As a translation the *song* is open to serious criticism,' writes Professor R. M. Hewitt in a recent issue of *English Studies*. ' The rhyme system and the stanza are remote from those of the original, and there is no approach to the rhythm. The matter of the poem has been inflated by exactly a half.' These comments are very true; though as regards rhythm it is worth pointing out that Jones's octosyllables are not so very far short of exactly reproducing the *Hazaj* of Ḥāfiz. But there are other more fundamental issues raised by this version than those mentioned by Professor Hewitt. Several translators have made the attempt to put Ḥāfiẓ into English in the exact metres and rhyme-schemes of the original ; of these experiments more will be said later ; but Jones is at least equal in boldness to any who have not feared, where it took their fancy, to substitute an English for a Persian figure, and even to introduce wholly original images that lack all justification if strict fidelity is to be the criterion of poetic

translations. But is this to be the criterion ? Let Richard Le Gallienne, who in his own way is at least as bold as Jones, argue the case for the defence. ' Surely the only service of a translation is to make the foreign poet a poet of one's own country not to present him as a half-Anglicized foreigner speaking neither his own language nor our own ! It is beyond dispute that many of the versifiers who have tried to produce ' faithful ' versions of Ḥāfiẓ have only succeeded in robbing him of every poetic quality. Jones's *Persian Song* is not Ḥāfiẓ, and Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát* is certainly not Omar Khayyam, but both give the uninitiated English reader a good opinion of Persian poetry, and that may be regarded as a great compensation for any lack of verbal or rhythmic fidelity. Jones writes in the authentic manner of his age, the age of Pope and Gray and Goldsmith ; it would have been an unparalleled literary miracle if he had not ; but his writing has the enduring quality of the true classic, and gives pleasure even today. Finally, the *Persian Song* encouraged many in Jones's day and later to take up the study of Persian ; and that in itself is a sufficient testimonial to its merit. For it must be remembered that Jones, in pleading the cause of Persian poetry, was in his day a pioneer of pioneers ; and, like all pioneers, he found himself confronted by a solid wall of conservative prejudice. Literary criticism was still the handmaid of the classical tradition, and it savoured almost of blasphemy for a man to suggest that Ḥāfiẓ the Persian was at least as worthy of study and imitation as Anacreon the Greek and Horace the Roman. So Jones was obliged to apologise for his boldness. ' I must request, that, in bestowing these praises on the writings of *Asia*, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of the *Greek* and *Latin* poems, which have justly been admired in every age ; yet I cannot but think that our *European* poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables: and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, that, if the principal writings of the *Asiatics*, which are deposited in our public libraries, were pointed out with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the *Eastern* nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation ; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind ; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes ; and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate.'

Before leaving Sir William Jones, who certainly did more than any other European scholar, before or since his time, to establish in the West a true appreciation of Persian poetry, it will not be without interest to furnish two further illustrations of his astonishing virtuosity, this time in the form of a Latin verse translation of an ode of Ḥāfiẓ, first published in his volume of *Poems* (1772), and a Greek rendering of another in the

style of Theocritus, printed in his *Poeteos Adsiaticæ Commentari* (1774).

دوستان وقت گل آن به که بعشوت کوشیم — سخن پیر مغانست بجان بنیوشیم
نیست درکس کرم و وقت طرب می گذرد — چاره آنست که سجاده بمی بفروشیم
حوش هوایست فرح بخش خدایا بفرست — نارنئی که برویش می گلگون نوشیم
ارعنون سار فلك رهزن اهل هنرست — چون ازین غصه نالیم وچرا نخروشیم
گل بجوش آمد و ازمی نزدیمش آبی — لاجرم زآتش حرمان وهوس درجوشیم
حافظ این حال عجب باکه توان گفت که ما — بلبلانیم که در موسم گل خاموشیم

Jam rosa purpureum caput explicat. Adsıt, amici,
Sauvis voluptatum cohors.
sīc monûere senes.

Nunc laeti sumus: at citiùs laeta avolat ætas.
Quın sacra permutem mero
Scragula nectareo?

Dulcè gemıt zephyrus. Ridentem mitte puellam,
Quan molli ın amplexu tenens
Pocula laeta biban.

Tange chelyn. Sævit fortuna; at mitte querelas.
Cur non canoros barbiti
Elicimus modulos?

Ea! florum regına nitet rosa. Fundite vini,
Quod Amoris extinguat facem,
Rectareos latices.

Suavè loquens Philomela vocor: Qui fiat ut umbrâ
Tectus rosarum nexili
(Veris avis) taceam?

ساقی بیار باده که آمد زمان گل — تابشکنیم توبه دگر در میان گل
کوری حوار نعره ربان درچمن رویم — چون بلبلان نزول کنیم آشیان گل
درصحن بوستان قدح باده نوش کن — کایات خوشدلی همه آمد بشان گل
گل درچمن رسید مشو ایمن از فراق — یار و شراب جوی و سرا بوستان گل
حافظ وصال گل طلبی همچو بلبلان — جان کن فدای خاك ره باغبان گل

*Ἐγκιρνα, φιλε παι, γλυκυν οινον αφειδεως*
*Ηλνθεν γχρ εαρ πολυδαιδαλον, ηλυθεν.*
*Εν ρ'οδοις κατακειο', οσα δε χθες υπεσχεο*
*Εαμερον Ζεφυροις μαλακαιποσι δος φερειν.*

*'Αμμες σε δτεφανοις θαλεροις πεπυκασμενοι*
*Αβρα μειδιοωντες, εταιρε, χορευσομεν,*
*Ως δ'αηδονες εξομεναι επι δενδρεω*
*Κλισμω εν ροδινω κατακεισομεθ' αδεως.*
*Εις καπον, φιλε κουρε, βαδιξε βαθυσκιον,*
*Παιδα δ'ευραδαμιγγα μελιφρονος αμπελου,*
*Χρυσεαις εν φιαλαισιν αμυσιι συνεκπιε,*
*Τερψις γαρ Γλυκυτης τε δοδοχροος ερχεται.*
*'Ορας, ως ροδεον πειαλον Ζεφυρω γελα.*
*Αυριον δε ταχ' ισακις ουκ απολαμψεται.*
*Νυυ δε νεκτερεας βοιρυων ρανιδας πιε,*
*Κεισο δ'εν ροδεοις λιπαρυχροος ανθεσι,*
*Κωρην δε ραδινοις μελεεεσι πεδερχεο.*
*Εγων μαν υπ' ερωτι ροδων απαλοχροων*
*Δαχθεις τακομαι, ως λιγυφωνος ληδονις,*
*Χρην σ'αρ', ω φιλον ητορ, υνσρφιλεειν κονιν*
*Βησσων, ενθα ροδων μελειωρ επινισσεται.*

## II

Three years after Jones and Reviczki published their first versions of Ḥāfiẓ, a colleague of Jones at the Temple, John Richardson (1741-1811), fired by this double example, and animated with the desire to provide servants of the East India Company with materials for their Persian studies, produced a small volume containing the text, literal and verse translations, and detailed analysis of three odes of Ḥāfiẓ. Richardson is best known for his Persian-Arabic-English dictionary which, founded on the earlier publication of Meninski, and later revised by Francis Johnson and Sir Charles Wilkins, served three generations as a standard work of reference, until in fact it was displaced by Steingass. His methods as a translator were closely similar to those of Jones, and his versions are marked by a polished elegance which gives cause for regret that he did not attempt more. For example, two stanzas from his rendering of Ḥāfiẓ' first ode, the same which Hyde did into Latin : we give Hyde's translation for purpose of comparison :

الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا و ناولها  که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکلها
ببوی نافهٔ کاخر صبا زان طره بکشاید  ز تاب جعد مشکینش چه خون افتاد در دلها

Agedum, O Pincema, circunmitte poculam & præbe illud : Amor enim poimò facilio videatur, sed accidunt tamen difficilia. Propter odorem Moschothecæ, quam subsolani extremitas ex illis antiis aperit ;

Propter crispaturam cincinnorum ejus suaveoleutium,
quantus incidit cordibus ardor !
Fill, fill the cup with sparkling wine,
Deep let me drink the juice divine,
To soothe my tortured heart.
For love, who seemed at first so mild,
So gently looked, so gaily smil'd,
Here deep has plunged the dart.

When, sweeter than the damask rose,
From Leila's locks the Zephyr blows,
How glows my keen desire !
I chide the wanton gale's delay,
I'm jealous of his am'rous play,
And all my soul's on fire.

In order to follow the chronological sequence of Ḥāfiz's English translators it is now necessary to transport ourselves, as Jones had done in 1783, from London to Calcutta, where we find Francis Gladwin (d. *circa* 1813), sometime officer in the Bengal Army, and encouraged by Warren Hastings to continue his Persian studies, sponsoring in 1785 and 1786 the two volumes of the short-lived *Asiatick Miscellany*. This ill-fated periodical during its brief career permitted the publication of a number of versions from Ḥāfiẓ by several hands. Jones himself contributed many articles on Persian and Sanskrit subjects to the *Miscellany*; a good number of these are unsigned; and the second volume contains two anonymous versions of Ḥāfiẓ, one over the initial H and the other subscribed HH, which have the unmistakable timber of this great scholar's work: the attribution is strengthened by the fact that H also stands below a quatrain whose ascription to Jones is attested by his biographer Lord Teignmouth as well as the *Thraliana*, and which is printed under his name in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*; the little poem has had a great vogue, and it will not be without interest to supply its original in Persian.

روزی که ز مادر تو رادی عریان  خلقان همه حمدان تو بودی گریان
در روز وفاتت که جان بسپاری  خلقان همه گریان تو باش خندان

On parent knees, a naked new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, when all around thee smil'd:
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, when all around thee weep.

The version of Ḥāfiẓ, initialled H, is a rendering of the well-known *Mukhammas* whose authenticity is now generally rejected by Persian editors: the poem does not occur in the oldest manuscripts of the Dīwān. An extract will suffice to prove the translation's charm.

در عشق توای صنم چنانم  کز هستی خویش در گمانم
هر چند که زار و ناتوانم  گر دست دهد هزار جانم
در پای مبارکت فشانم

کو بخت که از سر بیازی  در حضرت چون تو دلنوازی
معروض کنم نهفته رازی  هیهات که چون تو شاهبازی
تشریف دهد بآشیانم

هرچند ستمگری تو راخوست  کم کن تو بدی که آن نه نیکوست
گر زانکه دلت نه زآهن وروست  آخر بسرم گذر کن ایدوست
انگار که خاك آستانم

Blest idol, view, absorb'd in Love,
Thy helpless victim's fate.
In thee alone I live and move,
Ah! see my wretched state.
Yet, should a thousand lives renew my soul,
At thy dear feet I sacrifice the whole.

When shall kind fortune be my friend?
When shall thy pitying breast
Permit thy suppliant to attend,
And urge his heart's request?
O when, bright tow'ring eagle, will thou deign
To grace his nest, and hear his plaintive strain?

Is cruelty familiar grown,
Yet from its ways depart:
Delight in misery disown—
Thou hast no iron heart;
O come, my love, pass o'er thy votary's head,
Which prostrate o'er thy threshold's dust is laid.

The other verse translations of Ḥāfiẓ contained in the *Asiatick Miscellany* are the work of 'the late Capt. Thomas Ford' and of Thomas Law. The former is of a poem which is certainly not genuine, and therefore hardly merits attention. The latter deserves less summary treatment, if only for the sake of its translator. Thomas Law (1759-1834), seventh son of a bishop of Carlisle, went to India in 1773, and resigned from the Company's service in 1791 on the customary grounds of ill-health. Perhaps under Jones's influence, he conceived an admiration for the young republic on the other side of the Atlantic, and spent the latter part of his life in the United States, where he made a name and lost a for-

tune by interesting himself in American Currency questions : his second wife was a granddaughter of Mrs. Curtis, whose second husband was George Washington ; he was one of the chief mourners at Washington's funeral. His 'imitation ' of Ḥāfiz is sufficiently pedestrian, but here it is, with its value as a curiosity :

گل در بروی بر کف و معشوقه بکام است  سلطان جهانم بچنین روز غلام است
گوشمع میارید درین جمع که امشب  در مجلس ما ماه رخ دوست تمام است
در مجلس ما عطر میامیز که مارا  هرلحظه ز گیسوی تو خوشبوی مشام است
گوشم همه بر قول نی و نغمهٔ چنگ است  چشمم همه بر لعل لب و گردش جام است
حافظ منشین بی می و معشوق زمانی  کایام گل و یاسمن و عهد صیام است

My bosom grac'd with each gay flow'r,
I grasp the bowl, my nymph in glee ;
The monarch of the world that hour,
Is but a slave compar'd to me.

Intrude not with the taper's light,
My social friends, with beaming eyes ;
Trundle around a starry night,
And lo ! my nymph the moon supplies.

Away, thy sprinkling odours spare,
Be not officiously thus kind,
The waving ringlets of my Fair,
Shed perfume to the fainting wind.

My ears th' enlivening notes inspire,
As luta or harp alternate sound ;
My eyes those ruby lips admire,
Or catch the glasses sparkling round.

Then let no moments steal away,
Without thy mistress and thy wine ;
The spring flowers blossom to decay,
And youth but glows to own decline.

From Calcutta we now return to London and the most ambitious enterprise yet : seventeen *Select Odes* edited and translated into English verse. This volume was a product of the fluent pen of John Nott (1751-1825), a noted scholar in his day. Originally trained as a physician, he travelled out to China in 1783 as surgeon of an East Indiaman, and turned three years' absence from home to good account by learning Persian ; these translations of Ḥāfiz were the first and solitary fruits of his excursion into orientalism. Thereafter he roved over a wide field of studies ; translated Latin, Greek and Italian classics ; established himself as an authority on Elizabethan poetry ; but wrote such long and tedious

annotations on George Wither as to provoke the disgust of Charles Lamb and the subsequent sarcasm of Swinburne. He was also renowned as a conversationalist, which presumably means that he talked as readily and variedly as he wrote. His versions of Ḥāfiẓ are quite pleasing in the eighteenth century manner, and he courteously acknowledged his debt to Reviczki, Richardson and Jones. The specimen which follows is characteristic of his style:

صبا بلطف بگو آن غزال رعنا را — که سر بکوه و بیابان تو دادهٔ مارا
شکر فروش که عمرش دراز باد چرا — تفقدی نکند طوطی شکر خارا
غرور حسنت اجازت مگر نداد ای گل — که پرسشی نکنی عندلیب شیدا را
بخلق و لطف توان کرد صید اهل نظر — ببند ودام نگیرند مرغ دانا را
ندانم از چه سبب رنگ آشنائی نیست — سهی قدان سیه چشم ماه سیما را
جزاین قدرنتوان گفت در جمال توعیب — که وضع مهر ووفا نیست روی زیبا را
درآسمان نه عجب گر بگفتهٔ حافظ — سرود زهره برقص آورد مسیحا را

Go, friendly Zephyr! whisp'ring great
Yon gentle fawn with slender feet;
Say that in quest of her I rove
The dangerous steeps, the wilds of love.

Thou merchant who dost sweetness vend
(Long may kind heav'n thy life defend!)
Ah, why unfriendly thus forget
Thy am'rous sweet-billed parroquet?

Is it, O rose! thy beauty's pride
That casts affection far aside,
Forbidding thee to court the tale
Of thy fond mate, the nightingale?

I know not why 'tis rare to see
The colour of sincerity
In nymphs who boast majestic grace,
Dark eyes, and silver-beaming face.

What tho' that face be angel fair,
One fault does all its beauty mar;
Nor faith, nor constancy adorn
Thy charms, which else might shame the moon.

By gentle manner we controul
The wise, the sense-illumin'd soul:
No idle lure, no glitt'ring bait
Th' experienc'd bird will captivate.

What wonder, Hafiz, that thy strain,
Whose sounds inchant the etherial plain,
Should tempt each graver star to move
In dances with the star of love?

## III

All the preceding translators had laboured under the handicap of having to establish their text of Ḥāfiẓ on the authority of manuscripts, often faulty, always inflated, for no poet has suffered more than the Nightingale of Shīrāz from the felonious attentions of later versifiers' ambitions to win currency for their own creations by signing them with his name. The first printed edition of Ḥāfiẓ came from Upjohn's Calcutta Press in 1791, set up in the *Nasta'līq* types designed and cast by Sir Charles Wilkins: the book never had a very wide circulation, and few copies came to this country; it is now a great rarity. The text of Upjohn's edition leaves much to be desired, but at all events it was a step in the right direction, and a material help to students in India. John Haddon Hindley (1765-1827), the next to make a volume of Ḥāfiẓ, was not able to use the 1791 edition, but had good manuscripts at his disposal in the Chatham Library at Manchester, which was in his charge when his *Persian Lyrics* (London, 1800) appeared. Hindley, like Richardson, never went East, but his work—he also did the *Pand-Nāmah* of 'Aṭṭār—is none the worse for that. He was the first to discuss at length and in detail the problems involved in translating Ḥāfiẓ, and his remarks are still memorable. 'To give a literal or perfect translation of our author metrically, or even prosaically, into *English*, may be confidently pronounced impossible. An obvious proof of this assertion will be found, on considering for a moment those oppugnancies, which occur so generally in the idiomatic construction of the languages of ENGLAND and IRAN, and which must ever most effectually militate against such closeness of version. Whatever might be looked for from favourable analogies, the frequent and varied allusions from words of similar sound and formation, though generally of exactly opposite signification, as well as the lively and often recondite *lusus verborum*, so common in the *Arabic* and *Persian*, and which, though strange, if not trifling, to a *European* ear, are, to the habitual feelings of the *Asiatic*, both choice and exquisite. These obstacles, I say, must alone render every chance of translative imitation in this case completely hopeless." Hindley next passes to another obstacle—the frequent use of compound words in Persian poetry, impossible to reproduce in elegant English. He also refers pertinently to the problems raised by Ḥāfiẓ's habitual use of Ṣūfī imagery. The next point which calls for comment is the very construction of the Persian ode, with its repetitive monorhyme: here Hindley's comments are indeed worth pondering by all who may even yet be unconvinced, despite the palpable failure of previous experiments

that the form of the Ghazal cannot be imitated in English. ' The constant recurrence of the same rhyme....is not suited to our language, which, as has been often observed by critics, will not bear reiterated monotonies. In such cases, then, he (the translator) may surely dispense with the minutiæ of punctilious imitation, 'provided he strictly confine himself to the prominent ideas of his original, where no eccentricities oppose him.' In this remarkable preface Hindley also discusses a further point of great interest even yet, namely, the criticism levelled against the Persian ode that it consists of a string of unconnected and incoherent ideas. This charge is still brought from time to time, as in the recent paper *Harmonious Jones* by Professor Hewitt from which we have already quoted: ' This particular ode of Hafiz,' writes the critic, referring to the original of Jones's *Persian Song*, ' is more than usually incoherent, and what unity it possesses comes from the rhyme which is the same throughout and occurs ten times.' Later in this paper we shall return to this criticism: for the present it is instructive to see how Hindley in his day answered the same charge. He maintains that Ḥāfiẓ is in fact far less guilty of the alleged incoherency than most of his compatriots, and that what looseness and variety of images do occur in his poems can be readily condoned in a lyric poet. Besides, ' if we attend only to the time, the place, the object, the intention and the imagery of each *Ghazal*, the ideas for the most part appear to flow naturally, and without any absurd or harsh transition: and surely in these lighter rhapsodies, the coruscations of wit, the effusions of tenderness, and the luxuriant sallies of an unrestrained and impassioned imagination, may be fairly presumed to have been aided by the delicious wines, by the joyous symposiacs, and by the instructive and delightful *Macamat* of *Shirāz*, just as similar poetical beauties are reported to have arisen from similarly stimulating and exhilarating causes in that truly *Hafizian* poetry so immediately present to classical recollection, which sings the praises of *Teios, Mitylene and Falemum*. Under these circumstances, therefore, the translator will only have to allow our author, what he finds in the Grecian and Roman lyric poets, and what we should be willing to allow any poet of our own, the liberty of glancing with the frenzied eye of inspiration from earth to heaven, from heaven to earth, in search of objects adopted to the subject of his composition ; and, after attending to the minute turns of the versification, we suspect, it will be his own fault, if he finds an unsurmountable difficulty in explaining his author's meaning in a manner so perceptibly connected as to avoid exciting disgust in an English reader.' One last counsel Hindley adds. The Persian language, he reminds his readers, is still only imperfectly and rarely understood in England, though the situation is improving; Persian poetry is as yet exotic fare ; therefore, do not serve up too much of it at a time, for ' by attempting too much, we may disgust, instead of pleasing.' How salutary a warning, even for the present day! Hindley himself heeded it, by only translating eleven odes ; we again confine ourselves to a single illustration of his methods, choosing for the purpose his version

of the poem which we selected as characterising Sir William Jones's still as a versifier in French:

Zephyr, should'st thou chance to rove
By the mansion of my love,
From her locks ambrosial bring
Choicest odours on thy wing.

Could'st thou waft me from her breast
Tender sighs to say I'm blest,
As she lives! my soul would be
Sprinkl'd o'er with ecstasy.

But if Heav'n the boon deny,
Round her stately footsteps fly,
With the dust that thence may rise,
Stop the tears which bathe these eyes.

Lost, poor mendicant! I roam
Begging, craving she would come:
Where shall I thy phantom see,
Where, dear nymph, a glimpse of thee?

Like the mind-tost reed my breast
Fann'd with hope is ne'er at rest,
Throbbing, longing to excess
Her fair figure to caress.

Yes, my charmer, tho' I see
Thy heart courts no love with me,
Not for worlds, could they be mine,
Would I give a hair of thine.

Why, O care! shall I in vain
Strive to shun thy galling chain,
When these strains still fail to save,
And make Hafiz more a slave.

Hindley dedicated his volume to Sir William Ouseley, 'an able and zealous restorer of oriental literature in Great Britain at the close of the Eighteenth Century.' Sir William had himself published a number of prose-translations of Ḥāfiz in his *Persian Miscellanies* (London, 1795) and *Oriental Collections* (London, 1797-1800); but as the subject of prose renderings of Ḥāfiẓ in general falls outside the scope of this paper, further reference to these attempts would be superfluous. Similarly we do not propose to comment on the prose-versions offered by Sir Gore Ouseley (1770-1844) in his *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets* (London, 1846), but will only quote his estimate of Ḥāfiẓ that 'his style is clear, unaffected, and harmonious, displaying at the same time great learning, matured science, and intimate knowledge of the hidden as well as the apparent

nature of things; but, above all, a certain fascination of expression unequalled by any other poet.'

## IV

The generation of Sir William Jones had thus paid no mean tribute to the greatest lyric poet of Persia: if the versions produced during those thirty years exhibit a marked uniformity of style and spirit, the matter is easily explained on two scores—the still strong influence of the classical tradition in English poetry, not yet demolished by the Romantics, and the overwhelming personal authority of Jones himself, unchallenged in his lifetime and undisputed for many years after his premature death. But while the inspiration of these versions of a Persian poet now began to work itself out ever more widely in the English poetry and verse of the nineteenth century, Ḥāfiẓ himself, like all his compatriots, presently suffered the same neglect in this country which befell all oriental studies. While the German von Hammer (Tubingen 1812) and Rozenzweig-schwannau (Vienna 1856-1864) translated the entire Dīwān, the latter into creditable verse interleaved with a sumptuous though inflated edition of the text, and H. Brockhaus (Leipzig 1854-1856) printed the first eighty odes with a Turkish commentary, it was not until 1875 that the next volume of English verse-translations appeared, though two years earlier S. Robinson published *A Century of Ghazals in Prose*. Credit for this belated revival of Ḥāfiẓ studies belongs to Herman Bicknell (1830-1875), a remarkable character: having studied medicine, he joined the army as a surgeon, saw service in India, China, Kashmir and Tibet, and in 1862, taking the name of Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid, made the pilgrimage to Mecca undisguised. Bicknell spent many years with his Ḥāfiẓ, and went so far as to live for a time at Shīrāz 'with the object of clearing up doubtful points, and of becoming personally acquainted with the localities mentioned by the poet.' The appearance of his production was a result of brotherly piety, for Bicknell died before he could see his volume through the press: C. E. Wilson gave a helping hand in getting the book into proper shape. It is an ornate work, florid after the bastard Persian style of the mid-Victorian period to which it belongs: it contains versified translations of no fewer than 189 odes, as well as numerous other pieces. E. G. Browne names Bicknell as one of the three most successful English translators of Ḥāfiẓ, and in his *Literary History of Persia* quotes two of his renderings, only to establish their inferiority to Miss Gertrude Bell's. To rank Bicknell third in the imposing concourse of Ḥāfiẓ-worshippers is to pay him too much honour, though quantitively his work is certainly considerable: yet in quality his versions are not wholly lacking in merit, their chief fault being that they aim at too strict a literalness to be truly poetic. Here we give a typical specimen, rather pedestrian, very workmanlike, and still smelling

of the midnight oil : the joyous rapture of the original is almost wholly vanished :

شگفته شد گل حمرا وگشت بلبل مست صلائی سرخوشی‌ای صوفیان باده پرست
اساس توبه که درمحکمی چو سنگ نمود ببین که جام زجاجی چه طرفه اش بشکست
بیار باده که در بارگاه استغنا چه پاسبان وچه سلطان چه هوشیار وچه مست
ازین رباط دودر چون ضرورتست رحیل رواق وطاق معیشت چه سر بلند وچه پست
مقام عیش میسر نمیشود بی رنج بلی بحکم بلا بسته اند عهد الست
بهست ونیست مرنجان ضمیر وحوش میباش که نیستیست سرانجام هرکمال که هست
شکوه آصفی و اسب باد و منطق طیر بباد رفت واز وخواجه هیچ طرف نبست
سال و پر مروازره که تیر پرتابی هوا گرفت زمانی ولی بخاك نشست
زبان کلك تو حافظ چه شکر آن گوید که گفته سخنت می برند دست بدست

In blossom is the crimson rose, and the rapt *bulbul* trills his song ;
A summons that to revel calls you, O Sufis, wine-adoring throng !

The fabric of my contrite fervour appeared upon a rock to bide ;
Yet see how by a crystal goblet it hath been shattered in its pride.

Bring wine ; for to a lofty spirit, should they at its tribunal be,
What were the sentry, what the Sultan, the toper or the foe of glee ?

Forth from this hostel of two portals as finally thou needst must go.
What if the porch and arch of Being be of high span or meanly low ?

To bliss's goal we gain not access, if sorrow has been tasted not ;
Yea, with *Alastu's* pact was coupled the sentence of our baleful lot.

At Being and Not-being fret not, but either with calm temper see :
Not-being is the term appointed for the most lovely things that be.

Asaf's display, the airy courser, the language which the birds employed
The wind has swept ; and their possessor no profit from his wealth enjoyed.

Oh ! fly not from thy pathway upward, for the winged shaft that quits the bow
A moment to the air has taken, to settle in the dust below.

What words of gratitude, O Hafiz,
Shall thy reed's tongue express anon,
As its choice gems of composition
From hands to other hands pass on ?

In 1877 E. H. Palmer (1840-1882) published his *Song of the Reed*, a collection of verses original and translated. Palmer was a competent Persian scholar and a good draftsman, and his tragic early death cut short

a career of great promise still largely unfulfilled. His six versions from Ḥāfiẓ contained in this volume are pleasing after the mid-Victorian manner, not at all like the polished classical style of Jones, quiet reading for the heavily-curtained drawing-room, with little inspiration but sound scholarship and good taste. We again choose one of Ḥāfiẓ's most popular lyrics to illustrate; though its authenticity is highly questionable:

مطرب خوش نوا بگو تاره بتاره نو بنو — بادهٔ دلگشا بجو تازه بتازه نو بنو
با صنمی چولعتی خوش بنشین دوساعتی — بوسه ستان زلعل او تازه بتازه نو بنو
گر نه مدام می‌خوری برزحیات کی حوری — گر بودت دل نکو تازه بتازه نو بنو
ساقی ماهروی من مشك بهار بوئی من — زود که پر کنی سبو تازه بتازه نو بنو
شاهد دلربائی من میکند از برائی من — نقش ونگار و رنگ وبو تازه بتازه نو بنو
باد صبا چو بگذری بر سر کوئی آن پری — قصهٔ حافظش بگو تازه بتازه نو بنو

O minstrel! sing thy lay divine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!
Bring me the heart-expanding wine,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Seated beside a maiden fair,
I gaze with a loving and raptured view,
And I sip her lip and caress her hair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Who of the fruit of life can share,
Yet scorn to drink of the grapes's sweet dew?
Then drain a cut to thy mistress fair,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

She who has stolen my heart away
Heightens her beauty's rosy hue,
Decketh herself in rich array,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

Balmy breath of the western gale,
Waft to her ears my love-song true;
Tell her poor love-lorn Hafiz's tale,
Freshly fresh and newly new!

A.J. ARBERRY.

(*To be concluded*).

# SHAIKH NASĪRUDDĪN MAḤMŪD CHIRĀGH-I-DEHLĪ[1] AS A GREAT HISTORICAL PERSONALITY

IT was a little before noon on a hot summer day in Delhi in the early years of Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī's reign that Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā', the greatest Indo-Muslim saint of all times, left his comfortless room on the upper storey, which was burning like an oven, negotiated the clumsy and dangerous staircase, and was about to proceed to a little room that adjoined his Jamā'at-Khāna, a large hall with tall, clumsy pillars in which his disciples lived, prayed and slept according to the principles prescribed for the community life of the mystics. But the great Shaikh, who kept his nights alive with prayers, meditations and recitations of select verses, was not destined to enjoy his much needed midday rest. For, casting his eyes around him, he discerned a man of about forty-five or so standing in the courtyard under the banyan tree, which some years later was to spread its branches over the roof of the Jamā'at-Khāna, so that the Shaikh and his friends might sit comfortably in the shade. Something in the man, one of his newer disciples, attracted the great Shaikh, for he possessed, in a remarkable degree the ' intuitive intelligence, (Nafs-i-Gīra) of the mystics. The new disciple had come to his master, even as Shaikh Bahā'uddīn Zakariyya had gone to Shaikh Shahābuddīn 'Umar, the founder of the Suhrwardī Silsilah, after years of study, preparation and self-training. He was, to quote a metaphor of

1. In preparing this short biography of the last of the great Chishtī mystics, I have confined myself exclusively to contemporary authorities. Amīr Hasan Sijzī in his *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id* refers to our saint only once, but with affection as " *'Azīzī* Nasīruddīn Mahmūd" Amīr Khurd in his *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'* (Chiranjī Lal edition) devotes a section to our Shaikh in the *Bāb* (Chapter) on the ' Successors of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā'. He and his family had been for years on intimate terms with the Shaikh His work, begun some years earlier, was completed soon after the Shaikh's death in 1356 A D In 1353-54 Hamīd Qalandar compiled a record of 100 Conversations of the Shaikh , he added a Supplement giving a sketch of the Shaikh's life some time after the Shaikh's death This book, known as the *Khair-ul-Majālis*, has not been printed but I have been able to obtain a copy of the Hyderabad MS through the kindness of Dr Yūsuf Husain of the Osmania University Shaikh Jamalī in his *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* copies this Supplement, word for word The title ' Chirāgh-i-Dehlī ' was given to him by later generations ; his contemporaries did not know him by that name.

the Great Shaikh[1] himself, like ' dry wood ' which the mystic-master had but to breathe on and it would burst into flames.

The Great Shaikh gave up the idea of his midday rest, turned to the gate-room (Dihlīz) and sent one of the servants of the Khānqāh to summon the new disciple.

" Sit down," said the Great Shaikh, surveying the man with those red, sleep-laden eyes of his, well aware that even his Khānqāh was fortunate in the advent of such a mystic. " What is in your heart ? What is your aim ? What work did your father do ?"

From all his higher disciples Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā' ruthlessly demanded the complete severance of all earthly ties. They must have nothing to do with kings and high officers. They must not earn any livelihood ; a feeling of security about his means of livelihood would imply that the disciple depended upon something other than Allāh. So no playing for security, if you are a mystic. Starve and be the guest of Allāh ! Earlier Chishtī mystics had only permitted two forms of livelihood—Zamīn-i-Ahyā, the cultivation of barren land by the mystic's own hand, and Futūh, the unasked charity of his neighbours. But the Great Shaikh apparently disapproved of the former as it made the mystic dependent upon the tax-collector. Unasked charity was the only livelihood he would permit.

The new disciple was prepared for all that the human mind and frame can bear in the search for Ḥaq or the Absolute. He had already cast aside all earthly ties, though he belonged to a well-to-do family.

" My father," Shaikh Nasīruddīn Maḥmūd replied, " had slaves who traded in woollen cloth. The object of my devotions is to pray for the long life of the Shaikh, to attend to the shoes of the Durwēshes, and to serve them with my head and eye-balls."

The Great Shaikh's mind inevitably went back to those far-off days when, though the most distinguished of Delhi students and one whom every one expected to have ' a fine career,' he had, almost without an effort, cast all worldly temptations aside and presented himself at the Jamā'at-Khāna of Shaikh Farīduddīn of Ajadhan, determined to tread the mystic path. He possessed nothing, absolutely nothing, in those days. A kindly lady[2] had lent him her Chādar to wind round his waist while she washed his only pair of garments. He had not even a copper coin to buy a little paper on which to jot down his master's instructions.

1. Most writers have taken the privilege of giving a title of their own to Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn. Amīr Khurd in his *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'* (*Lives of the Saints*) gives him the title of Sulṭan-ul-Mashā'ikh.' But the people of Delhi, in utter disregard of Arabic grammar, have given him the title of ' Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā' after the book, *Siyar-ul-Auliyā* ' I suppose it is too late to protest against this mistake , for *Auliya* means not saint but ' saints', which is absurd I have, following my friend, Dr. Mohammad Salīm-*Early History of the Chishtī Silsilah in India*— called him ' the Great Shaikh.'

2. Wife of Mahmūd Kirmānī and grandmother of Amīr Khurd When Shaikh Farīduddīn died, she came with her husband to the Great Shaikh and looked after his starving household for years.

Here, the Great Shaikh could not fail to see, was a true successor to him, to Shaikh Farīduddīn and to all the great Chishtī mystics of the past.

" Bravo ! Now hear me," the Great Shaikh said, " When after finishing my studies I went to Shaikh Farīd at Ajodhan, a friend and classfellow of mine, with whom I used to have academic discussions (at Delhi), came and put up at an inn. He had a servant to attend to his needs. Seeing me in my grimy and tattered clothes, he exclaimed : ' Maulānā Niẓāmuddīn ! What misfortune has befallen you ? Had you taken to teaching work at Delhi, you would have become the leading scholar (Mujtahid) of the time with prosperity and sufficient livelihood.' I said nothing in my justification but merely apologized and returned to Shaikh Farīd. ' What would be your answer to such a question ?' Shaikh Farīd asked. ' As the Shaikh directs,' I replied, ' Tell him,' Shaikh Farīd replied :

نه همرهی تو مرا ، راه خویش گیر برو
ترا سعادت بادا ، مرا نگون ساری [1]

He then asked me to order a tray of every variety of dishes from his kitchen and to take it on my head to my friend, who, genuinely surprised, came to see Shaikh Farīduddīn, and was so charmed by his conversation that he entered the circle of his disciples."

There was no stopping the great Shaikh once he had started on his favourite theme. He went to the heart of every problem—to the heart of every man. Tears flowed down the Shaikh's cheeks as in that small Looh-swept room he expounded the principles of mysticism to the new disciple, who, on his part, took in everything and understood everything.

This is how, woven round a simple story and a plain verse, the last of the great Chishtī mystics received the spiritual benedictions of his master.[2]

## II

The *Khair-ul-Majālis* of the inestimable Ḥamid Qalandar enables us to piece together some events about the family and early life of Shaikh Naṣīruddīn. He came from a family of emigrants to India and his grandfather, 'Abdul-Latīf Yezdī, was born in the district of Lahore ; but the family migrated to Oudh and Shaikh Nasīruddīn was born in that histo-

1. You are not my travelling companion. Seek your own path. Get along. May prosperity be your portion in life and misfortune mine.

2. This incident is related by Amīr Khurd on the authority of his uncle, Saiyid Husain, who was present at the conversation. Years later, when Saiyid Husain lay dying, he sent his nephews to remind Shaikh Naṣīruddīn of the incident.

ric centre of Hindu culture. His father, Yaḥyā,[1] died when he was nine years old, but the family was in affluent circumstances and his mother gave him a good education. He studied the *Hidayah* and the *Pazudi* with Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Karīm Sherwānī ; and after the latter's death, he completed his studies in all subjects at Oudh under the instruction of Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Gīlānī. His relations wanted him to take up some work, but he would not hear of it, and at the age of twenty-five he definitely chose the mystic path.

Years later (in 1353 A.D.) he gave an account of his life at that time and his conception of a well-spent day. "There were pleasant mausoleums (in Oudh) in those days and well-laid out mango-groves. Now both the mausoleums and the mango-groves have disappeared. Every morning I would go out of my house with my brother-in-law, Khwāja Maḥmūd, father of my nephews, Moīnuddīn and Kamāluddīn,[2] reciting my Wazīfa (religious formulæ). On reaching the mausoleums, I would say to him, 'Khwāja, you can go home or pray in one of the mausoleums like me.' He would select one of these alternatives. I said my Zuhr (afternoon) prayer there. At 'Asr-time I gave the call to prayer ; about ten or twelve persons would collect together and I led the congregational prayers. After saying my Maghrib (evening) and 'Isha (night) prayers there, I returned home, reciting my Wazīfa all the time. I could get a short afternoon nap (Qailūlah) under the mango-groves where the weavers had spread their nets between the tree-trunks ; there was no fear that a thief would steal my shoes or my water-pot. On reaching home, I would retire to my room on the roof and spend the whole night in my religious devotions. Years passed like this."

It was not till the death of his mother, who was buried behind the 'Id-gāh of Ajodhya (or Oudh), that Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd could come to Delhi at the age of forty-three and establish himself in a corner of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn's Jamā'at-Khāna to share in its community-life. But family ties still bound him to Oudh. His younger sister, Bībī Lahorī, was dead and her son, Kamāluddīn, was being brought up by his elder sister, Bībī Buba-bādi, along with her own son, Zainuddīn 'Alī. These two nephews were destined to live with him till the end of his days. He often went to visit his surviving sister. Our records only give us an incomplete account

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1. There is a confusion here about names. Maulānā Ghulām Sarwar in his *Safinat-ul-Aṣafiyā*, p 351, gives the name of 'Abdul-Laṭif Yezdi to the Shaikh's grandfather and of Yahyā to his father. My copy of the *Khair-ul-Majālis* says that the Shaikh was the son of Yūsuf son of 'Abdur-Rashīd Lahori. The printed text of the *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* says that the Shaikh's grandfather's name was Yahya.

In the technical language of the mystics, Shaikh means a person who has received a Certificate of Succession or *Khilāfat-Nāma* from his master or Pīr, and is authorised to enrol disciples.

2 *Siyarūl-'Arifin*, p. 90 says that Shaikh Nasīruddīn had only one sister older than himself and that Zainuddīn and Kamāluddīn were her sons But the Supplement to the *Khair-ul-Majālis* says that he had two sisters Zainuddīn and Kamāluddīn lived in the Jamā'at Khāna of the Shaikh in his last years, but nothing more is known of the third nephew, Mo'inuddīn. He may have died early.

of these journeys. "Once," he tells us, "I returned from Oudh with my brothers and the father of Khwāja Yūsuf. In those days I had reduced my diet.' 'He has given up his diet,' my brother said to Mubashshir, the servant of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā.' 'Please report the matter to the Shaikh.' Mubashshir went to the Great Shaikh and exaggerated the matter still further. The Shaikh sent me a loaf of bread weighing two seers and Hilwa (sweetmeat) with instructions that I should finish them." He found the task difficult owing to the delicate condition of his stomach but carried out the Shaikh's order none-the-less.

On another occasion he reached Delhi in mid-winter and found the Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna crowded. "Putting you up is no burden or trouble to me," the great Shaikh apologised to him, "But there are so many travellers here. Your relations in Oudh will also be anxious about you." The last sentence was probably a reference to the impending Mongol attack under Targhi. Shaikh Nasīruddīn squeezed himself into the Jamā'at-Khāna somehow, but a week later orders were received from Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn summoning everyone within the City-walls. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn found refuge in the house of Maulānā Burhānuddīn Gharīb, who was destined years later to lay the foundations of the Chishtiyah-Niẓāmiya Silsilah in the Deccan. The two became very close friends.

On another occasion, when returning from Oudh, Shaikh Nasīruddīn saw a ruined gate (Dewrhi) by the side of the river Gumti, and took it into his head to pull it down and build a mosque on the spot with the material. The name of the place is not given in our records, but it may safely be identified with Jauras, where the mosque still stands. The inhabitants of the place claim to be descended from the Sister's of Shaikh Naṣīruddīn. The work took him some months, and before it was completed he heard of the death of his sister, Buba-Abadi. He left his servant or companion, Qāzī 'Arif, to complete the work and went back to Oudh. After staying there for forty days, he started for Delhi with his nephews. He was not destined to see his native town again. "You are coming from the right side," Shaikh Nizamuddīn said to him, "you have done well in bringing your nephews along." He now definitely settled in the house of Shaikh Burhanuddīn Gharīb' in the City, which was at a considerable distance from the great Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna at Ghiaspur. His visits to the great Shaikh were therefore infrequent, but according to the Shaikh's own principles meeting one's master too often was not necessary.

There followed some fifteen years of externally uneventful life, during which Shaikh Nasīruddīn Mahmūd's reputation grew steadily among the mystic circles of Delhi. Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā' was one of those few persons who have never been troubled by sex-desire. He had even a theory about it. "Marriage," the great Shaikh said, "is permitted but celibacy is a matter of courage. If a man is so absorbed in thoughts of God that he feels no promptings of sex-desire and is not conscious of what it is, inevitably his eyes, and tongue and limbs will be protected

(Mahfūz). He ought to remain unmarried. But if a man cannot be so absorbed and his heart is prompted by sex-desire, then he should get married. The essence of the matter is cosmic emotion (Moḥabbat). If a man's heart is absorbed in God, this will influence his body, but if his heart is distracted, then his body will be distracted also." Following the example of the Great Shaikh, some of his distinguished disciples, like Maulānā Fakhruddīn Zarradi, also decided to live a celibate life. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd, who had not the Great Shaikh's constitutional immunity from sex-desire, had solved the problem for himself while still in Oudh. " In those early days," he says, " sex-desire began to trouble me, and I felt very depressed. In order to suppress this desire I drank so much lemon-juice that I was brought to the verge of death. Still I said to myself ' Death is preferable to a life of sex-desire'."

He lived up to the highest standards prescribed by the Great Shaikh, poverty and resignation being the chief of them for "the mystics at the stage of resignation (Raḍa, Tawakkul) is like the corpse in the hands of the undertaker." Like the Great Shaikh and all his Chishtī predecessors, he would have nothing to do with the great ones of this earth. " There are two terms of abuse among the mystics," he told Ḥamid in his later years, " Muqallid and Jurt. Muqallid is a mystic who has no master. Jurt is a mystic who asks people for money, who wraps himself up in a costly cloak (Khirqah), puts on a mystic cap and goes to kings and high officers. Why ? I am a Durwesh. Give me something."[1]

The great Chishti mystics had always avoided the courts of kings, and we find Shaikh Naṣīruddin Maḥmūd telling Ḥamid a story on the subject.

" Once upon a time there was a king who had made it a rule that everyone could have access to him when he was sitting in the public Durbar. Petitioners came with their applications in their hands, which were taken by the chamberlains (Ḥājibs) and handed over to the king. There were gate-keepers (Darbāns) at the entrance but they did not stop anybody.

" One day a Durwēsh clad in a patched cloak (Khirqah) came to the king's gate and wished to pass according to the custom without any hesitation.

" ' Turn back !' the gate-keeper shouted.

" The Durwesh was perplexed, ' Khwāja,' he asked the gate-keeper, ' Is it not the custom of this court that no one is forbidden entrance ? Everyone is going in. Why do you stop me ? Is it on account of my short and insignificant cloak (Khirqah) ? '

" ' Yes,' replied the gate-keeper, ' that is exactly the reason why I am preventing your entrance. *You are wearing the garb of saints ; and people do not come in this garb to this door. Go back. Take off your saintly garb, put on the dress of worldly men and then I will allow you to enter.*

1. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Majlis XXIII.

*But respect for this garb (of the saints) prevents me from permitting you to come in.'*

" The Durwēsh gave up the request (to the king) which he had in mind. ' I will not give up the garb of the Durwēshes,' he replied."

In the years to come Shaikh Nasīruddīn's principles *vis-à-vis* the Kings of the day were to be sternly tested. But for the present his one desire was to live the life of a mere devotee. " For years," he says, " I had entertained the desire that with a loin-cloth (Mirzā'ī) round my waist, a coat round my body and a cap on my head, I might wander from mosque to mosque on hills and plains." He asked his friend, the poet Amīr Khusrau, who saw the Great Shaikh almost every day after dinner and was allowed to talk of almost everything he liked, to intercede for him with the Great Shaikh, so that he might be allowed to worship God in a corner. But Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn, who even then was contemplating appointing him as his chief Khalīfa or Successor at Delhi, would not hear of it. " Tell Nasīruddīn," he told Khusrau, " that he ought to live among the people, submitting to their cruelties and blows and responding to them with humility, generosity and kindness." Of his eminence among the disciples of the Great Shaikh there can be no doubt. Amīr Khurd, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'*, who passed his early years in the precincts of the Great Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna, says that " among the disciples of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā', Shaikh Naṣīruddīn was like the moon among the stars."

## III

Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā' died on 18th Rabī' II, 725 A.H. (March 1325) and his funeral prayers were led by Shaikh Ruknuddīn, grandson of the famous Suhrwardi saint, Shaikh Bahā'uddīn Zakariyya of Multan, who happened to be then at Delhi. Some three months or so before his death,[1] he had at the instance of Amīr Khusrau and others ordered Certificates of Succession (Khilāfat-Nāmas) to be prepared. The first mystic to receive his Certificate was Shaikh Qutbuddīn Munawwar, grandson of Shaikh Jamāl of Hansi, the senior disciple of Shaikh Farīduddīn of Ajodhan. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn came second, but the Great Shaikh made it clear that precedence in this matter was irrelevant and ordered them to embrace each other. In accordance with the directions of the Great Shaikh, his Successors left for various parts of India. Shaikh Burhānuddīn Gharīb' went to Gulbarga ; Akhī Sirāj, whose descendant, Shaikh Nūr, was to make a great provincial reputation for himself, went back to his native province of Bengal ; and Shaikh Quṭbuddīn Munawwar retired to Hānsi, where his grandfather was still tenderly remembered. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd along with a co-successor, Shaikh Shamsuddīn

1 The Certificates are dated 20th Zilhajja, 724 A H They were faired out by Syed Husain. The text of the Certificate given to Shaikh Shamsuddīn Yahyā is quoted by Amīr Khurd in his *Sivar-ūl-Aulıyā'* ?

Yaḥyā, was left to lead the Great Shaikh's disciples and to continue his traditions at Delhi.

The Jamā'at-Khāna of the Great Shaikh was claimed by the descendants of his sister by right of inheritance. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn took up his residence in a house where his mausoleum now stands, prepared to face poverty and all other misfortunes. " Today," he told Ḥamid in 1353 A.D., " I have a number of followers and also guests at my meals. But at that time I fasted for one day (without Iftār-food) and then for another day. I had a friend, named Nathu of Patwa. He brought two pieces of bread, God knows whether of Māsh or barley. He had placed a little vegetable over one piece and the other piece of bread over it. He untied the cloth in which he had brought them and placed them before me. What a joy it was !.... And how delightful it was when I had no lamp (Chirāgh) in my house and no fire (in my kitchen) during the day. The number of my relations was so large that they could have provided for ten persons like me ; but I gradually made them understand my mind and they gave up the thought of making any provision for me. If a man of the world came to see me, I would put on the cloak (Khirqah) of my Shaikh to hide my poverty."

It was under these conditions that Shaikh Naṣīruddīn was driven into a conflict with Sulṭān Mohammad bin Tughlaq.

The matter requires some explanation. " To the mystics of all creeds it is forbidden to associate with kings and government officers," says the apocryphal Malfūzāt of Shaikh Farīduddīn of Ajodhan. The sentence very neatly expresses the traditions of the Chishtī Silsilah. We find Shaikh Naṣīruddīn at one place making a distinction between what we would now call the Revolutionary State, in which government posts are a means of service, and the Class-State, which is founded on power, dominations and the interests of the governing class. But the Revolutionary State, according to him, had only existed during the days of the Prophet and the Pious Caliphs. All political organisations since then have been Class-States, or rather Class-Governments. Now it is one of the primary duties of the mystic to keep away from such a government ; for a government servant or a government pensioner will not have a soul which he can call his own. A gift of Nathu of Patwa (God bless him !) is welcome because it is unconditioned. A government gift can never be unconditioned. You cannot, if you are a government servant, search for the Lord with a care-free soul and you are deceiving yourself—and others —if you think you can serve God and Mammon at the same time. The tradition of a century and a quarter in India, and of a much longer period in foreign lands, demanded that the Chishtī Shaikhs should avoid the courts of Kings. On the whole, one should be grateful for the fact that Islam came into India through the peaceful immigration of middle-class men and workers, and not as an appanage to the kings, their courtiers, their armies and their harems.

Shaikh Farīduddīn had lived at distant Ajodhan, far from the atmosphere of kings and courts, and on the only occasion when he was visited by a high officer, Ghiyāthuddīn Balban Ulugh Khān (later on, Sulṭān Balban), he absolutely refused a gift of four villages offered by the latter. Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn, living at Delhi, had to face the music but he refused to relax his principles. If high officers came to see him, he did not refuse them an interview. But he was always annoyed. " They waste the time of this Durwesh," he would say. It was with the greatest difficulty that Malik Qarā Beg, a high officer of 'Alā'uddīn, succeeded in inducing the Great Shaikh to go to an audition-party (Samā') which the Malik had arranged in his honour. But that was the absolute limit. At a time when the Great Shaikh and his companions were starving, Sulṭān Jalāluddīn sent him the grant of a village as a gift. But he would not accept it and he told his companions that if they wished to leave him, they were welcome to do so. Owing to Amīr Khusrau, who was Jalāluddīn's ' Keeper of the Qur'ān, and poet-laureate, the Sulṭān developed a desire to see the Shaikh. But the Great Shaikh would not hear of it. "My room has two doors," he said, " if the Sulṭān come through one door, I will leave by the other." Ultimately, in order to avoid a surprise visit of the Sulṭān, the Great Shaikh left Delhi and went to visit Shaikh Farīd's tomb at Ajodhan.

Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, a terrible master for the bureaucracy, kept in stern check the Qādīs (Judges) and Ṣudūr (guardians of charitable endowments) who drew a salary from his treasury, and the historian Ḍiāuddīn Barnī, writing in the early years of Fīrōz Shāh's reign, laments that as 'Alā'uddīn had subjected the judiciary to the executive, that bad custom had continued in succeeding reigns. But though Barnī, himself a disciple of the great Shaikh, forgets the teaching and principles of his master so far as to express his surprise 'that 'Alā'uddīn never called the Great Shaikh to his Court or went to see him,' he assures us at the same time that no words ever passed the Sulṭān's lips to which the Shaikh could possibly object. There was, in spite of his indefensible crimes, a deep religious strain in 'Alā'uddīn's mind and he allowed all sorts of religious people in his country to worship their God—and his—in whatever way they liked. He was prepared to help the Chishtī mystics when they were in real need, but except in one case his assistance was not accepted. And where no payment had been made, 'Alā'uddīn demanded no services.

Matters, however, came to ahead in the reign of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh Khiljī. Khidr Khān, the Sulṭān's elder brother, whom he had ordered to be murdered in cold blood in the Gwalior fort, was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn. But Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn was not concerned in the struggle of princes and seems to have taken no notice of the affair. Unfortunately an ex-disciple of the Shaikh, who had been trained by the Shaikh in his Jamā'at-Khāna, one Shaikhzāda Jām, wanted to attain to greatness

through Palace-intrigues and even dreamt of setting himself up as a rival to the Great Shaikh. It was said that Mubārak had obtained the throne through Shaikhzāda Jām's prayers. The Great Shaikh's prayers, of course, were not available for such matters ; they were the exclusive monopoly of the poor, the helpless and the oppressed. One thing led to another and the bitterness in Mubārak Shāh's heart increased. He had built a great mosque, the Masjid-i-Mīrī, and wanted the Shaikh to come there for his Friday prayers. But the Shaikh would not hear of it. " The mosque nearest to my house has the greatest claim on me," he remarked and went for his Friday prayers to the Kailugarhi Mosque as before. The Shaikh and the Sulṭān came together at one assembly—the Siyyum of Maulānā Ḍiāuddīn Rūmī—but though the two accounts we have of the incident are slightly different, it is clear that neither the Shaikh nor the Sulṭān cared to take any notice of each other. Mubārak Shāh went so far as to station his officers to see that no government servants went to the Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna, but Shaikh Nizāmuddīn ordered the expenditure on his kitchens to be doubled and the crowd of visitors to his Jamā'at-Khāna increased. Hurt to the quick, Mubārak Shāh declared that he would summon the Shaikh by an administrative order, to be executed by force if necessary, on the first day of the new month. It was a custom in those days, after the new moon had been seen, for all the high officers and distinguished men of the City (Delhi) to assemble at the Palace to congratulate the Sulṭān. The Great Shaikh, of course, never went, but he used to send his servant, Iqbāl, to represent him ; and Iqbāl stood among the greatest officers of the land and congratulated the Sulṭān. It is not known whether this custom of the Shaikh was an inheritance from the days of 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī ; if so, it betokens a great tolerance on the part of that terrible monarch. Mubārak Shāh, however, had been receiving Iqbāl's congratulations during the four years of his reign, but he declared that he would submit to the insult no longer. The Shaikh must come personally, or he would be brought. Of course, kindly intermediaries, anxious to work out a compromise or to find a solution, were not wanting ; and there was much coming and going of high officers between the Imperial Palace and the Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna. But they found the Shaikh adamant ; far from accepting a compromise, he would not even condescend to discuss the matter. All he did was to go and pray in tears at his mother's grave. The inmates of the Jamā'at-Khāna waited in fear of the approaching day. But the day never arrived. On the night previous to it, Mubārak Shāh was assassinated by the Barwars and his head was thrown amongst the crowd from the roof of the palace.

With the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the policy of the Empire once more underwent a revolution. The Sulṭān was a disciple of Shaikh 'Alā'uddīn, a grandson of Shaikh Farīduddīn of Ajodhan. Now Shaikh 'Alā'uddīn had passed his whole life between his house and the mausoleum of his grandfather. Strictly speaking, he enrolled no disciples himself, but gave them caps and garments on behalf of his grandfather

after they had been placed on his grave. He also regarded kings and high officers as filth and dirt. When Shaikh Ruknuddīn, on his way to Multan from the Delhi Court, took the trouble of going to Ajodhan, Shaikh 'Alā'-uddīn would neither ask him to stay nor offer him any hospitality. Shaikh Ruknuddīn, riding in his litter and followed by his disciples, just caught Shaikh 'Alā'uddīn while he was on his way to his house from the mausoleum of his grandfather, and the latter had no alternative but to embrace Shaikh Ruknuddīn. But on returning to his house, he bathed and changed his clothes. " This man," he said " has brought to my Khānqāh the stench of the Court." No influence of Shaikh ' Alā'uddīn is traceable in the po of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. The Sulṭān was very keen on supporting the rationalists(Ahl-i-Ma'qulāt) against the traditionists (Ahl-i-Manqūlāt). This problem did not interest the mystics and centuries before they had determined to pass it by. Sulṭān Muḥammad was, it has been said, very cruel to the Qāḍīs and all 'externalist scholars ' (Ulamā-i-Ẓāhirī) who were in the serivice of the government. But his attitude towards the mystics was different. He wanted them to march in tune with the imperial policy and to become officers of the State. No Delhi Sulṭān was stronger or more powerful than Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughlaq at the beginning of his reign ; his resources were great, and the annexation of a large part of the Deccan having put plenty of jobs at his disposal, he was in a position to pay handsomely for services rendered. The mystics were required to discard their Khirqah (patched frock) for the silken gown and broad waist-band of government officers. The Sulṭān said that he wanted their advice and guidance, but everyone knew that the Sultān only wanted discussion in order to have an opportunity of defeating and overpowering his opponents and that in the end he would be guided by his own opinion. Still, for the starving mystics, living on the charity of their neighbours, the temptation of a guaranteed livelihood through government service was too great. The elderly mystics, who had starved and prayed for years, were obviously incapable of either directing a campaign or supervising office-work. But it was different with young men belonging to distinguished mystic families, who had completed their education but had not yet gone through the prolonged mystic discipline of the Chishtī Silsilah. They could shift on to worldly things. For details of personal cases I must refer the reader to the *Siyar ul-Auliyā '* of Amīr Khurd. Almost all the descendants of Shaikh Farīduddīn were enrolled in the Imperial bureaucracy ; the descendants of Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī, a much-loved disciple of Shaikh Farīduddīn, who had later established themselves round the Jamā'at-Khāna of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn, followed the same path. Of the smaller fry there was no reckoning. When years later the Tughlaq Empire in the Deccan and the distant provinces collapsed, most of them were threatened with material and spiritual ruin, as the Great Shaikh had predicted. The historian, Ḍiauddīn Barnī—perhaps representing the majority—was too far gone to recover ; the iron of worldly desire had penetrated too deeply into his soul. Others, like Amīr Khurd, came

back to the mystic path again. Only three important disciples of the Great Shaikh—Shaikh Shamsuddīn Yaḥyā, Shaikh Quṭbuddīn Munawwar and Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd—ventured to ignore the Sulṭān. The brunt of the struggle fell on Shaikh Naṣīruddīn.

Shaikh Shamsuddīn Yaḥyā, probably the oldest of the great Shaikh's disciple, was summoned to the Sulṭān's Court. " What are you doing here ?" he was told, " Go and preach Islam among the temples of Kashmir." Now converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishtī Silsilah ; the Great Shaikh himself had made no converts. As Shaikh Shamsuddīn showed no intention of leaving Delhi, the Sulṭān appointed officers to take him to Kashmir. But Shamsuddīn dreamt that the Great Shaikh was calling him to himself. He developed an ulcer in the back. The Sultān suspected a trick and ordered Shamsuddīn to be brought on his cot to the Court, but on satisfying himself that the man was at death's door, the Sulṭān perforce allowed the Shaikh to die peacefully in Delhi.

Shaikh Naṣīruddīn's trial came next. The Sulṭān had collected some 370,000 horsemen for the conquest of Khorāsān. The death of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, the last of the Īl-Khāns of Persia, had left no central power in the land and pretenders were succeeding each other in quick succession. The assassination in 727 A.H. (1326 A.D.) of Tarmshīrīn Khān, the last of the Chagtā'i Khāns who wielded any real authority and who at the height of his power had invaded India, had plunged Māwarā-un-Nāhr into civil war. The prospects from this point of view were not bad. But a lot of questions, political and military, could have been asked. Why must you conquer Khorāsān ? What good are you going to do there ? Can you really establish yourself permanently in that distant land ? Will your army not be entirely annihilated in the terrible Dasht (steppe) that divides India from that region because no proper arrangements for conveyance and supply can be made ?

But Shaikh Naṣīruddīn had no intention of discussing politics or military affairs when he was summoned to the Court to help in the enterprise. The Sulṭān was whipping up public opinion in favour of the campaign and from that point of view Shaikh Naṣīruddīn had his value. But the Sultān's plan of summoning the Chishtī Shaikhs to the Court was a novel idea. Nothing like that had happened before. Of course it was impossible to avoid the summons ; the Sulṭān would use force, if necessary, as he did, later on, in the case of Shaikh Quṭbuddīn Munawwar.[1]

So firmly, with quiet determination and full preparedness to meet the consequences, Shaikh Naṣīruddīn went to the Palace determined to insult the Tughlaq Sulṭān as no great Sulṭān of Delhi had been insulted before.

Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, to do him justice, was very anxious to

1. Amīr Khurd in his *Siyar-ul-Auliyā*, tells us how Shaikh Qutbuddīn was needlessly brought fromHansi to Delhi. The Sulṭān had no alternative but to allow him to return

please his guest, quite forgetful of the fact that the Shaikh was not of the stuff that courtiers are made of. He seated Shaikh Naṣiruddīn on his right hand and wished apparently for an opportunity to explain his plans. But the Shaikh was determined not to hear them

"I wish to march in the direction of Khorāsān," the Sulṭān said, "I want you to accompany me."

"*Inshā'llāh*—God willing—," replied the Shaikh. The Sultān felt that this reply was really a refusal and complained that the use of this well-known phrase indicated the desire to put off a thing (*Tab'id*).

The Sulṭān and the Shaikh—both of them men of academic learning—quarrelled about the use of this phrase. The atmosphere naturally became unpleasant and the Shaikh brought the altercation to an end by his final declaration. "No enterprise can succeed without the use of this (conditional) declaration. It indicates affirmation, not avoidance."

Puzzled by his guest's attitude, the Sulṭān ordered the midday meal to be served. But if he thought that the Shaikh would consider this an honour, he was mistaken. No Chishtī Shaikh had dined with a Sultān before and Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, we are told, extended his hand to the dishes before him with the greatest reluctance.

"Give me some advice on which I may act," the Sulṭān asked him while they were dining.

Shaikh Naṣīruddīn had no intention of mincing words like his erst-while acquaintance, the historian-courtier, Ḍiāuddīn Barnī. His reply came pat: "Get rid of this passion of wild beasts which has taken possession of your soul."

The Sulṭān could have ordered the Shaikh to be beheaded, but he had not called the Shaikh for this purpose and the Shaikh, in any case, had no fear of such an end. The continuation of any conversation, however, was no longer possible.

When the meal was over, Sulṭān Muḥammad ordered a bag of Tankas and two pieces of green and black woollen cloth to be placed before the Shaikh. But the Shaikh paid no attention to the Sultān's presents. At that moment a secretary of the Sulṭān, Khwāja Nizām by name, who was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā' and a pupil of Amīr Khusrau, stepped forward. He took up the Shaikh's shoes, placed them before him and then carried the presents outside and assigned them to the Shaikh's servant, obviously for distribution among the Delhi poor. Then placing his forehead on the ground before the Shaikh, he returned to the Sulṭān.

He found the latter in a towering rage. "You short-statured fellow of a secretary (Dabīr-i-Kotah)! What happened to you that you carried the presents of the Shaikh and picked up his shoes in my presence?" Sulṭān Muḥammad's hand went to his sword-hilt.

"Had I not taken up the presents," Khwāja Niẓām, who was also

prepared to be a martyr, explained, " the Shaikh would not have touched them and they would have remained lying on your carpet (Dulcha). As for picking up his shoes, it was an honour for me. If you put me to death, I am willing ; it will rid me of the torture of your company." Sulṭān Muḥammad, we are told, inflicted no punishment on his erring and insolent secretary.

One man against an Empire ! It was obvious that the underlings of the administration could make the life of a private citizen impossible, and Shaikh Naṣīruddīn had to meet the consequences of his attitude. Fireshta records a tradition that Muhammad Tughlaq decided that the great mystics should render him token services and the duty of tying the Sultān's Dastār (turban) before he went to the Durbār was assigned to Shaikh Nasīruddīn. The Shaikh refused and was thrown into prison, but after three months he reflected that his predecessors had submitted to force in such matters and that he should do the same I am not inclined to put any trust in this latter-day tradition, but the following incident which is well authenticated, throws light on the working of the administration.

Khwāja Qiwāmuddīn, a disciple of Shaikh Nasīruddīn, who had entered government service, is said to have declared : " I was faced with a terrible time and subjected to government demands and punishments during those days of my suspension from government service. If I appealed to friends for whom in previous days I had an affection or wished to talk to them, they turned away their faces and would not hear my words. If ' I sent anything to be sold in the market, no one would purchase it. I was helpless and gloomy " The only person who would still venture to receive him was Shaikh Nasīruddīn. The Shaikh could do nothing for him so far as the administration was concerned ; but he could at least extend his human sympathy to the persecuted man whom, from fear of the government, society was boycotting So Qiwāmuddīn called at the Shaikh's Jamā'at-Khāna. " But before I could explain the object of my visit," Qiwāmuddīn continues," the Shaikh with his usual kindness began to ask me about my affairs and recited the following quatrain : —

دنیا چو مقدر است ، بخروشی به  رزق تو رسد بوقت ، کم کوشی به

حیزے کہ نمی خرند ، بفروشی به  گفتی کہ نمی کنند ، خاموشی به [1]

" In short the Shaikh by his intuitive mind had discovered my inner thoughts and revealed them to me. I placed my head on the ground. The same ideas which the Shaikh has revealed were revolving in my mind,

1 The world is predestined, it is better not to make a noise about it. Your livelihood will reach you at the appointed time , better lessen your efforts for it. If people will not purchase something, it is better not to attempt to sell it If they will not talk to you, it is better to remain silent.

I said, 'The Shaikh's words have given strength and firmness to my heart."[1]

Our records give no details of the persecution to which the Shaikh was subjected. In his conversation in the *Khair-ul-Majālis*, the Shaikh makes no reference to Muḥammad Tughlaq or even to his life in those days. No rankling bitterness of any sort was left in his mind. Sultāns come and go ; it is no use bothering about them. God alone is permanent. We have to be content with the following cryptic statement of Amīr Khurd, who was then in government service in the Deccan. " In the beginning of his reign Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, who had established his power throughout the length and breadth of India, inflicted injuries on Shaikh Nasīruddīn, who, according to the general consensus of opinion, was the Shaikh of the age and had the whole world for his obedient disciples But that man of eminent piety, according to the tradition of his Pīrs, considered it his duty to be patient and did not retaliate in any way 'The Sulṭān persecuted you so much,' they asked him. 'What was the reason ?' 'There was an affair between me and my God,' Shaikh Nasīruddīn replied, 'They settled it like this.' "

Towards the end of his reign when Muḥammad Tughlaq had gone to Thatta in pursuit of Taghi, he needlessly summoned a number of religious men and scholars, among them Shaikh Nasīruddīn Maḥmūd, from Delhi. They had to travel 'a distance of 1,000 Karohs (2,000 miles)' It is not necessary to believe with Amīr Khurd that the death of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq was due to the fact that he did not pay to the scholars and the mystics respect that was their due. Shaikh Nasīruddīn, a pacifist without reservation, was not one of the cursing (Jalālī) saints. The whole of his life may be considered a comment on a line often recited by the Great Shaikh.

هر که او در راه من خارے نہد از دشمنی هر گلی کز باغ عمرش بشگفد بی خار باد[2]

Sulṭān Muḥammad's death left the army leaderless, and Barnī says that Shaikh Nasīruddīn was one of the leading men who called on Fērōz Shāh and requested him to ascend the throne. Like his friend, Shaikh Qutbuddīn Munawwar,[3] he could have had no illusions about that pom-

1 Amīr Khurd, who was then in the Deccan, relates the incident on the authority of a common friend, named Kāfūr

2 He who puts thorns in my path out of enmity—May every rose of his life that blossoms grow without thorns

3 Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fērōz Shāhi*, pp. 78-82.

On his way from Sind to Hansi, Fērōz Shāh called on Shaikh Qutbuddīn just when the Shaikh had come out of his house to go for the Friday prayers The Shaikh was naturally irritated Was he to serve His Majesty or to go to his Friday prayers ? Still, talking to Fērōz Shāh while standing, he asked the Sultān to give up drinking as it interfered with the performance of his responsible and delicate duties as the head of the State and not to kill, while hunting, more animals than were required for food It was clear from Fērōz's attitude that he had no intention of changing his ways of life On the second occasion of their meeting, Fērōz ordered a fine silk dress to be presented to Shaikh Qutbuddīn. The latter flatly refused it as wearing silk dress is not permitted to Musalmans.

Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, who was moving with the camp, met his old friend in the mystic manner (pp 82-87).

pous ruler, who was destined to bring the Empire of his predecessors to ruin. But with the army attacked by the Sindhīs on one side and the Mongols on the other, the immediate election of a king was absolutely necessary, and Fērōz Shāh was the best of a number of bad alternatives. Barnī does not refer to any further contacts between the Sulṭān and the Shaikh and the stories set afloat about the relation of the Shaikh and the Sulṭān and his officers in later days must be dismissed as mere fabrications. Though the Conversations of the Shaikh do not refer to Fērōz Shāh by name—he was not worth mentioning,—they contain a scathing criticism of the condition of the country during the regime of Fērōz Shāh and his officers. A person who spoke so fearlessly could hardly have been in touch with the Sulṭān and the bureaucracy.

## IV

On returning to Delhi in 1353 A.D. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn once more took to his old profession—the profession of a Shaikh or Fann-i-Shaikhī, as Barnī calls it. There were, of course, great religious scholars who basked in the royal favour; but though Shaikh Nasīruddīn, like his predecessors, had to face the criticism of a large city, as a leader of religious life he had no rival in India. His Jamā'at-Khāna was crowded with every kind of visitor from morning to night, and it seemed as if the Great Shaikh had come to life again. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn had no material favours to bestow, but his Jamā'at-Khāna was a spiritual refuge for all. Amīr Khurd, having lost his job in the Deccan and anxious that his spiritual life should not perish along with material prosperity, found that the influence of the Shaikh once more brought him to the right path. " I remember," he says, " hearing my uncle, Saiyid Ḥusain, declaring that 'today the high position of Shaikh Niẓāmuddin Auliyā is occupied by Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd. Outwardly and inwardly, so far as is possible, he does not deviate from the path of the great Shaikh. In this work he has surpassed all other disciples of the great Shaikh and attained to perfection.'" His personal contact with the Shaikh confirmed the truth of his uncle's assertions. " The fragrance which used to emanate from the Majlis (company) of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn has also come to the soul of the author from the Majlis of Shaikh Naṣīruddīn and has revived his dead soul after more than thirty years. Mystics who have seen the Majlis of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn and appreciated its deep significance agree with this proposition." A little after the death of Shaikh Nasīruddīn in 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) Amīr Khurd penned the following lines : "The external and internal devotions of this dignitary are more than the pen can describe. Those who have had the honour of kissing his feet have realised that his countenance was the picture of perfect piety. Towards the end of his life his work reached perfection ; he became a pure soul. When I saw this miracle, I said to myself: 'Since he has reached perfection, it would be strange

if they allowed such a pure existence to remain in this world.' "[1]

Fortunately for us, a scholar calling himself Ḥamid, the Qalandar, son of Maulānā Tājuddīn of Kailugarhi, presented himself at the Shaikh's Jamā'at Khānā and offered to compile his Conversations (Malfuzat) even as Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī had compiled the great Shaikh's conversations in the *Fawā'idūl-Fawā'id*. Both Maulānā Tājuddīn and his son, Hamid, were disciples of the Great Shaikh, who had on one occasion said to the father : " Your son will be a Qalandar." So Ḥamid when he grew up shaved off his beard"— an intolerable worldly burden,- " and also shaved his head, moustaches and eye-brows, and put on the saffron garb of the Qalandars. He had, of course, nothing to do with the Qalandars, properly so-called, and knew little about them. Like many others he had left for the Deccan, attached himself to Shaikh Burhānuddīn Gharīb,' and began to compile his Conversations.[2] But his work could not be completed owing to that Shaikh's death in Feb. 1341, and twelve years later Ḥamid offered to render the same service to Shaikh Nasīruddīn. The offer was gratefully accepted. Ḥamid compiled a record of one hundred Conversations or *Majlises* of the Shaikh and named it *Khair-ul-Majālis*. " I have narrated things correctly," says Ḥamid, " and Shaikh Nasīruddīn has revised my work. From the beginning to the end there is not a word that has not received the consideration and approval of the Shaikh and has not been spoken by him." After the Shaikh's death Ḥamid added a Supplement to the *Khair-ul-Majālis* giving a sketch of the Shaikh's life. Shaikh Nasīruddīn obviously kept his biographer under stern control and insisted that he should be presented to posterity as a religious teacher and not as a miracle-monger. " He never tried," Ḥamid complains at the end of his Supplement, " that anyone should consider him a great man. He has suppressed his ego to such an extent that if I call him a Shaikh, he is not pleased ; and if I attribute miracles to him, he resents it and begins to reflect."

The *Khair-ul-Majālis* is a worthy successor of the *Fawā'idūl-Fawā'id*, but it is a work of inexpressible sadness. I confess that I can never read it without tears. But this sadness is due to the Shaikh and not to Hamid, who loved the innocent joys of life and seems to have been blessed with plenty of vivacity. He composed verses like every one else, and so long as they rhymed, he could enjoy them without bothering about their quality. His Qalandarship, apart from the fact that he never married and had no personal property, was only a pose. " I am a Qalandar in appearance," he says at one place, " but I associate with mystics." It was different with Shaikh Naṣīruddīn. The sorrows of all mankind were reflected in his heart.

I. A mystic, who merely prays, whatever the quality of his prayers

1. Amīr Khurd · *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'*, Section on Shaikh Nasīruddīn.

2. Hamid showed the incomplete volume to Shaikh Naṣīruddīn. 'Durwesh ! You have written well, the Shaikh remarked as he read it. The work has not survived.

and whatever his spiritual stature, is not, correctly speaking, entitled to be called a Shaikh. To be a Shaikh a mystic had to live and work among the people, to sympathise with their sorrows, to partake of their joys and to teach them the principles of mystic and religious life. Occasionally he might be able to help them financially and in other ways, but this was the exception rather than the rule ; for the Shaikh, if true to his principles, could not generally approach high officers for any favours to his disciples. Many stories are told of the presents that came to the Great Shaikh, but the fact is that they never sufficed. " Gifts flowed into the Jamā'at-Khāna of Shaikh Niẓamūddīn Auliyā ' like the waters of the Labia (a branch of the Jumna) that flowed before it," Shaikh Naṣīruddīn tells us, " People came from morning to sunset and even at the time of the night prayer. But those who came with requests always exceeded those who came with gifts, and everyone who brought something also got something."[1] Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, though he seems to have been the recipient of sufficient gifts, was not so fortunate and he did not consider it a part of his duty to be the collector and distributor of money. " The head of a (mystic) community, " he says, " needs three things. *First*, Wealth so that he may be able to give to people whatever they ask. The Qalandars of these days demand Sherbet. If a Durwesh has nothing, how is he to give anything ? And then they go out abusing him and are punished for it on the Day of Judgment. *Secondly*, Learning, so that if scholars come to him he can discuss academic matters with them. *Thirdly*, Cosmic Emotion (Jazba), so that he may be able to inspire the Durweshes. But I say : ' Wealth is not necessary. Learning and the Cosmic Emotion are enough.' "

A Shaikh's means of work were thus purely spiritual, and the precondition of all his work was the possession of the Nafs-i-gīra or the ' intuitive intelligence.' He must, first, be able to enter into the heart of every man and this was only possible if he had great, unbounded human sympathies. Secondly, his experience should be wide enough to enable him to understand all classes and conditions of men. The early mystics had recommended travelling as a means of spiritual development. But the Chishtī mystics, after settling in India, gave up the habit of travelling. Shaikh Farid never went out of India. The Great Shaikh's peregrinations were limited by three points—Badaun, Delhi and Ajodhan. But the City of Delhi, with its teeming population, could show him all that he wanted to see of human life. Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, apart from his compulsory journey to Sind, only travelled from Ajodya (Oudh) to Delhi and back. Unlike the Suhrwardis, the Chishtīs did not indulge in needless travelling. The third element the ' intelligential ' is hard to define. It was a Divine gift ; it could be developed but not acquired by one who had not been endowed with it by nature.

1. *Khair-ul-Majālis*, Majlis LXXXVI. Unlike Amīr Hasan Sijzī, Hamid does not give the dates of the Conversations or Majlises but merely numbers them.

Whether his visitors spoke of their sorrows or not, the Shaikh would be able to understand them. Inevitably his own mind would also be affected by their stories of misfortune and woe, told or untold. The Great Shaikh, on being informed that in a particular company they had praised the inner calmness of his mind, declared : " No one in this world is more sad and gloomy than I am. So many people come and tell me of their misfortunes and it all pierces into my soul and my heart. It would be a strange heart that was not affected by the sorrows of his Muslim brothers. And then a great City with a large population ! Darweshes have sought refuge in the hills and the deserts in the desire that no one may come to put the burden of his heart upon them."[1] It was the same with Shaikh Nasīruddīn. " A visitor who comes to me," he told Ḥamid, " is either a worldly man or a mystic. If he is a worldly man, his heart is attached to earthly things. When he enters (my room) and my eyes fall upon him, I ask him about his affairs. Even if he is silent, everything in his mind is reflected in my heart, and I am overpowered with sadness and gloom .....[2] And others come terror-stricken and demand : ' Hurry up and do this.' (If I don't), they speak evil of me and are insolent. The Durwesh should be patient under all circumstances."[3]

II. Of course people were not wanting who wished to utilise the Shaikh for their worldly needs, but Shaikh Naṣīruddīn would not waver from the mystic path of Tawakkul or resignation. I have only space for two cases.

" A Durwesh came," Ḥamid records in Majlis XLV. " Some one had been cruel to him. The Shaikh said, ' Durwesh, be patient. If they are cruel to you, behave like a Durwesh and forgive them.' " He related a pertinent story of Hazrat Ibrāhīm Adham, but seeing that the Durwesh was still dissatisfied, he added : ' The path of the Durwesh is what I have explained ; otherwise you know best.' "

But others would not allow themselves to be dismissed so easily. On another occasion Ḥamīd records :—[4]

" When the Shaikh had completed this story, a mystic came. He was a disciple of my Pīr, Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā'. As soon as he sat down, he began to complain bitterly of the times. This is not the tradition of the Shaikhs of my Silsilah. I was surprised. What has happened to this Durwesh ? Nevertheless Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, with the virtues that should belong to a mystic, heard him and gave suitable replies.

" The visitor then related the following anecdote :— ' Once a friend of mine, who was a disciple of Shaikh Farīduddin, came to Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliyā'. ' I am the father of girls,' he said, ' Do something for

1. *K. M*, XXXI.

2. My copy of the *Khair-ul-Majālis* is not clear at this place

3. *K. M.*, XXXI.

4. *Ibid.*

me.'[1] 'Go and be patient,' the Great Shaikh replied: 'Shaikh!' he said, 'If you had one unmarried daughter, you would realise my distress.' 'What do you want me to do?' 'Recommend me to somebody.' At that moment the grandson of Ẓafar Khān[2] happened to come and the Great Shaikh spoke to him. 'I have a flat (Serāi) available in my house,' the latter replied, 'Please ask the Maulānā to come and put up there. I will be at his service.' 'Now go, Maulānā,' the Great Shaikh ordered. The Maulānā went (to Zafar Khān's house) and his life was happy thereafter.'

"Shaikh Naṣīruddīn on hearing this remarked, 'Maulānā! In those days there were plenty of disciples. To whom can one speak now? One should be patient.'

"'I know that one should be patient and not complain,' the Durwesh replied, 'But today you are in the place of my Shaikh and it is permissible that I should speak to you of the sorrows of my heart. I have a slave-boy, who works as a labourer. I give him two-thirds of his wages and keep one-third for myself.'"[3]

III. Like his great master, Shaikh Nasīruddīn also condemned government service, but also like his master he seems to have made a distinction. Government servants who were in the clerical line and had nothing to do with the policy of the administration were entitled to be enrolled as mere disciples, like Amīr Ḥasan Sijzi and Amīr Khusrau. But the Shaikh insisted that the higher spiritual achievements were not within the reach of such people. "Amīr Ḥasan and Amīr Khusrau," he says, passing a severe but just judgment on his deceased friends, "wished to compose (poetry) after the manner of Khwāja Sa'dī. It proved impossible. What Sa'dī has written is due to the Cosmic Emotion (Sar-i-Hal). Khāqanī and Niẓāmī were men of piety. But Khwāja Sanā'ī was one of the hermits (Muqatī'an) and had completely severed his relations with the world and the people of the world."[4]

But on the plan of ordinary discipleship he had no objection to such people. At one place we find him approving the work of an educated visitor, who declared: "I sit in the Diwan the whole day, and they consult me about the procedure of every order that is passed."[5] At another place we find him considering whether he should enrol among his disciples a clerk (Newīsanda) who was a Saiyid, a Hāfiz, and a man of devo-

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1. Probably referring to the Hādis ابو لبنات مرز و قوں (The fathers of girls shall have their livelihood)

2. Zafar Khān was Sulṭān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī's Minister of War ('Arīz-i-Mumālik) during the early years of his reign. He died while fighting against the Mongols at Kili— a place not far from Delhi—after he had defeated them and was following in pursuit.

3. *K. M.*, XXV. From various instances of the time it appears that this was the usual arrangement; the slave kept two-thirds of his wages and gave one-third to his master.

4. *K. M.*, XLIV.

5. *K. M.*, XXV.

tions, and deciding the case in the affirmative. " Government service will be no obstacle in his path," he decided, " He will be a mystic on account of his devotions."[1]

It was different, however, with the great executive officers of the government. Two examples should suffice.

1. " An educated man with the respects of a Malik,[2] who was in trouble and said, ' He is being kicked on account of government demands.' The Shaikh observed, ' Government service bears such fruit, especially in these times. In the early days (of Islām) all officers were more devoted to the service of God than to the affairs of this world and most of them had attained to the stature of Shiblī and Junaid.' "[3]

2. " There came, next, to the Shaikh a great man of this world. He had been imprisoned and, appealing to the Shaikh, had been set free owing to his prayers. The Shaikh felt very happy. 'Welcome,' he said, ' Congratulations ! Please sit down.' ' Owing to the blessings of the Shaikh,' he replied, ' They set me free last night.' ' If a thorn pricks a man's foot or an ant bites it,' the Shaikh observed significantly, ' he ought to know that it is the result of his own acts. *And no misfortunes shall befall you except what your hands have earned.*' "[4]

At another place he observes : " When people obtain a little worldly office, they treat the people of God as they like and are not afraid of wounding the hearts of men. After all, the sighs of the oppressed have some effect."[5]

We find many instances of persons not in government service—businessmen, traders, farmers, school-teachers—coming to the Shaikh. He asked them to be honest in the pursuit of their callings, and if they did so, their livelihood would be blessed. " It is a virtuous morsel—the cultivation of the land, " he declared on one occasion, " Many farmers have been men of mystic emotion." And he proceeded to recapitulate what a farmer told the great Imām, Ghazzālī : " I scatter the seeds on the soil with a contented heart and a tongue reciting the praises of the Lord. My hope is that everyone who eats of the produce will be blessed, and will expend the strength that he gets from it in obedience to the Almighty."[6]

IV. Since the Revolutionary State of the mystic dream—a state that would concentrate all its energies to the service of ' the people of God ' —was not within the region of practical politics, the Shaikh ignored the king and the bureaucracy of the day and declared that happiness was to

1. *K. M.*, LXVIII.

2. Malik in those days was an officer who commanded one thousand men or more. If he commanded ten thousand men (a Tūmān), he was a Khān.

3. *K. M.*, XXV.

4. *K. M.*, LXI. The last sentence is a quotation from the Qur'ān.

5. *K. M.*, XXXI.

6. *K. M.*, XLVIII.

be found in the mystic path alone. "Happiness is only found in the house of religious poverty." He told a visitor who had come to ask for his prayer concerning his application which was pending official consideration, "In the house of worldly men, there is only sorrow and sadness. There is, of course, sorrow and sadness in religious poverty (Faqr)[1] also, but it is due to the search for the Absolute (Ḥaq), not to the affairs of this world; and, in consequence of this sadness, there is joy and delight. *The Prophet of Allāh (blessings on him!) was a man of prolonged sadness and deep reflections.*"[2]

Nevertheless in his middle age, the Shaikh had seen something of a well-organised State in the state-capitalism and controlled-capitalism of 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, 'when every beggar, in Delhi (as he tells us) had a quilt (Liḥāf, Bibancha) or even two.' But now government and society—even mystic society—were falling to pieces. The sight scared the Shaikh's soul.

"'In these days,' he declared, 'Durweshes have decreased. In the time of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn (and 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī) twenty or thirty Durweshes—real seekers—could be found (in Delhi). Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn would invite them as his guests for three days. What days were those!' The Shaikh recollected the plenitude and cheapness of those days—a man of wheat for $7\frac{1}{2}$ Jītals,[3] of sugar for half a Dirham, of Gur for less than a Jītal, and the price of cloth and other commodities in the same proportion. 'If a man wished to invite a number of friends to a feast, two to four Tankhas would provide enough food for all.' Then he referred to the Langars (free kitchens) of those days in the City and its environs—the Langar of Ramzan Qalandar, Malik Yar Parran and some others....' Shaikh Badruddīn Samarqandī,[4] who lies buried at Sankolah, was a friend of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn. He often came to Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn and the Shaikh went to see him in return. Shaikh Badruddīn was often invited to feasts; people considered his presence a blessing. He was a man of ecstasy. At the Urs (annual death-festival) of his Pīr, Shaikh Badruddīn used to invite all the army-commanders (Lashkardārān), and Durweshes also came from all sides. What joy and comfort, blessing and grandeur! Now neither those army-commanders, nor officers nor men are left. All have been ruined!'....The Shaikh's eyes were filled with tears of memory and he wept for a little while."[5]

To understand this passage we must study the so-called 'Reforms' of Fērōz Tughlaq and bear in mind the increasing power of the bureau-

1 From the mystic view-point a *faqīr* has been defined as "a man who possesses nothing and is possessed by nothing." He is the 'free man,' properly so called.

2 *K. M.*, XXXI

3 *Jītal* is the copper coin of those days. The silver coin, the ancestor of the rupee of the Mughal Empire and succeeding ages, was called Tankah.

4. A Shaikh of the Firdausī Silsilah

5 *K. M.*, LV

cracy, which the Sulṭān was unable to control. " What a time is this with which we are faced," the Shaikh observed. " If the world smiles on anyone, that man will turn his back on others, and will not permit anyone to share his good fortune. Though he may know his neighbour to be poor and starving, yet the smell of his food will not reach his neighbour. Such is our generation."[1] But one section of this decomposing society still maintained its old ideals and standards—the student-community. " The students of those days were good," declared Shaikh Nasīruddīn, " but students of these days are good also."[2] And again : " All students of those days were pious, but most students of these days have also a good deal of piety."[3] Students always found a warm welcome in the Jamā'-at-Khāna of the Shaikh, especially senior students who had studied the Mashāriq of Maulānā Razīuddīn Sanānī (or Chighani), the most reliable collection of the Prophet's *Hadises* (Sayings), the *Zamakhsharī* of the Mu'tazilite, *Kashshāf*, which though condemned by the orthodox for its heretical opinions, had to be studied none-the-less for its sound scholarship along with the *Nahv-i-Mufassal* of the same author. The Shaikh, in spite of his old age, liked discussing academic problems with students and they took advantage of the opportunity of asking him to explain the difficulties of their text-books. This was the only silver lining to the cloud. The century that followed was not destined to have any political achievements to its credit. But in the realm of scholarship and religious thought the fifteenth century of Indian history is unrivalled.

## V

Primarily the melancholy and sadness of the Shaikh's 'Conversations' are due to the misery of the world around him. But we must not forget the purely personal element. He was ageing. Add to this that he was expected to follow the time-table of Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn Auliyā, which left no time for rest or sleep. The Shaikhs of earlier days, as Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn himself told Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, only received visitors between the Ishrāq and Zuhr-prayers; but the Great Shaikh refused to adhere to this custom and would see anyone at any time he cared to come. As a result, the stream of visitors left him barely enough time for his prayers. It was a tradition of the mystics that they should devote the time between midnight and morning to their prayers ; but since sleep is necessary for life and health, they generally set aside some other time for their sleep. Shaikh Jalāluddīn Tabrezī, a disciple of Shaikh Shahābuddīn Suhrwardī, who passed across northern India in the time of Iltutmish, used to sleep between the Ishrāq and Chāsht-prayers. Shaikh Najmuddīn Kubra, the founder of the Firdausi Silsilah, used to go to sleep immediately after sunset (Maghrīb) prayer and used to wake up in time for his 'Ishā' prayer

1. *K. M.*, LXV.
2. *K. M.*, LXV.
3. *K. M.*, LXXVII.

just before midnight. But the Great Shaikh would not follow their example. He locked himself up in his room after the 'Ishā' prayer, but people saw his light burning throughout the night, and when the servant of the Khānqāh knocked with his Saḥirī in the early hours of the morning —for the Great Shaikh fasted throughout the year—he would find him wide awake. The whole day he talked to visitors of all sorts, and the only sleep he got was a short midday nap. But very often his visitors left no time for that even. I will not undertake to say how far mystic devotion can be a substitute for sleep, but the Great Shaikh's eyes were always red, and though he lived to an advanced age, he was always ill. "The Great Shaikh," Shaikh Naṣīruddīn tells us, "was always suffering from something or other—stomach-ache due to wind in the bowels (Khula'), fever, head-ache (Ṣadā') or piles. He was never well. Once in the midst of an audition party (Sama'), he was overcome and paralysed by stomach-ache."[1]

Shaikh Nasīruddīn, in his old age, naturally found it difficult to follow the time-table of his master. Hamid tells us that, calling on the Shaikh early in the morning, he would find him broken (Shikasta) in spirit; on one occasion the words he spoke were quite unintelligible to Ḥamīd.[2] The following conversation between him and Ḥamīd throws some light on what the Shaikh felt —

"After this the Shaikh heaved a sigh. 'I and you— we are like the hungry Durwesh who passes before the shop of a cook, sees fine food prepared and smells it. He stops and says: 'At least those who have the food should eat it.' Now I have no time for devotions or solitude. I have to interview people all the day, and have no time for my midday rest (Qailūla) even. Very often I wish to rest at midday, but they wake me up and say, a visitor has come. Get up.' You (Ḥamid) have leisure, why do you not give yourself to devotions?'

"'The Khwāja,' I replied, 'though apparently busy (conversing) with men, is in his heart engaged with God.'"

"'At night,' he said, 'I can find some time for devotions, study and prayer. But during the day nothing is possible. Still I do not give up hope.'

"This he said in despair (Shikastawar) and wept. Then he recited the line: "*The basket which I have lowered into the well, I am not in despair that it will come out quite full one day.*"

Sometime after the *Khair-ul-Majālis* had been compiled, a curious attempt to assassinate or wound the Shaikh was made by a Qalandar named Turab. According to Ḥamid, the Shaikh as usual said his Zuhr prayer in the Jamā'at-Khāna and then retired to his room for his devotions. It was the time of afternoon rest and the few inmates in the Khānqāh were either away in the City or resting. Finding the Shaikh alone, Turab entered his room with a knife and inflicted eleven wounds on him. The Shaikh remained motionless, and it was not till his blood flowed out of

1. *K. M.*, LXXXVI.
2. *K. M.*, XIX.

the water-hole of the room, that his disciples began to suspect something. On entering the room they found the Qalandar stabbing the Shaikh. They would have punished him on the spot, but the Shaikh would permit nothing of the kind. Determined to add generosity to forgiveness, he summoned one of his favourite disciples, Qāḍī 'Abdul-Muqtadir of Thaneswar, along with a physician, Shaikh Sadruddin, and his nephew Zainuddin 'Alī, and asked them to administer an oath to his disciples that they would not seek to harm the Qalandar. " I hope your knife has not injured your hand," he asked the latter, and presenting him with twelve Tankas, advised him to fly off as soon as possible. The ways of the medieval Qalandars were strange and inexplicable, and since the Shaikh himself would permit no investigation, it is useless speculating now on Turāb and his motives.

Some three years after this incident, Shaikh Naṣīruddīn breathed his last on Ramaḍān 18, 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.).

It is not correct to say that Shaikh Naṣīruddīn gave no Certificates of Succession. Ḥamid, for example, tells us of the Certificate he gave to Maulānā Ḥīsāmuddīn and the instructions with which it was accompanied. But people naturally expected that like the Great Shaikh he would distribute a number of Succession-Certificates before his death to his disciples who had been anxiously waiting for them and, in particular, that he would appoint a successor for Delhi, who would also be the senior saint of the Silsilah. His nephew, Zainuddīn 'Alī, appealed to him to appoint such a Successor so that his spiritual line might not come to an end. The Shaikh asked him to draw up a list of the persons whom he considered worthy of the honour. But when Zainuddīn drew up a list in order of merit and placed it before the Shaikh for consideration, the Shaikh simply refused to consider it. " Maulānā Zainuddīn ! " he said, " They have to bear the burden of their own faith ; it is not possible for them to bear the burden of others." The great line of all-India Chishtī saints, which had started with Shaikh Mo'īnuddīn of Ajmer, was thus brought to an end. The future Chishtī saints—and there were many of them—could not attain to anything beyond a provincial reputation.

" After making this observation," Ḥamid continues, " Shaikh Naṣīruddīn made the following will : ' At the time of my burial, place the Khirqah I have received from Shaikh Nizāmuddīn on my breast, lay the staff of my master in my grave by my side ; the rosary of my Shaikh is to be wound round my forefinger and his wooden bowl is to be placed under my head instead of the (Uṣūal) clod of earth. His wooden shoes are to be placed by my side.' The persons present acted according to this will. Syyid Muḥammad Gaisu Darāz washed Shaikh Naṣīruddīn's body. He then took out the twisted ropes from the cot on which he had washed the Shaikh's body and wound them round his neck. ' This is a sufficient Khirqāh for me,' he declared."

MOHAMMAD HABIB.

# CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

## I

## ORDER OF BATTLE

THE Ghaznavids filed their army in the field in the following order :— 1. Advance Guard, 2. Right, 3. Left, 4. Centre.

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, describing the conquest of Nardin by Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna writes :— " When the Sulṭān arrived near the end of his destination, he sent his cavalry in array and formed them into different bodies, appointing his brother, Amīr Naṣr, son of Nasir-ud-Dīn, to command the Right Wing, consisting of valiant heroes, Arsan-al-Jazib to the left, consisting of powerful young men, and Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīmaṭ-Ṭā'ī, to the Advance-Guard, consisting of fiery Arab cavaliers. To the Centre he appointed Altuntash, the Chamberlain, with the Sulṭān's personal slaves and attendants, as firm as mountains."[1] There must have been an army in the Rear also.

The Shansabaniya (popularly knwon as Ghorī) Sulṭāns of Ghaznī maintained the same order. Abū 'Umar Minhāj-ud-Dīn Uthmān bin Sirāj-ud-Dīn al-Juzjānī, the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, has used the following terminology for the order of battle which Sulṭān Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sām followed in the battle near the vicinity of Tarain : (1) Quddām-i-Lashkar (Vanguard), (2) Maimana (Right), (3) Maisara (Left), (4) Qalb (Centre), (5) Khalf (Rear). The above author draws the picture of the battle in the following words :— " The Sulṭān encamped near the vicinity of Tarain and drew up the array of his army. He left the Centre of his army in the Rear, along with the camp equipage, banners, insigns, canopies and elephants at the distance of a few Kurohs. After he had formed the array he advanced quietly. The light and unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions and were placed in front of the infidels, and were directed to attack the army of the infidels on all sides from the Right (Maimana), and from the Left (Maisara), from the Rear

1. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* by al-'Utbī in *History of India* by Sir H Elliot, Vol. II, p. 38. I could not get the original text of *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, so I am not sure of the exact terminology used by the author.

(Khalf), and from the front (Quddām-i-Lashkar) with ten thousand archers riding on horses. And they were further ordered that when the elephants, the cavalry, and the infantry of the cursed ones were to attack, they should turn back and by making their horses run at full speed, get far away from them. By these tactics the Muslim army gave a blow to the infidels."[1]

There were various terms for the rank and file of the army in the days of the Slaves, Khaljis, and the Tughluqs *e g.* (1) طلایه [2] (Ṭalāya), مقدمه پیش[3] (Muqaddama-i-Paish), یزک[4] (Yazk). These words were employed for a squadron which served either as road-guides or scouts. They are specially trained to reconnoitre and bring news of the opposite camp. They also sometimes had preliminary encounters with enemy. (2) Muqaddama, *i e.*, Vanguards. The wings were called Jināh.[5] (3) Maisarah (the Right Wing). It was divided into two bands called Dast-i-Rāst-i-Maisara (The right-hand of the Right Wing), and Dast-i-Chap-i-Maisara, (the left-hand of the Right Wing). (4) Maimana (the Left Wing), which had also two divisions, Dast-i-Rāst-i-Maimana (the right-hand of the Left Wing), and Dast-i-Chap-i-Maimana (the left-hand of the Left Wing).[6] (5) Qalb (Centre) had likewise too bands Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qalb (the right-hand of the Centre)[7] and Dast-i-Chap-i-Qalb (the left-hand of the Centre). (6) Suqqah or Khalf (Rearguard)[8]

Each rank of the army was under a separate officer. The officer of the Vanguard was called Muqaddam or Sar-i-Lashkar-i-Muqaddama.[8] The Right and the Left Wings were under Sar-i-Fauj-i-Maisara respectively.[9] The Centre was generally commanded by the king, who was surrounded by 'Ulema, physicians, astrologers and favourite attendants and also by expert archers.[10] The royal standard, the military band consisting of drums, trumpets, Damāma, Nafīrī and Sarnā, etc., were placed in front of the king.[11] If the king[12] did not join the battle, the army was commanded by Sar-i-

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p 120, Calcutta edition, vide also *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* by Yahya Sihrindī, p 10, Calcutta edition and Elliot, Vol II, pp 296, 297, although the translation of the passage is very defective

2-3 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 288, 122

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 301, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī* by Diyā-ud-Dīn Baranī, Calcutta edition, pp 90, 420, *Fātūh-us-Salāṭīn*, edited by Dr Mahdī Hussain, pp 422, 457, etc

5 The term جناح is not clear. Literally it means 'wings.' It cannot be the Right and Left Wings. There is a verse in *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn*

جو قلب و جناح و یسار و یمین  دوسو شد مرتب در آن دشت کین

6 Baranī, p. 260.

7 *Fatūh-us-Salāṭīn*, p 250

8. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p 120.

9 *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, p 250, Baranī p. 89

10. Baranī, p. 26

11. *Subh-ul-A'sha*, Vol. V, p 97.

12 *Ādāb-al-Harb wa'sh-Shajā'ah*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October, 1937.

Lashkar, who was either the Prime Minister or some highly important noble of the State.[1] Moqaddam, Sar-i-Fauj-i-Maisara and Sar-i-Fauj-i-Maimana were appointed from amongst the most respectable Khāns. The Khān had under him a Malik, and the Malik had an Amīr, who was a superior officer to Sipāh Sālār. The Sipāh Sālār had under him a Sar-i-Khail. A Malik commanded ten thousand horsemen, an Amīr one thousand, a Sipāh Sālār one hundred, and a Sar-i-Khail ten horsemen.[2] In the Centre, the king had a special contingent of horsemen called Khāsa-i-Khail, which was under Sar-i-Jandar. The Khāṣa-i-Khail was posted on the Right and Left Wings of the Centre, so the commanders of the Wings were called Sar-i-Jandar-i-Maimana (Right) Sar-i-Jandar-i-Maisra (Left).[3] Boy-slaves also accompanied the king or the Sar-i-Lashkar to the field, and they were supervised by the Amīr-i-Ghilmān-i-Maimana and Amīr-i-Ghilmān-i-Maisara.[4]

The term for the officer-in-charge of the infantry is not explicitly known. Sahm-al-Ḥashm, Nā'ib Sahm-al-Ḥashm and Shimla-i-Ḥashm were some officers of the army.[5] If Ḥashm is employed to mean infantry, the above officers may perhaps be associated with the infantry.

In each part of the army there was an Ākhur Bak to look after the horses, a Shaḥna-i-Pīl to supervise the elephants, and a Shaḥna-i-Nafar for the camels.[6] The armoury was in charge of Sar-i-Silāhdār. A Chā'ūsh was to see that everybody remained at his proper place, on the day of battle and a Naqīb proclaimed orders and instructions.[7] Disobedience or negligence or carelessness which caused disorder in the files and arrays of the troops was met with drastic punishment. When 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's army was arrayed at Kili against the Mughal hordes, his special instruction to his soldiers was not to move from their place without order. Disobedience was punished by beheading.[8]

The position of the infantry, cavalry and elephants in the array of the army could be changed according to the needs of the occasion. Sometimes the infantry occupied the front line, and the files of the cavalry and the elephants were formed behind them. Foot-soldiers wearing armour and armed with broad shields and bows and arrows formed the first row and served as a wall of protection. Foot-soldiers wearing breast-plates and armed with shields, swords and spears occupied the second row.

1. Baranī, pp. 36, 441, 451, 477
2. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
3. *Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 62
4. Baranī, p. 30
5. *Mubārak Shāhī*, p 62 ; Baranī, p 30.
6. Baranī, p 24.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 30
8. In *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn* the order is couched in the following words –

کس از سر فرازاں نجنبد ز جائے  مگر ہم ہرماں ہرماں روائے
وگر خود کسی بگذرد زیں سخن  سر خود بہ بیند بہ پہلوئے تن

Foot-soldiers with swords, quivers, large knives and iron-bound sticks stood in the third row. The fourth row was also composed of foot-soldiers armed with laces and swords. Each of these rows was broken into several parts, so as to leave an open space between them for the horsemen and other warriors behind the lines to see what was happening in front, and to charge at the enemy when necessary or to retreat to their original places in the camp.[1]

If the cavalry preceded the infantry, the horsemen were arranged likewise, and they fought clad in a Khaftān (a leathern vest worn under the armour), a helmet, a breast-plate, iron sheaths for the thighs, shanks and fore-arms, and pieces for the neck and the other parts of the body. Sometimes they also wore a second suit of armour as an additional precaution.[2] Their chief armaments were bows, arrows, swords, spears, and Nachakh.

If the elephants occupied the front files, the cavalry remained just behind them. Amīr Khusrau, while describing the battle between Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq and Khusrau Khān, writes of the former's order and arrangement of his army:[3]

صف پیلان چو صف ابر آزار — هر دیرے، برق حمله، باد رفتار
نه جوذ هر پیل جوکوهے با سکوه — برو برگستوان جیو ابر بر کوه
به بشت پیل برکان تیر درسبت — چوکوهے کو به بشت کوه بشبت
پس پیلان سواران صف کشیده — بجوش از بشت ماهی تف کشیده

Sometimes the elephants were placed in front of each and all the wings. Isāmī, the author of *Fatūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, draws the picture of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's battle at Kili against the Mughals in the following verse:[4]

بهر فوج دو بستگان پیل مست — بعین کرده آن حسرو چیره دست

But the elephants stood mostly in the centre along with the king. The author of *Ṣubḥal-A'sha* has given an account of the modes of battle in Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq's days, and he writes accordingly: "The king stands in the centre..... In front of him there remain the elephants covered with iron sheets to shield them against attack, and carrying upon their backs Howdahs having towers in which are seated archers. These towers had holes on every side through which they aim their targets and throw the naphtha towards the enemy."[5]

When Maḥmūd Tughluq arrayed his army against Tīmūr, he also

1. *Ādāb-ul-Harb wa'sh-Shajā'ah*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Tughluq Nāmah*, by Amīr Khusrau, Hyderabad edition, pp. 92, 93.
4. *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 250, vide also Barani, p. 301. In the battle of Sirī also, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn had elephants on each wing.
5. *Ṣubhal-A'sha*, Vol. V, p. 97.

had the elephants in the centre.[1] Ibrāhīm Lodī also placed the elephants in the Centre at the battle of Panipat.[2]

Just behind the Centre there was the Suqqah or Khalf, *i.e.*, the Rearguard. It had different rows, in which were placed the royal harem, kitchen, treasury, armoury, wardrobes, spare horses, camels, prisoners and the wounded. It had also a contingent of the army to guard against an attack from behind.[3] The Khalf was encamped at the distance of some Kurohs from the Centre.[4]

Besides the above files of the army, some squadrons lay in ambush (Kamīn) to make a surprise raid on the enemy or to go to the rescue of those wings of the army which grew weaker.[5]

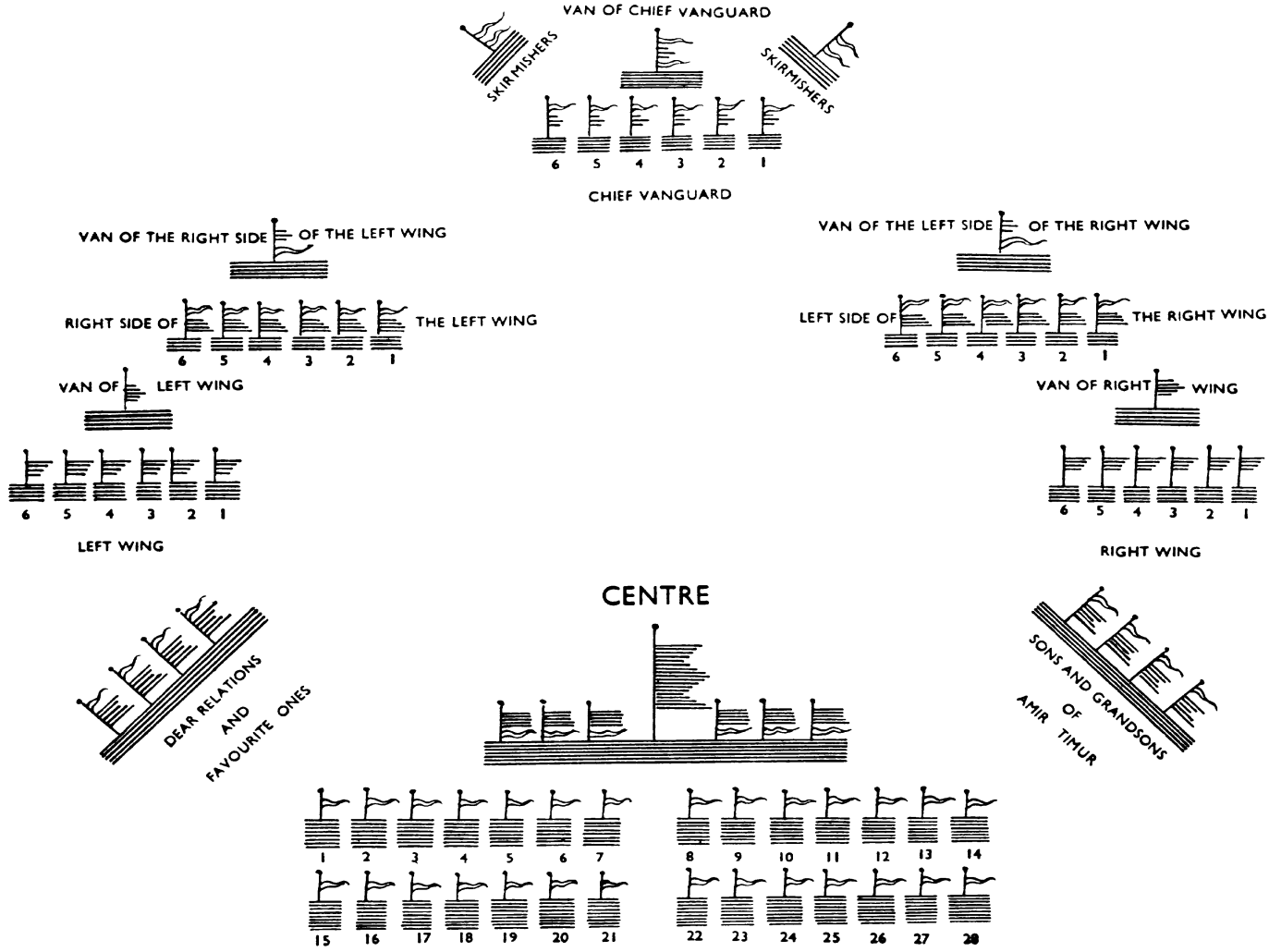
Amīr Tīmūr had a definite code for filing his army on a battle-ground. If his forces consisted of twelve thousand horsemen he had the following order :— (1) Qarāwal (Skirmishers). (2) Harāwal (Vanguard). (3) Jaranghar (Left Wing). It was divided into three sections : (*i*) Harāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Vanguard of the Left wing), (*ii*) Chapāwal-i-Jaranghar (Left side of the Left Wing), (*iii*) Shaqāwal-i-Jaranghar (Right side of the Left Wing). (4) Baranghar (Right Wing). It had also three sections : (*i*) Harāwal-i-Baranghar (the Vanguard of the Right Wing), (*ii*) Chapāwal-i-Baranghar (Left side of the Right Wing), (*iii*) Shaqāwal-i-Baranghar (Right side of the Right Wing). (5) Qol (Centre).

And if the army consisted of horsemen numbering from twelve to forty thousand the order was as follows : (1) Qarāwal (Skirmishers). It had two sections : (*a*) Qarāwal-i-Dast-i-Rāst (the Skirmishers of Right-hand), (*b*) Qarāwal-i- Dast-i-Chap (the Skirmishers of the Left-hand). (2) Harāwal-i-Buzurg (the Chief Vanguard). It had also a Harāwal-i-Harāwal (the Van of the Vanguard). (3)Jaranghar (Left Wing). It had, besides the main Left Wing, three more sections : (*i*) Harāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Van of the Left Wing), (*ii*) Shaqāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Right side of the Left Wing), (*iii*) Harāwal-i-Shaqāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Van of the Right side of the Left Wing). (4) Baranghar (Right Wing). It had also, besides the main body of the Right Wing, three more sections : (*i*) Harāwal-i-Baranghar (the Van of the Right Wing), (*ii*) Chapāwal-i-Baranghar (the Left side of the Right Wing), (*iii*) Harāwal-i-Chapāwal-i-Baranghar (the Van of the Left side of the Right Wing). (5) Qol (Centre). It had two sides : (*i*) Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qol (The Right-hand of the Centre), (*ii*) Dast-i-Chap-i-Qol (The Left-hand of the Centre). (6) 'Aqab (the Rearguard)

1. *Zafar Nāmah* by Sharf-ud-Dīn 'Alī, Vol. II, p. 106, Calcutta edition.
2. *Bābur Nāmah*, translated into English by A. S. Beveridge, p. 473.
3. *Ādābul-Harb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.
4. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 122.
5. At the battle of Kili, fought against the Mughāls, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn had an ambuscade behind every array of his army. Isāmī writes (p. 250) :—

به پشتی هر صف کرازے دلیر  کمیں کرده چون در ره صید شیر

Vide also *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, p. 190, Lucknow edition.


VAN OF CHIEF VANGUARD
SKIRMISHERS
SKIRMISHERS
6 5 4 3 2 1
CHIEF VANGUARD
VAN OF THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE LEFT WING
RIGHT SIDE OF THE LEFT WING
6 5 4 3 2 1
VAN OF LEFT WING
6 5 4 3 2 1
LEFT WING
VAN OF THE LEFT SIDE OF THE RIGHT WING
LEFT SIDE OF THE RIGHT WING
6 5 4 3 2 1
VAN OF RIGHT WING
6 5 4 3 2 1
RIGHT WING
CENTRE
DEAR RELATIONS AND FAVOURITE ONES
SONS AND GRANDSONS OF AMIR TIMUR
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28

The Qarāwal (Skirmishers) moved on the right and the left-hands of the Harāwal (Vanguard) so as to get themselves acquainted with the movements of the enemy. A Harāwal (Van) preceded the Harāwal-i-Buzrug (the Chief Vanguard). It consisted of only one contingent (Fauj). But the Harāwal-i-Buzrug (the Chief Vanguard) was composed of six contingents. The main body of the Jaranghar (Left Wing) had also six contingents. The Harāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Van of the Left Wing) contained one contingent only. But the Shaqāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Right side of the Left Wing) was composed of six contingents, and the Harāwal-i-Shaqāwal-i-Jaranghar (the Van of the Right side of the Left Wing) had one contingent. The Baranghar (Right Wing) had a similar order. The first row of the Centre was divided into six contingents, and in the second and the third rows there stood twenty-eight contingents, each having fourteen. On the Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qol (the Right-hand of the Centre), there were placed the sons and grandsons of Amīr Tīmūr, and the Dast-i-Chap-i-Qol (the Left-hand of the Centre) remained in charge of the 'dear relations' and 'favourite ones' of Amīr Tīmūr. Their contingents were kept as reserves (Tarah), which helped to strengthen the weaker side of the army.[1] The chart (facing this page) will make Tīmūr's order of battle still clearer.

Bābur's order of battle on the field of Panipat was as follows:[2] (1) Qarāwal (Skirmishers). (2) Harāwal (Vanguard). It had a Vanguard Reserve also (Ṭarah-i-Harāwal). (3) Baranghar (Right Wing). The Baranghar (Right Wing) of Bābur's army differed from that of Tīmūr in having a Tulghuma (turning or flanking party) at the point of the Right Wing. When the enemy got near, the Tulghuma wheeled round the enemy's rear and discharged arrows. The Baranghar (Right Wing) had also reserves called Tarah-i-Baranghar. (4) Jaranghar (Left Wing) had likewise a Tulghuma (turning or flanking party) and Ṭarah-i-Jaranghar (Reserves of Left Wing). (5) Qol or Ghoul (Centre). It had two sections (*i*) Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qol (the Right-hand of the Centre),[3] (*ii*) Dast-i-Chap-i-Qol[4] (the Left-hand of the Centre), and Reserves (Ṭarah-i-Qol) stood just behind the Centre.

At the battle of Sīkrī Bābur's Right and Left Wings had right and left sections also, called Yamīn-i-Baranghar (the Right side of the Right Wing), Yasār-i-Baranghar (the Left side of the Right Wing), and similarly Yamīn-i-Jaranghar and Yasār-i-Jaranghar (the Right and Left sides of the Left Wing).[5]

1. These details have been culled from *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, Bombay edition, pp. 191-210

2. The terms of Bābur's order of battle have been gleaned with the help of the Persian, Urdu and English translations of *Bābur's Memoirs*. A manuscript of the Persian translation is preserved in the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, U.P. The translation in Urdu has been made by Naṣir-ud-Dīn Hyder, and for the English translation I have consulted A.S. Beveridge's *Bābur Nāmah*.

3 The Turks called it اون عول (*Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. I, p. 95).

4. The Turks called it سول عول (*Ibid.*, p. 96).

5. For details vide A. S. Beveridge's *Bābur Nāmah*, pp. 566, 567.

In the days of Bābur's successors the terms for the order of battle underwent slight alterations. Qarāwal (Skirmishers) was invariably called Moqaddamat-ul-Jaish,[1] Manqala,[2] Ṭalī'ah and Ṭalāyah. For Harāwal (Vanguard) no fresh term was employed. It was sometimes divided into two Wings, called Rāst-i-Harāwal (Right Wing of the Vanguard) and Chap-i-Harāwal (Left of the Vanguard). Abdul Qādir Badā'ūnī uses a term Jūzah-i-Harāwal ( جوزه هراول ) in describing the battle of Kokunda, which was fought in Akbar's reign in 984 A.H. This Jūzah-i-Harāwal was posted in front of the vanguard.[3] But this term has not been used by any other historian. The reserve of the Vanguard was called Iltamash.[4] For Jaranghar (Left Wing) the words Dast-i-Chap, Maisara and Yasār were also used. The Left Wing had two sides also known as Dast-i-Rāst-i-Jaranghar (Right-hand of the Left Wing) and Dast-i-Chap-i-Jaranghar (Left-hand of the Left Wing). The Right Wing had also Tulqama or Tulghama[5] (turning or flanking parties) and Ṭarah (Reserves).[6] The various names used for Baranghar (Right Wing) were likewise Dast-i-Rāst, Maimanah, and Yamīn and, again, it also had Dast-i-Rāst-i-Baranghar (Right-hand of the Right Wing), Dast-i-Chap-i-Baranghar (Left-hand of the Right Wing), a Tulqama or tulghama (turning or flanking parties) and Ṭarah (Reserves). For the Centre there were the terms Qol, Ghoul and Qalb. The Left side of the Centre was called Dast-i-Chap-i- Qol or Ghoul or Qalb (Left-hand of the Centre) and the Right side was termed Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qol or Ghoul or Qalb (Right-hand of the Centre). Maisara-i-Qol and Maimana-i-Qol were also used in lieu of the two terms respectively. Behind the two divisions of the Centre were placed Reserves, known as Ṭarah-i-Dast-i-Rāst-i-Qol, and Ṭarah-i-Dast-i-Chap-i-Qol.[7] The Rear-guard is referred to by the names, Chandāwal, Chaghdul, and Saqqah.

The task of arraying the army devolved upon the Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik. If the king accompanied the army, the Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik presented before him on the morning of a battle the muster roll and the number of troops under each commander. He also determined the plans of the army and assigned posts to the commanders in the Van, Centre, Right and Left Wings, and the Rearguard. If any officer erred in his post, the Bakhshī-

1 *Bādshāh Nāmah*, by 'Abdul Hameed Lahori Vol. II, p. 688, Calcutta edition

2. *Akbar Nāmah*, by Abul-Fadl, Vol. II, pp. 36, 37, Calcutta edition.

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, by 'Abdul Qādir Badā'ūnī, Vol. II, p. 15, Calcutta edition, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp 336, 394, *Bādshāh Nāmah* by A. H Lahori, pp. 213, 214, etc.

3 Badā'ūnī's actual words are (Vol. II, p. 231) —

و چند نفر چیده و برگزیده بهمراهئی سید هاشم بارهه پیشتر از هراول نامزد شدند که آن را جوزه هراول می نامیدند

'Juzah-i-Harāwal' means probably 'Chicken of the Vanguard'

4. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, pp. 425, 432, 482,

5 *Ibid*, pp. 24, 715, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, by Khāfī Khān, Vol. II, p. 876.

6. *'Amāl-i-Sāleh*, by M Ṣāleh Kamboh, p 277.

7. *'Ālamgīr Nāmah*, by M Kāzim Shīrāzī, pp. 65, 96, *Bādshāh Nāmah*, by 'Abdul Hameed Lahori, Vol. I, 406, *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, pp. 419, 424.

ul-Mamālik changed him at once from his position. The Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik had under him a number of Bakshīs, who were deputed to every division.[1] The duty of arranging the order of battle sometimes devolved upon the Amīr-i-Tuzuk also.[2] And sometimes the king settled the plan of the battle in his capital before the despatch of the armies, and it was strictly adhered to on the battlefield.[3] In the wars of succession the princes personally arranged and supervised the files of their fighting forces.[4]

In decisive battles, the king and the chief commanding officer were very vigilant in marshalling and scrutinising the serried ranks of the army.[5]

Every file of the army was under a Sardār or a Sālār,[6] and the file was divided into several divisions called invariably Qashūn[7] (or Qushūn) or Tumân (or Tumān)[8] or Chowki [9](or Top).[10] Every division was commanded by a separate officer. Such an officer in Bābur's army was selected from his nobles and was called Sulṭān or Bēg or Amīr [11] In Akbar's days the Mansabdārs were deputed to these posts. The Mansabdār of ten thousand (Dah Hazārī) had under him Mansabdārs enjoying Mansabs from nine thousand to one thousand. Similarly, the Mansabdār of eight thousand commanded the Manṣabdārs having Mansab up to eight hundred and so forth.[12] If the king or prince accompanied the army, each and all the Manṣabdārs were subordinate to him. In the absence of the king and the prince, all the chiefs (Sardārs and Sālārs) were under the direct control of Sipāh Sālār.[13] The chief of a section of an army belonged mostly to the race of which the army was composed. For example the Chowkī of the Rajputs had a Rajput Mansabdār, the Tuman of the Afghans was under an Afghan Mansabdār, and the Qushūn of the Mughals was under

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1. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, pp. 191, 192 ; *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* (Urdu) pp. 313, 314 , *Bābur Nāmah* by A S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 564, 568. I shall discuss the duties of Bakhshi-ul-Mamālik later on.

2. *'Ālamgīr Namāh*, Vol. I, p 245.

3. *'Amal-i-Ṣāleh*, Vol. I, p. 460, Vol. II, p. 462 , *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. I, p 405, Vol. II, p. 482.

4. For the battles between Dārā and Aurangzēb, vide *'Ālamgīr Nāmah*, pp 90, 95 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. II, pp. 20, 26, 58.

5. For instance, study Tīmūr's battle against Sultān Maḥmūd of Delhi in *Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 438, 439. Vide also *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. II, p. 62, Vol. III, p. 424

6. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, p. 424 , *'Amal-i-Ṣāleh*, Vol. I, p. 405, Vol. II, p. 482, etc

7. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, p. 203 ; Elliot, Vol. III, p. 434 ; *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. II, p. 62 , *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 674 ; *Siyar-Muta'akhkhirīn*, by G. H. Khan Tabatabayee, Vol II, p 483, Lucknow edition

8. *Tuzuk -i-Taimūrī*, p. 203 ; Elliot, Vol. III, p. 430 , *Akbar Namīh*, Vol. II, p 62.

9. In *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol III, p. 454, we have the following line —

بخشیاں را فرمان شد کہ فیروزی سپاہ را چوکی بہ چوکی بشائستگی نگہدارایند

10. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol III, p. 458 :—

خانخاناں لشکر منصور را چہار توپ گردایند

11. *Bābur Nāmah*, translated by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 472, 564.

12. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Lucknow edition, p. 120.

13. Tīmūr's highest military officer was called Amīr-ul-Umarā, *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, pp. 190,191.

a Mughal Mansabdār. The gunners, the matchlockmen, the cannoneers, the Dēg-Andāz and the artillery were under an officer called Mīr Ātish.

It is very difficult to state exactly what was the priority of the different branches of the army (*viz.* artillery, cavalry, elephants and infantry) in the files of the fighting forces, but in big and important battles the artillery occupied the first line of the Vanguard. Heavy cannon were placed on big carts or carriages called 'Arabah, which were linked together by iron chains and ropes of twisted leather. Between each pair of carts there were placed six or seven gabions or nosebags full of earth or mantelet[1] so that the match-lock men might fire their pieces from behind them in security. The line of the carts ('Arabah) drawn up in one row along the entire front and connected by chains served also as a great barrier to the onrush of the enemy.[2] Deep ditches were also dug in front of the artillery to check the intrepid onset of the assailants. Entrenchment around the battle-ground was also formed.[3] Next to the carts of artillery, there stood camels, which had behind them the rows of elephants.[4] The camels carried Shutarnāl (camel-guns) and Zamburak (Swivel-guns), and the elephants had on their backs —Gajnāl and Hathnāl (elephant-barrels). Each elephant carried two pieces of Gajnāl and Hathnāl and two soldiers. Behind the elephants was stationed the cavalry.[5]

The cannoneers (Topchī), the gunners (Tufangchī), the mortar-bearers (Dēgandāz), the throwers of grenades (Ra'd-andāz) and the rocket-men (Takhsh-andāz)[6] were generally in the Vanguard, and on its two flanks. But the first row of the Right and the Left Wings as well as the Centre sometimes had also heavy artillery.[7] And so the elephants also were placed in front of each body of the troops.[8] If the elephant-barrels were not sufficiently available, the archers were seated on the backs of the elephant. An elephant, having on its back a few bold archers, was considered equal to one thousand horsemen.[9] The cavalry always stood at some distance behind the elephants. The Rajput cavalry forces fought chiefly with spears (Barchhā) and the Mughal cavalry had mainly bows and arrows. Each horsemen had a sword or a scimitar or sabre girded to his loins, and

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1 These are the English equivalents suggested for a controversial term توپ, which has been written by some historians as توپ. Badā'ūnī writes توپ-اك Vide, *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol I, p 95 ; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol II, p 13 ; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol I, p 334 ; *Bābur Nāmah* by A S Beveridge, Vol II, p. 469.

2. For details vide *Bābur Nāmah* by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 564 ; *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. I, p 107 ; Khāfī Khān, Vol II, pp. 720, 721 , *Siyar-ul-Mutā'akhkharīn*, Vol. II, p. 482

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol II, p 33 ; *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. I, p. 164, Vol. II, pp 40, 136.

4. For details study the battle of Samugarh, fought between Dārā and Aurangzēb

5 *Ibid* , and also *'Amal-i-Ṣāleh*, Vol. II, p 365.

6 I shall discuss the various armaments later on.

7. *Bābur Nāmah*, translated by A. S Beveridge, p. 565 ; *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. I, p 109 ; *'Amal-i-Ṣāleh*, Vol. II, p 365 , *Bādshāh Nāmah*, Vol. II, pp. 485, 486 , *Khāfī Khān*, Vol , II, pp. 588, 590.

8. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, pp. 365, 424, 612, 613.

9. *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Lucknow edition, p 85.

on the other side either a Katār (a poignard with hilt, whose two branches extended along the arm so as to shelter the hand and part of the arm) or a Khanjar (a poignard with a bent blade). On the left shoulder hung the shield (Sipar), which was taken into the grip of the Left-hand during encounters. The infantry was posted behind the cavalry. The Timuride rulers did not employ many foot-soldiers in big battles.

The king, or the prince or the Sipāh Sālār, who commanded the troops, stood in the Centre generally mounted on a lofty elephant, clad in barb of steel and having a gaily ornamented Howdah and embroidered royal umbrella. He occupied a position which was visible from all parts of the field. The imperial standard fluttered either on his elephant or on the elephant standing just close to him.[1] Other elephants in his proximity carried musical bands.[2]

The king or the prince had on his elephant his wife and some of his favourite children.[3] He was surrounded by the royal retainers, nobles and counsellors who rode on horses. Learned men and scholars also accompanied the king.[4] When the king or the commander-in-chief issued any orders, they were conveyed to the different corners of the battle-field by adjutants called Tawwechi,[5] Yasāwal[6] or Sazāwal.[7] These adjutants also saw that every soldeir remained at the proper place of his array. An imperative order was enforced that " none should quit his post or uncommanded stretch forth his arm to fight."[8] If this order was disobeyed the penalty was death.[9]

The rearguard was stationed at a short distance behind the Centre. It watched against the onset of the enemy from behind, and looked after the camp and the royal harem.

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1. Timūr took up his position on horse-back under the imperial standard, *Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol III, p. 439

2. Dārā's musical band in the battle of Samugarh were stationed on elephants just close to his own elephant

3. When Nūr Jahān fought a battle against Mahābat Khān, she was seated on her elephant with her infant granddaughter, the latter's nurse, and Shāh Nawāz Khan's daughter (*Iqbāl-Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī*, by Mu'tamad Khān, Calcutta edition, pp. 263, 264) At the battle of Jajau, Prince A'ẓam's son Bēdār Bakht was mounted on his war elephant with his child Bēdār Bakht.

Another son of A'ẓam Shāh, Wālājāh, was accompanied on the elephant by his wife, who was struck to death by a rocket A'ẓam Shāh in his own Howdah had Prince 'Ali Tabar, who was wounded by an arrow (Khāfī Khān, p 593)

4. *Malfūẓāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p 438. 'Ālamgīr did not like to see unnecessary persons around prince or a commanding officer, for, according to him, this caused hindrance in organising and leading the army properly (*Ruqa'āt 'Ālamgīr*, Ma'ārif Press, Azamgarh, p. 237).

5 *Malfūẓāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol III, p 436 , *Bābur Nāmah*, Vol. I, p. 107, Vol III, p. 23

6. *Bābur Nāmah*, Vol. II, p 568 , *'Ālamgīr Nāmah*, Vol. I, p. 245.

7 *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. II, pp. 83, 122 , *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p 253 , Khāfi Khān, p 590

8. *Bābur Nāmah*, Vol II, p. 568 ,

9. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, Bombay edition, p. 202.

Ambuscades were well devised in almost every battle.[1]

In the formation of the ranks, space was left between each array, and there were also intervals and passages in each file, so that combatants standing behind might see what was happening in front, and horsemen might sally forth conveniently. The sally-places and the intervals between the files were sometimes an arrow's flight[2] or half a Kos[3] in breadth.

Each rank had for the supervision of its horses an Akhta Begi, for elephants a Shana-i-Pīl, for artillery a Mīr Ātish, and for other armoury a Dārogha-i-Qūr Khāna or Qūr Bēgī. The Qūr Bēgī was also the bearer of the royal standard

S. SABAHUDDIN.

*(To be continued).*

1 *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, p. 332, study also the battle of Karnal, fought between Muhammad Shāh and Nādir Shāh.

2 & 3. *Bābur Nāmah*, p. 469; Khāfi Khān, pp. 621, 622.

# ILTUTMISH THE MYSTIC

## I

## INTRODUCTORY

SULṬĀN Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish is one of the most outstanding figures of Indo-Muslim History. Barni says :—

"سلطان شمس الدین همسر سلاطین مصر و موازی بادشاهان عراق و خراسان و خوارزم بود"

(Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn rivalled the Sulṭāns of Egypt and equalled (the pomp and glories of) the rulers of Iraq, Khurasan and Khwarizm).

### *a.*—Political Achievements

For more than a quarter of a century he ruled over this country with extraordinary valour and wisdom. The éclat and splendour of his court revived once more the glories of Maḥmūd and Sanjar.[1] Endowed with a rare capacity for handling a fluid political situation, he evolved order out of chaos and cemented the Muslim power in India. Indeed his was a stormy advent which ushered in an era of feverish political activity —brisk military campaigns and fervent consolidation. His military achievements were so dazzling that his contemporaries found in him the conquering might of Alexander.[2] The entire country rang with pæans of praise. Poets came from far and near with eloquent panegyrics and showered encomiums on him. A Trans-Oxian poet[3] thus expressed his sentiments :—

اے فتنه از نهیب تو زنهار خواسته　　تیغ تو مال و فیل ز کفار خواسته

Another poet's[4] brilliant tribute was :—

خبر باهل سما برد جبرئیل امین　　ز فتح نامه سلطان عهد شمس الدین

1. Cf. Barni, p. 27. درگاه سلطان شمس الدین درگاه محمودی و سنجری شده بود

(The Court of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn had become (*i e.* vied with) the Court of Mahmūd and Sanjar).

2. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, (Raverty), p. 598.

3. *Fawāi'd-ul-Fawā'id*, pp. 212, 213 (N. Kishore); Ferishta (12th chapter published separately by Majidi Press, Cawnpore), p. 14.

4. Amīr Rūhānī, a contemporary poet, quoted in *History of Delhi* by Bashīr-ud-Dīn, Vol. I, pp. 45-7, mentioned also in Ferishta, Niẓām-ud-Dīn and others.

که اے ملائکه قدس آسمانها را بدین بشارت بندیدکاه و آئین
که از بلاد سوالك شنشه اسلام کشاد بار دگر قلعهٔ سپهر آئین
تنه مجاهد و غازی که دست تیغش را روان حیدر کراری کند تحسین

His administrative capacity was so surprising that within a short span of time he transformed a loosely patched-up congeries of Muslim acquisitions of Hindustan into a well-organised compact State. It is no exaggeration to say that the Indo-Muslim empire was mainly the product of his unceasing efforts and unfailing wisdom. Dr. Tripathi rightly observes that the history of Muslim sovereignty in India properly speaking begins with him.[1]

But all this is only one side of the medal. He was not merely a great political genius but also a great religious luminary of his age. In his personality the two apparently divergent tendencies of the mystic and the politician had marvellously blended. This article is an attempt to bring into the limelight the religious aspect of his personality.

## *b.*—The Mystic

Iltutmish was a great mystic. His whole being was steeped in mysticism, nay, even the throne on which he sat had a mystic aroma about it and the crown that he wore was a mystic's gift.[2] Nizām-ud-Dīn says:

"چراغ دولت او از نور تائید الهی روشنی پذیرفته بود"

(The lamp of his empire had received light and support from Divine Radiance).

The author of *Khazīnat ul-Aṣfiya* has very rightly remarked:[3]

"اگر چه بظاهر تعلق به بادشاهی داشت لیکن از دل فقیر و فقیر دوست بود"

(Though outwardly he was associated with kingship, yet at heart he was a Faqīr, and a lover of saints and divines).

His religious position may be guaged by a careful perusal of the *Malfūzāt* and hagiological works of the Ṣūfī saints of the early Middle Ages. Minhāj is too curt and brief on religious matters. Mohd. Ghausī writing during the reign of Jahāngīr noted with suspicion this attitude of the great historian.[4] Later chroniclers have, mainly, followed in the footsteps of Minhāj. Rarely have they mentioned anything about the religious achievements of Iltutmish. It is in the *Malfūẓāt* that we come across some very illuminating though brief and laconic remarks about

1. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 24.
2. See infra.
3. Ghulam Sarwar, Vol. I, (Lucknow), p. 276.
4. *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, by Mohd. Ghausī, p. 79.

Iltutmish's religious attainments. Here these stray and scattered facts have been pieced together to construct a picture of Iltutmish as a religious man.

## II

## EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS

ALL men are more or less the product of their environment, and therefore a critical evaluation of Iltutmish's religious ideas must begin with an examination of the spirit of the age and the atmosphere in which he was brought up. In order to trace the development of his religious thought we should study him outside India, at places where he passed his early years.

### (*a*). IN BOKHARA

Iltutmish was hardly ten when he fell a victim to the jealousy of his brothers, who brought him to the slave-market of Bokhara and sold him to a kinsman of Ṣadr-i-Jahān (the Chief Ecclesiastic). Ṣadr-i-Jahān's family was of honourable descent and enjoyed a religious reputation. *Minhāj* calls it خانوادهٔ امارت و تصدر (priestly and saintly family) and eulogizes[1] its بزرگی و طهارت (eminencea nd sanctity). Here this young slave was treated as a member of the family. While in this house a very small incident took place; but it left a very deep impression on his mind. "On a certain occasion one of the members of the family gave him a piece of money and ordered him to go to the bazar and buy some grapes. He went to the bazar and on the way lost the piece of money. Being of tender age, he began to cry for fear and while he was weeping a Faqīr came to him and took his hand, purchased some grapes and gave them to him, saying: 'When you obtain wealth and dominion, take care that you show respect to Faqīrs and maintain their rights!'"[2] This incident made such a deep impression on his young mind that we shall not be far from the truth if we trace to it the first germination of mystic love in him. Afterwards he related this anecdote in his court and said:—

"هر دولت و سلطنت که یافتم از نظر آن درویش یافتم"

(Whatever of royalty and honour devolved upon me came through the benediction of that very saint).

### (*b*). IN BAGHDAD

After a short stay at Bokhara Iltutmish somehow reached Baghdad. At this time Baghdad was a great spiritual centre. Hundreds of eminent

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, edited by Capt. W. N. Lees, p. 167.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

mystics had gathered there. The enlightening discourses and sermons of such distinguished personalities as Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrwardy, Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, Shaikh Uhad-ud-Dīn Kirmānī, Maulānā 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Qāḍī Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Nāgūrī and others filled the entire atmosphere with mystic ideas. The bank of the Tigris was studded all along with mosques, and Khānqāhs. A mystic breeze blew over the entire landscape. Masjid-i-Kankari, Masjid-i-Abū-Laith Samarqandī, and Masjid-i-Junaid Baghdādī were the principal centres of mystic activity, and teeming crowds flocked there.

Iltutmish was also breathing this atmosphere. Two anecdotes show that he imbibed the pervading spirit. The master of the house in which he lived was a religious-minded man. He often vacated his house so that the mystics could hold their music parties there. One night a grand music party was arranged in this house. Many eminent mystics, like Qāḍī Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn and others, were invited there. The young Iltutmish kept standing throughout the whole night and devotedly served these Ṣūfīs by removing the burnt wick from the candle.[1]

Another story is more significant and clearly shows Iltutmish's faith in these divines. One day he went to the Khānqāh of Shaikh Shīhāb-ud-Dīn Suhrwardy and presented a few coins to the Shaikh. The Shaikh recited the *Fātiḥa* and then remarked :—

"من در چهرهٔ این شخص انوار سلطنت لامع می بینم"

(I see gleams of royalty shining on the forehead of this man).

Shaikh Uhad-ud-Dīn Kirmānī was also present. He looked towards Iltutmish and said :—[2]

"از برکت شما در سلطنت دنیوی دینش هم سلامت باشد"

(In this worldly empire of yours, religion too will be safe).

Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar gives another very interesting story which he heard from his Pīr Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kāki : "Once I was present in the company of my Pīr, Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, in Baghdad. Many mystics of repute were there. It so happened that a lad of twelve passed by that way, with a bow in his hand. Incidentally these mystics glanced at him and prompt were the words that came from the lips of the Khwāja :—[3]

"این کودک بادشاه دهلی خواهد شد"

(This lad is bound to be the ruler of Delhi).

1. Ferishta, (Urdu, Newal Kishore), Vol. I, p 103

2. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifin*, by Jamālī, MS., p. 27. Amīr Hasan has also alluded to this story in *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, (Lucknow), p. 212

3. *Fawā'id-us-Sālikin*, Malfūzāt Qutb Ṣāhib, by Bābā Farīd. MS , p. 10 (*b*)

The Chishtī saint's spiritual eye discerned a beautiful diadem on the forehead of this wandering youth. It was a remarkable prophecy and not many decades were to elapse before the same youth was to be seen ruling over one of the greatest empires of the Middle Ages.

Now, these incidents of early life help to illumine the background of Iltutmish's mind. Early impressions play a very vital part in moulding one's thought and character. If that famous Wordsworthian dictum "The child is father of the man" has any psychological significance, we should not be surprised to find that this young boy, who had passed his early years in such a spiritual atmosphere, one day himself became a great Ṣūfī.

### (*c*) In Badā'ūn

After some time Iltutmish came to India as a slave of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibek. He was entrusted with the fief of Gwalior and was later on, in 1203, appointed to the governorship of Badā'ūn. Badā'ūn is one of the earliest centres of Muslim culture. Hundreds of Muslim martyrs lie buried there.[1] Many eminent mystics who entered India subsequent to Mohd. Ghori's invasion settled there. Distinguished saints, like Shaikh Fatḥullāh, Shaikh Wajīh-ud-Dīn, Khwāja 'Alī Bokhārī lived and died there. Iltutmish was the governor of this place. A simple anecdote, mentioned in several hagiological works, shows the mystic bent of his mind. One day Iltutmish was going out to play Chougān.[2] In the way a very aged man stretched out his hand and begged for alms. Iltutmish did not give him anything and moved on. A few steps further he came across a stout young man, and at once took out from his purse gold pieces and delivered them to him. Afterwards, he turned to his companions and asked: "Do you know why I did not give anything to that old beggar, while I gave to this young man unasked?" The companions who were themselves surprised at this strange standard of charity could not make any reply to this query. Then Iltutmish himself said:—[3]

"اگر خواست من بودے پیر را دادے، پس هرکرا میدهد خدا میدهد من چه کنم"

(Had it been left to my choice, I should have preferred that old beggar; but whatever is bestowed is bestowed by Him, I am helpless).

A deep mystic note underlies this sentence. Its significance can be estimated by the fact that it was often repeated by spiritual mentors before their disciples while preaching "faith in Divine action."

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1. Vide *Tazkirat-ul-Wāsilīn* (a detailed account of the saints of Badā'ūn) by Radī-ud-Dīn (Lucknow), pp. 9, 10.
2. Mediæval Polo.
3. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, by Amīr Hasan, p. 212; *Fawā'id-us-Sālikīn*, by Bābā Sāhib (MS.), p. 20.

These anecdotes cannot be lightly dismissed as stray or trifling. They serve as so many clues with which to explain the Sulṭān's excessive interest in mystics and divines. With these instances in mind, many of his later actions which otherwise would seem to be freaks of an eccentric nature, appear to mark a stage in the development of his religious thought. His religious thought had been nurtured at Bokhara, Baghdad, Badā'ūn and Delhi—all conspicuous religious centres. It was from these places that he imbibed an esoteric spirit of religion.

## III

## ON THE THRONE

In 1210 Iltutmish ascended the throne of Delhi. That deep love of religion which had been early stamped on his mind never forsook him for a moment. A firm and faithful devotee of religion, he never allowed political engagements to stand in the way of his performance of religious duties. He was punctual in his prayers. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad says:[1]

"سلطان شمس الدین بر طاعت و عبادت مولع بود و روزهائے جمعه بمسجد رفتے و به ادائے فرائض و نوافل قیام نمودے"

(Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn was very punctilious in his prayers and on Fridays he went to the mosque and stayed there to offer obligatory and supererogatory prayers).

Even when on military campaigns he made special arrangements for prayers. Preachers and Imāms accompanied him on his expeditions, and he heard their sermons. While in Uchchah, with the royal camp pitched in front of the fort, he asked Minhāj to deliver discourses in his tent.[2] Ordinarily he heard sermons thrice a week, but during the sacred month of Ramaḍān daily sermons were arranged.[3] In the Sulṭān's palace many religious meetings were held and were attended by distinguished divines and saints. After Jum'a prayers a special meeting was usually convened by the Sultān, in which اکابر و اشراف و مشائخ (grandees, nobles and saints) participated.[4] Balban used to say that he never saw such a brilliant assembly of scholars and divines in any court.[5] It was at Iltutmish's court that Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī delivered very illuminating discourses on لوازم امور بادشاهی (essential parts of kingship) and apprised the Sulṭān of the duties and obligations of a

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, by Niẓām-ud-Dīn, p. 30.
2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty), p. 615.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 619.
4. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, by Jamālī (MS), p. 112.
5. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, by Barnī, pp. 70-92.

Muslim monarch.[1] In one of these mystic gatherings Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Abu'l-Mu'id quarrelled with Sayyid Nūr-ud-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznavi.[2]

## IV

## VIGILS

ILTUTMISH's interest in religion increased with the years. From observance of mere formalities and rituals he now turned to the spirit. His soul yearned for communion with the Infinite and the Eternal. That spark of mystic love which had been first ignited in his breast in the streets of Baghdad now burst into flames. Love of something unknown disturbed the innermost recesses of his heart He became drenched more and more in the mystic spirit. All day long he sat in the court and attended to the business of the administration, but in the night he spread his prayer-carpet and bent his knees before the Almighty. If at any time he fell asleep, he rose up startled and trembling, performed ablutions and continued his prayer. Bābā Farīd writes in his *Fawā'id-us-Sālikīn* :—[3]

" از حد صاحب اعتقاد بود که شبها بیدار بودے که وقتے
او را کسے در خواب ندیدے مگر در عالم تحیر ایستادہ
و اگر قدرے خواب کردے ہمانزمان بیدار شدے
و خود بر خاستے و آب گرفتے ' وضو ساختے ' و بر
مصلے قرار گرفتے و ہیچ یکے از خدمتگاران وغیرہ بیدار
نہ کردے و گفتے که آسودگانرا چرا در رنج آرم "

(He was so sincere in his religious convictions that he kept awake all through the night and none ever chanced to see him in his sleep but on the contrary he was always found lost in meditation. If he ever slumbered for a moment, he at once rose up startled, himself fetched water, performed ablutions and without disturbing any of his servants continued his prayers. He used to say that it was no use to bring discomfort to one enjoying sound sleep).

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1. *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, by Barni pp 41-44.

2. *Asrār-ul-Aulıyā'*, Malfūzāt of Bābā Farīd of Ajodhan, by Badr-ud-Dīn Ishāq (MS), p. 122 (*b*), *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, by Amīr Hasan, p. 193; *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, by 'Abdul-Haq, p 30, Ferishta, p. 617.

3. *Fawā'id-us-Sālikın*, by Bābā Farīd (MS), p. 19

In *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, Amīr Hasan quotes from Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulıyā' :—

p. 213. بعدازاں از عقیدہ او حکایت فرمود که شبها بیدار بودے و ہیچ کس بیدار نہ کردے '

(Afterwards the Shaikh talked about the religious convictions of the Sultān and said that he kept awake all night and disturbed none).

Indeed in the morning his slightly bleared eyes recalled this couplet :

تو شبانه می نمائی ببرکه بودی امشب  که هموز چشم مستت اثر خمار دارد

Now, these continuous vigils and penitences disciplined his inner life to the highest point of mystic efficiency. They were like so many light-houses in his perilous journey on an uncharted sea. He safely reached his moorings. Khwāja 'Uthmān Harvanī (spiritual mentor of Sh. Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī) was wonder-struck when he found that the Sulṭān of Delhi had traversed all the difficult routes of the mystic journey and had become Insān-i-Kāmil.[1] Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī writes in *Ganj-ul-Asrār* .— [2]

" سلطان شمس الدین طالب صادق برائے ملاقات حضرت خواجه عثمان هرونی آمد ، بعد ملاقات متکلم نشده ، بسوگند سوال کرد وگفت بحق آن خدائے که شمار اجان داده و براه حقیقت سوئے معروف حق تعالی راه راست نموده است بصدق آمده ام ، مارا راه حقیقت سوئے معرفت حق تعالی پیوستن استقامت قوت حضرت راه راست نمایند و به لطف بیعت ارادت ارتربیت قبول کنید - بدانکه چون خواجه عثمان هرونی سلطان را طالب صادق وانسان کامل شناخت بعد صحبت تربیت کلاه ارادت حوالت کرد " ( سبح الاسرار )[3]

1. Insān-i-Kāmil is the fourth and the final stage in the process of spiritual ascent Here man crosses the domain of Name and Attribute and enters into that of Essence and becomes God-Man Vide Nicholson *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*

2 The author is Khwajā Mu'īn-ud-Dīn of Ajmer A very old copy of this work is in my private library Unfortunately it bears no date The author gives the following account of his work -

خواجه عثمان هرونی رحمة الله علیه مرحدام درویشان اصعف العباد معین الدین حسن سنجری را فرمود که برائے استقامت تربیت طالب صادق سلطان شمس الدین ..... از آیات وحدیثات وقول مشائخ رحمه الله علیهم در تعریفات معانی ابیات کلمات مقولات اولیاء ارسخنهاء کبار ملفوظات تصنیف کن که در سفر ملازمت کند تا دل سلطان از تفرقه خطرات غیر الله تعالی کلی باز آید ... "

(Khwāja 'Uthmān Harvanī asked this servant of saints, poor Mu īn-ud-Dīn Hasan Sanjarī, to compile a book on the basis of the Qur'ān, Hadīth and Mottoes of Shaikhs their table-talk, poems and sayings-- for the spiritual guidance and training of the Sulṭān, so that it might help him in the pursuit of his aim and that his heart might be fully relieved of all earthly fears)

3. This statement is to a great extent borne out by Ferishta, who says —

" و در تاریخ حاجی محمد قندهاری مسطور است که پیر خواجه معین چشتی یعنی شیخ عثمان هرونی در عهد شمس الدین محمد التمش بدهلی تشریف آورد و شمس الدین چون مرید او بود در تعظیم و تکریمش دقیقه فرو نگذاشت "

(It is mentioned in the History of Hāji Mohd Qandhari that the spiritual mentor of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, i e Khwāja 'Uthmān Harvanī, came to Delhi during the reign of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish. As Shams-ud-Din was his disciple, he exerted himself to the utmost to show him hospitality and reverence)

(Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, a sincere seeker of truth, paid a visit of respect to Khwāja 'Uthmān Harvanī. Swearing by the name of God who had given life and spiritual illumination to the Shaikh, the Sultān submitted : " I have come to you with a sincere object. Kindly admit me to your order and show me the way to Divine realization and illumination." When the Khwāja discerned in the Sultān a sincere seeker of truth and an Insān-i Kāmil (Perfect Man), he placed on his head the mystic cap and initiated him in his discipline).

## V

## LOVE OF SAINTS

ILTUTMISH had a profound love and veneration for the saints and the divines. Indeed years and high position could not obliterate the memory of that day when he stood in the bazar of Bokhara with a blubbered face and a mendicant helped him in return for a promise Never during his life did he for a moment forget that promise. Minhāj says :— [1]

" غالب ظن آن است که هرگز بادشاهی بحسن اعتقاد و آب دیده و تعظیم علماء و مشائخ
مثل اوار مادر حلقت در فاط سلطنت نامده "

(The probability is that there was never a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kind-heartedness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines, and doctors of law and religion, ever enwrapped from the mother of creation, in the swaddling-bands of dominion).

Bābā Farīd has mentioned in the *Malfūzāt* of his Pīr that Iltutmish used to visit Khānqāhs and mosques in the night and *incognito*.[2] He searched for the mendicants and the destitutes and distributed money to them.[3]

When Iltutmish ruled over Delhi, hundreds of Muslim divines and saints poured into this country in unending succession through the Khyber Passes. Iltutmish very cordially welcomed these emigrants and showed them great hospitality. Sometimes on hearing about the arrival of a saint, he went out for miles to receive him and brought him to his palace. When Quṭb Ṣāḥib reached Delhi from Multan, Iltutmish bade a hearty welcome to him. Later on when Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabrīzī came to Delhi from Baghdad, Iltutmish went out to receive him and—[4]

" چون شیخ را دید از اسپ فرود آمده بجانب ایشان دوید "

(No sooner had he seen the Shaikh than he got down from his horse and ran towards him).

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 167.
2. *Fawā'id-us-Sālikīn*, p. 10 (*a*)
3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
4. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 107.

Once Shaikh Badr-ud-Dīn Ghaznavī went to see the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān received him at the palace-door, clasped him in his arms, and led him in.[1] In the same cordial way he received Qāḍī Quṭb-ud-Dīn Kāshānī, whom he led hand-in-hand to his chamber.[2] He showed great respect and regard for Khwāja 'Imād-ud-Dīn Bilgrāmī, and Sayyid Mohd. Sughra Bilgrami.[3] He held Qāḍī Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Nāgūrī, a great saint of the age, in special veneration. He sent his nephew Sa'd-ud-Dīn to Qāḍī Nāgūrī to be admitted to his order.[4] He appointed Ḥājī Mūjid-ud-Dīn, a disciple of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrwardy, to the post of Ṣadr-i-Wilāyat.[5] Once a severe famine broke out in the capital. Scarcity of rain led to an enormous rise in the price of corn. People were hard hit by this abnormal inflation. Iltutmish, who could not see this miserable plight of his subjects unmoved, called a courtier and said :—[6]

"برو درویشان اهل‌الله را که‌درین شهر اند' از ماسلامے‌ونیاز ے‌برسان وعرض دار که دفع طالم وکفار وفتنه کار بادشاهان است ' ما دران تقصیر نداریم' وتوجه باطن بحق تبارك وتعالی ودعاے خیر خلائق خاص وعام حق شما است ' توجه بحق نمائید ودعاے استسقافرمائید تا از برکت اخلاص دعا وتوجه شما حق تعالی کرم فرماید وباران رحمت عطا فرماید"

(Go to all those Durwēshes and saints who live in this city. Convey compliments on our behalf and humbly submit, "It is the duty of kings to deal sternly with tyrants and infidels, and to avert troubles. I do not fail or falter in that. But your duty is to pray to the Almighty for the safety of the people. Kindly turn to him and supplicate for rain so that through the blessing of your sincere orisons it may rain").

## VI

## ILTUTMISH AND SHAIKH QUṬB-UD-DĪN BAKHTIYĀR KĀKĪ

Iltutmish had great faith in Quṭb Ṣāḥib. When the latter came to Delhi, Iltutmish humbly requested him to stay near his palace. The

1. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 73.
2. *Ibid*, p 236.
3. *Ma'āthir-i-Kirām*, by Āzād Bilgrāmī, pp. 10, 11.
4. رساله حال حاواده چشت by Maulānā Tāj-ud-Dīn, a grandson of Maulānā Shihāb-ud-Dīn Imām. Maulānā Shihāb-ud-Dīn was an Imām of Shaikh Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Auliyā. Amīr Khusrau writes about him :—

او چو ابر کرم فرق جهاں زیرکاں چوں صدف گشاده دهاں
شمع من یافته ضیا از وے مس من گشته کیمیا از وے

I have an old copy of this work. It is dated 1108 A.H. and at several places contains seals of Amjad 'Alī Shāh's Library.

5. *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, Maulānā 'Abdul-Ḥaq, p. 52.
6. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, by Jamālī, p. 99.

Khwāja having refused, Iltutmish made it a point to visit the Shaikh's Khānqāh outside the city, twice a week.[1] The Khwāja had, in the very beginning, given pithy advice to the Ruler of Delhi :— [2]

"اے والی دهلی باید که باغریبان وفقیران ودرویشان ومسکینان نیکو باشی وبا خلق نیکوئی کنی ورعیت پرور باشی، هرکه با رعیت رعایت کند وباخلق نیکوئی کند خدائے تعالی اورا نگاه دارد وجمله اعداء او دوست دارند"

(O ruler of Delhi ! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, Durwēshes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare. Every one who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by the Almighty and all his enemies turn into friends).

The Sulṭān always strove to act up to this advice of the great saint. Perhaps there are few examples in history of great rulers showing such veneration and respect to saints and divines.

On Maulānā Jamāl-ud-Dīn Mohd. Bustāmī's[3] death, Iltutmish offered to Quṭb Ṣāḥib the post of Shaikh-ul-Islam.[4] Quṭb Ṣāḥib, following the principle of Chishtī saints, declined to accept Government service. On his refusal Sh. Najm-ud-Dīn Ṣughra was appointed to this job. Ṣughra was a jealous and self-conceited man. He could not see anybody, except himself, being revered by the people, and so he sometimes resorted to base and ignoble means of pulling others down. He had the criminal effrontery to bring the obnoxious charge of adultery against Sh. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Tabrīzī.[5] He now looked jealously upon Quṭb Ṣāḥib, who was revered by the Sulṭān and the people alike.[6] He was anxious to do some harm to Quṭb Ṣāḥib. At this time Sh. Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Ajmērī happened to visit Delhi. He was bitterly incensed at this wicked attitude of Ṣughra, and asked his disciple to leave Delhi and accompany him to Ajmer. The news of Quṭb Ṣāḥib's departure was received with a heavy heart by the Delhi public. Every man seemed afflicted and morose. When the Khwāja and his disciple set out for Ajmer, the people of Delhi followed them for miles. Iltutmish himself went behind the saints. Khwāja

1. Ferishta, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, by Aṣghar Chishtī (during Jahāngīr's reign), p. 174 *Mu'nis-ul-Arwāh* by Princess Jahān Ārā, p. 7. (MS).

2. رساله حال خانواده چشت (MS.), p. 17 (*b*)

3. There is some confusion with regard to this name Jamālī, Ferishta, 'Alī Asghar and many other writers have mentioned that Maulānā Jamāl-ud-Dīn Mohd. Busṭāmī died during the reign of Iltutmish and Najm-ud-Dīn Ṣughra succeeded him to the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam. But from a perusal of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (p. 702) it appears that Maulānā Bustāmī survived Iltutmish and was appointed Shaikh-ul-Islam by Sulṭān Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Mahmūd in 653 A.H. Perhaps Ferishta and Jamālī have confused this name with some other.

4. For 'Shaikh-ul-Islam,' see *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p 179, 80.

5. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* (MS), pp. 108-110; *Fawā'id-us-Sālikin*, p. 20 ; *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (Urdu), p. 66 ; *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, p. 43.

6. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 40 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'* (Urdu), p. 51; *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā'*, Vol. I, p. 273.

Ajmērī was deeply touched when he found the ruler and the ruled equally grieved. He allowed Quṭb Ṣāḥib to remain in Delhi. Iltutmish was immensely pleased; he kissed the feet of Khwāja Ajmērī and brought Quṭb Ṣāḥib back to the capital.[1]

Iltutmish' love and faith in Quṭb Ṣāḥib increased every day. He began to pay frequent visits to the Shaikh. Once it so happened (says Quṭb Ṣāḥib):—[2]

شبے از شبہا بر دعا گو بیامد و پائے دعا گو گرفتہ ماند - گفتم چہ رنج داری- ہرحاجتے
کہ داری بگو- گفت حاجت ! آں ہمی دارم چنانچہ بہ لطف از حضرت خداوند این مملکت
دہانیدہ - چون فردا قیامت شود مارا بکدام طائفہ بگرداند"

(One night it so happened that he came to my humble self and went on clutching my feet. I asked him to tell me what affliction he had and what he needed. He replied, " Need ! I have none, by the Grace of God who has bestowed this Empire on me. What I desire to know is with which group shall I be called on the Day of Judgement ?")

The Ruler of Hindustan—lying at the feet of a saint !
Khusrau's verses ring in our ears:—

در حجرۂ فقر بادشاہے  درعالم دل جہان پناہے
شاہنشہے بےسر و بے تاج  شاہانش بخاکپائے محتاج

Such deep faith in saints has no parallel in history. There is something unique and romantic about it.

Qutb Ṣāḥib expired on 14th Rabī'-ul-Awal, 633 A.H./1235 (A.D.). When his body was brought for prayers after ablution, Khwaja Abū-Sa'īd said:—

"حضرت خواجہ وصیت کردہ بود کہ امام جنازہ ما آنکس باشد کہ گاہے ازار
بہدس حرام نکشادہ باشد وسنت ہائے عصر و تکبیر اولی و فرائض نماز گاہے ازو
ترک نشدہ باشد"

(The late Khwāja's last will was that the leader of his funeral prayers should be one who never committed adultery and never missed his congregational prayers and the Sunnat prayers of 'Aṣr).

Iltutmish was also present there; but he stood with bated breath, expecting some one with those qualifications to come forward and lead the prayers. He waited and waited but none came out of the congregation. He now himself stepped forward and said:—"I did not want to make a pedantic display of my prayers, but the order of the Khwāja is after all to be obeyed." So saying, he led the prayers and carried the bier on his shoulders to the graveyard.[3]

1. *Siyar-ul-Auliyā*, by Amīr Khurd, p. 51, *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, Sarwar, p. 273.
2. *Fawā'id-us-Sālikīn*, p. 19 (*b*).
3. *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, p. 275.

Though Iltutmish died a few months after the expiry of Quṭb Ṣāḥib, yet during this short interval, he often sent food as Fātiha of Quṭb Ṣāḥib to the Khānqāh of Qāḍī Nāgūrī.[1] Shaikh Niẓām-ud-Dīn Auliyā', in one of his gatherings, recited this couplet on the death of Iltutmish :—[2]

بسال شش صد و سی و سه بود که از هجرت نماند شاه جهان شمس دین عالمگیر

## VII

## ILTUTMISH AND THE KHILĀFATE

Iltutmish was the first Muslim ruler of India who secured sanction for his rule from the centre of the Islamic world. He recognized the final sovereignty of the Khalīfa and received his emissaries with great honour. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad writes :—[3]

"در سنه سته وعشر وستمایه رسولان عرب جامه خلافت جهت سلطان شمس الدین آوردند ـ سلطان انچه شرط طاعت وادب بود بجا آورده خامهٔ دار الخلافه پوشیده واز پوشیدن آن خلعت فرحت و بهجت بے نهایت در احوال سلطان محسوس میشد ـ سلطان اکثر امراء را خلعتها داد ودر شهر قیها بستند وکوس شادیانه زدند"

(In 626 A.H. emissaries from the Caliph brought a robe of honour to Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn. The Sulṭān showed all due respects and obedience to them and put on the garments of the Khilāfate. He felt so much elated by it that he bestowed royal robes on many nobles. The city was lighted and pleasure drums were beaten).

Once, the Khalīfa sent Qāḍī Jalāl with a copy of سعیدة الخلفاء which contained some autographic advice from Hārūn-ur-Rashīd, as a present to Iltutmish. Iltutmish was so pleased that, according to Balban,[4]

"سلطان ازین موعظت چنان بر قاضی جلال عروس خوش شد که خواست که نیمے ملك خود بدو ایثار کند"

(The Sulṭān was so pleased with this advice that he wanted to bestow on Qāḍī Jalāl a moiety of his dominions).

## VIII

## RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT IN BUILDINGS

Iltutmish's buildings exhibit religious sentiments. In Hauz-i-Shamsi, one can see the reflection of Iltutmish's religious feelings. It was constructed in compliance with a wish of the Holy Prophet, who,

1. رساله حال حاجی زاده چشت p. 18.
2. *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'*, p. 52; *Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id*, p 156.
3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 29.
4. For details, see Barnī, pp. 103-105.

it is said, appeared to Iltutmish in a dream and asked him to build this tank.[1]

Built under religious inspiration, it became a very sacred place and a centre of mystic activity. Many important Ṣūfis constructed their Ḥujras there, and a small mosque, which still goes by the name of Auliyā' Masjid, was constructed by them.[2]

Hundreds of Ṣūfīs and saints assembled there. As it was believed that the Prophet had placed there his sacred feet, a religious sanctity hollowed the ground. Sh. Niẓām-ud-Dīn Auliyā' often talked in his mystic gatherings about the عذوبت and برکت of this tank. He narrated that once, after his death, Iltutmish appeared to a man in his dream and said that it was for the construction of this tank that the Almighty had sent him to heaven.[3]

The mud of this tank was considered so sacred that Bābā Farīd used it while preparing the grave of his Pīr.[4]

Apart from this, many other archæological remains prove his religious zeal. His inscriptions have a religious air about them. The Jāmi' Masjid of Badā'ūn contains an inscription which throbs with religious fervour.[5] It is inscribed :—

من دخله کان آمنا Every one who entered it became safe.

ادخلوها بسلام Come here for you will be safe here.

Further the inscription says :—

ولله علی الناس حج البیت من استطاع الیه سبیلا

(It is a duty laid by God on people to perform Ḥaj if they are capable of it). About the Sultan, it says :—

" شمس الدنیا والدین اعلی الا سلام والمسلمین "

(Shams-ud-Duniyā-wad-Dīn, who raised Islam and Muslims).

Some historians believe that the Quṭb Mīnār was built to commemorate the arrival of Quṭb Ṣāḥib.[6] The inscriptions on this Mīnār also bear testimony to his religious zeal. Such epithets as, غیاث الاسلام والمسلمین

1. *Fawā'id-us-Sālikīn*, p. 18, *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, p. 178 ; 179 *Khazīnat-ul-Asfiyā'* p. 276, 277. Ferishta, pp. 58-81.
2. وقعات دارالحکومت دهلی
3. *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 119.
4. وقعات دارالحکومت دهلی Vol. III, p. 309.
5. *Kanz-ut-Tārīkh*, by Raḍī-ud-Dīn (History of Badā'ūn) (Badā'un, 1907), p. 42.
6. Raverty, p. 622, foot-note.

(succour of Islam and Muslims), المؤيد من السماء (one who enjoyed Divine support), شهاب سما الخلافه (a bright star in the firmament of the Khilāfat), مظهر كلمة الله (disseminator of the Divine word), are used for him on the inscriptions of the Quṭb Mīnār.[1]

An inscription in Bilgram, copied by Āzād in his *Ma'āthir-ul-Kirām*, contains the following words about him :—[2]

حامی البلاد و راعی العباد ذی الامان لاهل الایمان وارث ملك سلیمان صاحب الخاتم فی
ملل طل الله فی الخافقین ابو المظفر ایلتمش السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین ۔

Inscriptions on the اڑھائی دن کا جھونپڑا also show his religious inclination:—[3]

" This building was ordered by the Sulṭān, the subduer of the unbelievers and heretics, the subjugator of the evil-doers and the polytheists, the defender of Islam, the grandeur of the victorious faith and the shining religion—Abu'l-Muẓaffar-Iltutmish, the helper of the Caliph of God, the defender of the prince of the faithful."

## IX

## CONCLUSION

Thus Iltutmish was a great religious figure of his age. His religious reputation had travelled far and wide. Every section of the Muslim religious classes held him in high esteem, they asked his succour when they found their cause in danger. He earned fame as the '*Defender of the Faith.*' When Qubacha began his career of irreligious activities in Multan, it was to Iltutmish that an eminent mystic and the Qāḍī of Multan (Sh. Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakariyā and Qāḍī Sharf-ud-Dīn) turned for help and sent an application.[4]

Great saints loved and admired him. It is said that he was very affectionately treated by Sh. Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Sh. Kirmānī.[5] Jamālī says :—

" سلطان شمس الدین مرد متعبد و مجتهد اولیاء بود و منظور نظر مشائخ کبار "

(Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn was a sincere devotee. He was loved by many eminent saints).

Iltutmish was perhaps the only Muslim king of India who enjoyed the unique privilege and honour of being addressed as 'Friend' by a

1. *History of Delhi*, Bashīruddīn, M.R.A.S., Vol. II, pp. 194-8.
2. ماثر الکرام, p. 13.
3. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, J. Horovitz, p. 30.
4. *Siyar-ul-Auliyā'* p. 537 ; *Fawā'id-ul-Fawād*, p. 119 ; Ferishta, p. 627.
5. *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn*, p. 27 (MS.).

great Chishti saint.[1] Chishti saints, it may be pointed out, condemned the society of kings and nobles as miasmatic. But Iltutmish was always welcomed in the Khānqāh of Quṭb Ṣāḥib. Indeed this exception in the mystic attitude was due to the exceptional character of the Sulṭān. He was truly one of them. A mystic by heart, he proved himself to be an excellent ruler. The two tendencies of the mystic and the politician worked harmoniously in his personality, and he never allowed the one to outpace the other. He kept a perfect balance between the two. It was his sense of duty which acted as an equipoise. His religious zeal could not metamorphose him into a Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, who,

خود او مستغرق کار الٰہی بامرش بندگان درکار شاہی

(Khusrau)

nor an Akbar, who, if at one time he thought of abdicating his throne,[2] at another time used religion as an instrument for the realization of his political purposes. Indeed Iltutmish had seen no visions of Bhera and felt no ecstatic fits, and yet he had reached the mystic apogee.

A man of genuine piety, profound learning,[3] a proved administrator, a shrewd, cautious, broad-minded and far-seeing statesman—Iltutmish made his mark on the canvas of Indian History.

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI.

1. *Asrār-ul-Auliyā'*, p 110 (MS.).
2. *Akbar, the Great Mughal*, V. A Smith, p. 158
3. See Ibn-i-Baṭṭūta.

# DEVIL'S DELUSION

## *TALBĪS-IBLĪS* OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN-AL-JAWZĪ

(*Continued from page 71 of the January 1946 Issue*)

*Section dealing with the Punishment which follows gazing on the Beardless*[1]

IT IS recorded that Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Jalla[2] said : I was gazing on a handsome Christian lad, when Abu 'Abdallāh al-Balkhī passed by, and asked me why I was standing. I said : Uncle, do you not see this figure ? How can it be punished with Hell-fire ? He slapped me between the shoulders, saying : You will experience the consequences of this, though it may be after a time. I experienced the consequence after forty years, in forgetting the Qur'ān.[3]

It is recorded that Abu'l-Adyān[4] said : I was with my master Abū Bakr az-Zaqqāq[5] when a lad passed by. I gazed on him, and my master observed me. He said : My son, you will experience the consequences of this, though it may be after a time. For twenty years I was on the look-out, without experiencing those consequences. At last I went to sleep one night thinking about it, and next morning found that I had forgotten the whole of the Qur'ān.

It is recorded that Abū-Bakr al-Kattānī[6] said : I saw one of our comrades in a dream, and asked him what God had done to him. He said : He set before me my evil deeds, saying, Didst thou do thus and thus ? I replied, Yea. Then He said : And didst thou thus and thus ? I was ashamed to confess and said so. Then he said : I forgive thee that to which thou hast confessed, and how much more that of which thou art ashamed ! I asked what that offence was. He replied : There passed by me a handsome lad and I gazed on him.

A similar story is told of Abū 'Abdallāh az-Zarrād. He was seen in a dream and asked how God had dealt with him. He replied : He forgave me every sin to which I confessed on earth except one, the idea of confessing to which set me sweating till the flesh of my face fell away. He was

1. Continued from p. 295 of the Arabi text.

2. Aḥmad b. Yahya, a leading Ṣūfī, died 306. Account of him in *Kitāb Bāghdād*, V. 213-215.

3. The story is told with some variations in *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 135.

4. Mentioned in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V. 172 as a leading Sūfī, one of whose followers died 357 The story is told *Ibid.*, V. 443.

5. His name was Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr, *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 117.

6. His name was Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Ja'far, died 322. Biography in *Kitāb Baghdād*, III, 74.

asked what that sin was. He replied: I gazed on a handsome individual

We have further heard how Abū-Ya'qūb aṭ-Ṭabarī said: There was with me a lad with a handsome face who served me; a Ṣūfī from Baghdād came to me, who paid much attention to the lad, which annoyed me. One night I was sleeping and saw the Lord of Might in a dream, who said to me: Abū-Ya'qūb, why did you not forbid him—pointing to the man of Baghdād—to gaze at the young? By my might I suffer only those whom I banish from my neighbourhood to be occupied with the young. I woke, proceeded Abū-Ya'qūb, in distress, and narrated my dream to the man from Baghdād. He uttered a shriek and died; so we washed and buried him. I thought much about him, and a month later saw him in a dream and asked him how God had dealt with him. He replied: He upbraided me till I feared I should not be saved, and then I was forgiven.

I would observe that I have been somewhat long-winded on this subject because it is the source of wide-spread mischief among most of them. If anyone wants further information about it, matters connected with letting one's gaze wander and other incitements to passion, let him consult my work called *Censure of Passion*, where he will find all that he can desire about it.

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ṢŪFĪS IN THEIR PROFESSION OF "RELIANCE," THEIR REJECTION OF MEANS, AND CARELESSNESS OF WEALTH:

WE have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a Tradition traced to Ahmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawarī according to which he said: I heard Abū-Sulaymān ad-Darānī[1] say: If we relied on God we should not build walls, nor fix locks on our doors for fear of thieves. There is also a tradition traced to Dhu'n-Nūn al-Miṣrī according to which he said: I travelled many years, but only once was I truly reliant. I was on a voyage, and when the ship was wrecked clung to one of its planks. Then I said to myself: If God has ordained that you shall drown, this plank will be useless. So I let it go. I floated on the water and was cast on a beach.

We were told by Muḥammad how he had asked Abū-Ya'qūb az-Zayyāt a question about "reliance." Abū Ya'qūb tossed away a *dirhem* which he had on him, and then replied, having given "reliance" its due. He said: I was ashamed to reply to you while anything was in my possession. Abū-Naṣr as-Sarraj in the *Luma'*[2] records how a man came to Abū-'Abdallāh b. al-Jallā asking a question about reliance. There was a company present. Abū-'Abdallāh gave no reply, but entered his house and produced a purse containing four *danaqs*.[3] He then said:

1. Biography of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, X, 248-50. His name was 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Ahmad b. 'Aṭiyyah. His death-date is variously given as 225 and 250.

2. See Nicholson's edition, p. 179 end.

3. Sixth part of a *dirhem*.

Buy yourselves something with these. He then replied to the man's question. Being asked about his procedure he said: I was ashamed before God to talk about reliance when in possession of four *danaqs*. Sahl b. 'Abdallāh said: Whoso finds fault with earning finds fault with the Sunnah; whoso finds fault with reliance finds fault with faith.

I would observe that want of knowledge is the cause of this confusion. Had these people known the true character of reliance they would have been aware that there is no contradiction between it and means. Reliance implies that the heart should lean on the Patron only, and this is not inconsistent with the motion of the body in attaching itself to means nor with the hoarding of wealth. God says (4:5): "*Give not unto the foolish your goods which God hath given you for maintenance,*" *i.e.*, maintenance for your bodies. And the Prophet said: A fine thing is a good store with a good man. He also said: Better that you should leave your heirs opulent than that you should leave them in want, begging of people

Know, too, that He Who enjoined reliance also enjoined caution, saying (4:73) "*Be on your guard*" and (8:62) "*Make ready for them what force ye can,*" and (44:22) "*Lead away My servants by night.*" Further, the Prophet put on two cuirasses, consulted two physicians, and concealed himself in the cave. He said: Who will guard me in the night?—He ordered the door to be locked.

We have been informed that reliance is not inconsistent with precaution. We have been told by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad as-Samarqandī a Tradition going back to al-Mughīrah b. Abī-Qurrah as-Sadūsī[1] according to which the latter said: I heard Anas b. Mālik say: A man came to the Prophet, leaving his camel at the gate of the Mosque. The Prophet asked him about it, and he said that he had left it loose, relying on God. The Prophet said: Tie it up and rely.

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to al-Ḥusain b. Ziyād al-Marwazī according to which the latter said: I heard Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah say: The interpretation of Reliance is that a man should acquiesce in what is done to him. Ibn 'Uqayl says: Some people suppose that precaution and safeguarding are inconsistent with reliance, and that reliance means neglect of consequences and abandonment of caution. Those who are well informed hold this to be incompetence and negligence, earning the censure and condemnation of the intelligent, seeing that God has only enjoined reliance after exhaustive precaution. God says (3:153) "*And consult them about the matter, and when thou hast resolved then rely on God*"; had adherence to caution interfered with reliance, God would not have urged His prophet thereto in the words "*Consult them about the matter*"; for what is consultation but taking such advice as will offer modes of guarding against the enemy? Nor was He satisfied with leaving precaution to their unaided judgment, but enjoined it as a prac-

1. A short notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, where this tradition is cited.

tice even in prayer, which is the act of special devotion, saying (4:103) "*Let a group of them stand with thee and let them take their arms,*" giving the reason for this in the words "*The Unbelievers would like that ye should neglect your arms and baggage so that they might make a single onslaught on you.*"[1] No, reliance is not the abandonment of precaution, but committing to God that which is beyond man's power and ability. The Prophet said: "Tie her and rely." Had reliance meant abandonment of precaution God would have urged the best of His creatures thereunto in the best of states, which is that of prayer. Ash-Shāfi'ī maintains that the carrying of arms at that time is obligatory owing to the words "*and let them take their arms.*" Hence reliance does not preclude prudence and caution, as indeed when Moses was told (28:19) "*Verily the chiefs take counsel against thee to slay thee,*" he went away. Likewise our Prophet went away from Mecca owing to his fear of those who took counsel against him, and to protect him Abū Bakr closed the orifices of the cave. So too in the matter of caution God says (12:5)[2] "*Tell not they dream to thy brethren,*" and (12:67) "*enter not by a single gate*" and (67:15) "*Walk on its*[3] *shoulders.*" This last is said because motion in self-defence is the employment of God's boon, and just as God wishes His manifest boons to be displayed, so He desires the display of those which He has entrusted to us; there is then no justification for keeping the latter idle in dependence on what He has lavished. Nay, employ what thos hast, and then seek what is with Him. God has provided birds and beasts with equipment and weapons for averting evil, such as talons, beaks, and fangs, whereas for man He has created intelligence which leads him to bear arms, and guides him to fortify himself with buildings and cuirasses. Whoso renders God's boon ineffective by neglecting caution has rendered His wisdom ineffective, like one who discards food and drugs and dies of hunger or disease. No one is more stupid than the man who, while claiming intelligence and knowledge, surrenders to misfortune. Assuredly the limbs of the reliant should be engaged in earning, while his heart is tranquil, committed to the will of God whether He gives or withholds. For his sole assurance is that God controls with wisdom and benevolent purpose. Often indeed have the incompetent been persuaded by their incompetence and had it suggested to them by their minds that negligence is Reliance, being as mistaken as one who believes rashness to be courage or feebleness prudence. Where means have been provided, neglect of them is ignorance of the Creator's wisdom. Thus food has been provided as a means for satisfying hunger, water for slaking thirst, medicine for the cure of disease. If a man discards these out of contempt for means, and then prays and supplicates, it may well be said to him: We have

1 The sentence which follows the quotation is unintelligible, and probably corrupt, the sense is likely to have been what has been substituted.

2 These are Jacob's words.

3. *i.e.*, the earth's.

provided means for thy health, if thou hast declined to take them, that is contempt for Our gift, and well mayest thou forfeit thy health through contempt for the means.

I would observe: If anyone say, How am I to take precaution when things are destined? he may be answered: How can you fail to take precaution when the author of destiny enjoins it? He who foreordained is the One who enjoined. God says (4: 73), "*Be on your guard.*" We have been told by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad a tradition going back to Abū 'Uthmān according to which the latter said: Jesus was praying on the top of a mountain, when the devil came to him and said: Art thou he who asserts that everything is by ordinance and destiny? He said: Yes. Then, said the devil, cast thyself from the mountain, saying, This was destined. Jesus said: O, accursed one, God tries mankind, it is not for man to try God.[1]

To the category of his delusion with which we have been dealing in the matter of rejecting means belongs his deluding many of them into the belief that Reliance is inconsistent with earning. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Migsam according to which the latter said: I heard Sahl b 'Abdallāh at-Tustarī say: Whoso finds fault with reliance finds fault with faith; and whoso finds fault with earning finds fault with the Sunnah.

We have been told by Muhammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāzi according to which the latter said Abū 'Abdallāh b. Salim was asked in my hearing by a man whether we are in duty bound to earn or to rely. He said. Reliance was the condition of the Prophet, whereas earning is his Sunnah; he only enjoined earning on one who was too weak for reliance, and had fallen below the stage of perfection which was the Prophet's. To one who has the capacity to rely earning is in no wise permitted, save earning to help others, not earning for his own maintenance. One who is too weak for the condition of reliance, which was that of the Prophet, is permitted to earn his livelihood, that he may not fall below the stage of the Prophet's Sunnah, having fallen below that of his condition.

We have been told by 'Abd al Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm a tradition going back to Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain according to which the latter said: If you see a neophyte engaged in indulgences[2] and earning, nothing will come of him.

I would observe that this is the language of people who do not understand the meaning of Reliance and suppose that it is refraining from earning and keeping the limbs idle. We have shown that Reliance is an operation of the heart which is not inconsistent with movement of the limbs. If every earner were unreliant, the prophets would be unreliant; for Adam

1. The anecdote is a reminiscence of the Temptation in the Gospel.

2. *i.e.*, the indulgence to a weakling explained above.

was a husbandman, Noah and Zachariah carpenters, Idrīs a tailor, Abraham and Lot farmers, Ṣāliḥ a merchant. Solomon wrought palm-leaves,[1] David manufactured cuirasses and lived on the price which they fetched. Moses, Shu'aib, and Muḥammad were herdsmen. Our Prophet said: I used to feed sheep for the people of Mecca for *qirats* ;[2] only when God enriched him by the portion of the booty assigned him, he had no need to earn. Abū-Bakr, 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf and Ṭalḥah were all cloth-merchants. So too were Muhammad b. Sīrīn, and Maimūn b. Mihrān. Az-Zubair b. al-'Awwām, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, and 'Amīr b. Kuraiz were dealers in *khazz*,[3] so too was Abū Ḥanīfah. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ carved arrows and 'Uthmān b. Talḥah was a tailor. The epigoni and their successors continued to earn and enjoin others to do the like.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī-Ṭāhir a tradition going back to 'Aṭā' b. as-Sa'ib[4] according to which the latter said: When Abū-Bakr was appointed Caliph, next morning he went to the market with a bundle of clothes for sale on his neck. He was met by 'Umar and Abū-'Ubaidah who asked him whither he was going. " To the market," was his reply. What, they asked, do you mean to do there, when you have been put in charge of the affairs of the Muslims ? Whence, he answered, shall I feed my family ?

Ibn Sa'd (one of the transmitters of the above) adds: I was further told a tradition going back to 'Amr b. Maimūn after his father that the last said: When Abū-Bakr was appointed Caliph they assigned him two thousand.[5] He asked for more, saying: I have a family, and you have given me no time for trading. So they added another five hundred.

I would observe that if any one asked the Ṣūfīs, Whence shall I feed my family ? they would tell him he was a polytheist. Likewise if they were asked about a man who went to business, they would say: He is not reliant nor convinced. All this is due to their ignorance of the sense of reliance and conviction. Now if one of them were to lock himself in and " rely," his claim would have some plausibility ; but in fact they are of two sorts. The majority go out into the world begging ; others send a slave round with a basket to collect. Or else they sit in a hermitage in the style of indigent persons, though it is well known that the hermitage will as certainly attract the charitable as a shop attracts buyers and sellers. We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb the Ḥāfiẓ a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Adham according to which the latter said: Whoso stays in the mosque driving no trade and receiving what comes to him is an out-and-out beggar. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir

1. I am unable to illustrate several of these statements
2. The twenty-fourth part of a *dīnār*.
3. Fabric of silk and wool.
4. Died 136. Notice of him in *Tahdhīb*. VII. 203-207.
5 Dirhems, for the year. Ibn Sa'd, III, *i*, 132, says 6,000.

and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Ismā'īl b. Najid according to which the latter said: Abū Turāb[1] used to say to his companions: Whoso among you wears a patched garment is begging, and whoso squats in a cloister or a mosque is begging.

I would observe that the ancients forbade such practices and enjoined earning. We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak a tradition going back to Khawwat at-Taimī according to which the latter said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, O ye poor, raise your heads, for the way is plain, and (2:143) " *vie with one another in good works, and be not a burden on the Muslims.*"

We have been told by Ibn-Nāsir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim according to which the latter said: I have been informed that whenever 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw a lad who pleased him he would ask whether he had any trade; if the reply was in the negative, 'Umar would say: He has sunk in my estimation.

We have been told by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad a tradition going back to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib according to which the latter said: The Companions of the Prophet used to trade among Syrian traders; for example, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaidallāh and Sa'īd b. Zaid.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak a tradition going back to Abu'l-Qāsim b. al-Khuttali,[2] according to which the latter said: I asked Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: What say you of a man who sits in his house or his mosque, saying: I am not going to do anything, I am waiting for my sustenance to come to me? Aḥmad replied: Such a man is an ignoramus. Have you not heard the words of the Prophet? " God set my sustenance under the shadow of my spear." And the tradition of another dealing with *the words of the Prophet*, " like the birds which go out hungry in the morning," who explained that they go out seeking for sustenance. God says (73: 20) " *Others travel on land in search of God's bounty*" and (2:198) " *It is no sin for you that ye seek bounty from your Lord.*" The Companions of the Prophet used to trade by land and sea and work in their palm-groves and they are our models. We have previously recorded how when a man said to Aḥmad b. Hanbal: I wish to make the pilgrimage in reliance, Aḥmad replied: Then make it apart from any caravan. The man said: No. Then, said Aḥmad, your " reliance " is on other people's pockets.

We have been told by Ibn-Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū-Bakr al-Marwazī[3] according to which the latter said: I said to Abū-'Abdallāh (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal): These " reliants " say " We shall sit still

1. Askar b. al-Husain al Nakhshabī, died 245. Stories about him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XII, 315-317.

2. According to Sam'ānī his name was 'Umar b. Ja'far and he lived 291-346. Since Ahmad b. Hanbal died 241 one or more transmitters must have been omitted.

3 Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. al-Hajjāj b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, died 275. Account of him in *Tabaqāt al-Hanā-bilah*, Damascus, 1350, p. 32.

and our sustenance is due from God." He replied: That is an evil saying. Has not God said (62:9) " *When the call is heard for the Friday prayer, haste unto remembrance of God and leave trading.*" He added: When the man says he will not work, and something is brought to him, he will really have been working and endeavouring to procure what he can get from someone else.[1] Al-Khallāl[2] said: We were also told by Aḥmad's son 'Abdallāh that he had asked his father about people who say, We rely on God and do not earn. He replied: All mankind should rely on God. Only they should earn by their own efforts. The saying which you have quoted is that of a fool.

Al-Khallāl proceeded: I was also told by Muhammad b. 'Alī that Sālih (son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) had said he had asked his father about " Reliance," and had received the reply: Reliance is good, only a man ought to earn by labour so as to render himself and his family independent; he should not neglect work. My father (he said) was asked in my presence about people who did no work saying they relied. He said they were innovators. Al-Khallāl added that al-Marwazī stated how he had told Abū-'Abdallāh (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) that Ibn-'Uyainah was in the habit of calling such people innovators, and that Abū-'Abdallāh had said: They are a bad lot, they would make the whole world idle. Al-Marwazī according to al-Khallāl also said: I asked Abū-'Abdallāh about a man who sat at home saying I will sit and wait and abide in my house without letting anyone know. Abū 'Abdallāh replied: I should like it better if he went out and drove a trade. If he sits at home I am afraid his sitting may bring him out to something else. To what? I asked. He said: To expecting something to be sent to him.

Al-Khallāl proceeded: We have also been told by Abū-Bakr al-Marwazī how he heard a man say to Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal that he had a competence. Aḥmad said to him: Stick to the market, you will benefit your relations and enrich your family. To another he said: Work, and bestow your surplus upon your relatives I have bidden them (said Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, referring to his sons) frequent the market and engage in trade. I have also been informed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain that al-Fadl b. Ziyād[3] told them how he had heard Abū-'Abdallāh (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) enjoin trading, saying: It is a fine thing to be independent! I was also told (said al-Khallāl) by Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Mutawwi'[4] that he had heard Abū-Bakr b. Jannad state that al-Jassās[5] had asserted how he had heard Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal say: The money I like best is what

1. The meaning seems to be that the man's laying himself out to receive alms is a form of employment for profit

2. Ahmed b. Muhammad b. Hārūn, died 311. Account of him in *Tabaqāt-al-Ḥanābilah*, p. 295.

3. Abu'l-'Abbās al-Qattān al-Baghdādī, one of Ahmad b. Hanbal's earliest followers. *Ibid*, p 185.

4 208-287. Account of him *Ibid*, p. 277.

5. Al-Hasan b Manṣūr. Notice of him *Ibid.*, p. 99.

comes from trading, and that which I like least is what is given by friends.

I would observe that Ibrāhīm b. Adham used to reap, Salmān al-Khawwāṣ to glean, and Hudhaifah al-Mar'ashī[1] to churn. Ibn-'Uqail says: The employment of means in no way infringes reliance, since aiming at a rank superior to that of the prophets is irreligious. When Moses was told (28: 19) "*Verily the chiefs take counsel against thee to slay thee,*" he went away, and when he was angry and in want of a minimum of sustenance,[2] he hired himself out for eight years.

God says (67: 15) "*And walk on its shoulders,*" because movement is the employment of God's boon, *viz.*, one's forces. So employ what is with thee and then seek what is with Him. At times a man asks of his Lord forgetting the supplies which God has bestowed upon him; and when his request is delayed, he repines. At times too you will see the owner of land and furniture, when his supplies are straitened, and debts accumulate, and people say to him, Suppose you were to sell your land, replying: How can I throw away my landed property? I should lose caste! Fashion is what occasions such follies. Some people decline to earn, finding it too hard, and are confronted with two evil alternatives: either the ruin of their families, involving the violation of their duties, or the fine profession of reliance, inducing the earners to have pity on them and make presents to them at the expense of their own families. Now this is a baseness to which only the evil-minded are liable. The true man is one who does not throw away the jewel with which God has entrusted him in order to indulge in idleness or to win a title of honour among the ignorant. For God, when denying a man wealth, still provides him with a jewel which will enable him to procure worldly prosperity owing to its being in request.[3]

Now those who refrain from earning allege certain improper pretexts. One is that "our sustenance is quite sure to come to us." This is absolutely wrong. Supposing a man were to discard obedience to God, saying, "I am unable by obedience to alter what God has decreed for me; if I am one of the blessed, I shall go to Paradise, if I am one of the damned, to Hell," we should reply: This is to reject all the commandments. If anyone had the right to say this, Adam would not have been ejected from Paradise; for he would have said, "I have only done what was decreed for me." It is well known that we are held responsible for the command, not for destiny. Another pretext is the question, "Where is the lawful so that we may seek it?" an ignorant question since the lawful is inexhaustible, as the Prophet said, "The lawful is clear and the unlawful is clear." The lawful is that which the Code permits to be done, so this question is merely an excuse for idleness. Another pretext is their assertion, "If we were to earn we should be helping the evil-doers

1. Died 207. Notice of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 81.

2. For the meaning of the phrase in the text see *Amālī* of al-Murtada, II, 29.

3. This seems to be the sense, but the expression is unusual.

and the law-breakers." This is illustrated by a tradition told us by ' Umar b. Ẓafar, and going back to 'Alī b. Muḥammad as-Sirawānī, who said : I heard Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ[1] say : I sought for something lawful everywhere, even in fishing. So I took a rod and attached a line to it, sat on the bank and threw my hook. A fish leaped to it, which I threw on the ground. I made a second cast with the same result, and was making a third when I was slapped on the back by an unknown hand, for I saw no one. And I heard a voice saying : You have got no sustenance without aiming at and slaying one who makes mention of Us.[2] So (he said) I cut away the line, broke the rod, and departed. The same tradition was told us by Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm by another chain of transmitters.

I would observe that if this tradition is genuine and there is some difference between the two reports the person who administered the slap and uttered the words must have been the devil ; for God has permitted fishing and will not punish what he has permitted. How then could He have said to the man, " You aim at and slay one who makes mention of Us," when He has given permission for such slaughter ? Lawful earning is commendable ; if we were to leave off the chase and butchery of animals because they make mention of God, we should have no means of maintaining the bodily forces, which are only maintained by flesh. Objection to fishing and slaughter of animals is the doctrine of the Brahmins. Just consider the results of ignorance and the operations of the devil !

We have been told by Abū-Mansūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Ahmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abdal-Malik according to which he said : I heard a shaikh with the *kunyah* Abū-Turāb say : Someone said to Fatḥ al-Mausilī [3] : You fish with a net, but only to provide food for your family ; why not sell to other people ? He replied : I am afraid I might catch some creature that obeys God in the midst of the water, and make of it the food of someone who disobeys Him on the surface of the earth.

I would observe that if this story about Fatḥ al-Mauṣilī be true, it is a feeble pretext, contradicting both the Code and the reason ; for God has permitted earning and encouraged it. If anyone says, I may bake bread which will be eaten by a rebel (against God), it will be idle chatter ; for on that principle we might not sell bread to Jews or Christians.

D. S. Margoliouth.

(*To be continued*).

1. Died 291. Account of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 128-130.

2 Probably with reference to such passages as LVII, 1, *All that is in the heavens and the earth praiseth Allāh.*

3. Abū Naṣr, died 220. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XII, 381-383, where the same story is told but imperfectly.

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD

*Change of Era :*

LIKE the official language, Hyderabad has its own era, based on the computation of 'Umar al-Khaiyām. About forty years ago, it was thought advisable to adopt the Gregorian, instead of the Khaiyamian, system of intercalation and leap years. The era, called the Fasli Calendar, began in Hyderabad with the month of Ādhur (5th of October). In the Christian era practically every alternate month is of of 31 days whereas in the Fasli calendar five or six consecutive months had 30 days and the rest 31 days. The result was that if the 1st of Farwardi was the 2nd of February, the 1st of Shahrewar fell on 7th of July and so on. There may or may not have been harm in it, H.E.H. the Nizam has now approved the recommendation of the Executive Council, that the last month of the current Fasli year 1355 should come to a close after only for 25 days instead of the usual 30 and that the 1st day of the Fasli year should henceforward fall on the 1st day of October and each Fasli month should begin on the same day as the Christian months even using the same computation for intercalation. Naturally the identification of documents, time limit for filing suits in government courts, age limit for retiring from service and many more matters will be affected not to speak of the psychological effect.

*War Commemoration of Post Office :*

Another momentous change was in the recent design of a postage stamp issued by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government in commemoration of the Allied Victory. It was for the first time that human images were reproduced on Hyderabad stamps which so far had a studied absence of them.

*Decimalization of Coins and Measures :*

For the last half a dozen and more years the local Majlis 'Ulamā was pressing to decimalize Hyderabad coins and measures. The official *Hyderabad Information* announces that the Government has approved

it in principle, and it is expected that as soon as the British Indian Government legislates this reform, Hyderabad will not lag behind. H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has even decided to create a new department in control of weights and measures as also of the question of their decimalization.

*Osmania University :*

In spite of the world-famous activities of the Hyderabad Archæological Department, it was curious that there was no arrangement for teaching this subject in the country which abounds in prehistoric monuments. Last year archæology was included for the first time in the M.A. (History) course of the Osmania University as an optional, with emphasis on coins, inscriptions, survey and field work. The first batch of students is appearing for this examination in March 1946.

*Life of the Prophet :*

As usual, the boarders of the Osmania University Hostels celebrated the birthday of the Prophet with eclat. There was also the usual competition for essay writing, and the ever-increasing number of prizes included the Mahārājā Yamīn-us-Salṭanat Prize for non-Muslim boys and Sarujini Naidu Prize for non-Muslim girls respectively, for whom the subjects this year were as follows :—

1. Status of non-Muslims in a Muslim State (*for boys*).
2. Woman in the Teachings of the Prophet (*for girls*).

Dr. Sir Amīn Jung awarded two prizes this year of Rs. 50 each, in addition to the other prizes instituted previously. There were seven prizes this year in all.

*'Umar Day :*

Muslim Hyderabad has begun to commemorate many incidents and lives prominent in its heritage. The Prophet's "Conquest of Mecca Day," was started seven years ago in 1358 H. when 1350 years had passed on the great occasion. Days of the four Orthodox Caliphs is a new feature, and during the trimester under review 'Umar Day was celebrated with great eclat, under the auspices of the Jamī'at Shubbān-ul-Muslimīn.

*Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif :*

The third of the four volumes of the *Tārīkh Kabīr* of al-Bukhārīy (a work on the biographies of the Traditionalists) was long considered

lost. The Dā'ira has recently discovered its copy in the Azhar Library, Egypt; and acquired its photographic transcript for edition. The Dā'ira has already published the other volumes, and with the publication of this last one, the monumental work will be completed. The name of Bukhārīy is enough to understand what importance could be attached to the present work which deals with the trustworthiness and otherwise of each individual Traditionalist of early Islam.

*New Theses :*

This is the time for submitting theses in the Osmania University. The candidates for the Master's Degree in Arts, Theology, Law, etc. write theses as part of their examination. Of the scores of such works, the following may be mentioned, from among those of the current year, as of Islamic interest :—

*Faculty of Theology :*

1. Muḥammad Manṣūr Khān, *Isrā'īlīyāt and the Qur'ān.*
2. 'Umar ibn 'Abdullāh, *Rights of the Dhimmīs.*

*Faculty of Law :*

3. Bhanwarlāl Jain, *Comparative Foreign Jurisdiction with particular Reference to Hyderabad Law.*
4. Iqbāl Aḥmad Hāshimīy, *Comparative Laws of Nationality.*
5. 'Alīmuddīn Shākir, *Islamic Administration of Justice.*
6. 'Aẓīmuddīn Shākir, *Treatment of Non-Muslim Subjects under Muslim Law.*
7. Vināyak Rāo Ranbāorē, *Place of Custom in Different Legal Systems particularly in Hindu and Muslim Laws.*
8. Ismā'īl Alī Khān Fārūqī, *Conflict of Laws of Hyderabad.*
9. Riyāḍ Aḥmad, *Rights of Wife and Husband, a Comparative Study of Different Legal Systems.*

*Department of Arabic :*

10. Syed 'Abdullāh, *Kumait and his Poetry.*
11. Syed Nāṣirullāh, *Ḥassān ibn Thābit and his Poetry.*
12. 'Abdur-Rashīd, *Khārijite Poetry and the Famous Khārijite Poets.*

*Department of Persian :*

13. Miss Sa'īdah Maẓhar, *Life and Work of Naẓīrī Nishāpūrī.*

14. Qamaruddīn, *Life and Work of Ẓahūri.*

15. Qāḍī Yūsufuddīn, *Place of the Work Dalīl-ul-'Ārifīn in Persian Malfūẓāt Works.*

16. Ghulām 'Umar Khān, *Iqbāl and the West.*

*Department of Urdu :*

17. Miss Rafi'ah Sulṭānah, *Contribution of Women to Urdu Literature.*

18. Muḥammad Mu'īnuddīn, *Place of Nadhīr Aḥmād in Urdu Literature.*

19. Qamaruddīn II, *Educational and Literary Services of Muhsin-ul-Mulk.*

*Department of History :*

20. Muḥammad Ruknuddīn, *Some Political Thinkers of the Great Suljuqian Period.*

21. Miss Mumtāz Muhājir, *Lord Curzon's Indian Policy and its Effects.*

22. 'Abdul Bārī, *Question of Minorities in India.*

*Department of Economics :*

23. Shafīq-ur-Raḥmān, *Monetary System of Hyderabad.*

24. Ramawatār, *Indigenous Banking in Hyderabad.*

25. Alī 'Umar, *Foreign Trade of Hyderabad from* 1919 *to* 1944.

26. Syed Ibrāhīm, *Economic Survey of Jātlapallī Village and its Post-War Position.*

27. Ḥassānuddīn Aḥmad, *Oil-seeds Cultivation and Industry in Hyderabad.*

28. Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn, *Big Scale Industries in Hyderabad.*

29. Muhammad Mu'īnuddīn Bilgrāmī, *Agricultural Progress of Hyderabad in the 20th Century.*

30. Muḥammad Tājuddīn, *Some Important Agricultural Products and Industries of Hyderabad.*

M.H.

## DECCAN

*Indian History Congress :*

THE Eighth Session of the Indian History Congress was held at Annamalainagar under the auspices of the Annamalai University during the last week of December 1945. Dr. Tara Chand presided over the Session as its general president. He discussed many important problems in the course of his presidential address. Particularly he gave an account of the ancient Indian conception of history and said : " For him history was *Purāna* and *Itihāsa* and the two indicated more or less an identical substance, namely the knowledge which is characterised by five attributes—creation, dissolution, genealogy, ages of the world and biography." Referring to the problems facing the Indian historian, Dr. Tara Chand said : " We are still far from the discovery of the key to the Mohenjo-Daro script, or the understanding of the relations between the Indus, the prehistoric India, the Aryan and the Dravidian cultures. For example, when did the Aryans appear in India? When was the Bharata battle fought? what is the exact date of Buddha's birth? in which year did Kanishka call the Council of the Buddhist monks? what is the date of the first use of the Vikram and the Saka eras ? By whom, how and when was the Satavāhana dynasty started ? What is the true interpretation of the Hathigumpha Cave Inscription and Kharavela's mysterious personality ? What exactly happened between the death of last Gupta king and the accession to the throne of Harsha ?"

The following papers were read on Indo-Muslim history in different sections :—

*Jajnagar and Its Identification from Original Sources* by P. Acharya, attempts to identify the geographical position of Jajnagar of the Muslim historians from the different directions from which it was invaded by the Muslim kings.

*Sidelights on the History of Mediæval Mewar* by A. C. Banerji, details epigraphic data throwing light on religious and social life in Mewar in the mediæval days.

*Study of Zoology and Veterinary Science in Mediæval India* by K. K. Basu, gives succinct account of the contents of the *Shikār Nāma*, composed by Sulṭān Fīrōz Tughlaq, as contained in the *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.

*The Descendants of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Mu'izzu'd-Dīn of Ghōr as described in the Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn of Isāmi* by A. M. Husain, gives an account, besides, of the capture of Ghazni by the Ghuzz and then by Ghiyāthu'd-Din Ghori bin Sam, the invasions of India by Mu'izz-u'd-Dīn, the two battles of Tarain and the conquest of Gwalior.

*Two Centuries of Madura (1334-1530)* by T. V. Mahalingam, traces the vicissitudes of Madura from the foundation of the independent Sulta-

nate of Madura in 1334 A.D. to the establishment of the Nayak line therein about 1530 A.D.

*Bahela Dynasty of Rewa* by Akhtar Ḥusain Niẓāmī, describes the source-material for the construction of the dynastic succession of the Bahela kings of Rewa.

*Inter-State Relations in the Deccan 1294-1529 A.D.* by P. Ramamurti, selects a few historical situations and expresses the thoughts they suggest on the prevailing-statal relationships.

*Hindu Co-operation with the Early Muslim Expansion in India* by S. R. Sharma.

*Durrānī-Rajput Negotiations* by Sayyid Ḥasan 'Askarī, is an analysis and translation of some letters addressed to or connected with Raja Madho Singh Sewai of Jaipur and bearing on the Rajput-Durrānī relations in the fateful years 1757-61 A.D.

*Tardi Beg Turkistani* by S. K. Banerji, is a study of his career and relations with Bābur and Humāyūn and an elevation of the relations of the Turki nobility to the throne.

*Muslim Inscriptions from Khatu (Marwar)* by M. A. Chaghtā'ī, describes the contents of a few Muslim inscriptions on the monuments at Khatu in Jodhpur State. They range from the days of Balban to the last Mughal emperor.

*Sirāj-u'd-Dowla and the English before 1756* by K. K. Datta, notices the visit of Governor Drake and his men to Sirāj-u'd-Dowla after he was nominated successor to the Nawābī in 1752 and friendly character

*The Status of Sūbedārs and Dīwāns in the Time of Akbar and Jahāngīr* by Yusuf Ḥusain Khān. This paper deals this problem with special reference to the Deccan and particularly based on the records in the Daftar-i-Dīwānī, Hyderabad (Deccan).

*The Muḥammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in 16th Century* by V. Narayan Rao, is a short account of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh of Golconda and Amīr Khān and their patronage of Telugu literature.

*Raya Udai Singh of Marwar* by M. M. Pandit Bishewar N. Reu, details the life of Udai Singh and his rule (1583-95)—he was the first prince of Jodhpur to accept Mughal allegiance.

*Murder and its Punishment during the Reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb* by S. P. Sangar, notices the varieties of homicide and of punishments due for them—retaliation and Diya.

*The Karnatak during Aurangzēb's Bijāpur Campaign (1656) and the War of Succession* by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, notices the deputation of Shāh Bēg to Karnatak to keep the Roy neutral and to settle disputes between Quṭb Shāh and Mīr Jumla—Aurangzēb's cautious attitude towards the Deccan Sulṭāns during the War of Succession—Mīr Jumla, the brain of the Mughal policy towards the Karnatak in 1656.

*Akbar, Shivājī and Ḥaider 'Alī in a Single Perceptive* by M. Sharadamma, reviews them as children of adversity and as having identified their interests with the people. "Serve the people and save their souls" was their guiding principle.

*Shaikh Azarī and his Contribution to Bahmanī History* by A. Majid Ṣiddiqī, is an account of Shaikh Azarī and his work *Bahman Nāma* a lost work quoted by Firishta and *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*.

*Conflict between the Bengal Government under Cartier and Shujā'-u'd-Dowla (April, 1771-April, 1772)* by Nani Gopal Chaudhri, discusses the causes of dispute between the English and the Nawab Vazir after the departure of Shāh 'Ālam to Delhi and the settlement arrived at in respect of the different issues raised.

*Anthony Louis Polier's Career in India* by P. C. Gupta, traces the vicissitudes of the Indian career of Polier under the English Company, the Nawab Vazīr and the Mughal Emperor and notices his interests in Indian literature and antiquities.

*Tīpū Sultān and the Marathas (1785-87)* by R. Narayan.

*Shaikh Ayāz or Ḥayāt Ṣāhib* by K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, evaluates the services and status of Shaikh Ayāz under Ḥaider 'Alī and shows how Tīpū Sulṭān was secured the succession by Purnayya and Ayāz, who was his rival, was forced to flee.

*Haḍrat Muḥammad Ane Islam (Prophet Muḥammad of Islam)* :

It is a Gujarati translation from Pandit Sundarlal's work in Hindustani and it has been published at Ahmadabad. It is a fact that the translator has placed the entire Gujarati reading public, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, into deep obligation, by presenting this sketch of life, times and teachings of the great prophet. It traces the early life of the prophet. His fasts, prayers and deep introspection carried out in solitariness afforded him purified soul and thus he received the command of God to become His messenger. He undertook the mission and by precept and example, admonition and loving-kindness welded together the Arabs to give up forthwith alcoholism, polyandry, usury, gambling, killing of girls and superstitions which also influenced the Jews and Christians then living around him. And thus the whole of Arabia turned into a moral and democratic nation. The author argues that it can easily be imagined how hard must have been the task before Muḥammad. With his complete surrender of self to the will of Almighty God, he made his way through them all. He preached kindness and toleration to mankind. Author also concludes through the passages and extracts from the speeches of the Prophet contained in this book, that in their fundamentals, the Muslim and Hindu religion are one : only the trappings (which the degenerate followers of each faith, at the present times so very noisily wrangle about)

differ, and the man with understanding can truly say that he may as well carry in his pocket, the Gita as the Qur'ān.

*Historical Documents against Shivaji :*

Mr. G. H. Khare has published an extract from the *Tārīkh-i-'Ali* and one Farmān in the Persian language in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXV,* regarding Shivāji which we reproduce below for our readers. They both relate to the period of Sulṭān 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II and concern one of his generals Rustam-i-Zamān, while he was made *Sar-i-Lashkar* and specially appointed to extirpate Shivāji. Particularly the adjectives used by his contemporaries for him are noticeable. And contrary to it those adjectives used for him by the Maratha historians of the day in spirit of hero-worship are also noticeable :—

چون آن کافر حرام نمك رخ از قبله اطاعت وفدویت حضرت بادشاه عازی بر تافته قبای مصادقت وموالات نایکواریان قلعه پناله که سرامد قلعهای بادشاهیت برقامت نا ساز خود چست وموافق یافته بود بسرعت تمام شتافته با تفاق آن فیه باعیه سرا پا نفاق قلعه مذکور رامتصرف گردید ورستم زمان نام از امرای بادشاهی که باسه هزار سوار در ان دیار در جاگیر خود نشسته گلهاے انتعاش وشاد مانی از باعستان جوانی وریا حین کامرانی از حدیقه زندگانی می چید بعد از استماع این خبر هرچند تخم جدل وحرب با آن کافر واجب القتل والضرب در مزرعه تردد وتلاشی کاشته ..... اما بغیر از خار وخس محنت ومزلت بری وثمری از ان برند اشت

## THE FARMĀN

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

الملك لله

فرمان هایون شرف صدور یافت بجانب دیسایان معامله هبلی آنکه از شهور سنه ستین والف در نیولا حشمت وشوکت دستگاه دولت خواه زاده سلیمان بارگاه منظور انظار خاقانی مشمول عواطف سلطانی نوباوهٔ بوستان شجاعت نهال گلستان شهامت ..... دغا نهنگ بحر هیجان خان عالیشان سعادت نشان رفیع القدر والمکان رستم زمان را سرلشکر عنایت فرموده جهة استیصال سیواجی مردود نا مزد فرموده فرستاده شده است میباید که آنها با جمیعتی سواران واحشام خود را پیش خان معز الیه رسانیده طبعیت خان ( ؟ ) مشار الیه بوده لوازم خدمت وجان فشانی به تقدیم رسانند که این معنی متضمن سرافرازی

وبهبودی انها است تادانند حسب (الفرمان) اشرف اقدس هایون روند تحریر فی التاریخ ۱۷ (؟) ماه ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۷۰ پروانگی حضور خورشیدطهور اشرف اقدس هایون اعلی

*Jains at Akbar's Court :*

Mr. Dasharatha Sharma writes in the *Annala of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona,* Vol. XXV, on *The Three Earliest Jain Influencers of Mughal Religious Policy : Padmasudra, Anadraraja and Ajayaraja.* Though it is generally believed that Hiravijaya Suri visited Akbar's court in 1582 yet according to Mr. Sharma this credit goes the Padmasundragani who was one of Akbar's intimate friends. He had given him a large number of Hindu books which later on passed on to Hiravijaya Suri by the Emperor Jahāngīr. Mr. Sharma has based his information on the Akbar Shāhī *Shrngaradarpana,* a rare work on poetics, which is preserved in a MS. form in the Sri Anupa Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. It was copied at Agra in V. 1626/A.D. 1569 was probably composed about A.D. 1562. Because the writer extols Bābur for the conquest of Delhi and Humāyūn for the defeat of Gujarat and Bengal. All that he says about Akbar is that he "the fortunate one attained kingship by defeating his enemies." The first liberalising influence that Akbar had was, thus, probably of this Jain Sadhu and scholar. Abul Faḍl and Faiḍī came some years later to his court. The study of this MS. in the Bikaner Library proves that Padmasundra was a great erudite of his time. He is said to have defeated in debate a Brahman from Benares, Harsakirti of Nagaur, who was one of his contemporaries. This MS.'s colophon mentions the fact that Padmasundra was highly honoured by Akbar as were Jayaraja and Anadaraya by Bābur and Humāyūn respectively. For further information on this very topic we also refer here to the Cultural activities of *Islamic Culture,* January, 1945, pp. 91 and 92.

*A Rare Specimen of Calligraphy :*

Mr. Muḥammad Ashraf, Executive Engineer, Hyderabad (Dn.), informs that he has got one anthology—Bayāḍ written on one hundred sixteen Waṣlīs—calligraphic plates in beautiful Nasta'līq style wherein the inscription شکسته رقم یاقوت زرین قلم appears twice (*a*) at the end of the preface, (*b*) at the end of the Bayāḍ. It is a selection of prose and poetry on morals and ethics completed at Agra in A.H. 977/A.D. 1570. We know that only Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmiri, the well-known great calligraphist of the court of Akbar, was honoured with the title of زرین قلم *Zarrīn Qalam* because he generally used to sign his name thus:
محمد حسین زرین قلم اکبرشاهی

which we have generally seen in some collections, such as that very recently exhibited at Peshawar in connection with the Indian Historical Records Commission Meeting held there. One very fine specimen was exhibited there besides, the colophon of the well-known illustrated MS. of the *Gulistān* in the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Abul-Faḍl has given something of him in his دفتر اول الفضل p. 263 and similarly Bakhtāwar Khān has given his account in his *Mir'atul-'Ālam* (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1934). It all means that this شکسته رقم یاقوت زرین قلم is quite a different person. So far we have not been able to trace any authentic source to give any detail of this calligraphist. However, it is a new discovery in the annals of Indo-Muslim calligraphy which we consider to be of great importance. Its beginning :— (*extracts*)

افتتاح سخن آن به که کنند اهل کمال بشائی ملك الملك خدای متعال
پادشاهی که به پیراهن جاهش نرسد از ازل تا بابد وصمت نقصان و زوال
هست در چشم همه ناقص و معتل العین هرمقرون بچنین دات کند شبه ومثال

زیور ریاض صحیفهٔ نکته پروری ترصیع مقالست بحوا هر عرر حمد مبدعی که نظم سلسله ... ... .. . ..... موافق لاجرم برخی ازجواهر نظم ولالی نثر دراوراق این بیاضی وبیاض این اوراق نثر می یابد ـ نظم

نه بیاضی است این ریاضی سخن که سوادش بصر کند روشن

رباعی

این نسخه کرآراستگی چون چمنست چون صحن چمن پرازگل و یاسمنست
تشبیه توان کرد بصحن چمنش لیکن چو نظر کنی اینجا سخنست

خیر شاد کنند واگر بر سهوی اطلاع یابند ذیل عفوو اغماض بران پوشانند

کتبه الفقیر الحقیر شکسته رقم یاقوت زرین قلم
غفر الله ذنوبه وستر عیوبه فی سلخ شهر رمضان
کثیر الفیضان سنه سبع وسبعین وتسعمایه
بدار الخلافة آگره

کتابت کرد این بیاض چون ریاض را بامداد خانه مشکین سواد فقیر شکسته رقم یاقوت زرین قلم

*Tīpū Sulṭān's Embassy to Constantinople :*

Dr. I. H. Qureshi writes under the heading *The Purpose of Tīpū Sultān's Embassy to Constantinople* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol.

XXIV. He has tried to discuss the pros and cons of the problem and he has devoted much to the problems of the Marathas, Hyderabad, Arcot and Karnatak. " The recognition he (Sulṭān Tīpū) was not able to secure in India he tried to secure abroad. He corresponded with Zamān Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan and Karīm Zhand Khān of Iran. Both these rulers addressed Tīpū as a brother monarch. He was also in correspondence with France to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the French who were his obvious allies against the English and also to gain the international status. Similarly he corresponded with Salīm, the Sulṭān of Turkey, with a similar end in view. He gained his object because the Sulṭān of Turkey addressed him as an independent monarch. On account of the British influence at Constantinople and the rapid progress of French arms in Egypt, the Turkey Sulṭāns were not very eager to encourage Tīpū in his attempt to fight the British. Indeed the British succeeded in persuading the Turkish court to write to Tīpū to forsake the friendship of the French and to ally himself with the English, a request which Tīpū could not accept. But Tīpū did succeed in gaining recognition for his independence in spite of British machinations at Constantinople. The British news reporter writes, ' Golaum Alley Beg died in that country and another man returned having accomplished his means (*sic*) and he also procured from the Sulṭān the title king and permission to hold (*sic*) a mint and to have the khutba read in his name.' This caused a great stir in the political circles of India and efforts were made to prove that Tīpū's claim was baseless. The British recognised that the recognition of Tīpū's independence was a source of great danger. It was felt ' people will begin to consider his usurped title of king as derived from an authority held respectable among Moḥammadans '''..... " In the light of these factors one understands the jubilations over the fall of Tīpū Sulṭān and the systematic propaganda against that brave, pious and high souled martyr which English historians employ to hide British iniquity and intrigue."

*The Last Phase of Mīr Jumla's Relations with the Europeans :*

The above-noted issue of the *Journal of Indian History* bears this long article written by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar which he has based mainly on English Factory records. He has specially dealt with the Junk Episode ; Mīr Jumla and the Dutch ; Reactions in Surat and Masulipatam ; Attitude of the Company ; Mīr Jumla's Commercial and Economic activities in Bengal ; Mir Jumla's loans to Trevisa ; Mīr Jumla uses Europeans and their ships in his wars ; and at the end he has dealt with the effect of Mīr Jumla's death.

*British Policy towards the Arabian Tribes on the Shores of Persian Gulf :*

Mr. Dharam Pal has contributed a long article to the same above-noted issue of the *Journal of Indian History* which particularly deals with

the history of the British policy during the last century on the sea-shore as far as it concerns the Arabs.

M.A.C.

## DELHI

*A Suggestion for the Reform of Muslim Education in India :*

Mention was made in these columns of a book by Maulānā Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī, published by the Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn of Delhi under the title " *Hindustān men Musalmānūn kā Niẓām-i-Ṭa'līm wa Tarbiyat.*" The second volume of this book has now been published. The author's thesis is that it is possible to combine the new system of education with the necessary elements of the old, known as *Dars-i-Niẓāmiyah.* He holds that the amount of theological knowledge given in our old-fashioned Madrasahs is not so formidable as to make it impossible to impart it along with the modern secular education. This argument he reinforces by analysing the syllabus of the theological seminars and conclusively proves that a good deal of what is taught is, by no stretch of imagination, theology. Under his scheme, which deserves the earnest consideration by our educational circles, he seeks to remove the unnatural and destructive partition between religious and secular education among Muslims. He seeks to make the teaching of Arabic and theology (including the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and Fiqh) compulsory in all Muslim institutions and convert most of our Madrasahs into schools and colleges. He recognizes the need for specialists in Islamic learning and for that he seeks to convert a number of the leading Madrasahs into academies of research and teaching. The second volume which has been just published seeks to remove the fallacy that the mere imparting of religious education will make people fervently religious minded. This has led him into a long narration of the contribution of the Chishtī saints to the religious awakening among Muslims. It is an instructive and readable book but the historical background is in places erroneous. The author is peculiarly unfair to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, but then, this is only a report and not a review.

*A Dictionary of Qur'ānic Words :*

The Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifīn has also published the second volume of the *Lughāt-ul-Qur'ān* by Maulānā Muḥammad 'Abd-u'r-Rashīd Nu'mānī. This volume brings the vocabulary up to the end of the Bāb of Khā. The dictionary has separate notes on every word and its every

form which occurs in the Qur'ān. These notes give the meanings in Urdu and discuss the grammatical form of the words concerned, but the most important feature is that references are given which show where the word has been used.

*Post-graduate Studies in Urdu :*

The University of Delhi has now instituted a post-graduate course in Urdu and admissions will be made in the next academic year. An Honours Course was instituted in 1942.

*Periodical Literature :*

The *Burhān* has maintained its standard and has published instructive articles on various topics of Islamic studies. The place of honour among these articles must be given to a learned paper by Maulavī Isḥāq-u'n-Nabī 'Alwi on *Hārūn (Aaron) and the Gold Calf*, being a commentary on the twenty-third chapter of the Exodus. The Maulawi proves with the help of Jewish sources that the criticism of inaccuracy levelled against the Qur'ān in connection with the Qur'ānic version of the story is based upon ignorance. The amount of erudition displayed and the knowledge of Jewish scriptures brought to bear on the topic are remarkable. The publication of this article coincides with the return to the editorial chair of Maulānā Sa'īd Aḥmad Akbarābādī, whose absence had affected the tone of the journal in certain respects.

Another article is on *the Conversation between Abraham and a King* which is really a commentary on a portion of the Qur'ān and criticises the views expressed by Maulānā Abu'l-Kalām Āzād on the same topic in his *Al-Hilāl*. Other articles are on the *Conceptions of Government in Islam ; Khansā, the Famous Elegy Writer of Arabia ; the Theory of Gravitation as understood by Nāsir Khusraw ; Ḥaḍrat Shāh Walī-u'llāh and the Muqaddamah of the Translation of the Qur'ān ; Dr. Nicholson ; and Pitrus al-Bustānī.*

*The Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs* contains an article on *the Problem of Palestine* by Sir Muḥammad Ẓafarullāh Khān, which is really his address to a meeting of the Institute which has been reproduced. Sir Muḥammad Ẓafarullāh has recently been to Palestine and his article shows a good grasp of the subject. Another interesting article is on *Russia's Cordon Sanitaire in the Middle East* by Shāh M. H. Raḥmān. An anonymous writer has contributed an illuminating article on *the Indonesian Background.*

The Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdū has been publishing its organ *Hamārī Zabān* as well as its journal *Urdu*. The latter contains an address

by Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaq ? delivered before an audience in Lucknow which surveys the condition of Urdu in Indian Universities, other articles are on *Iqbāl's Letters* and *Kalīm of Jubulpore.*

*The Language Controversy :*

The cultural conflict in India has few facets which reveal its character so well as the struggle between Urdu and Hindi. Like many a quack remedy professing to heal the wounds, one which is prescribed by our short-sighted appeasers is the hotch-potch of Hindustani. With the advice of certain prominent Muslims, the All-India Radio has decided to perpetuate, in the city of Delhi, such monstrosities as are alien to the lovers of Urdu, and a long suffering public has no remedy, because the organization is impervious to Muslim opinion. Everyday more and more Sanskrit creeps into the language and the broadcasts fill the Muslim listener with so much disgust that he has often to switch off the receiver. One wishes that the implications of this subtle attack on Muslim culture were properly understood. All this time the vocal sections of Hindi speaking sections have been carrying on a crusade against the language which was originally used in broadcasts and they have succeeded in getting the Urdu broadcasts mutilated and Sanskritized to an extreme degree, and they will refuse to be appeased until all are removed. Gradually our appeasers will lead us into the abysmal depths of complete Sanskritization. Why do they not advise the All-India Radio to broadcast in two languages ? The Radio authorities cleverly consult only such gentlemen as are already in favour of their policy. It is time that the matter were taken up in right earnest by those who still have some regard for their rich cultural heritage and particularly their language.

I.H.Q.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

A NEW All-India Jami'at-i-'Ulamā-i-Islam was founded in Calcutta in the last week of October, 1945. The inception ceremony was featured with the presence of five thousand 'Ulama, Mashā'ikh and delegates from all over India. The plenary session, which was fully crowded by an audience of thirty-thousand people, was inaugurated by Maulānā Āzād Subḥānī and was to have been presided over by Maulānā Shabbīr Aḥmad of Deoband, who could not attend on account of illness. It had different sections, the proceedings of some of which are of our special interest. The section of Islamic Philosophy was presided over by Dr. Sayyid Ẓafar-ul-Ḥasan, who in his presidential address remarked : Broadly speaking every form of knowledge falls within the purview of philosophy. But this can only be said of philosophy as it should be and not of philosophies fabricated to justify certain doctrines or to magnify certain

cultures. Investigations into the various truths, *i.e.* the correct values and standards, involve a reference to the ultimate or basic value which is the source of all values. For the mistakes so commonly leading to great errors are always traceable to the disregard of this ultimate value. Islam gives us the ultimate and the right values ; not only spiritual and moral but also conceptual, individual, social, political and economic. To grasp these truths—these values—is the true Muslim or Islamic philosophy and this is also the real argument for the finality of the Holy Prophet's message. This is the truth. Differences leading to severe conflicts amongst the Muslims have been due to the misinterpretation and to attempts of early Muslim philosophers and theologians to explain Islamic values mainly in terms of Greek philosophy. It was wrong to suppose that the Greek, Persian, Chinese or Indian philosophy could help in understanding the Holy Qur'ān. The system of Qur'ānic *i.e.* the Muslim or Islamic philosophy is simple, definite, and self-sufficient. It requires no extraneous adjuncts. One must confine oneself to it and to it alone. We know how, step by step, the greatest thinkers are arriving at the threshold of this truth. They are finally agreeing that basic problems of metaphysics and the values are such problems, that cannot be solved by logical or speculative thinking. They can be solved only through Divine revelations. Kant, by far the greatest and most sincere and careful thinker of modern times, bears conclusive testimony to it. And we have lived to see that the cultures based on arbitrary and man-made ideas have led to the catastrophe which the world is facing today. The Qur'ānic culture however can keep man immune from all such tragedies and due to its innate simplicity, it is adoptable to all grades of humanity and to every part of the world. Muslim culture is natural to all men and as simple to adopt as breathing. It was demonstrated in its fullest details by the Holy Prophet, his companions and also by the latter's immediate followers. And its principles we have got in the Holy Qur'ān.

The chair of the Social and Cultural Section was taken by Maulānā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Sialkot. This section passed a resolution warning Muslims against the dangers of so many " isms," the outcome of modern civilization, that have enslaved human mind and robbed humanity of all happiness by creating class-interests and setting one against the other. It expressed its disapproval of the economic schools of thought and systems which are based on the modern materialistic civilization and as such are fundamentally apposed to Islamic principles. It advocated at the same time the independent and distinct system of Islamic economy which is based on the principles of the unity and universal Rubūbiyat of Allāh Rabb-ul-'Ālimīn (God the Creator, Cherisher, Sustainer and Evolver of all creatures), and which seeks to ennoble, raise and free humanity from the low status of animality. It clarified further that the first and foremost principle of Islamic system of economy is that it has grounded the Ma'āsh (worldly or material economy) of man on his Ma'ād (spiritual and eternal values of the hereafter) and seeks to achieve complete evolution and

fruition of his whole complex self in its entirety. The Islamic economy, according to the above resolution, is not based on the impossible equality of stomachs but on the equality of hearts and souls of men. Again, it also guarantees the just and harmonious sustenance, nourishment and development of all men in society according to their diverse innate capabilities, equipments and needs. It declares all absolute properties to belong to God and regards different kinds of goods as only trusts from God. Men are responsible to God and society for adopting right methods of production, distribution and consumption and to respect the limits of God. As regards the social reforms, the above section declared that it is the duty of the Muslims that they should try to purge Islamic society of all evil influences and customs which have crept into it through their intermingling with anti-Islamic societies.

The Political Section of the Conference, presided by Maulānā Ẓafar Aḥmad Thānavī, was notable for some very important resolutions, which are worthy of deep consideration for our readers also. This section made a poignant reference to the fact that how after the fall of the Muslim Sovereignty in India the British Government in 1864 abolished the Muslim Qādī Courts and Islamic Sharī'at institutions and thereby threw Muslim society into complete chaos and disintegration, so much so that the Islamic Millat became involved in all sorts of evils due to the lack of the order, discipline, and authority of the Sharī'at which alone regulates the personal and domestic, individual and collective life of the Muslim. So the above Section formulated the following demands and appealed to all Muslims to try to implement and enforce them in every part of India : (1) That Islamic Qāḍī courts should be instituted in every part of India having full authority to adjudicate cases of every recognised Muslim sect according to its own school of Fiqh or Law and also having power to enforce and implement their decisions, (2) That the Institution of Shaikh-ul-Islam should be restored having power to act as ecclesiastical head of the Muslim Millat and the protector of their religious, cultural and national interests, (3) That the judicial office of the Grand Muftī and Muftīs should be restored to guide and regulate the Qādī courts and to act as their supreme head under Shaikh-ul-Islam, (4) That the institution of Islamic Bait-ul-Māl should be restored with statutory authority to administer according to the laws of the Sharī'at, Zakāt, Ṣadaqah, Muslim escheat and Muslim communal properties, which belong to the Muslim community, (5) That a special Niẓārat-i-Auqāf-i-Islamia (Directorate of Islamic Endowments) should be instituted to protect and manage Islamic Waqfs, (6) That a special Niẓārat-i-Ma-'ārif-i-Islam (Directorate of Muslim Education) should be instituted to protect and promote Islamic culture and Muslim education and (7) That a small body of expert 'Ulamā, Mujtahids, and jurists should be instituted under the name and title of Dīwān-ush-Sharī'at to guide and advise legislatures and Muslims in general on matters concerning Holy Sharī'at and Islamic culture with due safeguards for recognised Islamic

sects. No bill or any measure, legislative or executive, which concerns the Holy Sharī'at can be moved, passed or enforced unless it is discussed and approved by this Dīwān.

We wish all these resolutions could be translated into practice. Some informations regarding this conference have appeared also in the previous issue of *Islamic Culture*.

A Calcutta daily has published an article, *Restoration of Monuments of Islamic Architecture*, by a Russian scholar, A. Mikhailov, who draws a vivid picture of old and new Samarqand, whose hoary old stones according to the writer, still recall the pomp and splendour of the time of Tīmūr, when it was the capital of the huge Asiatic empire. Amongst the old monuments referred to by the writer are the buildings of educational institutions of Tilla Kara and Shir Dor, a mosque constructed by Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg, the famous scholar in astronomy and grandson of Tīmūr, as well as the Jāmi' Masjid of Bībī Khānum. The magnificent walls of the latter still bear traces of the greenish-blue tiles that once ornamented it. Its huge dome faced with tiles of the colour of the Samarqand sky and splendid arch-portal also remain standing. On the boundary between the old and new Samarqand stands the Gur Emir mausoleum, the tomb of Tīmūr. It is in the shape of a cube surmounted by a blue-ribboned dome of extraordinary beauty. The stone over the grave of the ' Great Sultān Amīr Tīmūr Gurgā'on ' is the largest single nephrite monolith in the world, its length is over two metres. On the outskirts of old Samarqand there is a group of mediæval Muslim tombs—Shāh-i-Zinde that are unique examples of Islamic architecture. Their arches, columns and frontals, their domes and portals are covered with coloured relief tiles, the secret of whose manufacture has long since been lost. There is no other Muslim building, which can, says the Russian writer, rival the tombs of Shāh-i-Zinde for the elegance of structures, the intricacy and variety of ornament, the freshness and soft shades of colouring. All these buildings have always been attracting the attention of architects and scholars.

The 54th Session of the All-India Muslim Educational Coference was held at Agra in the last week of December, 1945 amidst unprecedented interest and enthusiasm of its delegates as well as of the local educated circles. The Session was presided over by Nawabzada Liaqat 'Alī Khān, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, M.L.A. (Central) who delivered an illuminating address. He traced the causes of the general backwardness of the Muslims in educational and allied spheres, and advised them to make their own plans of education consistently with their stand of separate nationhood and distinct cultural and social identity. He exhorted further that the time has come when not only the deficiencies of the past have to be made up by thoughtful planning and determined execution of an educational policy suitable to the economic and cultural requirements of the Muslim nation, but Muslim youth have also to be trained in every

technical branch so that the required man-power in the various spheres of future Muslim society and polity may be readily and rapidly forthcoming. He criticised the Sargent Scheme of Education, and condemned it as unacceptable to Muslims as it completely ignores their needs and requirements.

The Conference had different sections also. The meeting of the section of the Islamic History and Culture was presided over by Nawab Dr. Nāẓir Yar Jung Bahadur of Hyderabad, Deccan. In his presidential address he stressed upon clearing the notion about Islamic culture without confusing it with culture characteristics of Arabian or Persian soil. He asked the Muslims to devote themselves to the correct understanding of the spirit of the Holy Qur'ān and turn for inspiration and salvation to the neglected sources of the Holy Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, Ijmā' and Qiyās with Holy Qur'ān as their ever-lasting guide. He pointed out that Islam should never be interpreted in terms of misguided and limited conceptions of state now in vogue whether it be Socialism, Communism, Fascism or any other ism. Islam is unique and above such considerations.

A good number of papers were read in the different sections of the Conference. Several useful resolutions were also passed. The most important one was regarding the establishment of a Muslim Technical College, for which, it is reported, Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Ṣiddīqī of Cawnpore, has donated five lakhs of rupees.

In our section of the Cultural Activities published in October, 1944, we referred to some of the works compiled on Ḥadīth in India. The *Ma'ārif* (A'ẓamgarh) has again in one of its articles (October and November, 1945) dealt with a large number of works, which were written on Ḥadīth in Arabic, Persian and Urdu by Indian scholars before 1857 A.D. We think it will be of some use to our readers if we give here the list of such works along with the names of their authors. They are: (1) منهج دراصول حدیث (Persian) by Makhdūm Niẓām-ud-Dīn bin Amīr Saif-ud-Dīn *alias* Shaikh Bhikāri of Kakori (died 981 A.H./1573 A.D.). For reference vide *Tadhkirā-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind* by Maulawī Raḥmān 'Alī, p. 33 (Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow). (2) شرح نخبة الفكر فی اصول الحدیث (Arabic) by Maulānā Wajīh-ud-Dīn Gujrati (died 998 A.H./1589 A.D.). His works on other branches of learning are (*i*) حاشیه یصاوی (*ii*) حاشیه العضدی (*iii*) حاشیه التلویح (*iv*) حاشیه البرودی (*v*) حاشیه هدایة الفقة (*vi*) حاشیه شرح الوقایه (*vii*) حاشیة المطول (*viii*) حاشیه المختصر (*ix*) حاشیه شرح التجرید (*x*) حاشیه شرح الجامی (*xi*) حاشیه ارشادالنحو (*xii*) شرح ایاتالمحل For reference vide منتهی الارب من ذکر علماء النحو والادب by Maulawi Dhulfiqār Aḥmad of Bhopal, p. 197 (3) شرح نخبة الفكر (Arabic) by Maulānā 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad *alias* 'Abd-un-Nabī Shikari of Akbarabad. The date of his death could not be known. He was the author of the following books also :— (4) ذریعهالنجاة شرح المشکوٰة (5) شرح حدیث خیر الاسماء (6) شرح حدیث الصلوٰة معراج المومن عبدالله وعبدالرحمن (7) شرح حدیث کنت کنزا مخفیا (8) لوامع الانوار فی مناقب السادات الاطهار For reference vide *Tadhkira-i-Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 135. (9) مقدمه فی بیان بعض مصطلحات علم الحدیث (Arabic) by Shaikh 'Abd-ul-

Ḥaq Muḥaddith Dehlawi (died 1052 A.H./ 1642 A.D.). He is the author of the following six works also (10) اشعة اللمعات. This comprises of explanatory notes in Persian on (11) مشکواة شرح سفر السعادة (Persian). This is a well-known book. (12) جذب القلوب الی دیار المحبوب which consists of Persian translation also. This is an abridged version of احیاء العلوم by Nūr-ud-Dīn bin Sayyid-ush-Sharīf 'Afīf-ud-Dīn 'Abd-Allāh bin Aḥmad al-Ḥusainī as-Samhudī al-Madanī (died 911 A.H./ 1505 A.D.). This book has been printed in Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. (13) حلیه جلیه سید المرسلین (Persian). This describes the physical features of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him!). For reference vide اتحاف النبلاء by Nawab Ṣiddīq Ḥasan p. 109. (14) منهاج النبوة (Persian). (15) مایحتاج حفظه للناظر (Arabic) by Shāh Walī Allāh, the well-known traditionist of Delhi (died 1176 A.H./ 1762 A.D.) who wrote also (16) الارشاد الی مهمات الاسناد Its manuscript is in the Hamidyah Library of Bhopal. (17) الانتباه فی اسناد حدیث رسول الله (Arabic) (18) فضل المبین فی المسلسل من حدیث النبی الامین (Arabic). Its manuscript is preserved in the library of Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh of Rampur. (19) شرح الموطا. For reference vide *Ma'ārif* (A'zamgarh), Vol. 50, No. 6 and (20) تاویل الاحادیث (21) اصول حدیث by Maulānā Muḥammad Murtaḍa Bilgrāmī az-Zubaidī (died 1205 A.H./ 1790 A.D.) who compiled the following works also: (22) العین الجاری بلغة الغریب فی مصطلح آثار الحبیب (23) القول الصحیح فی مراتب التعدیل والتجریح (24) اکلیل الجواهر الغالیه فی روایة الحدیث العالیه (25) المرتصویه فی المسلسل بالاولیه (26) تخریج نعم الادام الخل (27) برنامجه (28) المجالس الشیخونیه (29) تخریج مجات حدیث شیبی هود (30) المواهب الجلیله فیما یتعلق بحدیث الاولیه (31) عقد الجواهر الثمین فی تخریج حدیث اطلبوا العلم ولو کان بالصین (32) طلقات الحناط (33) التحبیر فی الحدیث التکبیر (34) العروس المجلیه فی طرق حدیث الاولیه (35) کشف القناع (36) المرأة الجلیه فی شرح الحدیث الاولیه (37) ابتهاج بختم صحیح ابن الحجاج (38) العقد الثمین فی طریق الالباس والتلقین (39) الصلواة المصطفیه (40) رفع الاشتباه عن مساق بسم الله (41) اللالی المتناثره فی (42) عقد الجمان فی بیان شعب الایمان (43) حدیقه الصفا فی الدین المصطفیه (44) الاحادیث المتواتره (45) مالی الحدیه حدیقه الصفاء (46) عقود الجواهر المنیفه فی الادلة امام ابی حنیفه (47) فی والدی المصطفیه (48) الانتصار لوالدی النبی المختار (49) اتحاف الصفا فی صلواة المصطفیه (50) رساله فی احادیث متعلق بفصل یوم عاشوراء (51) الرحیق فی سبب حضرت الصدیق (52) صدر فی اسماء اهل البدر (53) اقرار العین فی سبب الحسن والحسین (54) مناقب اهل الحدیث دار الصرع. For the reference of all these works, which are in Arabic, vide *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, pp. 224, 225 and اتحاف النبلاء, pp. 24, 96, 120, 176. Also (55) عجالهٔ نافعه (Persian) by Shāh 'Abd-ul-Azīz Muḥaddith of Delhi (died 1203A.H./ 1823 A.D.), who compiled also the (56) تعلیقات علی المسوی and (57) الاحادیث الموضوعه This book is still a manuscript and preserved in the library of Nadwat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow. (58) اصول حدیث (Arabic) by Maulavi Salām Allāh Rampuri (died 1229 A.H./ 1713 A.D.) who also translated into Persian صحیح بخاری and شمائل ترمذی. His father Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Dīn wrote explanatory notes in Persian on صحیح مسلم For reference vide *Tadhkira-i-Ulamā'-i-Hind*, p. 77. (59) وثیقة الاکابر (Arabic) by Shaikh Faqīr Allāh, compiled in 1160 A.H./1744 A.D. vide حصر الشارد فی لب المعارف العلمیه فی مکتبه دار العلوم اسلامیه Peshawar, p. 69, No. 375. (60) اسانید محمد عابد (Arabic) by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Ābid (died 1240 A.H./1824 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 72 and الفوائد البهیه فی تراجم الحنفیه by Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Ḥai of Lucknow, p. 95. Also *Ma'ārif* (A'zamgarh), Vol. 50, No. 6.

(61) مدارج الاسناد (Arabic) by Shaikh Muḥammad *alias* Irtaḍa 'Alī Khān Gopamavi (died 1251 A.H./1835 A.D.). For reference vide الفوائد البهيه فى تراجم الحنفيه p. 95. (62) النور السافر فى اخبار القرن العاشر (Arabic) by Shāikh 'Abd-ul-Qadir, who originally belonged to Ḥaḍramut, but was born in Ahmedabad. He died in 1038 A.H./1628 A.D. He was the author of a large number of books on different subjects. His other works on Ḥadīth are (63) الحدايق (64) المنتخب المصطفى فى مولد المصطفى (65) اتحاف الحضرة العزيز بعيون السيرة الوحيره (66) الحصرة فى سيرة النبى و اصحاب العشره (67) المنهاج معرفة المعراج (68) عقد اللال فى فضائل الال الاعودح (69) اللطيف فى اهل مدر الشريف . اساب النجاة و النجاح فى اذكار المساء والصباح The reference of these books are found in Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Ḥai's الفوائد البهيه فى تراجم الحنفيه (70) المغنى فى ضبط اسماء الرجال (Arabic) by Shaikh Muḥammad Ṭāhir of Patan, who is reputed for his well-known book مجمع البحار. His other book on Ḥadīth is (71) تعليق الترمذى. For reference vide التعليقات السنيه by Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Ḥai, p. 67 and مقدمه تحفة الاحوذى. The above author died in 996A.H./1587 A.D. (72) مجمع الغرائب فى غريب الحديث by Shaikh Abul-Ḥasan 'Abd-ul-Ghāfir, who came to India from Ghaznin. (73) المفهم شرح غريب صحيح مسلم (Arabic) is also his compilation. He died in 529 A.H./1133 A.D. For reference vide اتحاف النبلاء pp. 302, 305 الفوائد البهيه فى تراجم الحنفيه p. 20 and تعليق الممجد p. 24 (74) مختصر نهايه ابن اثير by Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī of Burhānpūr (died 885 A.H./1480 A.D.). For reference vide اتحاف النبلا p. 174 and *Ma'ārif* (A'ẓamgarh) Vol. 50 No. 6, p. 423. (75) شرح بخارى (Arabic) by Shaikh Ḥasan bin Muhammad as-Sanānī of Lahore (died 650 A.H./1252 A.D., who compiled also (76) مصباح الدجى من صحاح الاحاديث المصطفى (77) الشمس المنيره رساله فى الوضوءات (79) كشف الحجاب عن احاديث الشهاب (78) فى الصحاح المأثوره. For references to these five works vide اتحاف النبلاء pp. 55, 102, 120, 147, 152, 243 and فوائد البهيه فى تراجم الحنفيه p. 30. (80) فيض البارى (Arabic) by Mīr Sayyid 'Abd-ul-Awwal bin 'Alā-ud-Dīn al-Ḥasanī (died 968 A.H./1560 A.D.). He was the author of (81) انتخاب سفر السعادة also. Besides these two books on Ḥadīth he wrote also رساله فارسى در تحقيق شمس معلوم and رساله فرائض He hailed from Zaidpur, District Jaunpore, U.P. For reference vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 302 and *Tadkhira-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind*, p. 106. (82) شرح صحيح بخارى by Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarafī of Kashmir (died 978 A.H./1570 A.D.). He wasa pupil of Shaikh Ibn Ḥajar of Mecca vide *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 255. (83) تيسير القارى شرح صحيح البخارى and (84) شرح صحيح مسلم by Shaikh Nūr-ul-Ḥaq, son of the well-known traditionist Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Ḥaq of Delhi. The former died in 1073A.H./1662 A.D. vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 45 and *Tadhkira-i-Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 226. (85) شرح صحيح بخارى (Persian) by Shaikh-ul-Islam of Rampur. The date of his death could not be known. His son Salām Allāh also wasa great traditionist. Vide *Tadhkira-i-'Ulama-i-Hind*, p. 76. (86) نور القارى شرح صحيح البخارى by Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn bin Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ of Aḥmadabad (died 1155A.H./1742 A.D.). He was the author of about 150 books, which cover different branches of learning. Some of these are :— شرح مطالعه - شرح مقاصد - شرح تلويح - حواشى شرح مواقف - تفسير كلام الله - حاشيه قويعه بر حاشيه قديمه اتحاف النبلاء vide شرح فصوص الحكم - طريق الامم - حاشيه شرح ملا - حاشيه شرح وقايه - شرح عضدى p. 427. (87) ضوء الدرارى شرح صحيح البخارى (Arabic) by Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (died 1200 A.H./1785 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 156.

(88) نظم اللالی فی شرح ثلاثیات البخاری (Arabic) by Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Bāsit. His other two books on Ḥadīth are (89) انتخاب الحسنات ترجمه دلائل الخیرات and حل المتین فی صحیح الیاس فی شرح الاربعین. His works on other subjects are جواهر خمسه در فرایض and اسرار القرآن vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 309 شرح شافیه ابن حاجب مسمی بشفاء الشافیه (90) منح الباری شرح صحیح البخاری (Arabic) by Maulānā Muḥammad Aḥsan (died 1263 A.H./1846 A.D.). His works on other branches of learning are حاشیه شرح مارك برمسلم، معراج نامه، وفات نامه، تفسیر والضحی، تفسیر سوره یوسف and حواشی تتمه احوذی vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 161 and *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 60 (91) شرح فارسی صحیح مسلم (Arabic) by Shaikh Fakhr-ud-Dīn. He was the grandfather of Shaikh Salām Allāh of Rampur referred to above. (92) فتح الودود علی سنن ابی داود (93) شرح ابن ماجه (94) حاشیه السندی علی الجامع الصحیح الامام مسلم بن الحجاج (95) تعلیق السندی (96) شرح مسند امام احمد بن حنبل all these five works are by Shaikh Abul-Hasan of Sind (died 1139 A.H./1726 A.D.). For reference vide فهرس الکتب العربیه الموجودة بالدار p. 111, 252 مقدمه الاحوذی pp. 44, 190 and اتحاف النبلاء p. 88, 91, 142. (97) مطرح الشجاح شرح صحیح مسلم ابن الحجاج (Persian) by Shaikh Walī Allāh of Farrukhābād (died 1249 A.H./1833 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 104 and *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 252. (98) شرح ابو الطیب سندی. This is a commentary on Tirmidhī by Abū Ṭayyeb of Sind; vide مقدمه تحفه الاحوذی p. 109. (99) انجاح الحاجه (Arabic) by Shaikh 'Abd-ul- Ghanī of Delhi. This book was compiled in 1857 A.D. (100) شرح مشکوٰة المصابیح (Arabic) by Mulla 'Alī of Taram, who came to India in Emperor Humāyūn's reign and died in 981 A.H./1573 A.D. For reference vide روز روشن by Maulavī Muzaffar Ḥusain, p.405. (101) حاشیه برمشکوٰة المصابیح by Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'īd of Sirhind (died 1070 A.H./ 1659 A.D.) vide *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 109. (102) مظاهر حق. This is a translation as well as a commentary in Urdu on مشکوٰة المصابیح by Nawab Muḥammad Quṭb-ud-Dīn of Delhi (died 1279 A.H./ 1862 A.D.). (103) شرح طرح المرام and (104) شرح تیسیر الوصول الی احادیث الرسول by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Ābid of Sind (died 1240 A.H./ 1824 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 46. (105) تحفه الانام فی العمل بحدیث النبی علیه السلام and شرح الترغیب والترهیب are by Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt of Sind (died 1163 A.H./1749 A.D.). (106) تحفة الاحیار ترجمه مشارق الانوار (Urdu) by Maulānā Khurram 'Alī of Bilhaur (died 1260 A.H./1844 A.D.). (107) تنویر العینین فی اثبات رفع الیدین by Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl Shahīd (died 1246 A.H./1830 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p.44. (108) قویم فی احادیث النبی الکریم by Maulānā Sakhāwat 'Alī of Jaunpūr (died 1274 A.H./1857 A.D.). This consists of Urdu translation also of the Arabic text. It was printed at Benares in 1857 A.D. (109) اثبات رفع الیدین فی المواضع الاربعة من العقود (Persian) by Sayyid Ḥaider 'Alī of Rampur (died 1277 A.H./ 1866 A.D.). (110) منتهی المقال فی شرح حدیث شد الرحال by Muftī Ṣadr-ud-Dīn of Delhi (died 1285 A.H./1868 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 161. (111) اربعین by Abul-Ḥasan 'Abdul-Fākhir bin Ismā'īl 'Abd-ul-Fākhir al-Fārisi (died 529 A.H./1133 A.D.) vide فهرس الکتب العربیه الموجودة فی الدار p. 87, No. 1295 (112) شرح اربعین by Makhdūm Matu of Thatt (died 949 A.H. 1542 A.D.). His reference can be found in *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*, p. 200. (113) شرح اربعین ملاعلی قاری. (114) شرح اربعین النودیه. These two works are by Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt of Sind (died 1163 A.H./1749 A.D.). (115) شرح اربعین نودی

(116) سلو الكئيب بذكر الحبيب and (117) كتاب الاذكار by Maulavī Rafī'-ud-Dīn of Murādabād (died 1795 A.D./ 1210 A.H.). For the first two books vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 251, 151. (118) حل المتين شرح اربعين and انتخاب الحسنات ترجمه دلائل الخيرات by Maulavī 'Abd-ul-Bāsiṭ (died 1223 A.H./1808 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 10, 71. (119) اربعين by Sayyid Aulād Ḥasan of Qannauj (died 1253 A.H./1837 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 9 (120) باغ رحمت (Persian) by Maulānā Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī of Rampur (died 1258 A.H./ 1842 A.D.). (121) اربعين فى فضل الحج و العمرة by Shāh Muḥammad Isḥāq of Delhi, who emigrated to Mecca (died 1263 A.H./1846 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 11. (122) الاحاديث المتركه along with its Urdu translation by Muftī 'Ināyat Aḥmad (died 1283 A.H./1866 A.D.) vide اتحاف النبلاء p. 5. (123) اربعين فى ما يتعلق and (124) اربعين فى فضائل المهديين and (125) اربعين فى فضائل المجاهدين by Maulāna Wilāyat 'Alī Ṣādiqpūri of Patna (died 1269 A.H./ 1853 A.D.) and other members of his family.

S.S.

*Calcutta*

The *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* is the oldest institution of its kind in the world. It was founded by Sir William Jones full 162 years ago. An Oriental Conference was convened in Calcutta at the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Jones, and the celebration lasted for over a week from 6th to 15th January last. The Osmania University of Hyderabad was represented by Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh. Most prominent was an Afghan delegation led by Mr. Kohzād, director of Kabul Museum. The Iranian Consul-General at Delhi represented his country. Foreign consular service in Calcutta associated itself with the function. Messages were received in Sanskrit, Latin, French and other languages. Sir William Jones had a remarkable talent for learning languages and he was at home equally in Arabic and Sanskrit, besides many more languages. Part of a session was reserved for a symposium on "Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilization," and in the absence of the President, Dr. Saha, the veteran historian Jadūnāth Sarkār took the chair. Some of the more interesting MSS. in Arabic and Persian in possession of the society were also displayed. Although the Viceroy, the Secretaries of State for British India and for Foreign Department and the Governor of Bengal honoured the celebration either by their messages or gifts or presence, people accustomed to all-India functions held in Indian States could not help being disappointed at the arrangements for hospitality of guests and delegates and the interest of the public of the first city of India.

An Irān Society has been established in Calcutta since September 1944, and its energetic Secretary, Dr. M. Isḥāq of the Calcutta University, has converted it into a very useful and active institution. Persian is studied in Bengal even now by a considerable number of Hindus,

not to speak of Muslims and Parsis; and the fine literary traditions of the cultured family of Mu'aiyidzādeh have survived to this day. The society is a rendezvous of Persophils and hopes to start soon its own organ in the form of a journal.

A precedent was set by the Sanskrit College of Calcutta for exclusively one-community government institution and there could be no logic in denying for long an Arabic College reserved for Muslims only. This College is now called Islamia College, and Dr. 'Itrat Ḥusain, an alumnus of the Osmania University, is now its principal. The college library possesses some very good manuscripts, some of which belong to the famous collection of the Nawab 'Azīz Jang of Hyderabad presented to the Fort William College and now dispersed.

In connection with conditions in Calcutta an instance will suffice to show the atmosphere in which the people live. There are 25 members of staff in the University Law College of Calcutta, all of whom are Hindus, not a single member belonging to the majority community of the province!

Poverty and ignorance are fertilizers of soil for communism, and Bengal Islam offers a good example of it. Perhaps there is not much exaggeration in the observation that 80% of the Muslim students in the Universities of Bengal have turned communist. The imperialistic policy of Stalin has just caused a pause; otherwise the great achievements of communist Russia in repelling the Hitler onslaught could have converted the whole East into communist in no time. In the Carmichael Hostel of Muslim Students of Calcutta Colleges, Dr. Ḥamīdullāh addressed the boarders on the *Islamic Principles of Economics*. He said Islam is neither communism nor capitalism: it is a category in itself. Moreover it is based not on purely material and pecuniary foundations but on ethical values as well. Equal distribution of wealth has not been attempted even in Russia; equitable distribution of wealth was advocated and enforced by Islam thirteen hundred years before the birth of communism. After giving an exposé of Islamic view of interest and usury, of surplus-property tax, *i.e.*, Zakāt, (whose 2½% rate is only a minimum and not a maximum, with the result that in time of need the Islamic government can levy on the wealthy to the extent of appropriating, in favour of the indigent, all but the bare requisite for life: سد رمق), and of other laws aiming at the distribution and circulation of wealth, the lecturer said: "If communism means sharing by everybody of whatever God has given him with the less favoured members of the society, a Muslim is also the first communist; yet if communism means a greedy look on others' property, it is a meanness which no Muslim can or ought to entertain for a single moment. Islam attaches greatest importance to alms and stigmatizes begging and stealing."

A meeting of the All-India Advisory Board for Archæology was held in Calcutta during the same week as the Royal Asiatic Society, and Principal Haroon Khan Sherwani represented the Hyderabad Government.

M.H.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

*The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society :*

AMONG other activities, the Society arranges lectures by competent persons on different subjects of scholarly interest. As usual, the Society had a crowded programme for the current winter session ; and among the many interesting papers that have been read under its auspices, we may mention in particular Dr. S. M. ' Abdullāh's essay on the *Favourite Persian Poets of Iqbāl*. The learned lecturer pointed out that Iqbāl composed both in Urdu and Persian, but his work in Persian was decidedly preponderant. His Persian was classical in diction and tone, which clearly shows the strong influence which the great Persian poets exerted on him. He had drunk deep at the fount of Persian literature, so that his thought and language and mode of expression were all modelled after the great masters. His reading of the Persian poets was, however, critical and selective. He concerned himself chiefly with those whose ideas he approved and ignored others. The lecturer went on to say that Iqbāl was particularly enamoured of Ṣūfī poets, most of all Rūmī. He had a high opinion of Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār also, but chiefly as the precursors of Rūmī. Among the Ṣufi poets, Iqbāl had a special reverence for Shabistarī, Jāmī and Bū 'Alī Qalandar. He wrote an ' answer ' to Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i Rāz*.

Iqbal loved poetry of an emotional character, as he himself was all ardour temperamentally. Indifference and lukewarmness were against his brain. That is the reason why Sa'dī is not a favourite with him. The same is the case with Ḥāfiẓ. Ḥāfiẓ is undoubtedly sentimental, but he regards the world as a mirage, whereas it is a stern reality for Iqbal. In contrast to Ḥāfiẓ, Iqbāl is full of praise for ' Urfī, and for Niẓāmī also, though not in the same degree. The lofty contentment of Ghanī Kashmīrī also appealed to him. Although Iqbāl did not like Ḥafiẓ's philosophy of life, he was much influenced by his language and mode of expression. He also came under the influence of the great poets of Mughal India, such as Faiḍī, Naẓīrī, 'Urfī, Ṭālib and Ghālib. He gave them generous praise, and wrote many Ghazals in their style. The lecturer opined that Iqbāl was the greatest Persian poet that India has produced since the time of Ghālib.

*New Publications :*

The publication of the 1st part of Maulānā ' Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī's English translation of the Holy Qur'ān by the Tāj Publication Company of Lahore, has already been noticed in this Journal, vide Vol. XVII, p. 466. The 2nd part has appeared now, after the lapse of about two years. This delay is obviously due to the present difficult conditions, the evil

legacy of the war that has just terminated. Like most previous translators of the Qur'ān, the Maulānā uses ' Biblical ' language, with its peculiar antiquated forms of expression, which are now obsolete in current English. We take this opportunity of recording our considered and firm opinion that the Biblical English is now admittedly out of date, and therefore unsuitable for conveying the meaning of the Qur'ān to the modern reader. The authorized English version of the Bible was prepared for the contemporaries of James I, and its continued use even after the lapse of three hundred years, is simply due to the conservative character of the English people. More than one scholar has, therefore, felt constrained to produce a fresh translation in current English, *e.g.* James Moffat, who published through Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton a new translation of the Old and New Testaments as far back as 1912. When it is admitted on all hands that the authorized version of the Bible does not represent the current English speech, we do not understand why it should be taken as a model by the translators of the Qur'ān who are addressing the men and women of the 20th century. The use of obsolete forms of speech in a modern translation makes it less intelligible and consequently less effective. If the meaning of the Qur'ān is to be made accessible to the modern reader, it must be conveyed through the medium of the language with which he is familiar. The time has come when we should liberate ourselves from the shackles of a false tradition and adopt a more rational procedure. These remarks of ours are not meant as a criticism of the Maulānā's work in particular, but should be taken in their wider and general import.

SH.I.

## CEYLON

*Study of Arabic at the University of Ceylon :*

THE University of Ceylon, incorporating or superseding the University College which prepared students for the external examinations of the University of London was established in or about 1942 by a special ordinance. There were no facilities for the study of Arabic at the University College. As a result, the students at Zahira College, Colombo, the only Muslim Secondary School as well as the only institution in Ceylon of that status providing facilities for the teaching of Arabic as a school subject, were not encouraged to offer Arabic as one of the subject for their higher examinations. The position was remedied in 1944 by the inclusion of provision in the University budget for a lecturer in Arabic. This post is filled by Dr. S. A. Imam, M.A. (Aligarh) Ph.D. (Bonn) who has made a special study of the Muslim poet Aṣ-Ṣanaubri and of the reign of Ḥakam II, the Moorish prince of Spain.

There is at present only one student preparing for the Honours Degree in Arabic and it is hoped that the number will increase from year to year.

Arabic is now recognized as a subject for all Muslim children in Government schools under the new education scheme and when the scheme is brought into full operation there will be a large number of Muslim students possessing a fair knowledge of Arabic.

The Muslims of Ceylon are disadvantageously placed from a cultural point of view in that their contact with the Muslims of other lands is extremely limited, and this difficulty has been solved to an extent by the appointment of the Muslim lecturer in Arabic who is making strenuous efforts to popularize Arabic by the inauguration of extra-mural classes and is making himself readily available to those desirous of arranging public lectures on the different aspects of Islam and Islamic culture. He has been greatly responsible for the active interest that is being taken by the Muslims here in the works of Sir Muḥammed Iqbal. With his help and guidance a Muslim Students' Majlis has been recently formed at the University of Ceylon. Owing to the paucity of Muslim students at the University, membership no doubt is limited. Nevertheless the society is making satisfactory progress, and is considering the inauguration of study classes and discussion groups.

*Mīlād Celebrations .*

Every important town celebrated the Mīlād Day in February 1946 in a fitting manner. Several speakers from India participated at the meetings held in this connection. At the Mīlād meeting of the Muslim Students' Majlis, Swami Vipulananda, Professor of Tamil and Mr. F. Rustomjee, Proctor S. C., delivered addresses on the life and teachings of our Holy Prophet.

*Y.M.M.A. Movement :*

The change of the name of Kandy Muslim Association to that of Kandy Y.M.M.A. has encouraged the establishment of several Y.M.M.A.'s in other centres like Badulla, Slave Island, etc. They all derive inspiration from the Cairo movement, whose aims are to " spread Islamic humanization and morals, to endeavour to enlighten the minds by knowledge in a way that is adapted to modern times, to work against dissension and abuses amongst the Islamic parties and groups and to take from the cultures of the East and the West all that is good, and to reject all that is bad in them."

*Tamil Translation of the Holy Qur'ān :*

Maulavī A.K. 'Abdul-Ḥamīd Bāqavī who has been given a handsome donation by the Government of Hyderabad for this work, is now in

Ceylon trying to enlist support from the local Muslims for this deserving cause. A representative local committee has recently been formed for the purpose. A welcome feature of the scheme is the prior consultation with the 'Ulamā' before the translations are published. It is his intention to translate some of the important Islamic works from Arabic and Urdu into Tamil for the benefit of the South Indian and Ceylonese Muslims.

Az.

## FOREIGN

*Russia :*

FROM the 19th century onward Russia has produced many Orientalists and Arabists of outstanding fame. But ever since the establishment of the Soviet regime particular attention has been paid by many scholars to the study of the Arabic language and the history of Islam. Recently the Soviet Government decorated Professor Ignati Krachkovsky, member of the Academy of Sciences and dean of Soviet Arabists, with the Order of Lenin, in recognition of selfless services performed during the seige of Leningrad to save the scientific and cultural treasures of the academy's institutes, museums and libraries. The following account of the work of Professor Krachkovsky has been condensed from an article by N. Militsyna, in the *Moscow News*, dated 20th May, 1944. It is hoped that it would be of interest to Muslim students and scholars who are eager to know something about the labours of Russian co-workers in the field.

Professor Ignati Krachkovsky who is sixty years of age had at an earlier period devoted himself to studies at St. Petersburg University for a professional career. Later he spent two years in the Arabian East in the Universities of Beirut and Cairo where he listened to the best authorities on Arabian philology and also visited Alexandria and Damascus to read rare manuscripts. In his philological studies he has the knack of linking Arabian philology (generally considered as remote from the realities of life as Latin) with the living present. For him Arabian literature did not die several centuries ago. He found artistic value and social purport in younger writings proclaiming the up-and-coming ideas of the Arabian East, and became investigator and interpreter of these writings. The number of Krachkovsky's published works runs to 400. It was he who first read some of the rare specimens of South Arabian inscriptions. The discovery and publication by him of the oldest known Arabian work on poetry was an event of world significance. He was also the first to

interpret Abu'l-'Alā. His interest in Arabian geographers has made him an authority in this field. He is today also Vice-President of the All-Union Geographical Society. His other works include the translation of such modern works as Qāsim Amīn's *New Woman* and the autobiography of Dr. Ṭāha Ḥusain, the blind scientist, writer and progressive public figure of Egypt. One of his favourite fields is the investigation of connecting links between Arabian culture and the peoples of the Soviet Union. He blazed the trail for systematic study of Arabian sources pertaining to the history of the Caucasus. In spite of the exploding shells and the bombs of the Germans over Leningrad, Krachkovsky found time to write twelve chapters of his major work on Arabian geographers. At present, he is living and working in Moscow and is engaged in the compilation of a dictionary of Russian words of Arabic origin. It is regarded as a monumental work of great historical value.

In connection with the award of the Order of Lenin, it is pointed out, that he refused to leave the embattled city of Leningrad before all the Academy of Science's institutions earmarked for evacuation had not been moved to safer locations and their properties remaining in the City stored safely enough. He was chairman of the Academy's Commission in-charge of its Leningrad institutions during the German blockade. He devoted particular attention and effort to save the famous collection of ancient Eastern manuscripts, rare books and archives of the institution of Orientalogy.

N.A.

*Germany :*

News reaching through London are, as may be expected, not at all satisfactory from the point of view of learning and science.

Prof. Fischer and his great Arabic dictionary, which was a product of several generations of the greatest German Arabists, have, it is reported, become victims of a bomb. The same was the fate of the bookshop of Harassowitz, Leipzig.

Prof. Pretzl was the director of the Qur'ān Archives of the University of Munich, where three generations of Qur'ānologists had collected the biggest collection in the world on Qur'ān and its allied subjects : manuscripts, photographed copies and prints, at huge cost. Prof. Pretzl has also succumbed rather early in the war to an air attack.

Prof. Heffening, author of *Das Islamicshe Fremdenrecht* and other works on the public law of Islam, along with the library of the Bonn University, of which he was the librarian, exists no more. The Oriental Seminar of the University of Bonn, has, however, escaped the ravages

of the war. Its Director, Prof. Paret had served in the Afrika Corps, and has been reported to be safe as a war prisoner.

Prof. Strothman and Schaade in Hamburg, and Littmann in Tübingen as also Schaeder of Göttingen have survived to serve Oriental studies.

It is also reported that even during the war-time the *Riḥlah* (travels) of Ibn-Faḍlān in 310 H. to Bulghār (Russia) was published in the original Arabic. It has been edited by Zaki Valīdī.

Prof. Kahle of Bonn had gone to England even before the war as a refugee. He has published a small booklet in English describing how he and his family has suffered, in spite of being patriots, at the hands of the Nazis. In England their life seems to have been quiet and even fruitful. For the last seven years he has been engaged on the work of cataloguing the great collection of Arabic MSS. which Mr. Chester Beatty of Oxford had acquired during the last decades. Prof. Kahle is also working on the supplement of the Bodleian Arabic Catalogue, whose century old edition must naturally require volumes to describe the huge acquisition made since the last catalogue of this library was published. The Beatty Collection consists of 2,500 manuscripts in Arabic, to be described in ten volumes of about 400 pages each. Prof. Kahle has already made the description of 1,500 volumes ready for the press ; one thousand more remain still. There are many unique MSS., and not a few were quite unexpected. It is said that the printing work of the catalogue will soon commence.

*Ireland :*

A Muslim student of the University of Dublin has prepared his thesis for the doctorate on the Contribution of Eire to Oriental Studies. The work has been published, and apparently begins the repayment of debt to West by the modern East as whole-heartedly as is the characteristic of the Muslims.

*Baghdād :*

London *Times* of 6th October last reports to the following effect :—

An unusual silver coin has been found in Baghdād. Workmen digging recently on the site of the famous Round City of Abū-Ja'far al-Manṣūr unearthed a hoard of nearly 500 silver coins dating from the times of the Abbasid Caliphs. Among them is a single silver Dirham which will be of peculiar interest to numismatics and which is in itself probably unique since it bears the image of theCaliph al-Muqtadir Billāh himself.



A silver dirham found at Baghdad during recent excavations It is probably unique for such a coin inasmuch as it bears a human image—that of the Caliph al-Muqtadir-Billāh.

The ban of Islamic tradition on all human representation is responsible for the almost total absence in museums of any pictorial clue to the appearance and dress of the great Arab leaders. A single coin in Vienna shows the head and shoulders of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, and in two less authentic ones a seated individual appears beneath the superscription of al-Muqtadir. In the newly discovered Dirham, however, a spirited figure on horseback beneath a similar legend is unmistakably the Caliph himself, and the coin is sufficiently well preserved to give a distinctive impression of his bearing and appearance. Above the figure the words لله جعفر (*Lillāhi Ja'far*), the first name of al-Muqtadir, are inscribed in Kufic, while the reverse side bears the curious figure of a humped bull surmounted by the words " al-Muqtadir Billāh." ( المقتدر بالله )

*Spain :*

We regret to announce the death of Rev. Prof. Miguel Asin y Palacios of Madrid. A bitter enemy of the Unity of the Muslims, he nevertheless tried to emphasise the indebtedness of Modern Europe to Spanish Islam, especially to the writings of Ibn-al-'Arabīy and Ibn-Rushd. In " Muslim Eschatology and the Divine Comedy," his *Magnum Opus*, he has proved that Dante had borrowed freely from the *Mi'rāj* traditions of the Holy Prophet.

*International :*

At last the majority of the 51 nations, who attended the San Francisco Conference on a new world order, have ratified the constitution of the United Nations. More than half a dozen Muslim States have been admitted to its full-fledged membership. Neutral States like Afghanistan may follow as also those which are technically supposed to be enemy States such as Albania. Libya, Malaya, Indonesia and Pakistan may also apply for the same if and when they get their independence.

The Executive of the United Nations, the so-called Security Council, has given one, out of its 11 seats, to a Muslim State, Egypt. The International Court of Justice has also elected the Egyptian Foreign Minister, who will have to resign his present post if he accepts the judgeship. Sir Ẓafarullāh Khān was nominated by India but he could not secure his election.

M. H.

# NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

*BASHSHĀR IBN BURD WITH AN INTRODUCTION CONCERNING THE STATE OF CIVILIZATION DURING THE REIGN OF THE ABBASIDS AND THE PECULIARITIES OF THE POETRY OF THOSE TIMES by 'Omar Farrukh, D.Phil., Bairut, 1363/1944, I, 8vo 85 pp., price 8/6.*

SUCH is the long title (translated from the Arabic) of a very competent account of the life and poetry of the blind Arabic poet Bashshār whom Arab critics consider the inventor of a new style of poetry as compared with the old Bedouin art which had held sway during the approximately hundred years of Ummayade rule. Dr Farrukh had published previously similar accounts about poets Abū 'Nuwās, Abū Tammām and Abu'l 'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, besides other short accounts of other early and late Arabic poets, which I have not seen.

The poems of Bashshār are supposed not to have been collected into a Dīwān, though the Shaikh al-Islām of Tunis, Sidi Muhammad aṭ-Tāhir ibn 'Ashūr has in his library a collection consisting of about eight thousand verses, which collection he promised to publish. Verses of Bashshār are cited in all kinds of works on Adab and the third volume of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* contains a long article with many quotations and most of what we know concerning his life.

An altogether inadequate edition of his poems was published in 1344/1925 by Aḥmad Hasanain Qarnī while Sayyid Muḥammad Badr-ud-Dīn 'Alawi of Aligarh published in 1353/1934 the unfortunately incomplete Hyderabad manuscript of the selections of Bashshār's poems by the two brothers Khālidī, commented by the North African scholar Isma'īl b. Ahmad b Ziyādat Allāh at-Tujībī, a learned man who spent his time in the fifth century in Tunis and Sicily but about whom no biography has been found. His principal merit is that he has brought together numerous examples from earlier poets who have expressed similar ideas to those found in the verses of Bashshār. This edition is a credit to Indian scholarship.

Bashshār was born blind; the year in which he was born is not known with certainty, but if he was sixty years old at the time of his death he was born about the year 106 A.H. As Farrukh points out this must be wrong if al-Hasan al-Basri, who died in 110, did actually reprimand Bashshār for letting loose women assemble in his house (*Agh.*, III. 169). He was not of pure Arab descent. His grandfather Barjūkh is said to have been made a prisoner by al-Muhallab while he was governor of Khorasan (78-82 A.H.) and to have been sent by him to his wife Khaira to a place near Basra. This slave brought with him his son named Burd (Persian: Carried). The boy, when grown up, was married to an Arab woman of the tribe of 'Uqail and their son was Bashshār who thus had a Persian father and an Arab mother. According to the custom of the times he became a Maulā of the Arab tribe of 'Uqail (or according to others of Sadūs). He also had two

brothers, who were butchers, but they seem to have been only half-brothers, sons of his mother by another man. All three had some bodily defect. His family was poor as one might expect from a slave family. Bashshār began to make verses at an early age and apparently such as to offend other people. Most of his life was spent in Basra where he was born. Among his earliest verses were some directed against the aged and celebrated poet Jarīr (died about 110 A.H.) in the hope that the latter might reply and thus draw public attention upon the young poet. Jarīr remained silent and did not give him that satisfaction.

Having failed in this, the young poet tried to get notoriety by introducing in his poetry new forms and ideas. That this was due to Persian influence must be doubted as we have no specimens of Persian poetry of such an early date; but he may have had from his father and the Persian elements with which no doubt they were in touch in Basra, then the centre of liberal ideas, such thoughts as have found their expression in his verses. Possibly also the lascivious, often grossly coarse, expressions are due to the same influence. So much seems certain that since the coming to power of the Abbasids a certain looseness in the performance of religious duties had set in. Hence in the opinion of the orthodox, hints were thrown out in some of Bashshār's poems that he secretly favoured the Persian national religion, the worship of fire, which was still lingering. The lines referred to, and adduced by the author, are found in several sources. This was dangerous enough, as those in power however lax they themselves might be, punished delinquents with utmost severity, but the poet could not refrain from his early habit of attacking people of note, often in the grossest terms. The times when poets of one Arab tribe made poems against another hostile tribe were over and the attacks were more personal and those of Bashshār were directed against persons of importance and power, not sparing even the Caliph. The consequence was that he made many enemies and the remarkable fact remains that the fatal result was deferred so long. According to the generally accepted tradition the caliph al-Mahdī had him flogged to death on a ship when on the way to Basra in 168 A.H. (other dates are 166 and 167) at an age of little over seventy years.

Bashshār is described as of burly stature and his mode of reciting his poems is described graphically. He stood legs apart, spit into his hands, smacked them together before giving his declamation in a sonorous voice. Sufficient of his poetry is preserved (till his Dīwān is published) to give a general idea of it and Farrukh gives specimens of a variety of themes cultivated by him. As against the lampoons, one of his strong points, there are verses of genuine feeling of a higher nature and he seems to have been gifted with a talent for smooth versification without evidence of elaboration. The author has dealt with all this in an efficient manner. As with his previous publication the little book has a portrait of Bashshār, designed by the author's brother Mustafā Farrukh, which, though imaginary, still brings the personality of the poet nearer to us. The only defect I can find is that the paper, a sign of our times, might have been better and the type large.

F. K.

*THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA; by Dr. Ḥabībullāh; publisher, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; 354 pages; Rs. 15.*

IT is quite recently that attention of scholars has been drawn to the importance of pro-Mughal Mediæval History of India, and the work before us is a result of deep research into one of the basic periods of that history, *i.e.*, the period of organization of the newly established Sultanate of Delhi, right up to the accession of Ghāzi Malik on the throne. Three years ago Dr. I. H. Qureshī laid students of Indian history under a deep debt of gratitude

by his thought-provoking book on the institutional organization of the Delhi Sultanate, and now Dr. Ḥabībullāh has given us the story of its rise. The period is full of vast changes wrought by the dynamic inrush of a foreign culture which chose to make India its home, and as the author rightly says "the rude horsemen of the Steppes became the patrons of Firdausi and Khusrau in less than a hundred years."

The learned author marches step by step from the initial conquest through the dynastic troubles, rebellions and attempts at Hindu revival, right up to the end of what he chooses to call the Mamluke dynasty in 1920. He then deals with such topics as the Central Government, Provincial Administration, the Fighting Forces, Law and Judiciary, Finance and Currency, Society and Culture and the Dhimmīs, ending with the discussion of certain knotty problems facing a student of research, and a fairly large bibliography of the period containing names of original, secondary and modern works.

The chapters dealing with the actual narrative are seven in number, and, based on original authorities are couched in an interesting style. The real value of the book lies in the five chapters dealing with institutions, society and general policy of the Ṣulṭanate,and one reads with profound interest how the author has dealt with such topics as the composition of Muslim society, the social and religious groups, Hindu influences on popular Islam, literature, education and arts, trade and commerce and other topics of a kindred nature. Certain topics are discussed very fully in the body of the book such as the question of Sultāna Razia's alleged moral lapse, with full and free reference to authorities, and there is a good discussion of the question of the Turk versus the Indian Muslim at the capital. Then again among the numerous subjects discussed is the problem of the effects of the Indian Sultanate being cut off from the Central Asian homeland by the annexation of Afghanistan to the Mughal Empire.

In one or two places the author has left matters where they stood in English translations, for instance he has not been able to identify "Jarali or Datoli," the rebellious tribes of which places were put down by Balban in 1244 and 1249. Now "Jarali" is of course "Jalali" of Ibn-i-Battūtah and other chronicles, and it is still called "Jarali" by the inhabitants of the locality, while "Datoli" (Modern "Dataoli," 27° 53′ N., 78° 19′ E.) still exists on an eminence about 6 miles to the West of Jalali with the remains of an old fortress, walls and ditch partly intact. Raverty could not identify the latter and was doubtful about the former, and Dr. Habībullāh has only referred to Raverty's footnote (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, II, 809 n. 7). I thought it best to clarify this point here

In spite of the striking get-up of the book, it is greatly disfigured by spelling mistakes which abound without number. This is, of course, due to very careless composing and probably printing off the book without proof correction. But what is so strange is that the author has chosen not to put any diacritical marks in the transliteration of names. The excuse he has made is one of "convenience for the reader and for the printer." One may agree that it must have been very convenient for the printer who has made mistakes even without diacritical points, but surely a scholar "familiar with the language" (which language?) is not supposed to be conversant with all the niceties of spelling, and the reader who is not conversant would certainly be better off with a little more knowledge. Then again there may be readers of a history book like the present who are only a little at home with just one source language, and he may wish to know what the correct spelling or pronunciation of a particular word may be. There are variants in the book which would have been avoided if the learned author had affixed diacritical points, such as Kishlu Khan and Kashlu Khan , Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khan and Yuzbak Tughril Khan ; Abu Bakar and Abu Bakr ; Twarikh and Tawarikh ; Ghoride and Ghwaride, and a host of others. The learned author would serve learning

much more if he is less considerate to his printers in the second edition and put diacritical marks on the transliterated names.

The book under review is one which should be on the shelf of every lover of Mediæval Indian History.

H.K.S.

*THE ISLAMIC BACKGROUND OF MODERN SCIENCES, by Khwājah 'Abdul Wahīd, pp. 92, published by Anjuman Khuddamuddīn, Sheranwala Gate, Lahore; Re. 0-8-0.*

THE Anjuman Khuddāmuddīn is an active body of Lahore Muslims. It has established a special section ( اشاعت قرآن ), devoted to the propagation of the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān. The pamphlet under review is the 7th of the series published by the section, and many more have been announced to follow.

The author defines science and discusses at length the features of the pre-Islamic stage of this branch of human activity. In this connection the real places of Greece and of Alexandria have been determined on the authority of competent scholars of the history of modern science. Then the author goes to describe how the whole of Europe was plunged in the Dark Ages in utter and unfathomable darkness from which Islam came to deliver her.

The author gives succinctly the attitude of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth with regard to science, traces the passion of Muslims for learning, and then under different heads, such as mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, physics, optics, medicine, geography, etc., describes some of the achievements of Muslim scientists.

Finally he brings into relief the channels through which Muslim science penetrated into Europe and brought about intellectual life. In this connection perhaps the word "renaissance" will not be correct as there was no question of a "rebirth" but the "first birth" of learning.

The booklet abounds in citations of high authority. But it is intended as a popular reading.

The old tribes found in America, who still speak Arabic, to which the author refers (on p. 88) are said by competent scholars not to be the descendants of the first Arabs who discovered America and traded with her but of those poor people of Sijilmāsah, in North Africa, who were most barbarically expatriated by the Spaniards to this new colony of theirs "beyond seven seas." They have ever since lived there, though pathetically, yet with sufficient vigour to maintain themselves under most unpropitious and hostile surroundings.

M. H.

*LEARN TO HYPNOTISE AND CURE by M.U. Ahmed; Kitabistan; Allahabad, Rs. 3.*

IT is a book of medium size covering about three hundred pages of distinct print with sufficient space in between the lines and words. The paper and printing are good, and the book is nicely done and well got-up.

The author, sometime ago a lecturer in philosophy and an educationist now, claims to have experimented with Hypnotism for over fifteen years, and to be a practising Hypnotist of a long standing. The book is reported to have been read in the manuscript form by Dr. Radwan of the Radwan Institute of Psychophony, London.

The book is divided into ten lectures, the first lecture dealing with the theory of Hypnotism, the second to eighth lectures with the preliminaries of Hypnotism (such as Personal Magnetism, Willpower, Suggestion, Passes, etc.) and the various methods of inducing "hypnosis," and the ninth and tenth lectures with Medistic (or Hypnotic) Therapeutics. The book is self-explanatory and a systematic whole.

As the title of the book shows, it is a treatise on practical Hypnotism, but theory forms no mean part of it. It is specifically dealt with in the first lecture, but runs, in application, through the whole course. The scientific interest attaches itself, mainly to the theoretical aspect of the book.

The author coins a new expression "Medism" from the Latin root 'Mederi'—meaning to heal—(from which the word 'meditation' too is derived) to represent his standpoint which he calls 'Neo-Oriental Hypnotism.' The point of view consists in giving a mystico-spiritual interpretation of the phenomenon of 'hypnosis' in terms of 'Dhyana' or 'Meditation' rather than in terms of sleep and the materialistic theories of occidental Hypnotism. According to the author Western Psychology has sadly neglected the spirit Mind is the highest reality in it. In contrast to it, Oriental Psychology offers a tripartite division of the human self-conscious, unconscious and super-conscious. The last which is the 'Atman' or spirit is the governing principle in man. It is the highest and only reality of which the mind and body are merely vehicles of expression. The author is, however, also averse to the supernatural explanation of Oriental Hypnotism. He therefore rejects both the 'Pranic' theory of Yogis and the 'Karāmat' theory of Ṣūfīs. They both appear to him supernatural. He propounds, therefore, a theory which seems natural to him. His theory is that while the suggestibility of the patient (hypnotee) and the spiritual acquisition of the agent (hypnotiser) are the subjective and objective conditions for the inducement of hypnosis, the real and fundamental cause of 'hypnosis' is the spirit or 'Atman.' He describes the process as follows: "Just as the mystic meditates on God through a process of self-hypnotisation, so does the hypnotee meditates on the divine qualities, slumbering within his superconscious self, which are brought to light by the intervention of the hypnotist who plays the role of his spiritual leader..... By liberating—and therefore not dominating—the innate potentialities of the individual by means of suggestions or instructions the hypnotist goads him on and on to the path of salvation."

By raising Hypnotism to a mystico-spiritual status the author has made too high a bid for Hypnotism, which is difficult to justify and likely to prove derogatory to the prestige and value of mysticism. It is surprising that the author, after making an admission that there is a lower and a higher form of Hypnotism, should lose sight of or ignore the limits and requirements of the common denominator. Hypnosis as such is a state of suggestibility in which an idea tends to actualise itself. This tendency is explained by the principle of Conation. Now all the conative tendencies are not directed towards the Divine. In fact it requires a great process of rationalisation, idealisation, love and discipline to sublimate the conative tendencies so that they may be orientated to the Divine. The author does not seem to be fully aware of what is involved in mysticism. It does not merely require perception without the organs of sense or even its extension in space and time, but the transcendence of the very modes of phenomenal experience and being. The conative tendencies therefore at work in hypnosis are not invariably mystical. As a rule they are human, or, if you like, even animal. Mystical tendency being an exception rather than the rule, there is very little justification in calling hypnosis mystical. That the mystics employ self-hypnotisation as a method for their spiritual development does not warrant its identification or even equation with mysticism. They also practise recollection, love and asceticism, but it would not entitle us to call every act of ordinary recollection or love an act of mysticism. The process may be the same but the contents are positively different. Nor does such an identification do justice to the other elements of mysticism, discipline, intuition, etc. Mysticism is therefore entirely different from Hypnotism. Hypnotism requires, merely a conative tendency, whether animal, human, or Divine. It can be traced back, therefore, to the conscious, subconscious, unconscious or superconscious.

But just because there are so many sources and varieties of conation none of them, is, by itself, essential to Hypnotism. Hypnotism has, therefore, to be treated independently of them. They are indifferent to Hypnotism. They fall out of its province. If Hypnotism transcends its own limits and makes a choice in favour of one or the other it proves false to its own implications. It is for this reason that Hypnotism as such should escape any judgment of value. It is neither sacred nor profane. The use to which it is put makes it sanctified or unholy. The view of the author that the ultimate cause of all phenomena is the spirit should not suggest the thought that the highest invocation of spirit in mysticism is, therefore, necessary for its operations. It can be invoked even in its lower manifestations of mind and matter for the purposes of Hypnotism.

Shorn of mysticism the spiritual character of Hypnotism loses all its special significance. On the author's view black art and magic become as much spiritual as Hypnotism.

The remarkable thing, however, is that while the author attributes all causality—final and efficient—to the spirit or 'Atman' he does not go a step further and realise that 'Atman' is not the final word in the matter. Beyond the spirit of the created is the spirit of the creator. If the Muslim mystic or Sūfī, therefore, explains his "miraculous" feat of 'Hypnotism' by the gift of God or 'Karāmat' what is the supernatural about it. A spell of 'Atman-Brahma' mysticism would seem to be cast on the author.

The practical part of the book is very unequal to the theoretical. It is mostly on the mundane level.

The books is, however, well-infomed well-conceived and well-executed. Its presentation is felicitous, and it will make an interesting, instructive and profitable study for anyone interested in the subject of Hypnotism. Even the exaggerated claim for Hypnotism is inspired by the author's enthusiasm for and pietistic attitude towards the art in which he sees great possibilities for human amelioration In doing so, however, he is, changing place for the mystic. This cannot be accepted on theoretical grounds and in the higher interest. His theory of 'Medism' therefore, we are afraid, is likely to meet the fate of so many 'Medisms.'

M. M. A.

## BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Geography and Geographers* by Dr. M. H. Rehman ; publishers : the Urdu Publishing House, Grand Trunk Road, Juma Masjid, Allahabad ; Rs. 4-8-0.

2. *The Prince of Light* (A Poem depicting the Life and Teachings of Zarathushtra) by S. H. Jhabvala ; publisher . M. N. Kulkarni, the Karnatak Printing House, Chira Bazar, Bombay, 2.

3. *Politico-Regional Division of India* by D. Kazi Siad-ud-Din Ahmad , publisher . Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore ; Re. 0-6-0.

4 *Is India Geographically One ?* by Dr. Kazi Siad-ud-Din Ahmad ; publisher : Sh. Mohd Ashraf, Lahore ; Re 0-6-0.

5. *Fiscal Fabric* by Ahmad Shafi ; publisher : Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Lahore ; Re. 0-6-0.

6. *Mohammed, the Universal Teacher* by His Exalted Eminence Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqui ; distributed free by the publisher : Mohd. Makki, 98-100, Brickfield Road, Mayville, Durban, S. Africa.

7. *The Jewel of Islam* ; publisher . Mohd. Makki, Durban.

8. *5th Pillar*, Quarterly Organ of the International Union of Islamic Propaganda and Service ; publisher : Mohd. Makki, Durban.

9. *The Islamic Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No 10, editors M. Abdul Majid and M. Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad, publishers: the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore; annual Indian subscription Rs. 7-8-0

10. *A Nosegay of Islamic Flowers*; publishers the Muslim Book Society, Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

11. *The Crescent*, the Organ of the Surat City Muslim Students Union; editor. Yoosuf, A. K. Faizullabhoy, Athwa Lines, Surat; Rs 1-8-0

12. *Essentials of Islam* by I C Evans, publishers the Islamic Press, Ltd., 552, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W. C 2, £ 0-0-3

13. *The Star*, A Weekly Viewspaper, Vol. I, No 1, editor and publisher: M H Saiyid, 16-Custom House Road, Fort, Bombay, Re 0-4-0

14. *The Indian P.E.N.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 11, editor Sophia Wadia. "Aryasangha," Malabar Hill, Bombay-6; annual Indian subscription Rs 5-0-0,

15. *New Times and Ethiopia News*; editor Sylvia Pankhurst, 3-Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex

## CORRIGENDA

| Page | Line | Text | Correction |
|---|---|---|---|
| 75 | 9 | Shah Sabahi Ahmad | Shah Subhan Ahmad |
| 76 | 8 | Nazir Ahmad Thanawi | Zafar Ahmad Thanawi |
| 76 | 13 & 14 | Dr. Zafar Hasan of Delhi | Dr. Zafar-ul-Hasan of Aligarh. |

Mr. 'Abd'ul-Mājid Daryābādī has kindly pointed out the above corrections in our last issue.

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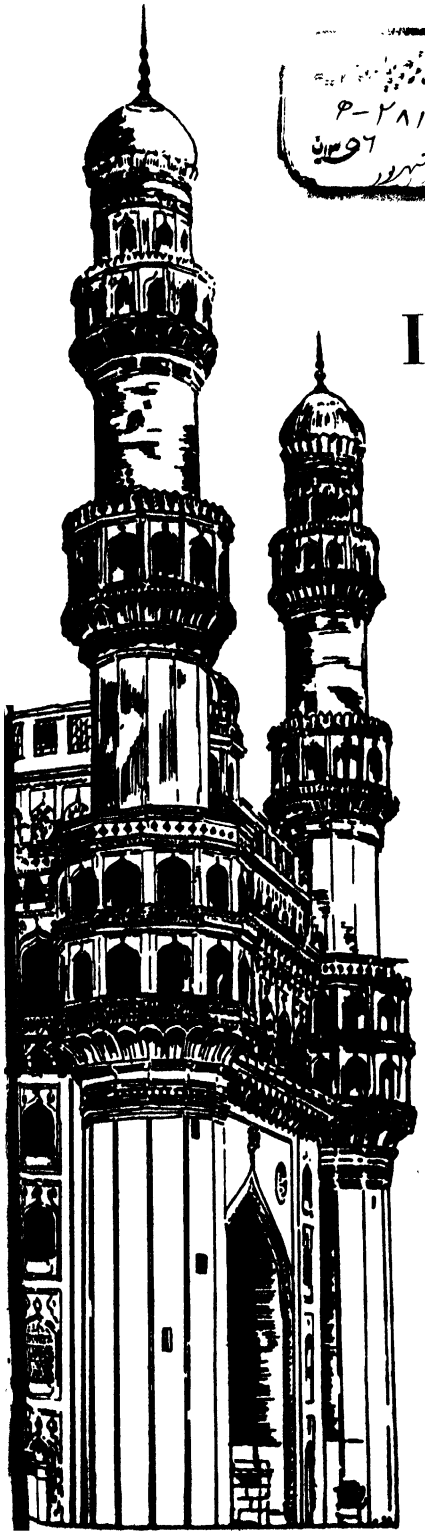
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*Ed., I. C.*


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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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# ḤĀFIẒ AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS

(*Continued from page 128 of the April 1946 Issue*)

## V

TWENTY years passed over Palmer's little-remembered volume of verses, and then was published what by general consent takes rank as the most successful attempt so far made to translate Ḥāfiẓ, body and soul, into the English idiom. In *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (1897) Gertrude Bell (1867-1926) made her first bow to the world of letters : it is a brilliant and remarkable performance, one that makes every lover of Persian poetry regret that the unusual talents there displayed should never again have been employed in the same direction. Of these translations, 43 in all, E. G. Browne has written that they ' are true poetry of a very high order and, with perhaps the single exception of Fitzgerald's paraphrase of the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām are probably the finest and most truly poetical renderings of any Persian poet in the English language.' Miss Bell turned her back on the Bicknell school, that is the translators who conceive it to be their task to make their versions as literal as the bondage of verse-form permits, and equal in length to the original and went back to the older tradition of Jones. E. G. Browne, who appears to have been somewhat allurgic to Jones, wrote of his versions that they ' are pretty enough,' but ' can hardly be dignified by the name of poetry, and are, moreover, so free that they can scarcely be called translations '; yet of Miss Bell's he wrote that ' though rather free, they are in my opinion by far the most artistic, and, so far as the spirit of Hafiz is concerned, the most faithful renderings of his poetry.' This praise of a contemporary worker was undoubtedly fully merited, but the verdict on a great predecessor is surely unjust : both Jones and Gertrude Bell were true children of their environment, and a true comparison between their productions must take into account other factors than fidelity and impassionedness—it must be based on the criteria of English literary history. Moreover, while judgments involving what is called the spirit of an original and its reproduction in the version are necessarily tenures, it is not without interest to recall that Miss Bell herself confessed, ' I am very conscious that my appreciation of the poet is that of the Western. Exactly on what grounds he is appreciated in the East it is difficult to determine, and what his compatriots make of his teaching it is perhaps impossible to under-

stand.' That is at first reading a startling statement, but no doubt allowance should be made for a very great degree of modesty, natural and becoming enough in a young scholar taking the stage for the first time. At all events, let us turn for the present from these abstractions and consider our concrete materials, the versions themselves ; and, since comparisons though odious are always instructive and sometimes illuminating, let us examine what Gertrude Bell made of one or two poems which had already exercised her predecessors. First, her idea of Jones's *Persian Song :*

Oh Turkish maid of Shiraz ! in thy hand
If thou'st take my heart, for the mole on thy cheek
I would barter Bokhara and Samarkand.
Bring, Cup-bearer all that is left of the wine !
In the Garden of Paradise vainly thou'lt seek
The lip of the fountain of Ruknabad,
And the bowers of Mosalla where roses twine.
They have filled the city with blood and broil,
Those soft-voiced Lulis for whom we sigh ;
As Turkish robbers fall on their spoil,
They have robbed and plundered the peace of my heart.
Dowered is my mistress, a beggar am I ;
What shall I bring her ? a beautiful face
Needs nor jewel nor mole nor the tiring-maid's art.

Brave tales of singers and wine relate,
The key to the Hidden 'twere vain to seek ;
No wisdom of ours has unlocked that gate,
And locked to our wisdom it still shall be.
But of Joseph's beauty the lute shall speak ;
And the minstrel knows that Zuleika came forth,
Love parting the curtains of modesty.

When thou spokest ill of thy servant 'twas well—
God pardon thee ! for thy words were sweet ;
Not unwelcomed the bitterest answer fell
From lips where the ruby and sugar lay.
But, fair Love, let good counsel direct thy feet ;
Far dearer to youth than dear life itself
Are the warnings of one grown wise—and grey !

The song is sung and the pearl is strung ;
Come hither, Oh Hafiz, and sing again !
And the listening Heavens above thee hung
Shall loose o'er thy verse the Pleiades' chain.

This version is unquestionably more faithful than Jones's and it is also shorter, in fact, roughly equal to the original in length : but its style is equally unquestionably less mature, and it contains few memorable lines

or phrases. Nevertheless, it is both competent and attractive: yet it is by no means the translator's best.

Secondly, Miss Bell's rendering of Palmer's pleasant verses.

Singer, sweet singer, fresh notes strew,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!
Heart-gladdening wine thy lips imbrue,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!

Saki, thy radiant feet I hail;
Flush with red wine the goblets pale,
Flush our pale cheeks to drunken hue,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!

Then with thy love to toy with thee
Rest thee, Oh, rest! when none can see;
Seek thy delight, for kisses sue,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!

Here round thy life thy vine is twined;
Drink! for elsewhere what wine wilt find?
Drink to her name, to hours that flew,
Hours ever fresh and new and new!

She that has stolen my heart from me,
How does she wield her empery?
Paints and adorns and scents her too,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!

Wind of the dawn that passest by,
Swift to the street of my fairy hie,
Whisper the tale of Hafiz true,
Fresh and afresh and new and new!

This is a notable achievement, for with a minimum of extraneous comment the translator has brilliantly succeeded in reproducing the true form of the original Persian, even including the internal rhyme; and her verses have a lilt and a pace which put them far above Palmer's in poetic fervour, while at least equalling his in fidelity.

Thirdly, what is one of Miss Bell's finest renderings, which to compare with Bicknell's is to establish the interval that separates fine poetry from flat verse:

The rose has fleshed red, the bud has burst,
And drunk with joy is the nightingale—
Hail Sufis! lovers of wine, all had!
For wine is proclaimed to a world thirst.
Like a rock your repentance seemed to you;
Behold the marvel! of what avail
Was your rock, for a goblet has cleft it in two!

Bring wine for the king and the slave at the gate!
Alike for all is the banquet spread,
And drunk and sober are warmed and fed.
When the feast is done and the night grows late,
And the second door of the tavern gapes wide,
The low and the mighty must bow the head
'Neath the archway of life, to meet what....outside?

Except thy road through affliction pass,
None may reach the halting-station of mirth;
God's treaty: Am I not Lord of the earth?
Man sealed with a sigh: Ah yes, alas!
Nor with Is nor Is Not let thy mind contend;
Rest assured all perfection of mortal birth
In the great Is Not at the last shall end.

For Asaf's pomp, and the steeds of the wind,
And the speech of birds, down the wind have fled,
And he that was lord of them all is dead;
Of his mastery nothing remains behind.
Shoot not thy feathered arrow astray!
A bow-shot's length through the air it has sped,
And then....dropped down in the dusty way.

But to thee, Oh Hafiz, to thee, Oh Tongue
That speaks through the mouth of the slender reed,
What thanks to thee when thy verses speed
From lip to lip, and the song thou hast sung?

Two further examples must be all we have space to include here to illustrate Gertrude Bell's methods. The first is her version of the opening Ghazal in the *Dīwān*.

الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا و نا و لها — که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکلها
ببوی نافهٔ کاخر صبا زان طره بگشاید — زتاب جعد مشکینش چه خون افتاد در دلها
مرا در منزل جانان چه امن و عیش چون هردم — جرس فریاد میدارد که بر بندید محملها
بمی سجاده رنگین کن گرت پیر مغان گوید — که سالك بیخبر نبود زراه و رسم منزلها
شب تاریك و بیم موج و گردابی چنین حایل — کجا دانند حال ما سبکساران ساحلها
همه کارم زخود کامی ببد نامی کشید آخر — نهان کی ماند آن رازی کزو سازند محفلها
حضوری گرهمی خواهی ازو غایب مشو حافظ — متی ما تلق من تهوی دع الدنیا وامهلها

Arise, Oh Cup-bearer, rise! and bring
To lips that are thirsting the bowl they praise,
For it seemed that love was an easy thing,
But my feet have fallen on difficult ways.

I have prayed the wind o'er my heart to fling
The fragrance of musk in her hair that sleeps—
In the night of her hair—yet no fragrance stays
The tears of my heart's blood my sad heart weeps.

Hear the Tavern-keeper who counsels you:
" With wine, with red-wine your prayer carpet dye!
There was never a traveller like him but knew
The ways of the road and the hostelry.

Where shall I rest, when the still night through,
Beyond thy gateway, Oh Heart of my heart,
The bells of the camels lament and cry:
" Bind up thy burden again and depart!"

The waves run high, night is clouded with fears,
And eddying whirlpools clash and roar;
How shall my drowning voice strike their ears
Whose light-frighted vessels have reached the shore?

I sought mine own; the unsparing years
Have brought me mine own, a dishonoured name.
What cloak shall cover my misery o'er
When each jesting mouth has rehearsed my shame!

Oh Hafiz, seeking an end to strife,
Hold fast in thy mind what the wise have writ:
'If at last thou attain the desire of thy life,
Cast the world aside, yea, abandon it!'

The second (and final) specimen is the rendering of the poem carved on Ḥāfiẓ's tomb.

مژدهٔ وصل تو کو کز سر جان بر خیزم — طائر قدسم و از دام جهان بر خیزم
بولای تو که گر بندهٔ خویشم خوانی — از سر خواجگی کون و مکان بر خیزم
یا رب از ابر هدایت برسان بارانی — پیشتر زانکه چو گردی ز میان برخیزم
بر سر تربت من با می و مطرب بنشین — تا ببویت ز لحد رقص کنان برخیزم
خیز و بالا بنما ای بت شیرین حرکات — کز سر جان و جهان دست فشان برخیزم
گرچه پیرم تو شبی تنگ در آغوشم کش — تا سحرگه ز کنار تو جوان برخیزم
روز مرگم نفسی مهلت دیدار بده — تا چو حافظ ز سر جان و جهان برخیزم

What are the tidings of union? that I may arise—
Forth from the dust I will rise up to welcome thee!
My soul, like a homing bird, yearing for Paradise,
Shall arise and soar, from the snares of the world set free.
When the voice of thy love shall call me to be thy slave,
I shall rise to a greater far than the mastery

Of life and the living, time and the mortal span:
Pour down, oh Lord! from the clouds of thy guiding grace,
The rain of a mercy that quickeneth on my grave.
Before, like dust that the wind bears from place to place,
I arise and flee beyond the knowledge of man.
When to my grave thou turnest thy blessed feet,
Wine and the lute thou shalt bring in thine hand to me,
Thy voice shall ring through the folds of my winding-sheet,
And I will arise and dance to thy minstrelsy.
Though I be old, clasp me one night to thy breast,
And I, when the dawn shall come to awaken me,
With the flush of youth on my cheek from thy bosom will rise.
Rise up! let mine eyes delight in thy stately grace!
Thou art the goal to which all men's endeavour has pressed,
And thou the idol of Hafiz's worship; thy face
From the world and life shall bid him come forth and arise!

## VI

While Gertrude Bell was still engaged in compiling her choice volume, Walter Leaf (1852-1927), the great Homeric scholar, was similarly employing himself, bringing to bear on Persian poetry a mind and a taste refined by long study of the classics: his *Version from Hafiz* came out in 1898. Whereas Miss Bell had deliberately thrown off the restraint of scrupulous fidelity to form and metre, Leaf had other views of the translator's duties. "Those who want them have not far to seek for translations of Hafiz....They may scent in our Western winds the aroma from his Eastern garden, perfumed with musk of Tartary; they may gaze on the flame of rose and tulip, or taste of the tart and heady Persian wine, and wind their fingers in the ringlets of the beloved. But to the fifth sense of hearing not one, I think, has attempted to appeal, and the song of the Bulbul of Shiraz has fallen upon European ears only in measures transformed at best, often only in the wingless words of prose. But for Hafiz, at least as much as for any poet, form is of the essence of his poetry. More indeed than for the poets whom we know best. We have learnt from our Greek masters to seek the unity of a poet in thought or mood developed in it. Whether sensuous or intellectual, the unity is internal and essential. To a Persian poet this is not so; and that is a hard lesson which we must learn before we can do full justice to Eastern art. In the Persian ode we find a succession of couplets often startling in their independence, in their giddy transitions from grave to gay, from thought to mood....It is from the common metre and common rhyme alone that an ode gains a formal unity....For all these reasons it seems worthwhile to make an attempt, however poor, to give English readers some idea of this most intimate and indissoluble bond of spirit

and form in Ḥāfiẓ. And with it all, one must try to convey some faint reminder of the fact that Ḥāfiẓ is, as few poets have been, a master of words and rhythms.' And so Walter Leaf made his heroic and not wholly unsuccessful experiment of translating 18 of the odes into English verse, monorhymed and metred in conformity with their originals. The first is one of the best, a new version of the poem that attracted both Palmer and Gertrude Bell (the latter, as we have seen, uncommonly faithful to the Persian), it is to be noted that this ode is of doubtful authenticity, and has been rejected by Hafiz's latest and most learned Persian editors.

Minstrel, awake the sound of glee, joyous and eager, fresh and free ;
Fill me a bumper bounteously, joyous and eager, fresh and free.

O for a bower and one beside, delicate, dainty, there to hide ;
Kisses at will to seize and be joyous and eager, fresh and free.

Sweet is my dear, a thief of hearts ; bravery, beauty, saucy arts,
Odours and unguents, all for me, joyous and eager, fresh and free.

How shall the fruit of life be thine, if thou refuse the fruitful vine ?
Drink of the vine and pledge with me, joyous and eager, fresh and free.

Call me my Sākī silver-limbed, bring me my goblet silver-rimmed ;
Fain would I fill and drink to thee, joyous and eager, fresh and free.

Wind of the West, if e'er thou roam, pass on the way my fairy's home ;
Whisper of Hafiz am'rously, joyous and eager, fresh and free.

Jones's *Persian Song* comes out thus in Leaf :

An if yon Turk of Shīrāz land this heart would take to hold in fee,
Bokhārā town and Samarcand to that black mole my dower should be.

Ho, Sākī, pour the wine-flask dry ; in Eden's bowers we ne'er shall find
Musallās' rosy bed, nor streams of Ruknābād's delightsome lea.

Alack, these saucy Lūlīs, dear beguilers that the town embroil,
The wantons tear the heart-strings as the Turks their plunder-banquetry.

On our frail love the loved One's pure perfection no dependence knows ;

Can unguent, powder, paint and patch embellish faces fair, pardie ?

Be wine and minstrel all thy theme ; beware, nor plumb the deeps of fate ;

For none hath found, nor e'er shall find by wit, that great enigma's key.

Of that fair favour Joseph wore, to make more fair the day, we know ;
For him love bade Zulaikhā tear apart her veil of pudency.

Thy words were hard, yet I submit ; forgive thee God ! Thy words were good ;

The tart response beseemeth well the honeyed ruby lips of thee.

Give ear, my life ! Perpend my words ; for more dear e'en than life itself

To youth, so blest of Fortune, speaks the sage advice of ancientry.

The ode is made, the pearls are strung ; go, Hafiz, sweetly sing thy lay ;

With jewels from the Pleiad crown doth Heav'n engem thy minstrelsy.

Ingenious, but not poetry ; the body of Ḥāfiẓ, but not his soul ; does not this type of literary exercise remind one of the set pieces that are written so cleverly by so many entrants for the competitions promoted by the weekly reviews, or done impromptu at Christmas parties ? We add one more example, a bad one, to show how easily this technique of translation degenerates into parody, and to prove that Homer's editor, like Homer himself, sometimes nods.

دل میرود ز دستم صاحبدلان خدا را — دردا که راز پنهان خواهد شد آشکارا
کشتی شکستگانیم ای باد شرطه برخیز — با شد که باز بینم دیدار آشنا را
ده روزه مهر گردون افسانه است و افسون — نیکی بجای یاران فرصت شمار یارا
آئینه سکندر جام مے است بنگر — تا بر تو عرضه دارد احوال ملك دارا
ای صاحب کرامت شکرانهٔ سلامت — روزی تفقدی کن درویش بینوا را
آسایش دو گیتی تفسیر این دو حرفست — با دوستان مروت با دشمنان مدارا
درحلقهٔ گل و مل خوش خواند دوش بلبل — هات الصبوح هبوا یا ایها السکارا
در کوئی نیکنامی مارا گذر ندادند — گر تو نمی پسندی تغییر کن قضارا
آن تلخ وش که صوفی أم الخبائثش خواند — اشهی لنا واحلی من قبلة العذارا
هنگام تنگدستی در عیش کوش و مستی — کاین کیمیای هستی قارون کند گدارا
حافظ بخود نپوشید این خرقهٔ می آلود — ای شیخ پاك دامن معذور دار مارا

All bounds my heart is breaking ; friends, haste to my salvation ! Woe's me ! My secret hidden cries loud for proclamation.

'Mid reefs my bark is grounded ; blow fair, O breeze of mercy ; Mayhap we win the Friend yet, Love's goal of navigation.

This ten-day smile of heaven swift passes like a tale told ! Be gracious while thou mayest, brook not procrastination.

That glass of Alexander naught save the bowl of wine was ; See all Darius' kingdom spread there in revelation.

Go to, thou lord of power, do thanks for fortune's dower,
Seek out the poor unfriended, raise up the lowly station.

All peace within the two worlds, two words alone assure it,
"Tow'rd lovers loving-kindness, tow'rd foes dissimulation."

Ringed round with wine and roses, sweet sang the bulbul yestreen,
"Bring quick the morning goblet; friends, watch in expectation."

All entry men forbid me inside the gate of virtue;
So, sir, and wilt thou scorn me? Go, change predestination!

More sweet to me than kisses, more soft than maiden's cheeks are,
That bitter named of Sufis "Dam of abomination."

When comes the hour of sadness, turn thou to wine and gladness;
Kārūns of beggars maketh wine's chemic transmutation.

Wine-flecked is Hafiz' cassock, yet not of choice he dons it;
Ah, Shaikh of hem unspotted, hear thou my exculpation!

It seems a fairly safe guess that this translation has given pleasure to nobody but the translator; certainly it presents Ḥāfiẓ in a particularly unfavourable guise; and matters are not helped by the fact that Leaf was working from a text which has set the order of lines in the poem completely awry.

## VII

Walter Leaf was not long in finding a convert to his theory. In 1901, printed for the Villon society for private circulation, in three elegant white-bound volumes came *The Poems of Shemseddin Mohammed Hafiz of Shiraz*, with a title-page proclaiming them 'now first completely done into English verse from the Persian, in accordance with the original forms.' The translator was John Payne, who had previously exercised his ingenuity in making versions of Francois Villon, Boccaccio's *Decameron*, *The Arabian Nights*, Omar Khayyam, etc. That was the kind of man he was: after his death, a John Payne Society sought to keep alive his name. Undeniably he had remarkable qualities and a rare gift of rhyming; but his versions of Ḥāfiẓ suggest that he had little literary taste, and no powers of self-criticism, for a more wearisome and turgid collection it would be difficult to find. To parody Richard le Gallienne, "Is it good translation to turn what is such pleasure for the East into positive Payne for the West?" In a preliminary discourse Payne argues verbosely the case for excluding all mysticism from the interpretation of Ḥāfiẓ: his concluding summary of the poet's character perhaps best illustrates his view-point. "Unbound by our laws and unfettered by our prescriptions, above our approof and beyond our blame, such as Ḥāfiẓ are not to be tried by our standards or condemned by our limitations; they have an inalienable title to the pri-

vilege which forms the foundation of our English judicial system ; they can only be judged by their peers. Like Shakespeare, like Socrates, like Mendelsohn, Ḥāfiẓ was one of the children of the bridechamber, who mourn not, for the bridegroom is with them. Happy, thrice happy those rare elect ones among the servants of the Ideal, to whom it is given, through shower and sunshine and without default against their august vocation, to cull the rose of hilarity from the storm-swept meads of life, who are gifted to respire with impurity the intoxicating breath of the lilies and jessamines of love and joy....These are the Parthemogeniti of life ; they need no purification, as do those who have come out of great tribulation and have made white their robes in the blood of the Lamb ; intemerate and free were they born, as the flowers of the field, and pure and incontaminable shall they abide for ever. Like Ben Jonson's lily of a day, they are the plants and flowers of light ; they toil not, neither do they spin ; yet eternity is full of their glory." Ḥāfiẓ would be surprised at such a tribute !

There, in three volumes, is the whole of Ḥāfiẓ and pseudo-Ḥāfiẓ, done to death by John Payne, a literary crime as monstrous as murder : it is more than a little shocking to find Edward Burne-Jones named as the principal accessory before the act, to him being dedicated " this book which owed its completion to his urgent instance." How much Persian did Payne really know ? It is difficult to answer this question : for he had available to him, as others have unfortunately had, the extraordinary complete prose-rendering of Henry Wilberforce Clarke (Calcutta, 1891), with its odd critical and explanatory notes," and all that he needed to do was to use this as a hazardous crib, rejecting, as suited his taste, all Clarke's ingenious mystical interpretations. On the whole, it seems inevitable to condemn John Payne for the not uncommon offence of plagiarising the pundits. Fortunately, the small circulation to which he condemned his book has limited the damage it has done to Ḥāfiẓ' reputation. We quote three typical specimens : first, Jones's *Persian Song* is yet another key.

> Lo but that Turk of Shiraz take My heart within her hand of snow,
> Bokhara, ay, and Samarcand On her black mole will I bestow.
>
> Give, cupbearer, the wine that's left ; For thou'lt not find in Paradise
> The banks of Ruknabad nor yet Musella's rosegarths all a-glow.
>
> Alack, these saucy sweet-sellers, These town-perturbing gipsy maids !
> They ravish patience from the heart, As Turkmans plunder from the foe.
>
> The beauty of the Friend of love Imperfect independent is ;
> What need of patch and pencilling And paint have lovely faces, trow?
>
> The tale of wine and minstrel tell Nor after heaven's secrets seek ;
> For this enigma to resolve None ever knew nor yet shall know.

For that still-waxing loveliness That Joseph had, too well I knew
That love would cause Zuleikha forth The veil of continence to go.

Thou spak'st me ill; Yet I'm content. God pardon thee! Thou spakest well;
For bitter answers well on lips Of sugar-dropping ruby show.

To admonition lend thine ear, O soul; for dearer than the soul
To happy youths the counsels are Which from wise elders' lips do flow.

Songs thou hast made and jewels strung. Come, Hafiz, and recite them well,
So heaven on thy string of pearls The clustered Pleiades may strow.

That is undoubtedly one of Payne's least offensive efforts. The following version runs truer to form:

درد مارا نیست درمان الغیاث هجر مارا نیست پایان الغیاث
دین و دل بردند و قصد جان کنند الغیاث از جور خوبان الغیاث
در بهای بوسهٔ جانی طلب میکنند این دلستانان الغیاث
خون ما خوردند این کافر دلان ای مسلمانان چه در مان الغیاث
همچو حافظ روز و شب بی خویشتن گشته ام سوزان و گریان الغیاث

For our pain no cure, ywis, is. Help! oh help!
For our woes no end in bliss is. Help! oh help!

Faith and heart they've ta'en and threaten now the soul:
'Gainst these cruel cockatrices. Help! oh help!

Help, against the heart-enslavers pitiless,
Souls who seek in price of kisses! Help! oh help!

See, our blood they drink, these stony-hearted trulls!
Muslims, say, what cure for this is? Help! oh help!

Day and night, I fare distracted, weep and burn,
As the wont of me, Hafiz, is. Help! oh help!

This rendering writes its own epitaph: it is equally appropriate to the next.

یارم چو قدح بدست گیرد بازار بتان شکست گیرد
هر کس که بدید چشم او گفت کو محتسبی که مست گیرد
در بحر فتاده‌ام چو ماهی تا یار مرا بشست گیرد
در پاش فتاده ام بزاری آیا بود آنکه دست گیرد
خرم دل آنکه همچو حافظ جامی ز می الست گیرد

When my Beloved the cup in hand taketh
The market of lovely ones slack demand taketh.

I, like a fish, in the ocean am fallen,
Till me with the hook yonder Friend to land taketh.

Every one saith, who her tipsy eye seeth,
" Where is a shrieve, that this fair firebrand taketh ?"

Ho, at her feet in lament am I fallen,
Till the Beloved me by the hand taketh.

Happy his heart who, like Hafiz, a goblet
Of wine of the Prime Fore-eternal's brand taketh.

Can it be seriously maintained that this kind of translation is either Ḥāfiẓ or poetry ?

## VIII

It is small wonder that so excellent a critic as Richard le Gallienne, when he came to the task of putting Ḥāfiẓ into English, revolted against John Payne's theory and practice, and found it expedient to enunciate principles of translation whose validity can hardly be questioned. " Surely the only service of translation is to make the foreign poet a poet of one's own country—not to present him as a half-Anglicized foreigner speaking neither his own language nor our own. . . . no translation, however learned, is of any value that does not give at least some of the joy to the reader that was given by its original. Ḥāfiẓ has for centuries been one of the great literary joys of the Orient. Is it good translation to turn what is such pleasure for the East into positive pain for the West ?" le Gallienne was the first to address himself to the task of translating Ḥāfiẓ while admittedly possessing no knowledge whatsoever of the Persian language ; and it is highly interesting to read his defence. "I feel myself justified in thinking that in their translations (*i.e.*, those of Wilberforce Clarke and Payne) I have as trustworthy, if not more trustworthy, material for the making of an English rendering than if I had studied Persian for myself for ten years. Were I to make such original studies, I should arrive in the end no nearer to the poet's meaning than the previous labours of Colonel Clarke or Mr. Payne enable me to do by the comparatively right study of their translations. It is true that I should have formed some notion for myself of the metrical music of Ḥāfiẓ. . . . but to have heard that music would, I feel sure, more than ever have convinced me of the futility of any attempt to reproduce it in English." On the attempts to copy Persian rhymes and metres in English he writes, " so distasteful to English ideas are the metrical devices and adornments pleasing to a Persian ear that the attempt to reproduce them in English can only result in the most tiresome literary antics, a mirth-less buffoonery of verse compared with which Browning at his grotesquest is endurable. Rhythms, which in Persian, doubtless, make the sweetest chiming, fitted with English words, become mere vulgar and ludicrous jingle."

On another cardinal point, the alleged incoherence of Ḥāfiẓ, le Gallienne has something instructive to say: "The difficulty of inconsequence I have endeavoured to overcome, partly by choosing those poems that were least inconsequent, partly by supplying links of my own, and partly by selecting and developing the most important motive out of the two or three different motives which one frequently finds in the same ode!" Finally, his purpose in what he did. "My aim has been to make English poetry—rather than a joyless shadow of a great classic. I offer this rendering, in the first place as poetry, in the second as translation; but, at the same time, my aim has been, as faithfully as in me lies, truly to interpret the great Persian poet to English readers, so that the total result of my endeavour is really—if not literally Hafiz."

There are one hundred le Gallienne translations for those to analyse who may wish to make an extended study of his methods, and the total volume of his contribution to the interpretation of Ḥāfiẓ. In this essay we will confine ourselves to a handful of examples based on well-known originals. Here is part of the opening poem of the *Dīwān*:

Sākī, for God's love, come and fill my glass;
Wine for a breaking heart, O Sākī, bring!
For this strange love which seemed at first, alas!
So simple and so innocent a thing,
How difficult, how difficult it is!
Because the night-wind kissed the scented curl
On the white brow of a capricious girl,
And, passing, gave me half the stolen kiss,
Who would have thought one's heart could blead and break
For such a very little thing as this?
Wine, Sākī, wine—red wine, for pity's sake!

O Sākī, would to God that I might die!
Would that this moment I might hear the bell
That bids the traveller for the road prepare,
Be the next stopping-place heaven or hell!
Strange caravan of death—no fears have I
Of the dark journey, gladly would I dare
The fearful river and the whirling pools;
Ah! they that dwell upon the other side,
What know they of the burdens that we bear?
With lit-up happy faces having died,
What know they of love's bitter mystery,
The love that makes so sad a fool of me?
A fool of Hafiz!—Yea, a fool of fools.

This version is of course very free; it expands and inserts considerably; but in the end it comes out faithful enough to the spirit of Ḥāfiẓ, in spite

of a number of features (" With lit-up happy faced having died") which are purely English and characteristically le Gallienne ; and it has a pleasing dignity. This translation, then, can be safely pronounced successful after its kind, though not by any means perfect. The tale of the *Persian Song* is somewhat different.

You little Turk of Shiraz-town,
Freebooter of the hearts of men,
As beautiful, as says renown,
Are your freebooting Turcomen ;
Dear Turco-maid—a plunderer too—
Here is my heart, and there your hand :
If you'll exchange, I'll give to you
Bokhara—yes ! and Samarcand.
Indeed, I'd give them for the mole
Upon your cheek, and add thereto,
Even my body and my soul.

Come, bearer of the shining cup,
Bring the red grape into the sun,
That we may drink, and drink it up,
Before our little day is done ;
For Ruknabad shall run and run,
And each year, punctual as spring,
The new-born nightingale shall sing
Unto Musella's new-born rose ;
But we shall not know anything,
Nor laugh, nor weap, nor anywise
Listen or speak, fast closed our eyes
And shut our ears—in Paradise !

You little robber-woman, you
That turn the heads of Shiraz-town,
With sugar-talk and sugar-walk
And all your little sugar-ways,—
Into the sweet-shop of your eyes
I innocently gaze and gaze,
While, like your brethren of renown,
O little Turk of Shiraz, you
Plunder me of my patience too.

Yet all too well the lover knows
The loved one needs no lover's praise ;
What other perfume needs the rose ?
Perfection needs no words of ours
Nor heeds what any song-bird says—
Sufficient unto flowers are flowers.

Nay, give it up! nor try to probe
  Secret of her, or any heaven;
It is a most distracting globe—
  Seven the stars, our sins are seven;
Above no answer, nor below:
Let's call the Sākī—he may know;
Yes, who knows, HE may know.

O love, that was not very kind!
  That answer that you gave to me;
Nay, I mistook, you spoke me well!
  For you to speak at all to me
  Is unforeseen felicity;
Yea, bitter on your lips grows sweet
  And soft your hardest words to me.

Sweetheart, if you would hearken me,
  I am a very wise old thing,
And it were wise of you to hear.
My little Turk, my cypress dear,
  So wise the wisdom that I sing
  That some day on a shining string
High up in heaven, tear by tear,
  As star by star, these songs shall hang
At evening on the vested sky,
  These little songs that Hafiz sang,
    To one that heard not on his knees:
So well I sang them—even I—
  That, listening to them, Heaven's Lord
  Tossed me from heaven as reward
  The small change of the Pleiades!—
  These little songs that Hafiz sang
  To one that heard not on his knees.

However this version may strike an English reader unaware of Persian, to those who are familiar with the original Ḥāfiẓ its inadequacies and misrepresentations are all too apparent; it is altogether too girlish for Ḥāfiẓ; and there are some terrible arch touches that only the Edwardian age for which le Gallienne was then writing could fully appreciate. As with Jones, so with le Gallienne, time and environment played their part; and unhappily the pleasantry of one generation has a way of becoming the slang of the next, and the very acme of triteness to the following. Jones has his 'blooming Hebrew boy' to make us snigger; and le Gallienne his 'you little robber-woman, you' and his 'wise old thing' to make us shiver; and the significant fact about all this is that there is nothing in the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ that the years have soured or current speech debased. The unhappy mixture of good and bad, felicitous and unfelicitous, which

mars le Gallienne's version of the *Persian Song* is seen again in this third and final example, an ode which Jones in his day made into very fair French.

خوشا شیراز و وضع بی مثالش  خدا وندا نگه دار از زوالش
ز رکنا باد مـا صد لوحش الله  که عمر خضر می بخشد زلالش
میـان جعفر آبـاد و مصلی  عبیر آمیز می آید شمالش
بشیراز آی وفیض روح قدسی  بجوی از مردم صاحب کمالش
که نـام قند مصری برد آنجـا  که شیرینـان ندا دند انفعالش
صبا زان لولی شنگول سرمست  چه داری آگهی چونست حالش
گر آن شیرین پسر خونم بریزد  دلا چون شیر مادر کن حلالش
مکن از خواب بیدارم خدا را  که دارم خلوتی خوش با خیالش
چرا حافظ چومی ترسیدی از هجر  نکردی شکر ایـام وصـالش

Shiraz, city of the heart,
God preserve thee!
Pearl of capitals thou art,
Ah! to serve thee.

Ruknabad, of thee I dream,
Fairy river:
Whoso drinks thy running stream
Lives for ever.

Wind that blows from Ispahan,
Whence thy sweetness?
Flowers ran with thee as thou ran
With such fleetness.

Flowers from Jafarabad,
Made of flowers;
Thou for half-way house hast had
Musalla's bowers.

Right through Shiraz the path goes
Of perfection;
Anyone in Shiraz knows
Its direction.

Spend not on Egyptian sweets
Shiraz money;
Sweet enough in Shiraz streets
Shiraz honey.

East Wind, hast thou aught to tell
Of my gipsy?
Was she happy? Was she well?
Was she tipsy?

Wake me not, I pray thee, friend,
From my sleeping;
Soon my little dream must end;
Waking's weeping.

Hafiz, though his blood she spill,
Right he thinks it;
Like mother's milk 'tis his will
That she drinks it.

What a pity, that so pleasant a poem is spoiled by the false note of 'Was she tipsy'!

## IX

Nothing further happened to Ḥāfiẓ in English after le Gallienne in 1905, until in 1921 the Oxford University Press published Elizabeth Bridges' *Sonnets from Hafiz & Other Verses*, in its own way and within its all too limited scope a most interesting and significant contribution. "The last fifteen pieces in this book," writes the late Laureate's daughter, "are not translations. Their aim is rather to convey if possible something of the original spirit than to give a faithful rendering of either thought or form; and I have not scrupled to omit, insert, alter or even deliberately to pervert the idea as fancy or feeling dictated. Some of the poems follow the Persian fairly closely....others are merely founded on or suggesed, by one or two couplets!" This introduces a new technique, admittedly more revolutionary even than le Gallienne's; but it is a technique which may well have a greater following in the future. Here is an example of the less literal versions, obviously based on Ode of the *Dīwān*.

Arise, O cup-bearer, and bring
Fresh wine for our enrapturing!
O minstrel, of our sorrow sing
'O joy of whose delight we dreamed,
'O love that erst so easy seemed,
'What toil is in thy travelling!'

How in the loved one's tent can I
Have any rest or gaiety?
Ever anon the horsemen cry,
'O lingering lover, fare thee well!'
Ever I hear the jingling bell
Of waiting steed and hornessry.

O seeker who wouldst surely bring
To happy end thy wandering,
O learner who wouldst truly know,
Let not earth's loves arrest thee. Go!
Mad thee with heaven's pure wine, and fling
To those clear skies thy rapturing.

In one version Elizabeth Bridges imitates metre and monorhyme.

صلاح کار کجا و من خراب کجا — ببین تفاوت ره کز کجاست تا بکجا
ز روی دوست دل دشمنان چه دریابد — چراغ مرده کجا شمع آفتاب کجا
دلم ز صومعه بگرفت و خرقهٔ سالوس — کجاست دیر مغان و شراب ناب کجا
مبین بسیب زنخدان که چاه در راهست — کجا همی روی ایدل بدین شتاب کجا
قرار وخواب ز حافظ طمع مدار ایدوست — قرار چیست صبوری کدام خواب کجا

Where is the pious doer? and I, the estray'd one, where?
Behold how far the distance, from his safe home to here!

Dark is the stony desert, trackless and vast and dim,
Where is hope's guiding lantern? Where is faith's star so fair?

My heart fled from the cloister, and chant of monkish hymn,
What can avail me sainthood, fasting and punctual prayer?

Wht is the truth shall light me to heaven's strait thoroughfare?
Whither, O heart, thou hastest? Arrest thee, and beware!

See what a lone adventure is thine unending guest!
Fraught with what deadly danger! Set with what unseen snare!

Say not, O friend, to Hafiz, 'Quiet thee now and rest!'
Calm and content, what are they? Patience and peace O where?

Unfortunately fifteen pieces are not enough to satisfy: even less sufficient are the few examples which R. A. Nicholson has published in translation of Ḥāfiẓ; and much could have been expected from his pen, which has represented the mystical lyrics of Rūmī so superbly well. His method, in the specimens published in *Eastern Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1922), is very similar to that of Miss Bridges: "Some," he writes, "are pieced together from verses which occur in different odes, while others are free or fairly literal translations of passages in the same ode," adding in another place, "in a few from Ḥāfiẓ I have taken the same kind of liberty which Fitzgerald used in his version of Omar Khayyām." His version of the first ode is fairly complete.

Sākī, pass the cup and pour,
Pour me out the balmy drink!
Love, who seemed so light of yore,
Underneath his load I sink.

Quoth mine ancient Guide, who knows
Every inn upon the way:
"Well for you if purple flows
O'er the carpet as ye pray!"

Zephyr, quick! blow loose the knot
Of my sweetheart's tangled hair!
'Tis the heart of all the plot
Laid against my life, I swear.

Sea and storm and dead of night,
Midst the whirlpool's ghastly roar:
Ah, what know they of our plight,
Happy loiterers on the shore?

In this mansion of Farewell
Pleasure, ere it comes, is gone,
Where a never silent bell
Tolls "Arise and journey on!"

Hafiz, tired of blame and praise,
If thy spirit longs for rest,
Leave the world and all its ways,
Clasp the Loved One to thy breast!

Three verses from a single ode inspire a truly poetic version.

روی تو کس ندید و هزارت رقیب هست — در غنچهٔ هنوز وصدت عندلیب هست
در عشق خانقاه و خرابات فرق نیست — هر جا که هست پرتو روی حبیب هست
آنجا که کار صومعه را جلوه میدهند — ناقوس دیر راهب و نام صلیب هست

Mortals never won to view thee,
Yet a thousand lovers woo thee;
Not a nightingale but knows
In the rosebud sleeps the rose.

Love is where the glory falls
Off thy face: on convent walls
Or on tavern floors the same
Unextinguishable flame.

Where the turban'd anchorite
Chanteth Allah day and night,
Churchbells ring the call to prayer,
And the Cross of Christ is there.

And a couplet provides the original of verses which are in the true tradition of English metaphysical poetry.

آسوده بر کنار چو پرکار میشدم — دوران چو نقطه عاقبتم در میان گرفت
زین آتش نهفته که در سینهٔ منست — خورشید شعله ایست که در آسمان گرفت

The calm circumference of life
When I would fain have kept,
Time caught me in the tide of strife
And to the centre swept.

Of this fierce glow which love and you
Within my breast inspire,
The Sun is but a spark that flew
And set the heavens afire!

To complete this review of the English verse-translations of Ḥāfiẓ it only remains to mention P. L. Stallard's thirty-three *Renderings from the Dewan of Khwaja Shamsu'ddin Mahammad Hafiz Shirazi* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1937). This book, which, if it is not the best, at least is not the worst that has been published on Ḥāfiẓ, brings nothing new to the general problem; but it may be interesting to cite these latest versions of two old favourites.

First, Ode 1.

Pour, pour the wine, Ha! Saki: aye, and speed!
For love seemed easy once that now is hard!
At length, though breezes bring the breath of nard
From her dark tress, in its glint hearts must bleed!

See! If the ancient Magian bid thee so,
With wine thy prayer-mat tincture thou: for, say,
Shall he that travelled by the path not know
The road's each stage and fashion of the way?

Here in Love's inn what solace mine, or rest,
While still complain the camel-bells a-chime
Ceaseless, and call that now, and now, 'tis time
We bound our litters to new bournes addrest?

Fear of the mounting sea, mirk of the night,
Right horror of the whirlpool, all our state
How should they know, who with their burden light
To the far shore have passed the sundering strait?

I thought my works to prosper in self-will,
And all, thereby, in ill-repute have end!
Where lies inviolate that secret still
The which the companies of saints perpend?

Would'st thou gain to His presence, Hafiz? So
Go not about thyself from Him to hide.
But, reaching thither, cleave thou to His side,
And for the Loved let all the World's pride go!

Second, the *Persian Song :*

Should that little chit of Shiraz
Bear my heart within her hand,
For her cheek's swart mole I'd barter
Bukhara and Samarcand !

Bring me wine, boy, all remaining ;
For in Paradise no flowers
Fledge the Ruknabad, nor blossom
Roses in Musalla's bowers.

But, ah ! as the Turk his plunder,
So my heart's ease have they ta'en
All these wantons and these fair ones,
Wrecking cities in their train.

Yet, for love as lame as mine is,
Is my darling's scorn the meed
As for patches, paints, and potions,
Stands what perfect face in need ?

Bring a tale of wine and minstrels :
Leave Time's secret where it lies ;
None have yet, nor shall, unravel
Mysteries that transcend the wise.

Well I know how Yusuf's beauty,
Shining as an ampler day,
Rent Zulaikha's veil, and rending
Stole her chastity away.

Yet lean ear to counsel, darling :
Youths who'd prosper ever hold,
Dearer than the breath within them,
By the wisdom of the old !

Didst thou twit me ? God forgive thee !
Spak'st me fair ? But then we know
Tart words ill become that ruby
Lip of thine, that sugared bow !

Hafiz, come ! Thou'st done thy rhyming,
Strung thy pearls ; the Pleiads throng
To shed splendour from the chiming
Circles on thy well-tuned song !

It seems a pity about chit and twit, and it is a pity that Longfellow should have spoken of mournful numbers in this particular metre, but there it is. And these, for the present, ends the long catalogue of those who have occupied their time and wit putting Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz into English rhyme.

A. J. Arberry.

# THE PROBABLE DATE OF THE FIRST ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA

[TO Mr. Ishāq belongs the credit for having brought into relief the confusing difficulties in the determination of the date of the first Arab expeditions to India and for having successfully exposed the myth of al-Mughīra's death at ad-Daibul in Sindh.[1] But the author has failed in his efforts to invalidate the statement of al-Madā'inī giving 15 A.H. as the year of the first expedition and to establish that it could not have occurred till 23 A.H. Whatever arguments he has advanced in favour of his contention are based on a misunderstanding of Arabic texts, a misplaced confidence in faulty translations, and unwarranted conclusions. The present writer has had occasion to make a critical study of the relevant data on the point in the course of his researches on the subject of "The History of Sind under the Arabs;"[2] hence the venture to respond to the invitation of the Editor, *Islamic Culture*, to contribute to the discussion. The thesis put forward in the following pages is briefly (1) that the statement of al-Madā'inī, which is quite independent of that of Abū Mikhnaf, must be regarded as highly authentic, and (2) that the appointment of 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain in 15 A.H., which presents the main difficulty in the way of its acceptance, is authentic beyond all doubt, in view of its confirmation in several trustworthy authorities. (3) Further 'Uthmān was never appointed governor of al-Baṣra; he only settled down in the newly-founded garrison town after his dismissal from al-Baḥrain, and (4) his career subsequent to his appointment in al-Baḥrain in 15 A.H., which is often a source of great confusion, can be explained thus: he was sent back

1. *Vide* his article on this subject in *Islamic Culture*, April 1945. I myself arrived at the same conclusion, and the story of Mughīra's death at Daibul as recorded in *Fath-Nāma* (*Chach-Nāma*) is undoubtedly incorrect. Al-Mughīra was definitely alive after his expedition against Daibul in 15 A.H. His name finds mention as 'Uthmān's deputy over al-Baḥrain and 'Umān while the latter was conducting his campaigns against Fārs from 17 to 23 A.H. (*Vide* Balādhurī, ed. De Goeje, pp. 82, 387; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-al-Buldān* (ed. Wustenfeld), Vol. I, pp. 509-10, 891; and Vol. III, p. 837). He was still alive in 29 A.H., as is evident from the date of Caliph 'Uthmān's document (22nd Jumāda II, 29) recorded by Yāqūt (*Buldān*, III. 291-92) and already quoted by Mr. Isḥāq in *Islamic Culture*, April 1945, p. 114. Al-Mughīra was one of the six sons of Abī al-'Āṣ and therefore 'Uthmān b. Abī-al-'Āṣ had five more brothers (and not four as given by Mr. Ishāq who besides misquotes the name of Abū-Umayya as Umayya (*Islamic Culture*, p. 113, fn. 7) the fifth being Abū-'Amr who had in his portion of the estate بهر الارحاء (*Balādhurī*, p. 362). According to Muhammad b. Ḥabīb 'Uthmān, al-Ḥakam, Abū-Umayya and Abū-'Amr were born of the same mother Fāṭima bint 'Abdillāh (*vide Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, p. 460, Hyderabad-Deccan. 1361).

2. The research which is nearing completion has been carrried on in the capacity of Muslim University Research Scholar, under the guidance of Maulānā 'Abdul-'Azīz al-Maimanī, Professor and Chairman of the Arabic Department of the Muslim University.

to aṭ-Ṭā'if in 16 A.H. as a consequence of his forward naval policy; was reappointed governor of al-Bahrain in 17 A.H. (which post he still held at the time of the death of the Caliph 'Umar in 23 A.H.) in succession to al-'Alā, who was ignominiously dismissed for his disastrous naval adventure. (5) The outlying districts al-Yamāma and 'Umān remained politically and militarily a dependency of al-Baḥrain during the governorship of 'Uthmān in 15 A.H.; the position of Ḥudhaifa in 'Umān and that of Qudāma and Abū Huraira in al-Yamāma was only that of local officers with purely administrative and judicial duties. (6) The quick succession of events from 17 right up to 23, coupled with the stern policy of 'Umar, definitely precludes the possibility of the expeditions being placed later than 15 A.H.].

THE principal statement recorded by al-Balādhurī on the subject of expeditions to India is given on the authority of al-Madā'inī, which runs as follows:—

"'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed 'Uthmān b. Abī al-Āṣ ath-Thaqafi in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān in the year 15. The latter sent his brother al-Ḥakam to al-Baḥrain, and went himself to 'Umān, and sent an army across to Tānah. When the army returned, he wrote to 'Umar, informing him of this expedition. 'Umar wrote to him in reply 'O brother from the Thaqīf, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allāh I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent.'[1] He ('Uthmān) also sent al-Ḥakam to Barwaṣ and his brother al-Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ to the Gulf of ad-Daibul,[1] where he met the enemy and won a victory."[2]

This statement is indirectly contradicted by a statement of Abū-Mikhnaf recorded elsewhere in the same authority concerning the career of al-'Alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī. The latter undoubtedly contains obvious absurdities and must be dismissed as incorrect. But Mr. Isḥāq has done grave injustice in treating the statement of Abū-Mikhnaf as being on a par with that of al-Madā'inī on the sole plea that the latter happened to be a pupil of the former.[3] In the first instance, the statement of al-Madā'inī differs from that of Abū-Mikhnaf both in text and in context, and therefore cannot be said to have been borrowed from his master. So far as the text is concerned, al-Madā'inī's statement is free from the improbabilities which mar Abū-Mikhnaf's statement. Moreover, al-Madā'inī gives 15 as the year of 'Uthmān's appointment over al-Baḥrain and 'Umān

1. (1) F. C. Murgotten who is often notoriously inaccurate in his translation of Balādhurī (*The Origins of the Islamic State*, Part II, Columbia University, 1924), wrongly takes al-Hakam to be the subject and translates the sentence as follows: "Al-Hakam sent an expedition against Barwaṣ also, and sent his brother, al-Mughīra ibn Abū al-'Āṣī, to the Gulf of ad-Daibul" (p. 209 of the above work) Besides he puts this sentence under a separate paragraph, thus giving a wrong impression as if these expeditions were undertaken at different times.

2. Balādhurī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, pp. 431-32.

3. There is however no proof whatsoever that al-Madā'inī borrowed this particular statement from Abū-Mikhnaf. It is really strange that Mr. Ishāq forgets this while placing unquestioning confidence in the unauthenticated statement of Ibn-Sa'd, whose master al-Wāqidī is far more notorious for his untrustworthy information.

instead of 14, the year preferred by Abū-Mikhnaf. In regard to the context, al-Madā'inī's statement deals with the account of the first Arab expeditions to India, while Abū-Mikhnaf's statement deals mainly with the displacement of al-'Alā' from al-Baḥrain and his subsequent career (the reference to 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī's appointment over al-Baḥrain and 'Umān being only incidental). Abū-Mikhnaf does not refer to the Indian expeditions at all.

Moreover it must be remembered that the statement of al-Madā'inī is entitled to greater respect than is accorded to it by Mr. Isḥāq. Al-Madā'inī has claims to be regarded as a special expert on the subject. " He was fully conversant with the battles of the peoples, the chronicles of the Arabs and their genealogies. He was well informed about the conquests, the ' Maghāzī ' and even the transmission of poetry, being a trustworthy authority in all this."[1] According to one learned opinion : " He who desires to know the pre-Islamic chronicles must refer to the books of Abū-'Ubaida ; but one who desires to understand the history of the Islamic period, must consult al-Madā'inī's works."[2] Thus al-Madā'inī is undoubtedly our most trustworthy source for early information. To this it may be added that al-Madā'inī had devoted his special attention to the history of the eastern fronts of the Caliphate. He composed separate books on the *Conquest of Sijistan* (Modern Seistan included in Afghanistan), *Conquest of Mukran, Conquest of Kabul and Zabulistan,* and a separate work entitled *the Book of the Indian Front.* He wrote another work dealing with the account of the Arab governors in India (Sind).[3] It is on account of these fairly exhaustive researches of al-Madā'inī in Arabo-Indian history that his statements on these subjects are of considerable importance.

But this particular statement of al-Madā'inī about the earlier expedition to India has claims to be regarded as the most authoritative one on the grounds that al-Madā'inī had special information on every issue involved in it, *e.g.*, information about the tribe of ath-Thaqīf, whose prominent member Uthmān ath-Thaqafī dispatched these expeditions, the history of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān where he was appointed governor, and lastly the Indian Front itself, to which these expeditions had been dispatched. For he had written separate works on each of these topics ; he wrote a *Book on the Tribe of ath-Thaqīf,'* a *Book on the Affairs of al-Baḥrain,* a *Book on the History of Umān,* and a *Book on the*

1. Khaṭīb, *History of Baghdād,* XII : 54 (No. 6438); also Yāqūt, *Udabā', V* : 309, (ed. Margoliouth).

2. Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā an-Nahvī quoted by Khaṭīb (*History of Baghdād,* XII : 54).

3. *Vide* the list of al-Madā'inīs works (*Fihrist,* ed. G. Flügel, pp. 102,103 ; *Udabā,* ed. Margoliouth, V : 315-16). *Fihrist* gives the name of the last work as عمال الهند, while Yāqūt who says that he also copied the list from the *Fihrist,* mentions this work as اعمال الهند (*Udabā,* V : 315). Unfortunately these works are no more extant but it is certain that the Arab historians had utilised these works in their compilations

Indian Front."[1] It is for these reasons that this statement of al-Madā'inī is unique and original so far as both the date and the account of these expeditions are concerned. That some of the most authoritative historians have either followed al-Madā'inī or corroborated him independently on this point is another proof of the indisputable authority of this statement. Al-Balādhurī, who took it at first-hand from al-Madā'inī, has recorded it without any amendments. Al-Balādhurī is again followed by Yāqūt, who refers to the expedition sent against ad-Daibul.[2] *Fatḥ Nāma* corroborates al-Madā'inī independently so far as the fact of these expeditions is concerned.[3] An independent confirmation of al-Madā'inī's account may also be found in the brief reference of Ibn-Ḥazm,[4] who, speaking of 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ's achievements, states that he attacked "three towns of India," meaning thereby, Tanah, Barwaṣ and ad-Daibul.[5] All the same it is only al-Madā'inī who gives us, besides the date of the expeditions, complete information about all the three attacks against these coastal towns of India, and there remains absolutely no doubt as to the correctness as well as originality of his information.

1. *Vide* the list of al-Madā'inī's works (previous footnote). The reading of كتاب احبار ثقيف is not given in the text of the *Fihrist*, ثقيف being given as لهيف (p. 103). But in the variations (p 48) this reading is clearly established. Yāqūt, copying the list from the *Fihrist*, also gives the reading as كتاب احبار ثقيف (*Udabā*, V 316). Ibn-Hajar has also utilised this work, under this very name in *Isāba* (Egypt edition, Vol. I, p. 212, No. 1019, under the account of

جابر بن شيبان بن عدلان بن عتاب بن مالك الثقفى

2. Yāqūt observes that 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣsent his brother al-Hakam (sic) to the Gulf of al-Daibul which was conquered by him. (*Buldān*, ed. Wustenfeld, Vol. II, p. 289 under حورده). Yāqūt in his accounts of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī has often borrowed from Balādhurī (compare Bal., pp 8, 386-88 and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I 890-91 and III · 837-38). But Yāqūt had also a book named فتوح الهند والسند by المدائنى (sic) before him while writing his *Mu'jam-al-Buldān*. Was it some work by المدائنى on the conquests of Sind and India ? If it was so, Yāqūt may have taken his reference directly from al-Madā'inī. Al-Hakam is certainly a mistake for al-Mughīra ; for both al-Balādhurī as well as *Fath Nāma* put the expedition against ad-Daibul under al-Mughīra's command.

3. In *Fath Nāma*, the accounts of early expeditions to Mukran and India preceding the advent of Muhammad b. Qāsim have been often derived from al-Madā'inī, and this statement also may have proceeded from him. But the characteristic omission of his authority and the details of al-Mughīra's expedition to ad-Daibul tend to show that *Fath Nāma's* account on this point is undoubtedly independent and original (*vide Fath Nāma*, ed. by Dr. U. M. Daudpota, pp. 72,73).

4. *Jamharat-Ansāb al-'Arab* (MSS.) Vol. II, under.

بنى مدبه بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور بن عكرمه بن خصفه بن قيس بن عيلان [وهم ثقيف]

It is not improbable that Ibn Hazm may have borrowed his information from al-Balādhurī. But whenever he does so, he clearly acknowledges his debt by stating that ذكره فى الفتوح . Here there is apparently no such mention. Besides Ibn Ḥazm often supplies most original information not to be found in common histories. It seems therefore quite probable that his reference is original and independent.

5. Tanah (Thana ?) has been more or less unanimously placed near Bombay by modern research. Barwaṣ (برواص) is the Arab name of Bharoach in Gujrat. Various sites have so far been suggested for ad-Daibul in Sind. I am inclined to identify it with the ruins of Banbhore (بنبهور = بن + بهار = بن + بهور)

'Vana-Vihara,' the famous Buddhist temple, after which it was called by the 'Arabs ad-Daibul, (*i.e.*, Dewal) about 42 miles S.E. of Karachi and 3 miles west of the present town of Chara.

Let us now turn to the text of al-Madā'inī's statement. The main difficulty, according to Mr. Isḥāq, is that the whole of it is contingent upon the appointment of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī to al-Baḥrain in 15 A.H., which is disproved by the following statement of Ibn Sa'd :[1]

(ص ٢٦) "فلما كان زمن عمر بن الخطاب وخط البصرة ونزلها من نزلها من المسلمين اراد ان يستعمل عليها رجلا له عقل وقوام وكفاية فقيل له عليك بعثمان بن ابى العاص - فقال ذاك امير امره رسول الله صلعم فما كنت لانزعه - قالوا له اكتب اليه يستخلف على الطائف ويقبل اليك - قال اما هذا ' فنعم - فكتب اليه بذلك - فاستخلف اخاه الحكم بن ابى العاص الثقفى على الطائف واقبل إلى عمر فوجهه الى البصرة فابتنى بها دارا واستخرج (ص ١٧) فيها اموالا منها شط عثمان الذى ينسب اليه بحذا والابلة وارضها وبقى ولده بها إلى اليوم وشرفوا وكثرت غلاتهم واموالهم ولهم عدد كثير وبقية حسنة"

It is amazing that Mr. Isḥāq should have accorded such ready acceptance to the above statement of Ibn Sa'd without a critical examination of its import and also without taking any notice of a completer statement of the same authority recorded in the same book. It will be observed that the appointment of 'Uthmān to the governorship of al-Baṣrā by 'Umar explicitly referred to by Ibn Sa'd in the above statement is a misapprehension devoid of all support from any other source.[2] In all probability he was never appointed in al-Baṣrā throughout his life.[3] Fortunately we possess another statement by Ibn Sa'd which, significantly enough, is mentioned under the biography of 'Uthmān to the exclusion of the previous one, and which, on close examination, seems to offer a satisfactory explanation of the error. It runs as follows :

قال : توفى رسول الله صلعم وعثمان بن ابى العاص عامله على الطائف.... ... فلم يزل عثمان بن ابى العاص على الطائف حتى قبض رسول الله صلعم وخلافة ابى بكر الصديق وخلافة عمر بن الخطاب حتى اذا اراد عمر ان يستعمل على البحرين فسموا له عثمان بن ابى العاص فقال

1. *Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. VII, part I, pp. 26, 27, and not 36 as given by Mr. Isḥāq. I am thankful to Maulānā Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshi, Nāẓım, Royal Library, Rampur, for supplying me with the above quotation.

2. Before al-Baṣrā became a military outpost, Qutba b. Qutāda as-Sadūsī had been appointed to carry on raids on that front. (Tab., I : 2378, 2381-82 ; I. Athir, II : 239). From the appointment of 'Utba over the al-Baṣrā front in 14 A.H. till the replacement of Abū-Mūsa by 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmır in 29 A.H., only the following have been mentioned as actual or probable governors of al-Baṣrā :—'Utba, Abū-Sıbra b. Abī Ruhm, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, Abū Mūsa (first time ?), 'Umar b. Surāqa, Abū-Mūsa and 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir who replaced Abū-Mūsa in 29 A.H. (*Vide* Ṭab., I : 2388, 2426, 2481, 2550-51, 2579, 2595, 2647, 2693, 2737, 2798, 2828 ; Ibn Khaldūn, continuation of Vol. II, pp. 103 and 110 ; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, Paris edition, IV : 225).

3. *Vide* p. 39 of *Manual de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam, second partie*, Hanovre 1927, where a fairly exhaustive list of all the governors of al-Baṣra has been given by the compiler. The name of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī does not occur in this list.

ذاك امير امره رسول الله صلعم على الطائف فلا اعزل قالوا له يا امير المومنين تأمره ليستخلف على عمله من احب وتستعين به فكانك لم تعز له فقال اما هذا فنعم ـ فكتب اليه أن خلّف على عملك من احببت واقدم على فخالف اخاه الحكم بن ابى العاص على الطائف وقدم على عمر بن الخطاب فولاه البحرين ـ فلما اعزل عن البحرين نزل البصرة هو واهل بيته وشرفوا بها والموضع الذى بالبصرة يقال له شط عثمان إليه ينسب ـ طبقات ( طبع اوربا ) ص ٣٤٣

Here Ibn Sa'd clearly states that the Caliph 'Umar wanted to make a new appointment in al-Baḥrain, and 'Uthmān's name being suggested he refused to displace him from aṭ-Ṭā'if where he had been appointed by the Prophet. But it was suggested to the Caliph that 'Uthmān might rather appoint his own deputy in aṭ-Ṭā'if, to which the Caliph agreed, and he wrote to 'Uthmān who left his brother al-Ḥakam in aṭ-Ṭā'if and proceeded to 'Umar, who appointed him in al-Baḥrain. When 'Uthmān was dismissed from al-Baḥrain (later on in the days of the Caliph 'Uthmān) he settled down at al-Baṣra along with his family and they acquired a high reputation there, etc. A comparison of the two statements will show that the circumstances attending the appointment of 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain have been confused with the fact of his settlement in later days in al-Baṣra. 'Uthmān's acquirement of high eminence, great reputation, vast property and noble progeny is a common factor between the two statements giving a clue to the error in the previous one.

Thus the main objection to 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baḥrain in 15 being cancelled by another completer statement of Ibn Sa'd himself, let us now proceed to seek confirmation of al-Madā'inī's statement in other authorities :

(*a*) Ibn Ḥabīb,[1] a great author of al-Madā'inī's times, supplies us not only with the date but also with the reason for 'Uthmān's transfer from aṭ-Ṭā'if to al-Baḥrain :

" The Prophet had appointed 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī over aṭ-Ṭā'if. Subsequently Abū-Bakr confirmed him ; 'Umar also confirmed him for *two years* ' سنين ' (ending with Jumāda II, 15), when he ('Uthmān) wrote to 'Umar seeking his permission for ' Ghazwa.' Thereupon 'Umar replied to him : " I, however, will not displace you, but you may appoint as your deputy whom you like. Then 'Uthmān appointed Ya'lā b. 'Abdillāh b. Rabī'a as his deputy (over aṭ-Ṭā'if) whereupon 'Umar appointed him governor of *al-Baḥrain and 'Umān*, etc."[2] Thus 'Uthmān's own desire met with ready acceptance

1. Abū-Ja'far Muhammad b. Ḥabīb of Baghdād (d 245 A.H ) is reckoned to be one of the most trustworthy authorities, whose works throw considerable light upon all the obscure problems of early history. His corroboration of al-Madā'inī is important because he belonged to an independent school of historians, his authorities being Ibn al-A'rābī, Abū al-Yaqzān, Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū 'Ubaida (*Vide Fihrist*, p. 106 and *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, Dā'irat-al Ma'ārif Publication, pp. 507-509).

2. *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, p. 127.

on the part of 'Umar, who was already concerned about finding a suitable governor for al-Baḥrain.

(*b*) Ibn Qutaiba (d. 270 A.H.), another great authority, following Ibn Ḥabīb says that 'Uthmān was transferred from aṭ-Ṭā'if after *two years* of 'Umar's reign and was appointed governor of *al-Baḥrain and 'Umān.*[1]

(*c*) Even Ṭabarī places al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma under 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in 15 A.H.[2]

(*d*) Ibn Duraid, writing about the Thaqīf, observes: "To them belong 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam, the sons of Abi'l-'Āṣ....; both were noblemen of great reputation. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appointed 'Uthmān as the Governor of *'Umān and al-Baḥrain.*"[3]

(*e*) Another early authority Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (363-463 A.H.) says:

"The Prophet appointed 'Uthmān, b. Abī al-'Āṣ over aṭ-Ṭā'if and he continued there throughout the life of the Prophet and the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and *two years* of the Caliphate of 'Umar. Then 'Umar removed him from there and appointed him in *'Umān and al-Baḥrain* in 15."[4]

(*f*) Ibn Ḥajar observes:—"The Prophet appointed him ('Uthmān) over aṭ-Ṭā'if, and Abū Bakr and 'Umar confirmed him (there). Then 'Umar appointed 'Uthmān in *'Umān and al-Baḥrain* in 15. Afterwards he settled down in al-Baṣra, etc."....[5]

(*g*) Last, but not least, there is the evidence of *Fatḥ Nāma*, which curiously enough, Mr. Isḥāq has cited in favour of his own contention. Mr. Isḥāq would have us believed that the year 23 is confirmed in *Chach Nāma*, "our authority second only to Balādhurī....inasmuch as it places the date of the naval attack against Debal shortly before the assassination of 'Umar, *i.e.*, in 23 A.H."[6] As evidence for this statement the author says: "It (*Chach Nāma*) places the event in 11/632, which is evidently wrong, as 'Umar succeeded to the Caliphate in 13/634."[7]

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1. *Ma'ārif*, p. 137 (ed. Wustenfeld). In this edition of *Ma'ārif* سنين is a misreading for the original سنتين (two years). For Ibn Qutaiba is indebted for much of his information of Ibn Ḥabīb whose work *Kitāb-al-Muhabbar* was considerably utilised by him in his *Ma'ārif* (*Vide* Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī's remark: نقل ابن قتيبه كتابه فى المعارف من كتاب المحبر لا بن حبيب, in the introduction of *Kitāb al-Fākhir* of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salma (ed. by C. A. Storey, Leyden 1915). I am indebted for this reference to my reverend teacher Prof. 'Abd ul-'Azīz al-Maimanī of Aligarh University.

2. Ṭabarī, I: 2426.

3. *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq* (II: 183) ed. Wūstenfeld, Gottingen, 1854.

4. *Istī'āb*, Vol. III, p. 496, Hyderabad, 1319 A.H.

5. *Iṣāba*, Vol. II, p. 460, No. 5441; first edition, Egypt. 1328 A.H.

6. Mr. Isḥāq's article, *Islamic Culture*, April, 1945, p. 112.

7. *Ibid.*, fn. 2, p. 112.

But in the text of *Fatḥ Nāma* edited by Dr. U. M. Daudpota[1] the relevant passage reads as follows:

"راویان این اخبار و متصرفان این آثار چنین آورده اند که اول غزو لشکر اسلام که ببلاد هند و سند نامزد شد در خلافت امیر المومنین عمر بن الخطاب رضی الله عنه بود بعد از هجرت رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم بپانزده سال - اول عثمان بن ابی العاص الثقفی را به بحرین فرستاد و او با لشکر بسوی عمان روان شد و کشتیها با حشم از راه دریا نصب فرمود و مغیره بن أبی العاص بر سر آن لشکر به بحرین فرستاد تا ازان راه به دیبل رود الخ" (فتح نامه ص ۲۷)

Evidently Mīrzā Kalīch Bēg (whose English translation of *Chach Nāma* Mr. Isḥāq has quoted) misread بازده for یازده and Mr. Isḥāq, suggesting his own correction, has stretched the event from 15 to 23! He has preferred to draw his inference from that doubtful part of the narrative which relates to the fictitious death of al-Mughīra at ad-Daibul, and which he himself believes to be absurd.

The next important point raised by Mr. Isḥāq in favour of 23 as the year of the expeditions is that 'Uthmān could not have launched upon these expeditions unless he had combined in himself the command over both Baḥrain and 'Umān, the latter being named as the starting-point in all the accounts. Mr. Isḥāq further contends that (1) when 'Uthmān was transferred to al-Baṣra in 17, according to one of the two statements of Ibn Sa'd, "al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma also came under his control," (2) but 'Umān all the time remained a separate province under Ḥudhaifa b. Maḥṣan and that...."with the exception of al-Balādhurī no other chronicler puts the provinces of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān under one *'Āmil* till 23/643;" and (3) that "according to Ṭabarī 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī assumed charge of al-Baḥrain and the outlying provinces, namely 'Umān and al-Yamāma,[2] in 23/643, a date which can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī also by chronologically arranging the tenures of office of the governors of al-Baḥrain," namely Qudāma and Abū Huraira, up to the year 23 A.H. (*Islamic Culture*, April 1945, p. 111).

In the first instance, even if it were conceded that 'Uthmān did not assume joint governorship over the two provinces until 23, historical events belie the assumption that he could not have untilised the ports and other facilities of 'Umān before that. We know for certain that

1. An excellent edition of *Fath Nāmā* so far published by the Majlis Makhṭūṭāt Fārsiyya, Hyderabad, Deccan. Probably the correct original Arabic name of the work was فتوح السند and therefore the Persian translator rightly called it فتح نامه (*vide Fath Nāmā*, introduction by Dr. Daudpota, p. 16, and also the text, p. 13, line 17). In this article the book has been referred to as *Fatḥ Nāmā* instead of the usual *Chach Nāma*, the incorrect and superfluous name adopted for it by the later Persian historians and their followers.

2. Ṭabarī (1:2737) does not name these outlying provinces; names are suggested by Mr. Ishāq himself (*Islamic Culture*, p. 111, line 19).

'Uthmān organised a similar expedition against the coast of Fars in 21.[1] Should this expedition also be put off till 23 just because 'Uthmān did not yet have control over 'Umān ? And how are we to account for the still earlier naval adventures of al-'Alā' against Fars in 17 (or more probably in 16 [2]) from the ports of 'Umān, which, as usual, was under Ḥudhaifa ? [3] Thus the governor of 'Umān, even though he were independent, could not have denied any facilities to the governor of the neighbouring province of al-Baḥrain.

Again Mr. Isḥāq has for his own purposes, made a curious blend of one of the two statements of Ibn Sa'd quoted by him and the statement in Ṭabarī. Ibn Sa'd only states (of course erroneously) that 'Uthmān was appointed in al-Baṣra after its foundation, while Ṭabarī says that in 17 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ was the governor of al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma, and Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī of al-Baṣra and its territory.[4] Combining these two contradictory statements, Mr. Isḥāq authoritatively concludes that "after 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baṣra in 17 A.H., al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma also came under his control !! "[5] But unfortunately even this conclusion is wrong. For al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāmā did not come under the control of the Baṣra governor till 45 A.H., when Ziyād was appointed in al-Baṣra, and al-Baḥrain was also put under his administrative control.[6]

Secondly, there is positive evidence to show that 'Umān remained politically and militarily a dependency of al-Baḥrain during the governorship of 'Uthmān. This is expressly mentioned in the statements of Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn Qutaiba, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥajar, and in the *Fatḥ Nāma* quoted above (pp. 256-257), not to mention al-Balādhurī whom Mr. Isḥāq erroneously regards as an exception. It is rather only Ṭabarī (on whom Mr. Isḥāq relies) who provides an exception and puts 'Umān separately under Ḥudhaifa b. Miḥṣan. The only plausible explanation for Ṭabarī's statement, as against that of so many other authorities, is that probably Ḥudhaifa was independent only so far as the administrative and judicial work of the province was concerned.

Lastly, an attempt has been made to show that both Ṭabarī and Balādhurī agree that 'Uthmān could not have assumed control of " al-Baḥrain and the outlying provinces, namely ' Umān and al-Yamāma,"

1. I.-Athir, III: 10.
2. See *infra*, p. 261, fn. 3.
3. Ṭabarī I: 2570.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Islamic Culture*, April 45, p. 111, fn. 8.
6. Tabarī (II-: 73). In 29 'Abdullāh bin 'Āmir is said to have assumed the united command of the armies of Abū Mūsa (Governor of al-Baṣra,) and 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī (Governor of al-Baḥrain and commander of Fārs) (Tab., I : 2832). But it is doubtful whether this joint military command over the armies of al-Baṣra and al-Baḥrain also gave 'Abdullāh any administrative control over al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma.

before 23. This is again a contradiction of what has already been accepted as true. For Ṭabarī, already quoted by Mr. Isḥāq (*Islamic Culture*, p. 111, lines 15 to 17), states that even as early as 17 A.H., al-Baḥrain as well as its outlying province of al-Yamāma came under 'Uthmān's control. This must have been the position till 23 A.H., as there was no change of governors during these years.[1] Again, Mr. Isḥāq seems to have drawn his inference from one particular account of al-Balādhurī (to the exclusion of three others recorded by the same authority at the same place), to the effect that until 23 'Uthmān did not assume control of even al-Baḥrain, which according to him remained under Qudāma and Abū-Huraira. This inference not only involves a plain contradiction but is altogether absurd and incorrect. For 'Uthmān undoubtedly continued as governor of al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma from 17 to 23, and, operating from al-Baḥrain, he achieved numerous victories against Fārs during these years (see *infra*). A close scrutiny of all the four accounts of al-Balādhurī [2] about the duties and responsibilities of Qudāma and Abū-Huraira will reveal that their position was only that of local administrative and judicial officers holding such subordinate charges as those of the Revenue (الخراج), the Public Prayers (الصلوٰة), Public Affairs (الاحداث), and the Justice (القضاء); the supreme political and military command (الحرب) was vested in the hands of 'Uthmān, who was the supreme governor of both al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma.

It now only remains to discuss (*a*) the career of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī subsequent to his appointment in al-Baḥrain in 15 A.H., and (*b*) the sequence of events from 17 to 23, with a view to proving that the Indian expeditions could not have occurred later than the year 15.

(*a*) A lot of misunderstanding is caused by the accounts of Ṭabarī who firstly does not record the displacement of al-Baḥrain in the year 15, and secondly mentions 'Uthmān as being the governor of aṭ-Ṭā'if in 16 and al-'Alā' as the governor of al-Baḥrain, thus giving the impression that perhaps al-'Alā' was not displaced from al-Baḥrain but continued there till 16 A.H., and that perhaps 'Uthmān was not transferred to al-Baḥrain and 'Uman in 15 but continued to rule over aṭ-Ṭā'if where he was still the governor in 16. Lastly Ṭabarī again mentions 'Uthmān as

1. *Vide* Ṭabarī, Vol. I, pp. 2578-79, 2595, 2647 and 2693.

2. Balādhurī, pp. 81, 82. These accounts relate to the official duties and responsibilities of Qudāma and Abū-Huraira in al-Bahrain. The one from which Mr. Ishāq draws his inference is given on p. 81; over this account even al-Balādhurī has cast a shadow of doubt by remarking 'ويقال'—a phrase used by the historians when the account is not authoritative. The other account is by Abū-Mikhnaf, which has been refuted by Mr. Isḥāq himself. The only two remaining accounts, reported on authorities of al-Haitham and Abū Hurairā, apparently show that Abū-Huraira some times assumed the charge of governor of al-Bahrain (*Vide infra*, fn. 2, 263). But the subsequent report of Abū-Huraira himself clearly indicates that he only held the special charge of the revenue, and it was for this that he was so seriously taken to task by the Caliph 'Umar. It requires no mention that the Caliph 'Umar had for the first time separated the administrative, judicial and military functions in the provinces and appointed different officers over them.

being the governor of al-Baḥrain in 17. These statements of Ṭabarī however do not materially affect the fact of 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān in 15, for Ṭabarī himself admits that in 15 'Uthmān was the governor of al-Baḥrain ; yet they require satisfactory explanation if we are to have a clear grasp of these events.

(i) *Displacement of al-'Alā' from Baḥrain in* 15 *and appointment of 'Uthmān in his place.*—With the exception of Abū-Mikhnaf, whose information about al-'Alā's subsequent career is somewhat doubtful, chroniclers are generally silent upon al-'Alā's displacement from al-Baḥrain in the year 15.

This general silence of the historians over al-'Alā's displacement becomes easily explicable if we remember that, to these historians as well as to the public of those times, the displacement of al-Baḥrain was not so important as the advent of the new governor 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain. For the displacement of Uthmān from aṭ-Ṭā'if, where he had been appointed by the Prophet himself, the special procedure adopted by 'Umar to relieve him from there, the great zeal of 'Uthmān to proceed on ' Ghazwas,' and, lastly, his overseas victories as the governor of al-Baḥrain, were all important events, which must have left enduring memories behind for the historians, as compared with the insignificant removal of al-'Alā' from al-Baḥrain, which soon fell into oblivion. Even psychologically, the advent of a new governor is more important to the public than the exit of the outgoing one, unless the latter has gained a wide popularity through his continuously long and meritorious services. But such was not the case with al-'Alā'. The Prophet himself in his last days had deposed him from al-Baḥrain.[1] Though Abū-Bakr reappointed him there,[2] 'Umar was perhaps not in favour of confirming a governor who had been deposed by the Prophet himself. Hence his desire to make a new appointment over al-Baḥrain, as we learn from Ibn Sa'd.[3] At the opportune request of 'Uthmān, 'Umar only too gladly dismissed al-'Alā' for him. Through the subsequent achievements of 'Uthmān, al-'Alā's removal became more and more insignificant and hence it was not mentioned by the historians who, on the other hand, recorded the information about 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baḥrain in 15 with great interest.

(ii) *'Uthmān's return to aṭ-Ṭā,if in* 16 *and reappointment of al-'Alā' in al-Baḥrain :*—In the year 16 'Uthmān was however sent back to aṭ-Ṭā'if. The cause of his return is not far to seek. In order to give him an opportunity of satisfying his desire for ' Ghazwa,' the Caliph 'Umar had entrusted him with the front of al-Baḥrain. Had 'Uthmān carried on smoothly, his appointment in al-Baḥrain might have been further extended. But 'Uthmān, through his great zeal, directed his daring expeditions across the high seas and against the distant coast of India.

1. Balādhurī, p. 81 ; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 77.
2. *Ibid* ; Ṭabarī, I : 1881.
3. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. V, p. 373.

By this bold step he had undoubtedly exposed the soldiers of Islam to a very great danger. Fortunately, the expeditions returned victorious and 'Uthmān rejoicingly sent the news of this unique victory to the Caliph. But, instead of receiving any applause he was mildly rebuked by 'Umar : " Oh brother from the Thaqīf, thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allāh I swear that if they had been smitten I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent." Historians do not inform us whether the Caliph's action against 'Uthmān for his wrong step was only limited to a mild rebuke, but in view of the strict discipline of the Caliph 'Umar, it is conceivable that 'Uthmān may have been returned to aṭ-Ṭā'if immediately : on his return al-'Alā' was reappointed in al-Baḥrain. That this was probably what happened appears from the accounts of Ṭabarī, who clearly mentions that in 16 'Uthmān was again the governor of aṭ-Ṭā'if and al-'Alā' that of al-Baḥrain.[1]

(*iii*) *Dismissal of al-'Alā' from al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma and reappointment of 'Uthmān in* 17 *A.H.* :—'Uthmān by despatching his expeditions across the high seas had unconsciously acted against the calculated naval policy of the Caliph 'Umar. Even though 'Uthmān had not contravened any standing orders of the Caliph against naval undertakings, and although fortunately the expeditions also returned victorious, 'Umar, in order to make a precedent of him, deprived him of further chance to proceed on ' Ghazwas' and ordered him to return to aṭ-Ṭā'if. Al-'Alā' who had been reappointed in al-Baḥrain should have taken note of this clear policy of the Caliph who was strongly against any kind of naval undertakings. But he imprudently enough, emulating the victories of his rival Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Fārs,[2] and perhaps intending to out-shine the success achieved by the expeditions of 'Uthmān, embarked upon his naval expeditions against Fārs despite the explicit orders of the Caliph to him on his appointment not to send any naval expeditions across the sea.[3] Al-'Alā's armies however met with complete disaster in Fārs.[4] This sad news reaching the Caliph, he at once wrote to 'Utba at al-Baṣra to rush reinforcements to al-'Alā',[5] who was still holding on with the remnants of his forces ;

1. Ṭabarī, I : 2481.
2. *Ibid.* 2546.
" وكان العلاء يبارى سعدا لصدع صدعه القضاء بينهما - فطارا لعلاء على سعد فى الردة بالفضل - فلما ظفر سعد بالقادسية وازاح الاكاسرة عن الدار وأخذ حدود مايلى السواد و استعمل وجاء به سر العلاء أن يصنع شيا فى الاعاجم فرحا أن يدا ل كما آديل الخ " ( طبرى ١:٢٥٤٦ )
3. Ṭabarī, I : 2546 ; I.-Athīr, Vol. II, p. 265. The chronology of these events is no doubt extremely confused. According to Saif, al-'Alā's expedition took place in 17, but on this report Ṭabarī has rightly thrown doubt by remarking " وفى هذه السنة (١٧) اغز المسلمون ارض فارس من قبل البحرين فيما زعم سيف " I am inclined to think that these expeditions took place earlier, most probably by the end of 16, and that, before 'Uthmān's reappointment over al-Baḥrain, Qudāma and Abū-Huraira may have acted as governors over al-Baḥrain (as some accounts in Balādhurī, pp. 81,82 indicated) in the absence of 'Alā', fighting in Fārs.
4. Ṭabarī, I : 2547.
5. *Ibid.*, I : 2548.

while he sent a strong note to al-'Alā' condemning his arbitrary action, dismissing him from his post altogether, threatening him with dire consequences, and above all putting him under his rival Sa'd, to whom he was ordered to march and to join with his surviving army.[1] The dismissal of al-'Alā' left the governorship of al-Baḥrain vacant and 'Umar now reappointed 'Uthmān over it in 17. But this time 'Uthmān was not to have his own way. 'Umar wanted to crush the danger from Persia once for all, and, by the reappointment of 'Uthmān, he wished to open a second front against Persia from al-Baḥrain. For subsequently (17 to 23), throughout 'Umar's Caliphate, we find 'Uthmān dealing successful blows to the Persian Empire from his base at al-Baḥrain.

The above accounts sufficiently explain these events connected with the history of al-Baḥrain and aṭ-Ṭā'if in 15, 16, and 17 A.H., and there remains no difficulty in agreeing with Ṭabarī that in 15 'Uthmān was the governor of al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma, in 16 'Uthmān was over aṭ-Ṭā'if and 'Alā' over al-Baḥrain, and that in 17 'Uthmān was again the governor of al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma.

(*b*) The statement of al-Madā'inī which is also accepted by al-Balādhurī without any amendment places these early expeditions in 15 A.H. This date is also corroborated independently by *Fatḥ Nāma* ; besides, as we have seen, the most trustworthy authorities unanimously agree upon 'Uthmān's appointment over al-Baḥrain and 'Umān in 15 A.H. Therefore there remains no difficulty in accepting 15 A.H., as given by al-Madā'inī, as the year in which these expeditions were undertaken at the instance of 'Uthmān, the governor of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān. Ibn Ḥabīb's statement however supplies us with still another clue to work out the date more definitely. According to him 'Uthmān remained over aṭ-Ṭā'if only for two years of 'Umar's Caliphate, when he was transferred to al-Baḥrain and 'Umān. Thus his transfer approximately took place by Jumāda, II, 15 A.H. (as 'Umar became Caliph on the death of Abū-Bakr, on Monday, the 22nd of Jumāda II, 13 A.H.). Therefore those expeditions which were undertaken by 'Uthmān after his appointment in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān may with more accuracy be placed in the later half of 15 A.H.

Moreover, the quick succession of events from 17 to 23 (when 'Uthmān remained governor of al-Baḥrain for the second time during 'Umar's Caliphate) conclusively proves that the expeditions could not have occurred later than the year 15. The undertaking of these expeditions was out of the question in 16 A.H. when 'Uthmān was the governor of aṭ-Ṭā'if and al-'Alā' was over al-Baḥrain, they could not have been undertaken from 17 to 23 for the following reasons :

(*i*) All the extant accounts, without any exception, place the exploits of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in Persia after his appointment in al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma in 17 A.H. It has already been pointed out that with the reappointment of 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain and Yamāma in the year

1. Ṭabarī, I. ; 2548.

17, the Caliph 'Umar wanted to open a strong second front against Persia from al-Baḥrain. Therefore from 17 A.H. onwards all the attacks of Uthmān were directed against Fārs; and, through his continuous struggle against the Persian power from 17 to 22,[1] he was able to reduce the strength of the enemy considerably.

So far (17 to 22) 'Uthmān was operating from the Baḥrain Front and Abū Mūsa from the front of al-Baṣra. Now 'Uthmān and Abū Mūsa, who had been instructed by 'Umar to co-operate with 'Uthmān,[2] were able to join up their forces by the end of 'Umar's reign, [3] possibly just a little before 23 A.H. With their combined armies they subjugated Arrajān, Shīrāz, and Sīnīz; 'Uthmān independently conquered Jannāba and Dārābjard, and stormed Jahram; Fasā also offered submission.[4] All this was achieved by the end of 22 A.H. and the beginning of 23. According to Wāqidī and Abū Ma'shar, in 23 A.H. 'Uthmān conquered both Aṣṭakhar (for the first time) and Hamdān.[5] By this time, according to Saif, Shahruk broke his treaty and the Caliph 'Umar ordered 'Uthmān to proceed against him.[6] After a fierce battle the Persians were completely routed,[7] and Shahruk was killed by the forces under al-Ḥakam's command.[8] Now 'Uthmān entered victoriously into Sābūr, probably just after the fall of Shahruk, and found the people terror-stricken; the brother of Shahruk only sued for peace.[9] Just at this time the Caliph 'Umar died and Abū-Mūsa had not yet received the orders of his confirmation from the new Caliph 'Uthmān.[10] All these events are to be compressed within the short duration of the second half of 22 and 23.

1. The chronology of 'Uthmān's conquests in Fārs is undoubtedly most confusing The following record will show that from 17 to 22 A.H. 'Uthmān was heavily engaged in his struggle against the Persian power ·

17-18 A H.—He subjugated some parts of al-Bahrain and 'Umān in 17 (Bal. p. 386) and subsequently was engaged as a commander in the famous all-out attack ( الاسباح ) planned against Persia, (Balādhurī, p. 386; Tabarī, I: 2568-69, I. Athīr, II: 272).

18-19 A.H.—'Uthmān and al-Hakam's memorable conquest of Tawwaj, an important and strategic town of Persia, Balādhurī, p. 386; Yaqūt, *Buldān*, I: 891 and III. 837; Dinaw ri (*Al-Akhbār aṭ-Tiwīl*), p. 140; Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 137.

19 A.H – 'Uthmān was sent against al-Jazīra (?) Tabarī, I: 2505.

20 A.H.—(?) 'Umar ordered him to shift his headquarters to Fārs (Bal., p. 387); conquest of Raishahr, and Shahruk the Persian Satrap killed, (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I:890).

21 A.H.—'Uthmān despatched expeditions against the coast-line of Fārs (I. Athīr, II · 10)

21-22 A.H.—With his base at Tawwaj, which he had fortified and rehabilitated, (*Istī'āb*, Vol II, p. 496; No. 2030) he conquered Jarra( جرّه ), Kāzrūn ( كازرون ) and an-Nūbindjān ( النوبندجان ) in the province of Sābur, (Bal., pp. 387-88).

2. Bal., p. 387.
3. *Ibid.* 388.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Ṭab. I: 2694, 2696.
6. *Ibid.*, I: 2697.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Bal., p. 388.
10. *Ibid.* p. 384; also cf. Ṭabarī, I · 2699.

The above events of 17 to 22, when 'Uthmān made continuous attacks on Fārs from al-Baḥrain, and those of 22-23, when 'Uthmān after joining forces with the army of Abū Mūsa achieved continuous victories in Persia, conclusively prove that after 17 A.H. 'Uthmān was very heavily engaged on the front of Fārs. Where was the leisure and time for him to send the expeditions to India ? Particularly in 22-23, after joining his forces with Abū Mūsa, 'Uthmān was too heavily engaged to have thought of despatching any expeditions to the far-removed coast of India. Up to the very death of the Caliph 'Umar, 'Uthmān was pushing on his conquests in Persia. He along with his brother al-Ḥakam had entered Sābūr victoriously when the death of the Caliph 'Umar took place. Therefore it is impossible to conceive that the expeditions against the Indian coasts could have been despatched by 'Uthmān shortly before 'Umar's death, or in 23 A.H., as conjectured by Mr. Isḥāq.

(*ii*) Besides, we know that al-Ḥakam and al-Mughīra, the two brothers of 'Uthmān, were the chief commanders who took part in the expeditions against India. But from 17 to 23 al-Ḥakam was fighting along with 'Uthmān on the front of Fārs. On the other hand al-Mughīra was busy during this period, with the administration of al-Baḥrain, where he had been appointed by 'Uthmān as his deputy.[1] It is difficult to see how 'Uthmān could have spared either the services of al-Ḥakam who was fighting along with him, or those of al-Mughīra who was governing al-Baḥrain in his absence, and sent them against the distant coast of India along with his very well-equipped troops, while the struggle was already very hard on the near front of Fārs.

(*iii*) And finally, the Caliph 'Umar's naval policy leaves absolutely no doubt that these expeditions could not have been undertaken after 16 A.H.

The Caliph 'Umar, following the example of the Prophet and Abū-Bakr, who had not sent the armies of Islam overseas, was against taking such a step himself.[2] He was also opposed to it on considerations of the safety of the Muslim soldiers and his own anxiety to maintain close contact and regular communications with them. Therefore in 16 A.H., while reappointing al-'Alā' in al-Baḥrain, he had to state his policy in unequivocal terms and warned al-'Alā' not to embark upon any naval expeditions.[3] As has been already pointed out, al-'Alā contravened the Caliph's orders and eventually met with disaster.[3] His disobedience enraged the Caliph, who now inflicted exemplary punishment on him. This severe punishment of al-'Alā' had its desired effect, and now every other governor became careful not to follow in his footsteps. Thus even Mu'āwiah, the governor of the distant province of Syria, dared not make a naval attack upon the Romans without first obtaining permission

1. Bal., pp. 82, 387; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I: 509-10, 891, III, 837
2. I. Athir, II: 265.
3. *Vide supra*, p. 261.

from the Caliph. He wrote to the Caliph 'Umar and tried to persuade him to grant him the requisite permission, but all his efforts[1] were in vain. Mu'āwiah's anxiety to win over the consent of the Caliph could only bring him from 'Umar a plain refusal accompanied with a sharp warning: "Beware lest you should disobey me when I have already warned you, and (beside) when you already know what was meted out to 'Alā' by me, though I did not warn him to such an extent."[2] Despite this stubborn attitude of the Caliph 'Umar after the disaster of al-'Alā' in 16 or 17 shall we presume, or 'take it for granted,' like Mr. Isḥāq,[3] that 'Uthmān, conniving at all these happenings, could venture to defy 'Umar's orders from such a near province as al-Baḥrain, while a strong governor like Mu'āwiah dared not do so even in distant Syria? Moreover in 20 A.H. the Caliph 'Umar sent 'Alqama b. Mujazzaz al-Mudījī to Ethiopia and while he was sailing across the sea the Muslims suffered terribly. Thereupon 'Umar bound himself by an oath that he would never again send any one across the sea. And yet is it reasonable to believe that 'Uthmān could have sent these expeditions simply 'at his own risk' in 23 A.H.?[4]

All the above events point to only one possibility, that, if at all 'Uthmān could have ventured to send his expeditions against the distant coast of India, he must have done so before the disaster that befell al-'Alā' in 16-17 A.H., after which Caliph 'Umar was too careful to allow any of his governors to make such an attempt. The only conclusion is that 'Uthmān undertook these expeditions in 15 A.H., when he was appointed governor over al-Baḥrain and 'Umān. This seems quite reasonable because up to 15 A.H. the Caliph 'Umar had probably not yet seriously stated his views upon naval undertakings. For, when 'Uthmān was transferred to al-Baḥrain in 15 A.H., the Caliph had full knowledge that 'Uthmān wished to proceed on 'Ghazwas' from al-Baḥrain: and yet the Caliph never warned him that he should not send his troops overseas. Therefore if 'Uthmān fitted out these expeditions he did so under a misapprehension of the Caliph's policy but not in contravention of his standing orders. That was why he himself zealously reported the successful return of his army to the Caliph. But 'Umar, realising what a great risk was involved in such ventures, now gave vent to his views by pointing out to 'Uthmān that he had put 'a worm upon the wood;' and in order to check any future enterprises of the same nature the Caliph returned him to aṭ-Ṭā'if. Had 'Uthmān sent these expeditions in disobedience of 'Umar's orders the consequences would have been quite different for him. Moreover subsequently the Caliph reappointed 'Uthmān over al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma in 17 A.H., which indicates that in sending these

1. *Vide* Ṭabarī, I: 2820-21. 2. Ṭabarī, I: 2822.

3. Mr. Ishāq, after realising the importance of the Caliph 'Umar's strong policy, allows himself to remark: "Taking it for granted that the Caliph's approval for a naval expedition could not be had, 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī ventured upon the Indian expeditions at his own risk (!!)" (*Islamic Culture*, April, 1945, p. 113).

4. *Ibid.*

expeditions 'Uthmān was definitely not guilty of any actual sin of omission or commission. Thus clearly the year 15 A.H. can be the only year in which these expeditions could have been despatched.

## CONCLUSION

To sum up briefly, the earliest Arab expeditions to India were sent by 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in 15 A.H., after he was appointed governor of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān. The sequence of events from 17 to 23 conclusively proves that these expeditions could not have been sent after 15 A.H. The statement of Ibn Ḥabīb as supported by Ibn Qutaiba gives a clue that probably these expeditions occurred in the later part of the year 15.

It will, however, be necessary as well as interesting to find out why 'Uthmān fitted out these expeditions particularly against the distant coast of India. Shall we brand it as a mere foolhardy adventure embarked upon under a zeal for Jihād? Competent scholars of Islamic history will do a great service if they throw some light upon the background of these expeditions.[1]

BALAOCH NABI BAKHSH KHAN AS-SINDI.

1. I am indebted to my learned friend Dr. S. M. Yusuf of Aligarh University for having gone through this article and for his useful suggestions.

# MUSLIM OBSERVATORIES[1]

THE beginning of Muslim observatories is traced back to al-Mā'mūn's days in the third century A.H. But before we deal with them, let us say a few words about the various astronomical instruments used by the Muslims. The Muslims learnt the art of manufacturing astronomical instrument from the Ṣābeans, whose famous city Ḥarrān, where these instruments were made abundantly, had been brought under the sway of Muslim conquerors. In the 'Abbāssid period, the art of manufacturing astronomical instruments also prospered along with the promotion of other learning and literature. When al-Mā'mūn established an observatory in Baghdād, Ibn-Khalaf Marwarūzī invented an instrument called Dhāt-ul-Ḥalaq (Armillary Sphere) which was used by the scholars of Baghdād till the fourth century A.H.[2]

Ibn-Nadīm, who flourished in the fourth century A.H., has given the following names of the mechanics of the astronomical instruments. Ibn-Khalaf Marwarūzī, al-Fazārī, 'Alī bin 'Īsā (a slave of Ibn-Khalaf), Aḥmad bin Khalaf, and Muḥammad bin Khalaf, (slaves of 'Alī bin 'Īsa), Aḥmad bin Isḥāq Ḥarrānī, Qatustulus, and 'Alī bin Aḥmad (slaves of Rabī' bin Faras Ḥarrānī) Muḥammad bin Shaddād al-Balādī, 'Alī bin Ṣard Harrānī, Shujā' and 'Ajlī (slaves of Batilulus), 'Ajliya, daughter of 'Ajlī, Jābir bin Sanān Ḥarrānī, Sanān bin Jābir Ḥarrānī, Faras bin Ḥasan Ḥarrānī, Ḥamīd bin 'Alī (slave of 'Alī bin Aḥmad), Ibn-Najbah and Ḥusain-ul-Būqī. This long list of names shows clearly that in the early centuries A.H. the Muslims were much addicted to the art of astronomy, which was cultivated equally by men, women, masters and slaves. The descendants of Shākir were great manufacturers of astronomical instruments. Abū-Ḥāmid Saghānī (died 379 A.H.) had great skill in making these instruments. Khāzin Mozānī, whose full name was Abū Ja'far al-Khurāsānī, was another expert mechanic of astronomical instruments. He lived for a long time in Egypt and Spain. He made investigation into the knowledge of Light (علم نور) and wrote a manual

1. In translating this article from the Urdu version, the translator has taken much help from *the Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

2. *Kitāb-ul-Fihrist*, pp. 284, 285.

called كتاب آلات العجيبه الرصديه,[1] which gives a description of marvellous instruments of observations. It also deals with instruments for measuring the altitude of the Sun. One of Khāzin's works is also كتاب زيج الصفائح (*The Book of Tables of Planes*). In it there is most probably an explanation of the progressive and retrograde movement of spheres. Khāzin's other book is named كتاب المسائل العدديه.[2] Mazonī also dealt with astrology. He died in 430 A.H. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Rājil was another renowned manufacturer, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.H. His book[3] dealing with the manufacture of astronomical instruments was translated into French by Sidellot in 1835 A.D. and published in two volumes at Paris. Ibn an-Nabdī, who lived in the 11th century A.H., was another famous mechanic. When the books of the Imperial Library of Egypt were being catalogued, he was offered by the Egyptian minister, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī. the task of cataloguing the books on astronomy as well as astronomical instruments. Ibn an-Nabdī lived in Egypt till 1040 A.H. In the days of Caliph Mustarshid, Badī', the astrolaber, was an illustrious manufacturer, who had amassed a large amount of wealth by selling astronomical instruments. He died in 534 A.H.[4] The Muslims in Spain had also made considerable improvement in astronomy, but with the extinction of their rule in Spain, their achievements in the domain of art and learning were buried in oblivion, and so we regret to say that we know very little of astronomical instruments invented and observatories founded during the palmy days of Muslim rule in Spain. In the latter part of the 11th century A.D. az-Zarqalī (Anzachel) was a famous mechanic of astronomical instruments in Spain. He constructed an astrolabe for Mā'mūn, the ruler of Ṭalīṭala, and compiled in Ashbīliya (Seville) for Ibn-i-'Abbād a book dealing with astronomical instruments and named it *'Abbādiya* (عباديه). He made some new researches into astronomy.

Big Friday mosques had a Muwaqqit (time-keeper) who was appointed from amongst learned astronomers. The Muwaqqit told the Mu'azzin the correct time of the five prayers. The Muwaqqit of the Friday mosque of Granada was Ibn-i-Baza Salma. He constructed beautiful and durable astronomical instruments, which were purchased at handsome prices. Ibn-i-Baza Salma learnt this art from his father Ḥasan.[5] In Constantinople, Ghurs-ud-Dīn was a renowned manufacturer who prepared all the instruments personally. He also participated in the battle which took place between the Sulṭān of Egypt and the Charakasa.[6] In India Tafaḍḍul-Ḥusain Khān (died 1215 A.H.) and his pupil Dabīr-ud-

1. *Kashf-uz-Ẓanūn*, Vol. II, p. 264.
2. *Akhbār-ul-Ḥukamā*, p. 259.
3. اكتفاء القنوع p. 445.
4. فوات الوفيات Vol. II, p. 390.
5. الاحاطه باخبار غرناطه , p. 85.
6. الشقائق النعمانيه , Vol. II, p. 136.

Daulah Khwāja Farīd-ud-Dīn (died 1244 A.H.) were great scholars in astronomy and highly skilled in making astronomical instruments. Dabīr-ud-Daulah's youngest son Nawāb Zain-ul-'Ābedīn constructed very beautiful globes ( كرات ), astrolabes ( اصطرلاب ), Dhāt-ul-Ḥalaqatain ( ذات الحلقتين ), Rub' Mujīb ( ربع مجيب ) and Ḥaladhūn ( حلزون ). His studio, where these instruments were placed, looked like an observatory.[1]

Besides the above noteworthy persons, Naṣīr Ṭūsī, 'Alī Barjandī, Ibn-i-Shāṭir, Taqī-ud-Dīn, Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Jamshēd and Ghulām Ḥusain of Jaunpore were great masters in manufacturing astronomical instruments, which are no longer found but are referred to either in historical books or in their own literary works.

Let us now describe the instruments which were invented by the Muslims. They are: (1) لبنه (Libna): This was invented by Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī (died 672 A.H.). The distances of latitude, stars, and obliquity of the ecliptic were read with the help of it. This was for the first time used[2] in the observatory of Marāgha. (2) Dhāt-ul-Autār ( ذات الاوتار ) was invented by Taqī-ud-Dīn of Syria, who was Sulṭān Murād's contemporary. This instrument was so contrived and arranged as to ascertain the time at different latitudes. One of the works of Taqī-ud-Dīn is سدرة منتهى الافكار, which deals with astronomy and astronomical instruments. (3) Dhāt-us-Simt wa'l-Irtifā' (ذات السمت و الارتفاع)[5] is a semi-circular ring, which was helpful in finding the contraction of altitude and azimuth. Taqī-ud-Dīn writes in his سدرة منتهى الافكار that this instrument also was invented by the Muslims. (4) Mushabbah bi'l-Manāṭiq ( مشبه المناطق ) was also one of the inventions of Taqī-ud-Dīn. It was utilized in calculating the distance between two stars. (5) Rub' Tām ( ربع تام ) was invented by Ibn-i-Shāṭir (died 777 A.H.), who was a Muwaqqit (time-keeper) of Damascus. In his treatise الجمع العام which gives a description of Ruba' Tām, he writes that "he found most of the astronomical instruments defective, so he constructed Rub' Tām. This is the most perfect of all instruments. From this instrument alone, every kind of astronomical observation can be easily made."[4] (6) Sudas Fakhri (سدس فخرى) is a ring made of bronze. It is used in finding out the obliquity of the ecliptic and the latitude. This was invented in the days of Fakhr-ud-Daulah, hence it is called Sudas Fakhrī.[5] It is said to be the forerunner of the sextant. (7) Asa'ṭ-Ṭūsī, or linear astrolabe. According to old astronomy, each star had a circular movement. It was for this reason that the orbits and the circular movements of stars were represented in a circular globe.

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1. *Sīrat-i-Farīdiya*, pp. 7, 9, 42.
2. *Jāmī'-Bahādur Khānī*, p. 506.
3. Al-azimuth of modern days.
4. *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓanūn*, Vol. I, pp. 136, 137.
5. *Jāmī'-Bahādur Khānī*, p. 506.

Ptolemy introduced a flat astrolabe, which served the above purpose fully well. The word 'astrolabe' is derived from a Greek word اصطر (Astēr) meaning 'Star,' and astronomy is from this اصطر. This instrument was used for measuring the altitude of stars, as well as of the sun and the moon. The use of this instrument began amongst the Muslims from Caliph Mā'mūn's days. The first astrolabe was constructed by Ibrāhīm bin Jaib Fazārī.[1] In the latter part of the fifth century A.H. Shaikh Sharf-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī introduced a linear astrolabe, resembling in form a calculating rod. It was greatly improved by Sharf-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī's pupil, Kamāl-ud-Dīn[2] (died in 639 A. H.). In India Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq invented a special kind of astrolabe, which was constructed by his order and placed on the Mināra of Fīrūzābād.[3] The Mughal emperor, Humāyūn also had manufactured a particular model of astrolabe, called Usṭurlāb-i-Humāyūnī.[4]

Now let us consider the Muslim observatories founded in different parts of the world. The first series of regular observations with the aid of fairly accurate instruments appears to have been made at Jundi-Shāhpūr (a town in Khuzistān, S.W. Īran), in the first years of the 9th century A.D., by Aḥmad an-Nahāwandī who prepared an almanac entitled *Zīj al-Mushtamil*.[5] But the most remarkable period of Muslim astronomy commenced during the caliphate of al-Mā'mūn, whose capital city of Baghdād was a rendezvous of eminent scholars and men of letters. When Ptolemy's *Almagest* was translated into Arabic, al-Mā'mūn ordered the establishment of an observatory at Baghdād in the quarter called ash-Shammāsiya. It was completed in 214 A.H. (829 A.D.). Yaḥya bin Abī Manṣūr[6] was its director, under whom worked 'Abbās bin Sa'īd Johrī, Hind bin 'Alī, Haish bin 'Abdallāh Marwarūzī and 'Umar bin Muḥammad Marwarūzī, etc.[7] Some of the researches made in this observatory were: (*i*) The angle formed by the intersection of Equation (معدل) and the Zodiac (منطقة البروج) is called obliquity of Zodiac اعوجاج منطقة البروج. It was observed that the obliquity of the Zodiac lies at 23° 33′ and 52″. This comes near to modern investigation, which is 23° 27′. (*ii*) The points which are the intersections of the Celestial Equator (معدل النهار) and the Zodiac are called equinoxes (نقاط اعتدال) through which the number of days of the solar year was calculated almost precisely. It was supposed

1. *Kitāb-ul-Fihrist*, p. 273.

2. *Ibn-i-Khallikān*, Vol. II, p. 185.

3. *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, Vol. VI, p. 32. I have not been able to see the book *Sirat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. Its author gives a description of the various astronomical instruments invented by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq.

4. *Vide* my article *Some Indian Astrolabe-Makers* in *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1935.

5. The translator has taken the liberty to supplement this information from the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (article "Astronomy"), although '*Zīj-al-Mushtamil*' is not referred to in *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓanūn*.

6. مختصر الدول ابو الفرج ملطی, p. 248.

7. *Kitāb-ul-Fihrist*, pp. 272, 275, 276.

that the equinoctial point was fixed in one place, but it was found out that it moves fifty seconds ahead every year. This movement is termed Precession of Equinoxes (استقبال اعتدالین), which was also an object of research in the above observatory. The Apogee of the Sun, the Degree of Inclination (مقدار میل) and Eccentricity (خروج مرکز) were also investigated here, and some new information regarding the planets and fixed stars was also obtained.[1]

In order to corroborate the astronomical investigations and researches, different observatories were erected in different places. So al-Mā'mūn built another observatory on Mount Qasiyun,[2] at a distance of two or two and a half miles from Damascus.[3] The data thus collected in these observatories were compiled in a *Zīj* by Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad bin Mūsa Khwārazmī. This Table (*Zīj*) became highly popular. In this, the mean (اوساط) of the sun, the moon, etc. were maintained according to the Indian almanac, the researches ragarding the equinoxes were according to the Persian investigation, and the observations of the obliquity of the sun were according to Ptolemy's.[4] Another astronomer of al-Mā'mūn's, Ḥabsh Ḥasib Marwarūzī, also prepared three Tables.[5]

In the third century A.H. Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad bin Dā'ūd Dīnāwarī was a highly eminent scholar of literature, history, arithmetic, algebra, and astronomy. His historical book *Kitāb-ul-Akhbār aṭ-Ṭiwāl* is of great value. He is the author of many books in literature and arithmetic. In 235 A.H. he founded an observatory in Ispahan,[6] and recorded his observation in *Kitāb-ar-Raṣad*. It has been mentioned by some historians that Abū Ḥanīfa wrote this book for Rukn-ud-Daulah, but this is simply an error, for the rule of the Dailimites commences from 320 A.H., and Abū-Ḥanīfa died forty years before this, in 281 A.H.

Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Jābir Banī, (died in 317 A.H.; the Albatengi or Albategnius of European authors), was regarded aṣ one of those twenty astronomers who made inestimable contributions to astronomy. In his days there were two great observatories, one at ar-Rakka and the other at Antioch. Baṭṭānī worked in these two observatories for forty-two years, *i.e.*, from 264 A.H. to 306 A.H. He compiled his

1. *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓanūn*, p. 12.

2. مختصر الدول ملطی p. 248.

3. Calıph al-Mā'mūn also carried out one of the most difficult and delicate geodetic operations, the measuring of an arc of meridian, in the regions between Tadmur (Palmyra) and ar-Rakka in the plains of Mesopotamia. The mean result gave 56⅔ Arabic miles as the length of a degree of meridian, a remarkably accurate value, for the Arabic mile being 6473 ft. This value is equal to 366, 842 ft., a number which only exceeds by about 2,877 ft. the real length of degree between 38° and 36° N. lat. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 'Astronomy.'

4. *Jam'ul-Qaṣaṣ-ul-Hindiya*, printed in France, 1838 A.D., p. 100.

5. *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓanūn*, Description of زیج حبش الحاسبه .

6. *Ibid.*, Description of رصد

observations in *az-Zīj*, wich was translated into Latin by Robertus Retinenses or Ketensis (died at Pamplona in Spain after 1143 A.D.) and by Plato Tibastinus in the first half of the 12th century (an edition of the text without the mathematical tables was published at Nuremberg in 1537 and at Bologna in 1645). Alphonso X of Castile (1252 A.D.) had it translated from Arabic into Spanish, and an incomplete manuscript of this version is in the National Library of Paris. Baṭṭānī was also the author of the following books :—

(1) كتاب معرفة مطالع البروج فى ما بين اربع الا فلاك which deals with ascensions of the points of the ecliptic as well as the mathematical solution of astrological problems ; (2) رساله فى تحقيق اقتدار الاتصالات dealing with the rigorous trigonometrical solution of the astrological problem of prorectio radiorum when the stars in question lie outside the ecliptic ; (3) شرح المقالات الاربعه فى طليموس is a commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblon*. Baṭṭānī's main researches are : (*i*) He proved that the moon has also equinoxes just as Ptolemy showed that the sun has equinoxes. (*ii*) The points of the orbits which are nearest and remotest to the sun are called نقطة الراس (Perihelion) and نقطة الذنب (Aphelion) respectively. Baṭṭānī demonstrated that these points are not stationary but are subject to changes. (*iii*) He also corrected the degree of the Precession of the equinoxes. (*iv*) He fixed the precise degree of the inclination between the Celestial Equator and the Zodiac. (*v*) According to him the solar year covered 365 days, 5 hours and 40 minutes.[1]

Abu'l-Wafā', whose full name is Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Yaḥya bin Ismā'īl bin al-'Abbās al-Buzjānī, is regarded as the most renowned Muslim astronomer. He hailed from Buzjān, which was a small town lying between Herat and Nishapore. He was born in 328 A.H. and died in 376 A.H. He made vigorous astronomical researches along with his colleagues for a pretty long time in an observatory, the place of which has not been identified, Kātib Chalpī says" *Zīj ash-Shāmil* is the book of Shaikh Abu'l-Wafā Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Buzjānī, who compiled and corrected it after numerous researches and observations, made by him and his colleagues in an observatory founded after al-Mā'mūn's observatory."[2] A commentary on this Zīj was written by Sayyid 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Qoshi, who died in 800 A.H. This commentary is in the library of Khadieviah, Cairo. Buzjānī had many useful and valuable instruments in his observatory. He found out the Obliquity of the Zodiac (اعوجاج منطقة البروج) with the help of an instrument having the shape of a quarter circle, the half diameter of which was seven yards. The equation of the equinoxes, which causes the acceleration and the retrogression in the motion of the moon, was also discovered in this observatory.

' Alī bin Ḥassān, popularly known as Ibn-A'lam, was an erudite mathematician attached to the court of 'Izz-ud-Daulah of the Dailimite dynasty.

1. *Barjundī*, p. 189.
2. *Kashf-uz-Zanūn*, Vol. II, p. 15.

He received no favour from 'Izz-ud-Daulah's successor, so he broke his connection with the court and died in 272 A.H. while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had his observatory in Baghdād, where he proved, contrary to Ptolemy, that planets travel one degree in seven solar years. Ptolemy asserted that the time taken by planets to travel one degree was one hundred solar years. Ibn-A'lam prepared an almanac of Mercury, which was regarded as the best and the most reliable almanac.[1]

The Dailimites were great patrons of astronomy, and Ibn A'lam, 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ṣūfī, Aḥmad Ṣāghānī and Wigin Kohi were some of the illustrious astronomers who basked in the sunshine of the favours of the Dailimite rulers. 'Izz-ud-Daulah prided himself on having learnt the art of astronomy from 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Ṣūfī. In 379 A.H. Sharf-ud-Daulah fitted up an observatory in Baghdād in the garden of his palace, and carried out there observation of seven planets. Wigin Kohi was the superintendent of this observatory and his colleagues were Aḥmad Ṣāghānī (died in 379 A.H.) and Ibrāhīm bin Hilāl Ṣāghānī (died in 381 A.H.). Aḥmad Ṣāghānī attempted some corrections regarding the coming of the sun into the Zodiacs.[2]

Al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh, the sixth Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt, established a very big observatory on the summit of al-Muqaṭṭam, and placed it in charge of Ibn Yūnus, who was a great scholar in astronomy and mathematics. Ibn-Yūnus compiled his observations and researches in الزيج الكبير الحاكمى which is referred to in most of the astronomical works. Professor Caussin translated and published in 1840 A.D. a few chapters from these tables in the *Notice et extraits des manuscripts de la Bibliotheque nationale*, Vol. VII. Ibn Yūnus made lunar and solar observations also, which he recorded in a table. Another almanac of his consisting of the ephemeries of the sun and the moon is entitled التعديل المحكم. These two books are preserved in the Khadiviah library, Cairo. He also showed great skill in the solution of several difficult exercises in spherical astronomy with the help of orthogonal projection of the celestial sphere on the horizon and the plane of the meridian.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn Malik Shāh of the Seljūq dynasty built an observatory in Ispahan at a great cost. Here 'Umar bin Ibrāhīm Khayyām, Muḥammad Baihaqī, Abu'l-Muẓaffar bin al-Asfarāzī, and Maimūn bin an-Najīb Wāsṭi worked together. Prior to 485 A.H. New Year's Day began when the sun crossed half of the Pisces, but for the correct determination of the year, New Year's Day was fixed on the day when the sun entered into Aries.[3] This change was adopted by all calendar makers. In this same observatory, Khayyām introduced the rule of the intercalary

1. *Sharh Chugmanī*, p. 13.

2. مختصر الدول p. 325.

3. Ibn-i-Athīr, Vol. X, p. 537. The names of Ispahan and Muḥammad Baihaqī have been taken from *Tārīkh-ul-Ḥukamā* by Shahzorī.

year in the Persian era, which was thenceforward regulated according to the revolution of the sun. This reformed era was termed Jalālī era after the name of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Malik Shāh. The details of this reform may be summed up thus.[1] The sun travels all the celestial spheres in 365 days and some hours, but in order to facilitate calculation, a year has been determined into 365 days, and the fraction of hours is glossed over. But after some years the fraction of hours causes considerable differences between the solar years and the revolution of the sun. In order to avoid this difference Khayyām made a new regulation. He took that day as the first day of the year when the sun enters into Aries before coming to the meridian. He fixed thirty days for each month of a year, adding five days in the month of Isfandar, and six days after every third or fourth year. This regulation was made current in Europe six hundred years afterwards by Gregory. According to the Gregorian principle, one day is added to the month of February every fourth year. But Khayyām's regulation is better than the Gregorian one, for according to the latter, the differences between the solar year and solar revolution within the period of the thousand years amounts to three days, while according to Khayyām it amounts to two days only.

Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Bērūnī founded his own observatory in the fifth century A.H. Bērūnī was the author of many works, each of which abounds in profuse references to astronomical matters. His most renowned book is *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī*, which he wrote in 421 A.H. at the instance of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Bērūnī's *al-Hind* is an exhaustive study of the art of astronomy and astrology, which was cultivated by the Hindus. His other books are *al-Āthār-ul-Bāqiyah, Kitāb-ul-Irshād, al-Jamāhir fi'l-Jawāhir, al-'Ajā'ib-ut-Ṭabī'āt, Maqālīd-ul-Ḥayāt* and *at-Tafhīm fī Ṣanā'at-it-Tanjīm*, all of which deal authoritatively with one or another aspect of astronomy or astrology, as well as geography, history and philosophy. We are sorry not to be able to throw much light on Bērūnī's observatory. Kātib Chalpī writes succinctly that 'Bērūnī had establishd an observatory.' Bērūnī was attached to the court of the Ghaznivide rulers, amongst whom Sulṭān Mas'ūd had a great love for astronomy.[2] It is just possible that Bērūnī's observatory was located somewhere between Ghazna and Herat. Bērūnī's most valuable contribution was that he prepared a list of the longitudes and latitudes of all the existing big cities of the world.

'Alā'-ud-Daulah Kākiviyah of Ispahan also founded an observatory with the help of Avicenna, who had accepted the post of minister under the former after forsaking in disgust the service of Shams-ud-Daulah of Hamadan. This observatory, which was equipped with necessary instruments, was established to correct the defects and anomalies of the old almanac. It was placed under the care of Avicenna's learned pupil Abū

1. *Vide* the details in my book *Khayyām*, pp. 111-138 (Ma'ārif Press, A'ẓamgarh).
2. *Tārikh-ul-Hukamā'*, Shahzorī, Description of Bērūnī.

'Ubaid. Avicenna worked here for eight years and found out numerous mistakes of the former astronomers.[1] There was a difference of opinion as regards the celestial order of the Sun, Mercury, and Venus. Avicenna observed Venus and Mercury as two black moles on the face of the Sun[2] which prove the following things: (i) Venus and Mercury are located beneath the Sun; (ii) there is no light in Venus and Mercury, otherwise they would not have looked black; (iii) just as the moon grows into the New Moon, Full Moon, and then is absent in the last three days of a lunar month, so Venus and Mercury undergo the same process. For darkness must have been coming into them gradually. It is not possible to describe here fully the various astronomical contributions made by Avicenna. It will be sufficient to say in the words of Shahzorī that Avicenna knew a large number of astronomical details which were not known to earlier astronomers.

Koshyār bin Labbān flourished in the fifth century A.H. In 459 A.H. he made observations which he recorded in two books. One of these is entitled *Zīj Koshyār*, which was written originally in Arabic but was translated into Persian by Muḥammad bin Abū Ṭalib Tabrēzī. The name of his other work is زیج الجامع والسامع in which the movements of stars and spheres are determined according to mathematical calculations. We do not know much of Koshyār. The above meagre references have

1 *Tārīkh-ul-Hukamā'*, Shahzorī, Description of Ibn-i-Sīnā

2 Vide *Sharh-i-Chaghmenī* p 13 (Alvi Press edition, Lucknow) Mahmūd bin Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Chaghmenī al-Khwarizimī, who was a distinguished scholar, wrote الملخص فی الهیئه in 618 A.H. (1221 A D.) A commentary on this book namely *Sharh-i-Chagmenī* was written by Salāh-ud-Dīn Mūsa Qāḍi Zādah bin Mahmūd, who lived at the court of Ulugh Bēg in Samarqand and died some time after 803 A H. (1424 A.D.) Qādi Zādah writes in *Sharh Chaghmēnī*, p. 13

وقد تاكد عندهم بما حكى عن جماعته منهم الشيخ الرئيس انهم راوا الزهرة كشامة على وجه الشمس و اياها مع عطارد كشامتين على وجهها

And their opinion was strengthened by the fact that a group of (astronomers) amongst whom was also Shaikh-ur-Ra'īs (*i.e.* Avicenna) observed Venus like a mole on the face of the sun. They saw it along with Mercury also as two moles on the face of the sun. This observation was also made by Ibn Bāja of Spain (died 533 A H./1138 A.D.). 'Abdul-'Alī Barjandī writing the marginal notes on *Sharh-i-Chaghmenī*, (p. 83), quotes the following version from Qutb-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī's نهاية الادراك فی دراية الافلاك composed some time before 683 A.H. (1284 A D.)

قال صاحب نهاية الادراك ذكر ابن باجة الاندلسی فی بعض كتبه انی كنت ذات يوم على سطح داری وقت طلوع الشمس فرايت فيها كشامتين فاستخرجت تقويمی الزهرة وعطارد من الزيج ذالك الوقت فوجدتهما مايقرب من تقديم الشمس فعلمت ان الشامتين كانتاهما

(Ibn Bāja relates in one of his books. I was on the roof of my house when the sun was obout to rise. I saw two moles in the sun. Just at that time I calculated the almanac ( تقويم ) with the help of a Calendar ( زيج ) and found their almanac close to that of the sun. From this I knew that the two moles are Venus and Mercury).

These astronomers made investigations about the stars with the help of an instrument which was called ذات الشعبتين (*vide* المقدمه فی بيان اقسام الاجسام على الاجمال in *Sharh-i-Chaghmenī*).

been made by Kātib Chalpī in connection with Zīj. Ibn-i-Khallikān has mentioned Koshyār thus :—کوشیار بن لبان بن باشهری الجیلی مصنف زیج (Vol. II, p. 185).

Ibn Zarqal (Arzachel) was a great mathematician of Spain. He constructed an astrolabe called Mā'mūniya for Mā'mūn, the ruler of Ṭalīṭala. After leaving Ṭalīṭala he came to Seville and enjoyed the patronage of Mu'tamad bin 'Abbād. Here he compiled a book *al-'Abbādiya* in which he gave details of the astronomical instruments manufactured and introduced by him. One of his new instruments was named Zarqala, which helped to determine celestial movements.[1] Ibn Zarqal made appreciable contributions to astronomical observations. In order to know the apogee of the sun, he made four hundred and two series of observations. It was he who first discovered that the annual precession of the celestial equator amounts to fifty seconds and this is correct according to modern calculation and researches. Zarqal used his own manufactured instruments during the course of his observations. His observatory was probably in Ṭalīṭala.

Afḍal Shahinshāh bin Amīr-ul-Jāyūsh (died 515 A.H.) the Vazīr of the Fāṭimide Caliph Āmar bi-Aḥkāmillāh, erected an observatory in Cairo. According to the common practice amongst the Muslim rulers, an annual calendar was prepared by astronomers in the beginning of each year. At the commencement of 500 A.H. Afḍal Shahinshāh had about five hundred almanacs. But the Egyptian calendars differed greatly from Syrian ones. The main cause of this was that the Syrian almanacs were prepared according to the observations made in an observatory which was founded at Baghdād by Mā'mūn, while the Egyptian calendars were based on the observations of Ḥākim's observatory at al-Muqaṭṭam. Afḍal Shahinshāh, therefore, felt the need of fitting out a new observatory, which, after being constructed, was placed in charge of Abū-Sa'īd bin Qarqā. The latter was also the superintendent of the royal armoury as well as of industrial manufactures. He was also highly skilled in constructing observatories. The erection of the above observatory was begun in 513 A.H. and it was attached to the mosque Qiblat-ul-Kabīr, which was built at the cost of six thousand dinars. Valuable and highly useful astronomical instruments and pretty compasses were made here. The structure ( حالے ) of the Ḥalqat-ul-Kabīr ( حلقۃ الکبیر ) which was prepared here was ten hands in diameter and thirty hands in circumference. The observatory could not be completed owing to Afḍal Shahinshāh's murder in 515 A.H. After him Mā'mūn Bataihi was appointed the minister of Egypt, and he undertook to complete the unfinished building of the observatory, although his death in 519 A.H. checked its further progress. Prominent engineers, astronomers, and manufacturers who worked in this observatory were Shaikh Abū-Ja'far bin Hasandanī, Qāḍī Ibn-Abi'l-

1. *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓanūn*, Vol. II, p. 17.

'Aysh, Khatīb Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, Shaikh Abu'n-Naja Sa'ati, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-ul-Karīm of Sicily, Ibn-Ḥalabī, Ibn Haithamī, Abū Naṣr, Ibn-Dhayāb, Qala'ī.[1]

An observatory was founded at Baghdād in the days of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Mustarshid-bi'Allāh, who ruled till 529 A.H. The construction of this observatory, which was located in the palaces of the Seljukids, was commenced in 524 A.H. It was supervised by Badī' the astrolaber (died 534 A.H.) whom we have described earlier. He was a highly skilled engineer. This leads us to believe that the observatory under him must have been excellently planned, but we regret to find that this was not completed.[2]

Farīd-ud-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Abdul-Karīm Shērwānī, who is popularly known as Fahad, erected an observatory which was named Rasad-i-Fahad Shērwānī.[3] He was a renowned scholar of astronomy and observed the movements of stars with the help of ذات الشعبتين for thirty years, and had compiled a large number of *Zīj* based on his personal observations and researches. Five of his *Zīj* are *āl-Mughnī*, *āl-Muḥkam*, *āl-Mushtanfī*, *āl-Ma'dūl* and *āl-'Alāī*. These books have been regarded as trustworthy and authoritative by later scholars. Muḥammad bin 'Abī Bakr of Persia, who wrote a *Zīj* after the name of Malik Muẓaffar Yūsuf bin 'Umar, the ruler of Yemen, has relied mostly on Fahad Shērwānī's researches. The period of the latter's astronomical investigation is dated 541 Yezdgardi era, which is much nearer to the Hijri era, because the difference between the two is one of 3,625 days only.

The most notable observatory was at Marāgha. Its foundation is attributed to Hulāgū, but properly speaking it owed its construction mainly to the illustrious astronomer-scholar Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī. This was manned by a large staff of observers, who were mostly Muslims. Moreover, Hulāgū, according to some Muslim historians, had adopted Islam in the last days of his life, so we can conveniently include the observatory of Marāgha in the list of Muslim observatories. This was begun in 657 A.H. and scholars from distant lands were invited to supervise its construction. Mu'id-ud-Dīn, Najm-ud-Dīn Dabīrān, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Marāghī, Fakhr-ud-Dīn Akhlaṭī came from Damascus, Qazwīn, Mosul and Thiyphilus respectively. Books for this observatory were procured from Baghdād, Syria and Mosul. 'Abdallāh bin Faḍlallāh Shīrāzī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf*, describes this observatory in the following words :—

,, چون هلاکو از فتوحات فارغ شد، طوسی برائے بنائے رصدے تحریك کرد
هلاکو حکم داد هر چند که کافی مصارف باشد از خزانه داده شود بحکم فرمان موید الدین
از دمشق و فخر الدین اخلاطی از تهیفلیس احضار کرده و در مراغه از طرف شمالی بر سر پشتهٔ
رفیع رصد خانه بنافرمود و درکمال آراستگی در سنه ٦٥٦ هجری ..... وتماثیل ممثلات

1. *Maqrīzī*, Vol. I, p. 126. 2. *Ibn-i-Athir*, Vol. X, p. 254.
3. The name of the place where the observatory was located is unknown.

افلاك و تدويرات وحوامل ودوائر متوهمه و معرفت اسطرلاب و تقاويم منقورهٔ و منازل ماه و مراتب بروج دوازده گانه برهیاتے ساخته شد که هر روز عند الطلوع پر تو نیر اعظم از ثقبه قبه برسطح عتبه می افتاد و برج ودقایق حرکت آفتاب وکیفیت ارتفاع درفصول اربعه درساعات از آنجا معلوم می شد وشکل کرهٔ زمین وجزائر وبحار و اقالیم سبع وطول ایام و عرض وارتفاع قطب شمالی وصورت ووضع اسامی بلدان چنان روشن نمود که گوئی کتابیست درممالك ومسالك وزیج خان (طوسی) بنام بادشاه تصنیف کرد وچند جدول ونکات حسابی که دردیگر زیجات متقدمین چون کوشیار وعلائی وشاهی وغیره نبود افزود "

Some of the researches made in this observatory by Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī, Mu'id-ud-Dīn 'Aṣḍī, Fakhr-ud-Dīn and others are as follows : (*i*) They supported Ibn A'lam's view that the fixed stars travel one degree in seventy solar years. (*ii*) The solar year covers 365 days, 5 hours and 49 minutes.

Abū 'Abbās Aḥmad bin Isḥāq Tamīmī, who is popularly known as Ibn-Kamad, was a renowned engineer of Tunis. According to Kātib Chalpī, he also made a series of observations. He made corrections in Khayām Ashbīlī's *Zīj*. These corrections refer also to the calendars of the year 679 A.H., which shows evidently that Ibn-Kamad lived till the latter part of the 7th century A.H.

'Alī bin Ibrāhīm, who is better known as Ibn-Shāṭir in historical books, acquired much fame by his achievements in the field of Astronomy. He hailed from Damascus and died in 777 A.H. His observatory was in Syria (the name of the actual place could not be traced). His great merit was that he made astronomical researches without being subservient to Ptolemy's theories. He had his own laws and principles, which contradicted many of Ptolemy's regulations. He compiled a manual dealing with the positions of stars. His *Zīj*, prepared from his own researches in his observatory, was very popular, and served as a guide to eminent scholars.

Taqī-ud-Dīn bin Ma'rūf Shāmī whom we have mentioned earlier was another renowned engineer, attached to the court of the Osmanli ruler Sa'd-ud-Dīn Affendi Sulṭān Murād. He compiled his famous book, سدرة منتهى الا فكار at the latter's instance. He also had an observatory, which he probably built at Sa'd-ud-Dīn Affendī's orders, we have not been able to discover the place where it was located.

Another noteworthy Muslim astronomer was Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Yamili Khwaja Walkanvi, who made a series of observations for forty years with the help of many reformed instruments. He compiled a small *Zīj* on his observatory. He has referred to Ṭūsī's *Zīj*, which proves that he did not flourish prior to the 7th century A.H.[1]

1. These observatories are mentioned in *Kashf-uẓ-Ẓunūn*, Description of رصد.

A most celebrated observatory was that of Ulugh Bēg, the son of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā and grandson of Amīr Tīmūr. He learnt astronomy from Qāḍizāda Rūmī and developed a highly admirable taste in this art. In 853 A.H. he founded at Samarkand an observatory under the supervision of Maulānā Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Jamshēd. After the latter's premature death, Qāḍīzāda undertook the task of completing the erection of an observatory and after his death he was succeeded by 'Alī bin Muḥammad Qoshjī. The remaining work of the observatory was accomplished by the latter.[1] Ulugh Bēg got for this observatory innumerable and highly serviceable instruments. The quarter-circle of this observatory was so high that half of its diameter was equal to the well-known mosque of Aya Sofia. The ruins of this observatory existed till the days of Bābur, who, in the course of describing the various buildings of Samarkand, writes: "Another of Ulugh Bēg Mīrzā's fine buildings is an observatory, that is, an instrument[2] for writing astronomical tables. This stands three storeys high on the skirts of the Kohik upland. By its means the Mīrzā worked out the Kurkani Tables, now used all over the world. Little work is done with any others. Before these were made, people used the Ilkhānī tables, put together at Marāgha by Khwāja Naṣīr Ṭūsī in the time of Hulāgū Khān."[3] From this statement of Bābur's we learn that the astronomical table prepared in Ulugh Bēg's observatory was such a perfect and reliable one that it threw Naṣīr Ṭūsi's *Zīj* into the background. I have also studied a commentary on Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg's *Zīj* and can say definitely that this is the best compendium of Muslim astronomy. Some of the researches in the observatory were:—(i) The time covered by the lunar month is 29 days, 31 minutes, 50 seconds, 4 Thalitha (thirds), 40 Raba' (fourths), and 30 Khamsa (fifths).[4] (ii) The extreme equation عایت تعدیل of Mercury is 23 degrees, 26 minutes, and 3 seconds. (iii) The obliquity of the Ecliptic is 23 degrees, 30 minutes and 17 seconds.[5] (iv) The Persian astrologers believed that the origin of life in the organic matter of the world was in the Canary Islands (Khalidat), while the Indian astrologers were of opinion that it originated from Ceylon. But Ulugh Bēg advanced the theory that the earth was round, so that the origin of life in organic matter can be traced to any spot.[6]

Amongst the rulers of India, Fīrūz Shāh of the Bahmanī dynasty is highly conscious for his love of learning and literature. He was well versed in many sciences. He was a great lover of astronomy also and began the erection of an observatory on the summit of the pass near Daulatābād under the supervision of Ḥakīm 'Alī Ḥasan, Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzrūnī and other eminent scholars. But Ḥakīm 'Alī Ḥasan's death

1. شقایق نعمانیه, p. 19.

2. A. S. Beveridge writes in *the Babur-Nama* in English, Vol. I, p. 79, "As ancient observatories were themselves the instruments of astronomical observations, Babur's wording is correct."

3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

4. *Jama' Bahādur Khānī*, p. 585.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 596.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 668.

put a stop to its completion.[1]

The second Mughal Emperor Humāyūn had an extraordinary liking for astronomy and celestial sciences. He learnt the art from Ilyās Ardbēlī, who was a master-mind in different branches of science. The king himself gave lessons in astronomy and mathematics like learned teachers. Nūr-ud-Dīn Turkhān Sufidīnī, who was well up in astronomy and arithmetic, was tutored by Humāyūn. The author of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* writes that Nūr-ud-Dīn Turkhān " derived advantages in mathematics and particularly in the astrolabe from Humāyūn, who was well versed in these arts."[2] The king also utilized the services of Sayyid 'Alī, the Turkish naval commander, to make calculations of solar and lunar eclipses and help the Indian astronomers in learning the intricate details of the celestial sciences. Accordingly the Turkish naval commander set to work and completed the astronomical observations. Humāyūn's organisation of the court, the camp, and the orchard was also made on astronomical principles.

Humāyūn had made up his mind to build observatories, in many places and had prepared various intsruments for the purpose. Among these various instruments there was the astrolabe called Uṣṭurlāb-i-Humāyūnī, whose chief mechanic was Shaikh Allāh Dād.[3]

Humāyūn died while he was trying to observe Venus. He had converted the third storey of Shēr Shāh's Shēr Mandal, situated in the fortress of Old Delhi, into a library, because its height served the purpose of an observatory. On the day of his death he had fixed an assembly, when a number of officers were to get promotions. This Darbar was to be held with the appearance of Venus in the evening, and the emperor had sent for a group of mathematicians to observe the planet along with him. He was busy in discussion when the evening prayer-call was heard. Out of respect to the call, he wished to sit down where he was, but he slipped, and was fatally injured.[4]

We do not find the archæological remains of any observatory built by Shāh Jahān, although he had court-astronomers, who calculated his horoscope. Again, the Vazīr Āṣaf Khān proposed to make the year of Shāh Jahān's accession the beginning of a new era, called Tārīkh-ī-Ilāhī Shāh Jahānī, similar to Tārīkh-i-Jalālī. Accordingly a royal command was issued to Mullā Farīd Ibrāhīm Dehlavi to prepare a new Zīj. Mullā Farīd did not get sufficient time for fresh observations, so he based his Zīj, entitled كارنامه صاحب قران ثانى زيج شاهجهانى on the tables of Ulugh Bēg, which, however, received many corrections and improvements.[5] From the preface to *Tajallī-i-Nūr* (history of Jaunpore) we learn that Maulānā Maḥmūd of Jaunpore received instructions to build an observa-

1. *Raudat-ul- Awliyā*, by Ghulām 'Alı Āzād Bılgrami, p. 22.
2. *Ma'āthır-ul-Umara*, Vol I, p. 478, Calcutta edıtıon.
3. *Vide* my article *Some Indian Astrolabe-Makers*, in *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1935.
4. *Akbar Nīma*, Vol. I, p. 363 ; also H. Beveridge's translatıon, Vol. I, p. 363.
5. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* ın the British Museum, Vol. II, pp. 459, 460.

tory, and he selected a plot of land for the same, but could not build it owing to the heavy expenses.

Raja Jai Singh Kachhwāha of Ambar, who was a distinguished military officer in the time of Aurangzēb and his successors, and the Governor of Agra and Malwa in Muḥammad Shāh's reign, was a learned scholar in Arabic and ardent lover of astronomy. He did not feel satisfied with the current almanacs, which were based on the tables of Ulugh Bēg, *Taḥṣīlāt* of Mullā Chānd Akbarī, and *Zīj Shāh Jehānī* of Mullā Farīd. So he got orders from the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh to call for the Muslim, the Brahmin, and the Christian astronomers of the country and lay the foundation of a new observatory in Delhi in 1137 A.H. In this observatory there were some instruments such as were used in Ulugh Bēg's observatory in Samarkand, and some were quite new, invented by the Rāja himself. He built similar observatories in Jaipur, Muttra, Benares and Ujjain to corroborate the observations made simultaneously in different places. These observatories were erected under the guidance of Mīrzā Khair Allāh. Bindraban writes in his *Safīna-i-Khushgo*, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, " Now-a-days his (Imām-ud-Dīn's) brother Mullā Abul Khair popularly known as Khair Allāh is unrivalled in astronomy, engineering, and other branches of learning. Rajadhiraj Jai Singh Sawai had just then in view the construction of several observatories. On these he spent twenty lakhs of rupees in twenty years under the supervision of Abul Khair,who is really a unique man of his age." Hindu, Muslim and European scholars worked in these observatories for seven years, after which some were sent to Europe under Padre Monoel's guidance for further researches. When they returned they compared the eastern method with the western and supported the latter. The researches made in these laboratories were embodied in *Zīj Muḥammad Shāh*, which consists of three sections: (*a*) current eras, (*b*) regulation of time, and (*c*) motions of the planets, stars and their positions. Some of the astronomical investigations made in these observatories are: (i) The period of the lunar month covers 29 days, 39 minutes, 34 seconds, 4 Thālitha (thirds), 24 Ruba '(fourths), and 34 Khamsa (fifths, (ii) Venus and Mercury have no light of their own but draw it from the sun. (iii) Saturn is not globular but elliptic. (iv) There are four moons (satellites) round Jupiter. (v) Some of the stars which we have believed to be fixed are really planets. (vi) The spots of the sun (which were found out for the first time by Ibn-Rushd) move. (vii) The orbit of the sun and all small celestial circles are eccentrically oval.[1]

SAYYID SULAIMAN NADVI.

1. For all these details vide *Jamā Bahādur Khani*, pp. 579, 586 and 628. As regards the spots of the sun we find the following version in *Sharah-ī-Chaghmani* also (p. 13).

وزعم بعض الناس ان فی وجه الشمس بقعة سوداء فوق مرکزها بقلیل کالمحو فی وجه القمر -

(Some are of opinion that on the face of the sun, a little above its centre, there is a black spot, just as the moon has spots).

محو has been explained thus: کالمحو فی وجه القمر هو اختلاف اجزاء سطحه فی قبول النور -

# THE PATHAN ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA —A HISTORICAL SURVEY

[The opinion expressed in the paper is unscientific and we do not agree with the author on many a point. This paper is published here as it represents Hindu viewpoints regarding the origin and development of early Muslim architecture. We hope readers interested in Muslim architecture will find it a further field of study

ED., *I.C.*]

THE 'Pathan' architecture in India presents a fascinating picture. From the day when Muḥammad Ghorī set foot in Delhi in 1191,[1] the Muslims played a prominent part in the development of Indian architecture. In order fully to grasp the significance of the modifications introduced by Muḥammad or his lieutenants, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak and Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish, we may describe the features of the architecture met in the country by Maḥmūd Ghaznavī at the time of his invasions.

Maḥmūd's expeditions are generally condemned by historians for the intense sufferings caused to the people of the country and for the prejudices formed against the new religion, Islam, since the common people associated it with destruction and rapine. But the invasions did at least one little service. They revealed to the foreigners the greatness of Indian architecture. The philosopher al-Bērūnī, who accompanied Maḥmūd on his invasions, writes of the Hindu edifices at Muthura in these eulogistic terms: "Our people when they see them (the edifices) wonder at them and are unable to describe them." Firishta also praises them in enthusiastic terms.[2]

These huge edifices, some of them costing 100,000 dinars and taking 200 years to build,[3] do not exist today and it is difficult to picture their excellence at this distance of time. But from the ancient Hindu temples and palaces that lie scattered in the country, either entire or in ruins, it is clear that one of their chief characteristics was the ornamentation of the walls. Some of them were gigantic in size, as is seen in the South—among other places, at Rameshwaram, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Chidambaram. The decorations are so minute in execution that even the external walls and Sikhars or Vīmāns—every inch of them—are full of carv-

1. According to the inscription at the entrance to the Quwat-ul-Islam Masjid in the Quṭb area. *The Cambridge History of India*, III, makes it 1192.

2. See Newal Kishore edition, p. 29. 3. *Ibid.*

ings of statuettes, animal and other figures, wheels, rosettes, wavy curves, and other designs. From these edifices, historians deduce the wealthy condition of the people and the high cultural standard maintained by them.

Thus, when Muḥammad Ghorī occupied Delhi, he came into contact with people who already possessed a lofty conception of the science of architecture. Muḥammad realized that if he was to earn their esteem and not mere obedience, he must imitate and if possible emulate his subjects in the construction of lofty edifices. Hence he or his lieutenant, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak, planned the construction of the Quwat-ul-Islam and Quṭb Mīnār and it must be admitted that both were grandly conceived and minutely executed. In contrast to the simplicity of design and construction generally advocated by the Muslim divines, both of them appear somewhat ostentatious and incoherent, and it is pointed out that except in the buildings of Muḥammad and Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak and their successors such elaboration is not to be met anywhere in the world.

Muḥammad's or more correctly Quṭb-ud-Dīn's reasons for a departure from the Muslim canon of simplicity were judicious and statesmanlike. The stately Thakurdwara which gave way to the later Quwat-ul-Islam consisted of more than a score of temples each of which cost some four lakhs of rupees,[1] and in order to reconcile his Hindu subjects at least culturally to their new masters, it became necessary for the ruler to erect an equally grand, if not grander, building on the site of the temples razed to the grund. So he planned the Jāmi' Masjid, and raised the main entrance to its Liwan to the height of 55 feet and executed the detached pillar now known as the Quṭb Mīnār. Both are reckoned among the striking buildings of the world. The elegant and spontaneous carvings on the walls of the first and the graceful slope of latter, both, are equally admired. The effect of the two constructions must have been to reconcile the Hindu subjects to their new rulers, who appeared to them to be no less artistic and cultured than their predecessors.

This is the first achievement to the credit of the Crescent in India. Against the Muslim conception of simplicity and absence of embellishment, Quṭb-ud-Dīn evolved a new style of Muslim art, out of what he found in the country, in bold defiance of Muslim conventions. Thus it will be seen that the common assertion that the Muslims maintained their conquests merely with the help of their swords does not hold good, at least in India.[2] The Qur'ānic verse, لا اكراه فى الدين 'there is no compulsion in religion,' inscribed on the first storey of the Mīnār would seem to confirm our assertion that the Muslims of the 13th century

1. As is mentioned in the inscription on the inner eastern gateway of the Masjid.

2. The early Muslim bilingual coins or those showing figures of a horseman and bull or those mentioning his name as well as that of Prithviraj, and the appointment of Hemraj, Prithviraj's brother, at Ajmer, illustrate his liberal policy.

were inspired with the spirit of religious toleration and consideration for their subjects.

The policy of adopting the Hindu feature of decoration continued for well-nigh a century and we find that the royal buildings continued to be ornate till the end of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khaljī's reign. Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish continued his master Quṭb-ud-Dīn's policy, extended some of the former buildings, *e.g.*, the Quwat-ul-Islam, the Quṭb Mīnār and the Alāhidīn-kā-Jhompara, and built others of his own. We find that he was as wise as his predecessor and continued the latter's policy in diverse ways ; for example, noticing that with the continued occupation of Delhi by the Muslims, the existing space in the Jāmi' Masjid was insufficient for the growing congregation of Muslims, he extended it in three directions, north, east and south, and made it three times of the size. He also raised the Quṭb Mīnār to 238 feet in height. But he made one or two modifications in his master's architectural ideas ; for example, while Quṭb-ud-Dīn allowed his artists freedom and spontaneity, Iltutmish reverted to the traditional motifs of the Muslims and the decorations, while they were just as ornate as those of his master, became more consonant with Saracenic designs ; his coins similarly, while they were better executed, adopted the Arabic characters ; and in contrast to his master's declaration of independence, he obtained a pontifical recognition from the Khalīfa of Baghdad in return for his loyalty to him. Thus it may be said that he was more orthodox than his master in his outlook and in his relations with the Muslim church.

Noticing the good impression made by the incomplete Quwat-ul-Islam and the one-storeyed Quṭb, he extended the former, as we have seen, and added several other storeys to the latter and made the one an organic part of the other. He also made an 'Īdgāh and a Masjid at Badā'ūn, where he had been governor before ascending the throne of Delhi, and dug extensive tanks both at Badā'ūn and at Delhi.

He had been so successful a ruler and had introduced so much stability into the Delhi empire that he ventured to nominate his daughter, Jalālat-ud-Dīn Raḍīya, as his successor. It may justly be said that Muḥammad Ghorī, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak, and Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish among them laid the true foundations of the Delhi empire.

Unfortunately Iltutmish was followed for the next ten years by Sulṭāns who had no time left to turn to the peaceful pursuit of architecture in their mutual strifes and contentions with the nobility. At the end of this period, in 1246, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd ascended the throne and with his accession was ushered in the strong government of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Balban, who as minister and later on as king continued to administer the kingdom for more than four decades. He inherited two serious problems, one the growing strength of the nobles whether belonging to the Shamsi order or not, and the other the continued invasions of the Mongols. Since Sulṭān Maḥmūd was a recluse, Balban came forward to tackle both

problems, and after twenty or twenty-five years of patient effort, he at last managed to abolish the Shamsi order of the Forty, none then remaining to question his mandate or even his will. Since these 'Forty' nobles were the chief rebels against both the king and the people, their disappearance did good to the kingdom.

The second problem also he tried to solve. He raised new armies, placed his eldest son, Muḥammad Khān, on the widely extended frontier with headquarters at Multān, his second son, Bughrā Khān, on the Sutlej with headquarters at Samānā, and a distinguished nobleman, Malik Bektars, on the third line, his headquarters being at the capital itself. But the death of most of the prominent nobles, the departure of his second son, Bughrā Khān, to Bengal, and the retention of the superannuated soldiers in the Sulṭān's army weakened his defence, so that ultimately, in 1285, the Mongols penetrated his frontier at Multān and killed Muḥammad Khān.

In the field of architecture Balban's contribution is meagre. He had founded Ghiyāthpūr near the Quṭb area and the Qal'a-i-Marzgān as a counterpoise to his cruelties, for he granted to all the refugees who took shelter within the four walls of the Qil'a the privileges of an asylum so long as they remained quiet within its four walls. The constant wars that he waged against his nobles and the Mongols must have meant a severe drain on the state purse, and did not allow him to labour in the fertile field of architecture.

With 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī was ushered in another fruitful period of Muslim architecture. Though illiterate and vainglorious in some of his schemes, on the whole he followed the sound policy of Quṭb-ud-Dīn and Iltutmish with the result that we have in his time further extension to the Quwat-ul-Islam, including repairs to the Quṭb Mīnār, the addition of the ornate and copiously inscribed 'Alā'ī Darwāza and of the larger though unfinished Mīnār corresponding to the Quṭb, and the digging of the Ḥauz-i-'Alā'ī. Though his architectural schemes, in some respects, are defective, and though in his inscriptions he compares himself with Darius, Alexander, and Solomon he is known as the last upholder of the policy of the the early Slave Kings. In spite of his cruel policy towards both nobles and farmers, he continued to rule for more than twenty years, and during the last few years had no need to take any personal interest in the administration. The stability of the empire may have been due, among other things, to his wise policy in architecture.

At 'Alā-ud-Dīn's death the Muslims had already ruled over the country for more than a century and their Hindu subjects, though occasionally restive, observed loyalty and obedience to their masters. So the Muslim government had leisure to ponder over this policy of conciliating the Hindus by the adoption of some of their ideals. The question came into prominence after Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khaljī's murder by his successor, and Khusru Shāh's efforts to introduce a government in which, besides the

high nobles, low-born Parwari Muslims and Hindus had a considerable share. Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, Khusru Shāh's successor, became the leader of a reaction against the rule of the low-born Hindu and Muslim Parwaris, dismissed them from the government, and restored Islam to its former eminence. Emboldened by his success against the heterodox government, he resolved to introduce modifications in architecture also. He discarded the ornate style of his predecessor and reverted to the severe simplicity of design advocated by his Ulema. Hence, though he came to the throne at an advanced age and ruled only for five years, he is credited with the introduction of a new style, simple and plain in the extreme. His city of Tughluqābād bears eloquent testimony to his conceptions. The fort stands on a rocky foundation, scarped to the height of 25 feet, and above it rises the main wall to another 40 or 50 feet with an additional 7 feet for the parapet. The huge semi-pentagonal shape with a deep ditch all round and the numerous turrets, bastions, towers and gateways add to its solemn grandeur. The only weakness lies in the filling-up by loose sand and rubble of the casing between two ashlar granite walls; for though the process made them sufficiently thick, actually they contained within only loose rubble.

The new style emphasized slope in every part of a buidling, in the walls or the buttresses at their angles, turrets and towers. The first work in the new style was built at Multān and was introduced by Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn to serve as his mausoleum after his death. The building is octagonal in shape and appears to be pyramidal from the noticeable slope maintained on all its eight faces; it has battering turrets at its angles. Since his death occurred unexpectedly at Afghānpūr, his son, Muḥammad Tughluq, gave away the Multān building to Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn, a noted local divine, who had been present at the fall of the structure which caused the death of Tughluq Shāh. Thus today the Multān building covers the bones of a saint instead of a Sulṭān.

Tughluq Shāh's death introduces us to Muḥammad Shāh, his son, considered by the historians as one of the great men of all ages. We shall confine ourselves here to his architectural works, among which may be mentioned Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh's mausoleum, the Jahānpanāh city, the Lal Gumbad in Delhi, the Daulatābād Fort, and the mausoleum raised on a tooth at Bir. All of them are noticeable works.

Let us first consider his father's mausoleum. It lies to the south of Tughluqābād and is joined to it by a viaduct and looks like a fortified adjunct to the main fort. The mausoleum has several significant features. Though built in Tughluq Shāh's style, the slight touches of white and black stone inlaid in red and the marble dome at the top and picturesqueness to it and the contrast with the formidable surrounding walls pleases the visitor. But a still more significant feature remains to be mentioned. The mausoleum was situated in the midst of a large artificial lake and the approach to the building lay over a viaduct, which, because

of the disappearance of the lake, appears meaningless today. To the Muslims, a mausoleum is a place of mourning, and it is expected that the relatives of the dead and other sympathetic visitors will pay their respects and offer prayers there for the benefit of the departed soul. Such a spot was therefore purposely made as solemn as possible and all that detracted from the solemnity of the environment was studiously avoided. Muḥammad did not subscribe to this idea *in toto*. While the main hall containing the tomb is spacious, and has a prayer-niche at one end, he surrounded the whole by a lake and thus added cheerfulness to the scene. Even from this single building historians might have drawn conclusions which are in consonance with the other original conceptions of this great ruler. We are not aware of any earlier building in or outside India having the features of this mausoleum, and it is to the credit of Indian Islam that, in such non-essentials, it tolerated the innovation.

The same feature may be seen in a lesser degree in the Lāl Gumbad in Delhi. Built by Sulṭān Muḥammad to serve after his death for his own tomb, it was given away by his successor, Fīroz, to Kabīr-ud-Dīn Auliyā', one of the local saints, Muḥammad being buried by the side of his father in Tughluqābād. The inlay work of the Gumbad may be noted, but the lake was never intended and the central dome looks, from outside, conical and not so full as the dome of Tughluq Shāh's tomb. In the absence of the latter, the Lāl Gumbad might have passed for a striking piece of work, but in its presence and in the presence of the numerous elegant buildings of the Mughals the Gumbad hardly attracts any attention from the ordinary visitor.

Daulatābād Fort is another of Muḥammad's significant creations, and on the strength of it some historians have pronounced him to be the founder of South Indian military architecture. A northern fort like Tughluqābād or the later Akbarābād or the Lal Qil'a of Delhi boasted of high walls, a surrounding ditch, the glacis, scarps and counterscarps. At Daulatābād Muḥammad further developed some of these features and added other novelties of his own. To mention a few of these novelties, he chose a hillock for the site where a small contingent could hold its own against the foe for an indefinite period. The circuitous path that led to the citadel at the top allowed the garrison of the fort to maintain a withering fire on the attacking force from all angles. The ramparts with their different tiers of loopholes, far more numerous than in the north, were another noticeable feature. Then again the citadel was ingeniously isolated from the lower storeys of the fortress, so that even when the rest of the fortifications were occupied by the enemy the citadel could be defended. The fortress, besides possessing several 'Ambār Khānas or granaries for the storage of grain, had the advantage of excellent water in its various storeys, including the citadel. The principal means of isolating the citadel was a tunnel-like pathway which had at its upper end an iron gridiron lid, on which in case of an attack fuel was lighted, the

intense blaze and the dense smoke thus caused rendering it impossible for the invaders to make any headway. The Muslims in India have many achievements to their credit, and the ingenious novelties introduced at Daulatābād are some of them.

After Muḥammad, came his cousin Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, who was a scholar and had been carefully trained by his predecessor in all that went to make a good man. At Muḥammad's death, he gave the first illustration of his goodness. When, after his cousin's death in Tattah, he was requested by the divines in the camp to ascend the throne, he refused on the plea of age and religious tendencies. But the exigencies of the movement made the Ulema more insistent and Fīrūz ultimately gave his consent. There are numerous other instances of his goodness.

Such an ascetic ruler could not appreciate the all-embracing genius of his cousin or the deep significance of some of his architectural works. So he reverted to the more easily comprehended style of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, and introduced simplicity and slope into all his buildings. But the features that suited a fort did not agree with a Masjid or a mausoleum.

Sulṭān Fīrūz's works have mostly perished. What remain are his tomb, the Kotla Fīrūz Shāh, a few Masjids, repairs to the public buildings of his predecessors, and additions to the buildings of the local saints. But they do not allow us to commend his taste. They have hardly any originality or achitectural excellence of their own. Even his mausoleum, surrounded as it was by a college, does not look striking in anyway.

Where the Sulṭān shone, was in planning a comprehensive scheme of public works for the benefit of his subjects. The list of them is a long one, and includes the digging of canals, laying-out of orchards, and the foundation of towns, hospitals, Masjids, monasteries, baths, etc. The first two obtained for him a large revenue, and they as well as the others were intended to relieve his people, who had suffered untold miseries in his predecessor's reign. So, though not a striking contributor to the architectural history of India, he holds an honoured place among the benefactors of the land. In fact Fīrūz may be called the father of the utilitarians: for whereas former rulers had refrained from any projects which would bring in revenue, Fīrūz's schemes relieved his subjects and added to their wealth as well as to his own.

His minister, Khān-i-Jahān II, has several buildings to this credit, among which may be mentioned more than one Masjid and his own mausoleum. They were built in the prevailing style and seem to be devoid of all decorations. But the Khān-i-Jahān is credited with making a bold experiment in mosque-architecture. Both in the Khirki Masjid at Jahānpanāh and the Kālī Masjid in the Niẓām-ud-Dīn area he introduced a covered passage running from end to end, from east to west as well as from north to south, thus dividing the open space into four smaller courtyards. This device, by which the bare-footed votaries in approaching the Liwān

avoided the heated pavements of the courtyard in summer and also the rains of the wet season, was undoubtedly an improvement on the entirely covered mosque recently (in 1367) built at Gulbarga. But Khān-i-Jahān's experiment was not taken up by others, and for a valid reason. The basic conception underlying a Muslim gathering at a mosque is group-worship, and the larger the group the greater the impression of solidarity on the minds of the votaries. The covered pathways divided the courtyard and hence the worshippers also, thus preventing them from realizing one of the chief aims of the group-gatherings.

Khān-i-Jahān's mausoleum is a small tomb, octagonal in shape, with three open arches on each face, and a large central dome on the terrace surrounded by eight smaller ones. The whole tomb seems insignificant in size or elevation and the eight subsidiary domes are almost hidden when looked at from the ground. But this insignificant building had the honour of serving for a century or more as a prototype for all the royal tombs. Thus the Sayyid, the Lodī and even the Suri kings had for their model this humble tomb of Khān-i-Jahān Tilangānī, and some historians have even traced the octagonal plan of Shēr Shāh's, Humāyūn's or Mumtāz Begam's tombs to it. The principal reason for this adoption of Tilangānī's mausoleum as a model seems to be psychological rather than architectural. Tilangānī was the revered Sulṭān Fīrūz's minister. In their love for Fīrūz, they accepted his minister's mausoleum as their model. It was no mean achievement of Fīrūz and along with him of Indian Islam that while he was denying himself every material comfort, his contemporaries and posterity showered on him and on his minister every token of their love and respect. Even Tīmūr during his brief stay in Delhi offered his meed of praise to the departed emperor by reading a Khuṭba in his Masjid and carrying away the plan of it for the purpose of erecting a similar building in his capital, Samarqand.

After Fīrūz Tughluq's death, a pall of inanition spread over the architectural field, and except for the tombs of the rulers there was hardly any noticeable building in the period. Fīrūz's simple and pious life had cast a cloud over the earthly ambitions of his successors, and it was very slowly that Indian architecture rid itself of this static and anæmic state, so that it took more than two centuries before the austere Tughluq style was finally discarded.

The story of the replacement of the sloping walls and batters by straight walls and the slow process of improvement may be briefly told here. Khān-i-Jahān Tilangānī's tomb became the prototype for the tombs of the Sayyid and Lodī kings and even for those of later periods, the only exception being that of Bahlūl Lodī. The Sayyid mausoleums, being built by potentates of limited means, were planned and executed on a modest scale, but they increased the size of the edifice and introduced some embellishments in plaster and colour, *e.g.*, they added stunted turrets, Guldastas, diminutive kiosks or Chhatrīs, fuller domes and pin-

nacles. They also attended to surface decoration and cautiously introduced colour and cloured tiles in beautifying the walls, and in one of them, *viz.*, Muḥammad Shāh's tomb, even a lantern was introduced for a pinnacle. This mausoleum or that of Muḥammad's uncle, Mubārak Shāh, is a fair specimen of what was achieved by the Sayyid rulers.

The improvements continued even after the supersession of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn 'Ālam Shāh by Sulṭān Bahlūl, and we find further embellishments in the Lodī buildings, *e.g.*, the central dome was fuller and its neck or drum was more elevated and provided with fenestrations, and colour and coloured tiles were freely used. We may also note three other architectural developments of the Lodī period: first, the large dimensions of the mausoleums of the rulers and their nobles. The former, with the exception of Bahlūl's, kept to the Tilangānī model while the latter followed a square pattern; secondly, the device of the double dome, first introduced in Sikandar's reign in Tāj Khān's tomb and adopted, later on, in Sulṭān Sikandar's mausoleum also. The device is a simple one and may be briefly explained. The dome had a double casing, the outer one rising to a great height while the inner one formed a lower shallow cover to the empty space above. The advantages of the device were that while the outer casing could be made as high and dignified as was desired, the inner or lower one was nothing more than a saucer-like covering to the hall below, its main purpose being to prevent the bats and other nocturnal birds from resting in the dark hollow space enclosed. Thirdly, Sulṭān Sikandar's mausoleum, unlike those of the Sayyids, rested in the centre of a large open enclosure surrounded by crenellated walls. For the Mughals it served as a motif; only they increased the size of the enclosure and planned therein a handsome garden with its numerous parterres of flowers, water channels, chutes and cascades. The Lodīs thus contributed very materially to the growth of Muslim architecture in India and in more than one direction suggested lines of improvement to their Mughal successors, *e.g.*, the colours and the coloured tiles suggested the delicate mosaic work of semi-precious stones in marble or the Lodī kiosks and relief works gave way to the equally or more graceful marble ones.

In concluding the history of 'Pathan' architecture, it may be noted that, at its commencement, state policy rather than the rigid canon of the church directed the activities of the architects, and hence we notice a feverish anxiety on the part of the Muslim conquerors to conciliate their Hindu subjects. At the close of the period, on the other hand, a more balanced and realistic view is adopted, the orthodox architectural views are scrutinized and if necessary ignored, and a healthy vigorous tradition is established which if allowed free development would lead to still better results. The lofty and graceful Tāj with its beautiful relief and mosaic work and exquisite garden appears as a logical culmination of the young but vigorous Lodī architecture.

S. K. Banerji.

# CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(*Continued from p. 164 of the April 1946 Issue*)

## II

## BATTLE-GROUND

COMMENDABLE order of battle depended on an ideal battle-field, which was chosen with great care. A battle-ground was regarded as most suitable when it was wide, extensive and spacious. It was chosen in a place which was neither too near nor too far from habitation. Hard ground was preferred, but a stony field was avoided as it damaged the hoofs of the horses. Wet, dusty and sandy ground also was not liked, because it hindered the movements of the troops. The proximity of an independent water-supply was also given consideration in the selection of a field.[1] The natural convenience and defence of a battle-ground, if available, was also fully utilized to gain advantages. For example, when Khusrau Khān came out of Siri, to fight against Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq, he marched into the field as far as Hauz-i-Alai, where he posted himself opposite to Lahrawat with gardens in front and the citadel in his rear.[2] And when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq reached Qannauj to quell the revolt of Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Oudh, the Sulṭān decided to take the city of Qannauj in the rear so as to entrench himself in the fortress, which commanded a good strategic position.[3]

In order to checkmate the break-through of the enemy, ditches were dug round the camp and the battle-ground, and block-houses were made along the entrenchment. When Alā'uddin fought his third battle against the Mughals, Baranī writes :— " The Sulṭān, with his small army of horse, left the capital and encamped at Siri, where the superior numbers and strength of the enemy compelled him to entrench his camp. Round the entrenchment he built block-houses and other erections to prevent the enemy from forcing a way in, and he kept his forces constantly under arms and on the watch to guard against the dreaded attack."[4] Shēr Shāh was accustomed to dig ditches and build earthen entrenchments

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1. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.
2. Baranī, p. 417.
3. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah, Urdu translation by M. Husain, p. 180.
4. Baranī, p. 301 ; Elliot, Vol. III, p. 190.

around his camp in every battle. When his rival Mallū Khān[1] (the ruler of Mandu, Ujjain, and Sarangpur) surrendered to him and came to his camp, 'Abbās Khān Sarawanī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, writes:— "Shēr Shāh showed the whole array of his army to Mallū Khān, who was astounded, for he had never seen such an army before. At every stage they threw up an earthen entrenchment and when he saw the labour and exertion of the soldiers and the rigour of Shēr Shāh's discipline Mallū Khān said to the Afghans, 'you submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions, night and day you have no rest; ease and comforts are things forbidden to you.' The Afghans replied, 'Such is our master's custom..... It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. Ease is for women, it is shameful to honorable men."[2] Mallū Khān was one day much alarmed at seeing a party of respectable nobles working in the camp as common labourers at the circumvallation, which was constructed every day. He apprehended that the same fate awaited his own person. So he escaped by some contrivance from Shēr Shāh's camp.[3] In the year 950 Shēr Shāh marched towards Nagor, Ajmer and Jodhpur. He ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle and should throw up an earthen entrenchment at every halting-ground. On the way the troops encamped one day on a plain of sand, and, in spite of all their labour, they could not, on account of the sand, make an entrenchment. But Shēr Shāh's grandson contrived to fill sacks with sand and make the entrenchment with the bags. Shēr Shāh was highly delighted to see the fortification of bags filled with sand.[4]

The Tīmūrides also had well-devised arrangement for battle-grounds. Amīr Tīmūr writes in his *Tuzuk* that his order to Amīr-ul-Umarā' was that four things must be taken into consideration in selecting a battle-field. First, the water near it must be wholesome. Second, the ground must be protective to the troops. Third, the enemy must be easily visible, and the sun should not be in front, so that the rays of the sun might not dazzle the eyes of the troops. Fourth, the front of the battle-ground must be spacious and wide.[5]

If the above facilities of the battle-field were available, the troops of the Tīmūride rulers stood firm as adamantine rock and fought like invin-

1. Elliot says that *Wāqi'āt Mushtāqī* and *Tārīkh-i-Dandī* record an interesting military spectacle which astonished Mallū Khān at this review. When the royal umbrella came in sight, the cavalry drew their sabres, galloped forward towards the umbrella, dismounted from their horses and saluted the king in due form, 'as was their habit on the day of battle.' Each division did this in succession (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 392).

2. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* by 'Abbās Khān Sarawanī; Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 392-393.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 394, see also the marginal notes.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 405.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Tīmūrī*, p. 191.

cible heroes. Their intrepidity and gallantry in battle were proverbial and all the martial races of India found themselves simply dismayed and highly terrified while waging war against them. The brave and valiant Rajputs, after trying their strength and fortune in the battle of Kanua, preferred ever afterward to face the army of the Tīmūride rulers by retiring behind the walls of some strong fortress.

If the convenience of a good battle-ground was not to be had, the troops had to bear much hardship and difficulty. One of the causes of Humāyūn's defeat at the battle of Chaunsa, fought against Shēr Khān, was that he (Humāyūn) did not find a suitable field. The two rivals encamped themselves on a bank of the Ganges, and a tributary stream of the river flowed between them. But Shēr Khān stole a march on Humāyūn and selected a more advantageous place, which provided a very convenient strategy. Humāyūn was thus forced to choose a sloppy plain, full of mud and mire, which hindered the movement and mobility of his horses.[1]

In Akbar's reign, Khwāja Āṣaf Khān led an expedition against the well-known Rānī Durgāwati of Gadha. The Rānī chose a very difficult site for encountering the imperial troops. She encamped at Narhi, which, on its four sides had a mountain, and a river in front called Gaur. And on another side there was the furious river Narbada. The ravine, formed by the passage of the river, had a narrow and awful access to the village Narhi. There was possibly no inlet for Āṣaf Khān's army. But Āṣaf Khān manœuvred a fight, by which the Rānī's troops were drawn from the ravine. And then he at once fortified the entrance to the pass by his artillery, which helped his soldiers to enter into the mountains. This terrified the defenders, who, along with the Rānī, chose death rather than the dishonour of being vanquished.[2]

When Akbar fought against Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā in Gujrat, he had to encamp his troops on a ground which was rough and full of thorn-bushes (cactus). Two horsemen could not advance abreast in this field. The thorn-bushes made the ways narrow. The enemy took advantage of these bushes, and two assailants rushed out of the ranks of the enemy and aimed at Akbar's life. The thorn-bushes were obstacles and no one could reach Akbar to rescue him, but the emperor saved his life by urging his horse and jumping over the thorn-bushes.[3]

And, again, when Khān A'ẓam Mīrzā Koka led his forces against Sulṭān Maẓaffar Gujrātī in the thirty-sixth year of Akbar's reign, he was placed in a difficult position because the enemy occupied the high ground, and the lowness of the land caused the imperialist forces to experience much trouble and finally reverses, after which they had to retreat four Kos back from their original post.[4]

1. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 370.
2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, pp. 212, 213.
3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, pp. 212, 213.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 594.

Again in the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign, the Afghans of Orissa encountered the imperialists near Malnapur (Elliot says Midnapore)[1] by surrounding themselves with a forest, which had a stream around it. They avoided an open engagement. But the imperialists managed to occupy an eminence (Sarkob) which was near the enemy, and proceeded at once to build a fort here. The fort was likely to provide a convenient post for discharging heavy volleys from guns and other firearms. This dismayed the enemy, who, finding no other alternative, moved on their forces across the stream for a hand-to-hand fight.[2]

Shāh Jahān's army could not get superiority over the Uzbeks, because the latter always preferred to inflict losses on the imperial army by having sporadic tussles behind ravines and valleys. And so 'Ālamgīr failed to suppress the Ahoms and Maghs of Assam, in as much as they gave stiff resistance to the royal troops while retiring to dense woods, rugged hills and narrow creeks. Similarly, the Marathas always realised the efficacy of guerilla warfare against the Mughal army, and their roving columns in mountainous areas gave enormous trouble to the latter. They always avoided pitched battles and fought against their opponents by encamping themselves in obscure and inaccessible places.

Dust and ill provision of water also sometimes caused great disaster to the army. When Akbar's army fought against Jānī Beg at Thatta, a strong wind blew, and the dust made the battle-ground quite invisible. Amidst this commotion and darkness the ranks of the army became confused and separated, and it was with great difficulty that the commanders of the imperial troops could organise them.[3] Prior to this battle the imperialists had to undergo much hardship during the capture of Umarkot. Here the enemy had poisoned the water of the wells, so that in that sandy land the soldiers were greatly distressed for want of water. Happily, a sudden shower of rain filled up the dry tanks, to the great relief of the thirsty warriors.[4] Dārā Shikoh's army also had to suffer much distress at Samugarh on account of the fierce sun overhead, the sandy plain under foot, and the scorching wind around. A large number of troops perished from the heat, thirst, and lack of drinking-water.[5] Again at the battle of Jajau, A'ẓam Shāh's forces experienced indescribable suffering for want of water. Horses, elephants and horsemen expired of thirst. The heat was excessive, and the soil of the field was sandy. And as the fight continued the thick dust was blown by the hot wind into the faces of A'ẓam Shāh's soldiers. It was strong enough to divert the arrows, and even bullets, from A'ẓam Shāh's side.[6]

1. Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 89.
2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, pp. 611, 612.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 609.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 605.
5. *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, p. 86.
6. Khāfī Khān, Vol. II, p. 594. He writes: "A strong wind arose, which blew straight from the side of Shāh Ālam against the army of A'ẓam Shāh, so that every arrow, with the help of the wind of fate,

wisely refrained from a direct attack on this fortification and turned his attention to cutting off supplies of grain, fodder and fuel from the garri-

Again, when Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān fought for the throne against Jahāndār Shāh near Lahore on the banks of the Ravi, a high wind sprang up and the sand from the Ravi rose in clouds. Everything was blotted out from view. All the fighters stood motionless, shutting their eyes to keep out the dust. This gave the mercenary soldiers an opportunity to plunder the camp and treasure of the prince.[1]

Every device was, however, used to make the battle-field a safe and ideal camping ground for the army. When Amīr Tīmūr pitched his tents on the bank of the river Jumna to wage battle against Sulṭān Maḥmūd Tughluq, he directed his military officers that "the ground round the camp should be parcelled out among them and that each one should have a deep ditch dug in front of his allotment." Accordingly all the soldiers assembled *en masse* to dig the ditch ; and in two watches of the day the ditch round the whole camp was complete. And then Tīmūr ordered that the trees in the vicinity should be cut down and their branches would be formed into a strong abattis within the ditch, and that in some places planks should be set up.[2] The author of *Ẓafar-Nāma* says that Tīmūr's army was much afraid of elephants, so he (Tīmūr) allayed their fears by fixing palisades and digging a trench in front of each rank of his troops. And in front of these ranks he ordered buffaloes to be placed side by side and fastened firmly together by the neck and feet with leather thongs. He also had strong iron claws made and given to the infantry, who were ordered to throw them on the ground in front of the elephants.[3] At the battle of Panipat, Bābur had, on the right side of its army, the crowded houses and suburbs of the town of Panipat, and he protected his left side by digging ditches which were filled with the branches of trees. The front was guarded by carts (Araba) and mantelets behind which foot and matchlock-men stood to fire. And when Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt led his army against Humāyūn at Mandsor, he also entrenched his camp with carts, waggons and artillery, and then again with a ditch round them. Rūmī Khān, who commanded Sulṭān Bahādur's artillery, counselled his royal master that guns and rockets were of little use in pitched battles, so the proper course was to make a bulwark of gun carriages, and a moat round this. He also opined that this sort of entrenchment would help the use of firearms of long range against the enemy. But Humāyūn

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reached the army of A'ẓam Shāh and pierced through armour, but the rockets and the arrows and the balls from his side being resisted by the contrary wind, failed to reach the ranks of the enemy and fell upon the ground. It is said that Tarbiyat Khan twice discharged a musket from the army of A'ẓam Shāh against Prince 'Aẓım-ush-Shān. Both shots failed, but a musket ball from the other side reached the Khān's breast and at the same moment an arrow pierced him and he died. (Vide also Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 398).

1. *Siyar-ul-Muta'khirīn*, Vol. II, p. 383.
2. *Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 437.
3. *Ẓafar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 102 ; Elliot Vol. III, p. 499.

son. This reduced Sulṭān Bahādur's troops to starvation and he took to flight after setting fire to his cannon and great mortars.[1]

In 992 A.H. Akbar's troops confronted Sultān Muẓaffar Gujrāti at Sarkej. On one side they abutted on the city (*i.e.* Sarkej) and on the other on a river, and then strengthened their camp by making a barricade of stone and wood.[2] Jahāngīr's army, in the 18th year of his reign, fought a battle against Abd Allah in Gujrāt, but the imperialists could not file their army properly on account of low ground, thorny bushes, and the narrow passes of the battle-field.[3] In the duel of succession between Aurangzeb and Dārā, Jaswant Singh was ordered by Shāh Jahān to deal a crushing blow on Aurangzeb before he reached Agra. The Rajput general proceeded from Ujjain and opposed Aurangzeb at Dharmaut on the bank of the Narmada. But the ground where Jaswant Singh marshalled his troops was narrow and uneven with ditches and swamps on its flanks. The soldiers could not find space to file themselves properly. They stood here and there without order or method. Jaswant Singh did however set up an entrenchment round his camp, and he also poured water on the ground and trod it into mud. He did this evidently to arrest the enemy's charge, but it proved disastrous for his own cavaliers, fighting on mettled horses.[4]

The precaution of making the position of the battle-ground secure by throwing up trenches continued till the last days of the Mughal rule. When Jahāndār Shāh sent his son Prince. Izz-ud-Dīn to fight against Farrukh-Siyar in 1712 A.D. the prince took his stand at Khajwa. Around his camp, he dug a ditch which was fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The earth dug out was thrown up on the inner side, forming a protection of about the height of a man. On these earthworks guns and mortars were placed.[5] These earthworks served also as covers within which the artillery fire was conveniently carried on. Earthworks, entrenchments and redoubts specially constructed for artillery were invariably called Murchal[6] or Malchar,[7] and were very commonly used during the conduct of sieges, as we shall show later on.

S. SABAHUDDIN.

*(To be continued)*

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 35; *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 133.
2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 425.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 373.
4. *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 28-30.
5. Khāfī Khān, Vol. II, p. 699.
6-7. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 164; *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 692; *Wāqi'āt-i-' Ālamgīrī*, p. 32; Khāfī Khān, Vol. II, p. 924.

# DEVIL'S DELUSION

## *TALBĪS-IBLĪS* OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ[1]

(*Continued from page* 190 *of the April* 1946 *issue*).

### ACCOUNT OF THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF THE ṢŪFĪS IN REFUSING MEDICINE.

I WOULD observe that there is no difference of opinion among the jurists as to the legality of medicine ; some, however, suppose that the better course[2] is to abstain from it. We have recorded the discussions on this subject and our own preference in our work *Gleaning of Utilities in the Medical Art.* Our purpose here is to state that inasmuch as it is ascertained that the employment of medicine is by consensus lawful, and recommended by the learned, no attention need be paid to people who take the view that such employment is inconsistent with Reliance ; for the consensus of learned opinion is that it is consistent therewith. It is ascertained that the Prophet employed medicine and enjoined its employment ; he did not thereby exclude himself from the Reliant nor cause those whom he bade employ it to be excluded. Among the traditions of 'Uthmān in the Ṣaḥīḥ[3] there is one to the effect that the Prophet gave permission to a pilgrim who felt pain in his eye to apply a plaster of juice of aloes. Ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī says : This tradition shows how wrong is the assertion of foolish Ṣūfīs and devotees that no one is truly reliant who treats a bodily ailment medically, since according to them such action is seeking for health elsewhere than from Him in whose hand is health, hurt, and help. The Prophet's permission to the pilgrim to treat his eye with aloes-juice to get rid of the pain is the clearest proof that the meaning of Reliance is something different from what the people whose view we have mentioned say, and that such an action does not exclude its doer from acquiscence in the decree of God, just as one who is assailed by ravening hunger is not excluded from Reliance and acquiescence in the decree of God by resorting to food ; for God has sent down no disease to which he has not sent down a cure, except death, and has provided means for the averting of diseases just as He has provided eating as a means of averting hunger. He could indeed have given life to His creatures without this, but has created them with this need, and the pain of hunger is only to be averted by the means which He has provided for that purpose. Similar is the case with the attacks of disease. God is the Guide.

1. Continued from p. 306 of the Arabic Text.
2. The word employed seems suggested by Sūrah iii, 183. It cannot here mean "divine ordinance."
3. Also in Ahmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, i, 60.

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ṢŪFĪS IN THE MATTER OF NEGLECTING THE FRIDAY PRAYER AND PUBLIC PRAYER AND SUBSTITUTING PRIVACY AND ISOLATION.

I would observe that the best of the ancients favoured privacy and isolation in order to occupy themselves with study and devotion; but their isolation did not keep them from joining the Friday prayer and public prayer, nor from visiting the sick, attending funerals, and discharging duties. Their isolation was from evil and evildoers, and mixing with the idle. The devil has deluded many of the Ṣūfīs, some of whom isolate themselves on a mountain like monks, spending night and day in solitude, and missing Friday prayer and public prayer, and the company of men of learning. The larger number isolate themselves in hermitages, and so miss going to the mosques; they install themselves on the bed of comfort and give up earning. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī says in the *Revival*[1] "The object of ascetic exercise is to evacuate the heart, and this can only be effected by isolation in a dark place, and if there is no such place available, then let the neophyte wrap his head in his cloak or cover himself with some garment or other, and in such a condition he will hear the summons of the Divine Being and come into the presence of His Majesty."

I would observe: Just consider these dispositions, and marvel at the possibility of their proceeding from a learned jurist! Whence does he know that the voice which he hears is the Divine Being's, and that what he witnesses is the Divine Majesty? What guarantee has he that his sensations are not false suggestions and fantasies? For the phenomenon is one which is found in those who take a minimum of food, such persons being victims of melancholia. A man, however, may be immune from illusions even in this condition, but if he covers himself with his garment and closes his eyes he has such hallucinations. For there are in the brain three faculties: one of imagination, one of thought, and one of recollection. The seat of imagination is the two frontal lobes of the brain; that of thought the temporal lobe; that of recollection the occipital. If a man bends down head and closes his eyes, this gives play to the thought and the imagination, and he sees phantasms which he supposes to be what has been told of the Divine Majesty, etc., false suggestions and hallucinations from which God preserve us!

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abū 'Uthmān b. al-Adamī according to which the latter said: When it was the first day of Ramadān Abū 'Ubaid aṭ-ustarī used to enter his chamber and tell his wife to plaster up the door, and every night to throw a piece of bread in through the window. When the feast-day came she entered and found thirty pieces of bread in the cell; he had

1. Cairo, 1306, iii, 61, line 12 f. The quotation is abridged.

neither eaten nor drunk nor prepared himself for prayer, remaining on one ablution to the end of the month.

I would observe that to my mind this story is unlikely to be true for two reasons; one is that it assumes the possibility of a man remaining for a month without incurring legal impurity by sleep or the needs of nature; the second that it assumes that a Muslim would neglect Friday prayer and public prayer, which are duties that he may not neglect. If the story is really true, then the devil could not have deluded the man more thoroughly.

The same authority went on to say: We have been told by Ẓāhir b. Ṭāhir after Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Baihaqī[1] after al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abdallāh al-Nisabūrī[2] how the last said: More than once I heard Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bushanjī[3] remonstrated with for neglect of the Friday prayer and public prayer, and keeping away from them. He would reply: Though a blessing may rest on the assembly, there is safety in isolation.

Now there is a tradition forbidding isolation, which involves abstention from the pursuit of knowledge and the sacred war. We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥusain one going back to Abū Umāmah[4] according to which the latter said: We went out with the Prophet on one of his expeditions, when a man passed by a cave containing some water, and the idea occurred to him to take up his residence in the cave maintaining himself on the water which was there and the surrounding vegetation, so as to isolate himself from the world. Then he thought he had better go to the Prophet and recount his project, which he would carry out if the Prophet gave him leave, but not otherwise. So he went to the Prophet and said: O Prophet of God, I have been passing by a cave which would provide sufficient in the way of water and vegetables for my nourishment, and the idea occurred to me to abide there and isolate myself from the world. The Prophet replied: I have not been sent to preach Judaism or Christianity, but the liberal Ḥanifism. By Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul a day march or a night march in the path of God is better than the world and its contents. Steadfastness in the ranks better than sixty years of prayer.

## Account of the Way wherein the Devil deludes the Ṣūfīs in the Matters of Self-Abasement, hanging down the Head and Maintenance of Prestige.

I would observe that when fear enters the heart it produces external abasement, which the person thus affected cannot prevent. You will see

1. 384-458. Notice of him in Sam'ānī p. 101*a*.
2. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 321-405.
3. Died 348. Notice of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār* i, 160.
4. Kunyah of three Companions.

such a man hanging his head, and behaving with courtesy and humility. Men have tried hard to conceal these external indications of fear. Muḥammad b. Sīrīn used to laugh during the day and weep during the night. Now we should not recommend the man of learning to be familiar with the populace, for that will annoy them. We have been told that 'Alī said: When you are talking of learned matters, keep them close and do not mingle them with laughter lest the mind cast them out. Conduct of this sort is called hypocrisy, since the minds of the populace are not large enough to interpret the learned man's intentions when he indulges in permissible licence; he ought to confront them with silence and strict etiquette. What is reprehensible is the assumption of humility, pretending to weep, and hanging the head in order to present the appearance of asceticism, and putting oneself in the way of being saluted and having one's hand kissed, and perhaps being asked by someone to pray for him, in which case the man will make ready to pray as though he could make an answer come down. We have been told that when some people asked Ibrāhīm an-Nakha'ī[1] to pray for them, he strongly objected to doing so. Religious fear has led some men to extreme self-abasement and shame, so that they will not raise their heads to the sky. This is no virtue, since there is no humility superior to the Prophet's. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim there is a tradition according to which Abū Mūsa said: The Prophet used often to raise his head to the sky. This shows that it is proper to look upwards to the sky in order to take warning from its signs; God says (1.6): *What, have they not gazed on the sky above them, how we have built it ? and* (10. 101) *Say: Behold what is in the heavens and the earth*—text which refute the Ṣūfīs, one of whom may continue for years without looking at the sky. These people have added to their innovation a hint of anthropomorphism; had they known that their hanging their heads and raising them up are all one in the matter of respect for the Deity, they would not have done this; only the devil has no other occupation than making game of the ignorant. He keeps his distance from learned, of whom he is greatly afraid, inasmuch as they know what he is about and are on their guard against his various wiles.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and 'Umar b. Ẓafar a tradition going back to Abū Salāmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān[2] according to which the last said: The Prophet's Companions were not extremists or people who pretended to be dead, but used to recite poems to each other at their assemblies, and call up memories of pagan days; only if any religious service was required from any of them,[3] his eyeballs would roll as if he were mad.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb the Ḥāfiẓ a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qureshī after his father, who said:

1. Ibn Yazīd, 46-96.
2. Son of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf, died 94 or 104. Account of him in the *Tahdhīb*, xii, 115-118.
3. This seems to be the sense.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, seeing a lad hanging down his head, said to him: My friend, raise your head, for humility does not go beyond what is in the heart; if anyone makes a display of more humility than is in his heart, he only exhibits hypocrisy added to hypocrisy.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb a tradition going back to Kahmas b. al-Ḥusain[1] that when a man sighed in the presence of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, making a pretence of grief, the Caliph struck him a blow on the chest (or the face).

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to 'Āṣim b. Kulaib al-Jarmī[2] according to which his father met 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad[3] walking according to his custom humbly keeping close to the wall. He[4] inclined his head slightly, and my father said to him (said 'Āṣim): Why do you walk keeping close to the wall? When 'Umar walked, assuredly he stepped firmly on the ground, and spoke loudly.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Sulaimān b. Abī Hathāmah[5] after his father, according to which Ash-Shifa, daughter of 'Abdallāh,[6] seeing some young men take short steps and conversing slowly, asked what it meant. Being told that they were devotees, she said: Assuredly when 'Umar talked, he made himself heard: when he walked he hastened: when he struck he hurt; and he was the real devotee.

I would observe that the ancients used to conceal their states, and their artifice was to avoid artificiality. We have mentioned that Ayyūb as-Sakhtiyānī used to wear a long robe to conceal his condition. Sufyān ath-Thaurī used to say: I take no account of any action of mine which is manifest, and said to a friend whom he saw praying: What audacity to pray in people's sight! We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Ziyād[7] according to which the latter said: Abū Umāmah passed by a man who was prostrating himself, and said: A fine prostration, if only it were in your own house!

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to al-Ḥusain b. 'Ammār according to which the latter said: In the room of al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah[8] a certain man uttered the interjection Ah! Al-Ḥasan proceeded to stare at him, asking who it was; we thought that if al-Ḥasan had known him he would have given some orders about him.[9]

1. Died 147. According to the *Tahdhīb* the father's name was al-Ḥasan.
2. Died 137; account of him in the *Tahdhīb*, v. 55.
3. Al-Nakha'ī, who died about 99, must be meant as appears from the Kunyah Abū-Bakr. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, vi, 140.
4. The text has Abū Bakr, meaning 'Abd ar-Raḥmān.
5. Name corrected after *Iṣābah* (Cairo, 1325) iii, 159. Said to have been born in the Prophet's time.
6. She was Sulaimān's mother, said to have become a Muslim before the Hijrah.
7. Al-Alhānī, as appears from the *Tahdhīb*, ix, 170.
8. Al Mudarrib al Bajalī, died 153. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, ii, 304-308.
9. Probably that he should be expelled.

We have been told by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Muqrī' a tradition going back to Harmalah[1] according to which the latter said: I heard al-Shafi'ī say:

Quit those who in your presence are devout,
But turn to wolves when no one is about.

We have been told by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd,[2] according to which he said: I was standing at the head of al-Ma'mūn, when he said to me: Ibrahīm! At your service, I replied. There are, he proceeded to say, ten good works not one of which, I swear by Allāh, will ascend to Him. I asked the Caliph what they were. He replied: (1) The sobbing of Ibrāhīm in the pulpit,[3] (2) the humility of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq,[4] (3) the asceticism of Ibn Sama'ah,[5] (4) the prayer of Ibn Khai'uyah in the night, (5) that of Abbās in the forenoon, (6) Ibn as-Sindī's fasting on Monday and Thursday, (7) the tradition of Abū Raja, (8) the anecdotes of al-Ḥājibī, (9) the almsgiving of Hafsawaihī, (10) the letter of ash-Shāmī to 'Alī b. Quraish.[6]

## Account of the Way wherein the Devil deludes the Ṣūfīs in the Matter of Celibacy.

I would observe that marriage is obligatory where there is a danger of immorality, and where there is no such danger it is a Sunnah emphasized by all the jurists. The doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfah and Ibn Ḥanbal is that it is superior to all acts of supererogation, since it is the means for the procreation of children. The Prophet said: "Marry and multiply" and "Marriage is my Sunnah, and whoso rejects my Sunnah does not belong to me." We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, according to which the latter said: The Prophet disapproved of 'Uthmān b. 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn's celibacy; had he given permission for it, we should have castrated ourselves. Ibn Sa'd (one of the transmitters of this tradition) added: We have also been

1. B. Yaḥya at-Tujjībī, 166-243, disciple of Shāfi'ī. Account of him in Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shafi'iyah*, i, 257-259.

2. Probably Abū Isḥāq al-Jauharī, died 247, though some gave the date differently.

3. Probably Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who for a time was the rival Caliph, is meant.

4. Al- Māmūn's Qāḍī.

5. His name was Muhammad; also a Qādī; *Shajarat adh-Dhahab, ii,* 78, states that his *wird* (extra devotions), in a day and night consisted of a hundred inclinations. He died 233, aged 100.

6. It is to be regretted that the author has furnished no explanation of these allusions. The mode in which the names are given renders them hard to identify. It would seem that in all cases the act, in itself meritorious, was spoiled by ostentation. Perhaps al-Ḥājibi (No. 8) is Ṣakhr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥājibi died about 230, a fabricator of traditions (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 183). Ibn as-Sindī may be the one of as-Sindī b. Shaikh, who incurred the wrath of *Mā'mūn*, died 204; see Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb Baghdād*, Index. 'Ali b. Quraish is probably 'Ali b. Ḥusain b. Quraish, prominent 255.

told one goin Cck to Anas b. Mālik according to which he stated that certain of the ompanions asked the Prophet's wives concerning his private conduct, which they told them ; then one said " I will eat no meat," another " I will marry no woman," a third, " I will sleep on no bed at night," a fourth " I will fast and never break my fast." Thereupon the Prophet, after praising God, said : How comes it that certain people talk in the way mentioned ? I myself pray and sleep, fast and break my fast, and marry wives. Whoso rejects my Sunnah does not belong to me.

Ibn Sa'd goes on : We have also been told a tradition going back to Sa'īd b. 'Ubaid according to which Ibn 'Abbās said : The best of this community is the most polygamous. Further : We have also been told a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Muslim according to which Shaddād b. Aus[1] said : Marry me, for the Prophet enjoined me not to meet God celibate...

We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥusain a tradition going back to Abū Dharr according to which the latter said : A man named 'Akkāf b. Bishr at-Tamīmī al-Hilālī came to the Prophet who asked him whether he had a wife. He said, No. Nor a slave-girl ? He said, No. Yet, said the Prophet, you are well off, a rich man ? Yes, he said, I am well off. Then, said the Prophet, you are one of the demons' brethren ; had you been a Christian you would have been a monk. My Sunnah is marriage ; the worst among you are the celibates. The vilest of your dead are the celibates. Would ye play with the demons ? The demons have no more effective weapon against saints than women.

We have also been told by Ibn al-Ḥusain a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah according to which the latter said : The Prophet cursed effeminate men, who imitate women, and masculine women, who imitate men. Also celibate men, who declare they will never marry, and spinsters who say the same.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Bakr al-Marwazī according to which the latter said : I heard Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal say : Celibacy has no part in Islam. The Prophet married fourteen wives, nine of who survived him. He proceeded to say : Had Bishr b. al-Ḥārith[2] only been married, he would have been perfect. Were people not to marry, there would be no raiding, no pilgrimage, no (other things which he enumerated). Many a morning the Prophet found himself destitute, yet for all that he favoured marriage, encouraged it, and forbade celibacy. One who rejects what the Prophet did is not in the right. The blessed Jacob in the midst of his grief took a wife[3] and begot a child. The Prophet said : Women have been endear-

1. Died 58, nephew of the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit.

2. amous ascetic generally known as Bishr the Barefoot, died 227.

3. In the *Qiṣaṣ al Anbiyā* of al-Kisā'i (ed. Isenberg, p. 156) it is stated that after Rachel's death Laban sent Jacob a younger sister.

ed unto me. I (said Abū Bakr al-Marwazī) said: It is related that Ibrāhīm b. Adam[1] said: "Assuredly the anxiety of a family man" but before I was able to finish the quotation he shouted out: We have fallen among heresies; consider, God preserve you, the course followed by the Prophet and his Companions. He added: The crying of a child to his father for bread is worth more than (he mentioned some amount). How could the celibate devotee attain to the worth of the married?

Now the devil has deluded many of the Ṣūfīs and prevented their marrying. The earlier Ṣūfīs remained unmarried out of devoutness, supposing that marriage would distract them from obedience to God. Those of our time, if they need it or feel some inclination towards it, risk their bodies and their religion by abstention, whereas if they do not need it, they forfeit its merit. In both *Ṣaḥīḥ* there is a tradition of Abū Hurairah according to which the Prophet said: In the performance of the conjugal duty too there is almsgiving. They said: If one of us gratifies his inclination, is there a reward for it? The Prophet replied: Tell me, if he gratifies it illicitly, is he guilty? They said: Yes. Likewise, said the Prophet, if he gratifies it licitly, he earns reward. He added: Do you take account of the evil only, and not of the good?

Some say that marriage involves expense, and earning is difficult. This is a plea for indulging the luxury of idleness. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* there is a tradition of Abū Hurairah according to which the Prophet said: As between a dinar which you spend in the path of God, a dinar which you spend in manumitting a slave, a dinar which you spend in alms, and a dinar which you spend on your family, that which you spend on your family is the best employed.

Some of them assert that marriage involves attachment to the world. We have been told that Abū Sulaimān ad-Daranī[2] said: If a man goes in search of Tradition, or travels in the pursuit of livelihood, or marries, he is inclined to the world.

I would observe that all this is contrary to the Code. How can a man fail to search for Tradition, when "the angels droop their wings to the searcher after knowledge?"[3] And how can he fail to seek a livelihood, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: I would sooner die of running on my feet in search of honourable means of subsistence than die fighting in the path of God? And how can he fail to marry, when the Legislator bids us marry? I regard these inventions as contrary to the Code.

The majority of the later Ṣūfīs only abstain from marriage in order to earn the title ascetic; the populace reverence a Ṣūfī when he has no wife, saying "He has never known a woman." This is monasticism, which is

1. Perhaps this should be Adham.

2. His name was 'Abd ar Raḥmān b. Aḥmad; death-date variously given as 205, 215 or later.

3. Tradition quoted by Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā* i, 7. His commentator makes a number of suggestions as to its import, and records how mockers were miraculously punished.

contrary to our Code. Abū Ḥāmid (al-Ghazzālī) says: The neophyte ought not to distract himself with marriage, for this will distract him from treading the path; he will find comfort in his wife, and whoso finds comfort in any other than God has his thoughts diverted from God.[1]

I would observe that his language surprises me. Do you suppose that he was unaware that a man who aims at keeping chaste and having issue, or keeping his wife chaste, by no means departs from the highroad, or supposed that his natural finding of comfort in his wife is inconsistent with the comfort which the heart finds in obedience to God? God calls attention to the boon which He has bestowed on His creatures when He says (30.21): *He created for you helpmeets from yourselves that ye might find comfort in them and He ordained between you love and mercy.* Further in the genuine Tradition Jābir reports that the Prophet asked him why he had not married a virgin so that they might play together. The Prophet was not likely to indicate to him a course which would prevent his finding comfort in God. Can you suppose that when the Prophet amused himself with his women-folk and raced with 'Ā'ishah he was ceasing to find comfort in God? All these sayings are examples of ignorance.

(*The remainder of this Section is not quite suitable for translation*).

## Account of the Way wherein the Devil Deludes the Ṣūfīs in the Matters of Travel and Wandering

He has deluded many of them into wandering to no particular place,[2] neither in search of knowledge, most of them going alone and taking not provision, claiming that this proceeding shows Reliance. Thereby such a person misses many a virtue and many a duty, although he supposes that he is obeying God and that he will thereby approach sainthood; in fact he is disobedient and acting in a manner contrary to the Sunnah of the Prophet. As for wandering with no fixed destination, the Prophet forbade traversing the earth save in pursuit of some object. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Ta'ūs to the effect that the Prophet said: In Islam there is no nose-cord, no nostril-ring, no monasticism, no celibacy, no wandering. The Prophet was referring to the practice of the Israelite devotees of piercing the collar-bones and the noses of their animals. Wandering means leaving the cities and roaming the earth.

We have recorded above the tradition according to which Ibn Maz'ūn said: I have a fancy to travel over the earth, to which the Prophet replied: Not so fast, 'Uthmān; the travelling of my community is raiding in God's path and the Greater and the Lesser pilgrimages. Isḥāq b. Ib-

1. Ghazzālī's doctrine in the *Iḥyā* ii, 25 is far less strict.

2. The author gives Ibn Qutaibah's interpretation of the terms used.

rāhīm b. Hānī[1] related how when Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was asked whether he preferred the devout traveller or the man who remained in a city, he replied that travelling had no part in Islam, neither was it the practice of prophets or saints.

As for starting out alone, such procedure is forbidden by the Prophet. We have been told by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to the great grandfather of 'Amr b. Shu'aib[2] according to which the Prophet said : A single rider is a demon, and two are two demons ; three are real riders. We have been told by Habit Allāh b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah according to which the Prophet cursed one who rides alone in the desert.

These people also walk alone at night. Yet the Prophet forbade that. We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥuṣain a tradition going back to Ibn 'Umar[3] according to which the Prophet said : If people only knew what being alone involves, no one would go out alone at night. 'Abdallāh (b. Aḥmad, one of the transmitters of this tradition) added : My father also told me a tradition going back to Jābir b. 'Abdallāh according to which the Prophet said : Go not out much when people have ceased moving,[4] for God sends abroad among his creatures what He wills.

I would also observe that some of them make travelling their occupation. Now travelling is not desired on its own account. The Prophet said : Travel is a piece of torment ; so when one of you has accomplished the purpose of his journey, let him hasten home. So one who makes travelling his occupation combines waste of life with mental torment : both of which are wrong objects. We have been told by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm a tradition according to which Abū Ḥamzah al-Khurāsānī[5] was heard to say : I continued in pilgrim attire, an *Aba'a*, travelling a thousand leagues every year, the sun rising and setting upon me ; I had no sooner abandoned the pilgrim state than I resumed it.[6]

## Account of the Way wherein he deludes them in the Matter of entering the Desert without Provision.

He has, I would observe, deluded many among them with the fancy that Reliance means to go without provision. We have already in what has preceded shown that this is wrong, only the doctrine has spread among

1. 218-275. Account of him in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, p. 67.

2. Died 118. The great-grandfather was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. There is a long discussioin of 'Amr b. Shu'aib's trustworthiness in the *Tahdhīb*, viii. 48 to 55.

3. I.e., 'Abdallāh, son of the Caliph.

4. I.e., after visiting-time. The rendering is according to the *Nihāyah*

5. Died 309 ; short account of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār* where this story is told.

6. In the *Lawāqī*, this is said to mean : Each time I felt inclination to any passion I renewed my repentance.

the ignorant, and foolish story-tellers narrate this of them by way of eulogy, encouraging others to do the like. Through the actions of such Ṣūfīs and the story-tellers' eulogies mischief arises, and the right path is concealed from the populace. Stories of this sort about them are numerous, and I will record a few. We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik a tradition going back to 'Alī b. Sahl al-Miṣrī according to which the latter said: I was told the following by Fatḥ al-Mauṣilī. I started, he said, on pilgrimage, and when I was in the midst of the desert I found a young lad. Strange, I said, an absolute wilderness, a desert land, and a young lad there! So I hurried and overtook him, and said to him: My boy, you are a young child, not yet subject to the rules of religion. Uncle, he replied, children younger than I have died. I said: Step out, as it is a long distance before you come to a dwelling. Uncle, he replied, it is my business to walk and God's to bring me to my destination. Have you not read the saying of God (29. 69), *And those who strive in Us we shall surely guide to Our paths.* Why, I next asked, do I not see with you any provision or mount? My provision, he replied, is my faith, and my feet are my mount. I was asking, I said, about bread and water. Uncle, he replied, if one of your brethren or friends were to invite you to his house, would you think it proper to take food with you to eat in his house? I said: Let me provide for you. Avaunt, he replied, you scoundrel! He (God) will give us food and drink. Never, said Fatḥ, did I see any young person more reliant or any grown-up person more ascetic.

This sort of story, I would observe, causes mischief and lets it be supposed that such a procedure is right. A grown-up man will say: If a child can do this, it is yet more incumbent on me to do it. Neither am I so much surprised at the child as at the person who met him failing to teach him that what he was doing was reprehensible: He who has invited you (he should have said) ordered you to take provision, and indeed out of His property. Still great men have adopted this plan, and small men still more.

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Yaqīmī[1] according to which he said: I was present when Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jallā was told about these people who enter the desert without provision claiming that they are Reliant, and die in the wilderness. He said: This is the conduct of men of Truth; if they die, their blood-money is due from their slayer.[2] The same tradition has reached us through another channel, with the variant "men of God."

I would observe that this is the opinion of one who was ignorant of the ruling of the Code. For there is no difference among Islamic jurists about the unlawfulness of entering the desert without provision, and

1. Abū Ja'far al-Bazzāz, died 367. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, ii, 211.

2. The story is told in the *Kitab Baghdād*, v, 215, whence the name of the transmitter has been corrected.

that if a man does this and dies of hunger, he is disobedient to God and deserves to enter Hell. Similarly if he exposes himself to what is ordinarily fatal, since God has made our lives a deposit with us; saying (4. 28) *And slay not yourselves.* In what has preceded we have spoken of the obligation to guard against that which harms. And even if one who travels without provision did not violate this, still he would be disobeying the command of God (2. 193), *And take provision.*

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition according to which Abū 'Abdallāh b. Khafīf[1] was heard to say: Departing from Shiraz on my third journey I wandered in the desert by myself, and the hunger which I suffered caused eight of my teeth to fall out, and all my hair to come off.

I would observe that the obvious purpose of this man's statement concerning himself was desire for praise of his performance, whereas blame attaches to it. We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition, which has come through two channels, according to which the Ṣūfī Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh said: I should be ashamed before God to enter the desert well-fed, being a believer in reliance; lest my satiation should be provision that I had taken.

We have already discussed such opinions and shown how these people suppose reliance to mean rejection of means. If this were so, the Prophet must have been wanting in reliance when he took provision on his way to the cave; likewise Moses, when he sought for al-Khiḍr, took with him as provision a fish (18. 60); when the Seven Sleepers went on their journey they took some dirhems with them, though their baggage was light.[2] Only these people through their ignorance miss the sense of "reliance."

Abū Ḥamid excuses them, saying:[3] It is permissible to enter the desert without provision on two conditions only: one that the traveller must have trained himself to subsist without food for a week or the like; another that it may be possible for him to subsist on herbage. In any desert a man is certain to be met by the end of a week, or by that time the traveller is sure to reach a habitation or some herbage by which he may hope to support life.

I would observe that the worst point in this passage is that it proceeds from a jurist. The traveller may meet no one, may lose his way, or fall ill, so that herbage will not suit him. Or again a person whom he meets may decline to give him food, or he may be confronted with one who will treat him unfairly, so that he will miss the public ceremony to a certainty, or he may die unattended. We have recorded what has come

1. His name was Muḥammad, died 371. Notice of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār*, i, 160.

2. In xviii. 18 they send one of their number with their silver to buy food; it is not clear whence the author derives the rest of his proposition.

3. *Iḥyā* ii, 191. The quotation is abridged.

down to us about isolation, and we may ask what is the motive for the endurance of these trials, supposing that the man counts upon the ordinary happening—meeting some individual, or subsisting on herbage? What merit is there in such a condition, so that a man should risk his ife for it? Where is man commanded to subsist on herbage, and which of the ancients practised this? These people would seem to be challenging God to feed them in the wilderness. Now one who seeks food in the desert is seeking something preternatural. Do you not see how, when the people of Moses asked for (2. 58) *some of its vegetables, cucumbers, garlic, lentils, and onions*, God revealed to Moses to bid them *go down to a city*, because what they wanted is to be found in cities? So these people are utterly mistaken in that they contradict the Code and the reason and act according to their personal predilections.

We have been told by Maḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to 'Ikrimah according to which Ibn 'Abbās said: The people of Yemen used to go on pilgrimage without provision, saying, We are reliant; when they got to Mecca they used to beg of people. Thereupon God revealed (2. 193), *Take provision; verily the best provision is piety.*

We have been told by Abu'l-Mu'ammar al Anṣārī a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Mūsa al-Jurjānī, according to which the latter said he had asked Muḥammad b. Kathīr as-San'ānī concerning those ascetics who take no provision, and wear neither sandals nor shoes. He said: You have asked me about children of demons, not about ascetics. What then, I asked, is asceticism? Holding fast, he replied, to the Sunnah and imitating the Companions of the Prophet.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥusain b. Ḥasan[1] according to which the latter said that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was asked about a man who intended entering the desert without provision, and severely reprehended such a procedure, using an expression of horror. No, no, he said, stressing the syllables; he should go with provision and in the company of a caravan. Al-Khallāl (one of the transmitters of this tradition) added: Abū Bakr al-Marwazī stated that a man came to Abū 'Abdallāh (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) and asked him which he preferred that an intending traveller should take provision with him or rely? Let him, said Abū 'Abdallāh, take provision and rely, so as not to have to wait for charity. And (he proceeded) I have been told by Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl that they had been informed by Aḥmad b. Naṣr[2] how Abū 'Abdallāh being asked whether a man should go to Mecca in reliance without provision, had replied: This does not please me. Whence is the man to eat? The questioner said: Let him rely, and people will give to him. Supposing, said Abū 'Abdallāh, the people do not give him anything, will he not have to wait till they do?

1. Of Samarra; notice of him in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, p. 17. He was a disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal.
2. Two persons of this name are mentioned as disciples of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*.

This does not please me ; neither have I heard that any of the Companions of the Prophet or of the Epigoni acted in this way.

Further (said al-Khallāl) we have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Alī as-Simsār that they had been informed by Muḥammad b. Mūsa b. Mushaish[1] how Abū 'Abdallāh, being asked by a man whether he should go on pilgrimage without provision, had replied No ; work, pursue a trade, and then go. The Prophet furnished his Companions with provision. The man said : Then these people who claim knowledge[2] and go on pilgrimage without provision are in error ? Yes, he answered, they are.

Al-Khallāl proceeded : I was also told by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jāmi' ar-Rāzī that he had heard al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan ar-Rāzī relate how he had been present when a man from Khurāsān came to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and said to him : Abū 'Abdallāh, I have with me one dirhem, shall I go on pilgrimage with it ? Aḥmad replied : Go to the Karkh Gate[3] and buy a bucket with your dirhem, and carry it on your head till you have amassed three hundred dirhems ; then go on pilgrimage. The man said : What is your view, Abū 'Abdallāh, of people's modes of earning ? Do not consider this, was Aḥmad's reply : one who wants to do so wants to spoil people's livelihoods. The man said : I, Abū 'Abdallāh, am reliant. Then, said Aḥmad, are you entering the desert by yourself or with others ? With others, said the man. Then, said Aḥmad, you are lying, you are not reliant. Enter it by yourself, otherwise you will be relying on other people's wallets.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

*(To be continued).*

1. Disciple of Ibn Hanbal ; notice of him in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*
2. This is probably the sense.
3. See Le Strange's *Baghdad*, p. 63.

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD

*Sanskrit for Muslims & Arabic for Hindus :*

WITH a view, apparently, to foster inter-communal understanding, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have now sanctioned institution of two new special scholarships in the Osmania University: one for a Muslim taking Sanskrit as an optional, and one for a Hindu taking Arabic as his optional. Until similar inducements attract students in school stage to such optionals, the University authorities will have to provide special facilities to teach these languages to beginners to make up their deficiency in a short time, in order that the amount of the scholarships does not lapse for lack of candidates.

*Mosque and Temple in Mission Hospital :*

In Dichpalli, there is a leper asylum run by a Christian Mission with the aid of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. His Exalted Highness the Nizam has ordered that a mosque and a temple should be constructed, at government expense, in the vicinity of the hospital for the benefit of Muslim and Hindu patients. There is a sure indication in it for Christian Missions in India how to behave in future, in their own interests. Preaching and conversion can surely remain unhindered but no undue advantage ought to be taken by any community, as there was complaint in the past.

*Law Conference in Gadwāl :*

An All-Hyderabad Law Conference was held in Gadwāl, H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions, on 1st to 3rd March last, Hon. Abū-Sa'īd Mirzā, Chief Justice, presiding. A large number of papers were contributed to the conference, including several of Islamic interest. It was decided that it should be placed on a permanent footing with annual conferences in different places within H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, with a permanent secretariat at Gadwāl.

*Research in Osmania University :*

The University has created two full-fledged departments, one for Pure Research and the other for Applied Research. The latter concerns in the main science subjects, but in pure research, subjects even of arts, law and theology have been included. Dr. M. Quraishi, director of Applied Research, has just returned after a tour of America and England. Dr. Raziuddin, director of Pure Research, is actually on a similar tour at the time of writing these lines (June 1946). Posts of full-time researchers are being filled for various subjects, and the recurrent and non-recurrent grants amount to lakhs of rupees. The work was started even during the war and must expand as a post-war measure of reconstruction and improvement.

*A New College :*

With the expansion of higher studies, new colleges are constantly being opened. When the Dār-ul-'Ulūm College was converted in 1916 into the Osmania University, Dār-ul-'Ulūm became only a high school. This year, the Intermediate classes have been restored, including those of the Theology Faculty, to this oldest government institution in the State, established in 1856 as an Oriental College. The students of Dār-ul-'Ulūm College have announced starting of a quarterly magazine as their organ.

*New Course of Theology Faculty :*

The Theology Faculty of the Osmania University is the oldest institution in India where modern European languages are compulsorily taught to students of Muslim Theology. After 30 years of useful activity, some changes are effected from the academic year of 1946. The chief feature, or rather chief addition, in the course, is the emphasis laid on comparative studies. So, in the M.A. of Tafsīr (*i.e.* Qur'ānology), the history of the holy books of other religions, such as Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and Parsism, has been added. The candidates for M.A. in Fiqh (Muslim law), will study not only jurisprudence (complementing the Uṣūl Fiqh) but also principles of economics in order to supplement and modernize the chapters on *Mu'āmalāt* in Fiqh compendia. Ḥadīth and Kalām courses have also been similarly revised.

*Ladies celebrate Prophet's Birthday :*

Lead was given by Hyderabad, a generation ago, how to reform the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. Formerly, it consisted only of

the recitation of poems and litany by professionals spending over the whole night while most of the audience either slept or at best felt drowsy. The former Minister of Religious Affairs, Nawab Ṣadr Yār Jung Bahādur himself set the example of giving popular lectures at the occasion explaining the great work and achievements of the Prophet of Islam.

His Exalted Highness takes a personal interest in the celebration, and many reforms are due solely to himself. This year, Hyderabad saw a grand meeting of ladies celebrating the auspicious occasion, in the Town Hall, with a royal princess in the chair.

*Arabic and Hyderabad Ladies :*

The royalty associating themselves with the people was again demonstrated this year in Hyderabad, when a princess presided over a competition in which members of the fair sex spoke in Arabic, in March last. " Learn Arabic " is *à la mode* nowadays in the country, and the writer of these notes has personally witnessed houses in Hyderabad where days are fixed in the week when everybody must talk in Arabic as best as one could. It is curious to note that within a few months, even illiterate domestic maid-servants of purely Indian origin pick up sufficient Arabic in this way to do their daily duties satisfactorily and make themselves understood to others. The local Lijna 'Arabiya (Mukarramjāhi Road, Hyderabad-Dn.) has contributed considerably to this movement, and employs the direct method for beginners of Arabic.

*Bank Interest of Muslim Clients :*

It is commonplace, that Islam has prohibited interest. There is still a considerable number of Muslims who deposit their money in banks for safe-custody but do not accept interest on the same. It has been the habit of some banks to hand over such unclaimed amounts to Christian or Aryasamāj missionaries, whose " charitable " activities naturally include many things anti-Islamic. The local Majlis 'Ulamā' has now moved the government to introduce a bill whereby banks functioning in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions should be bound to hand over such unclaimed interest of Muslim clients to Muslim charitable institutions to be determined by the Government and not at the discretion of banks. The 'Ulamā' have appealed to Muslim public that until such a bill is passed into law, they should not " eat " interest, in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān but should " take " interest and spend it in charitable works ; and that their not taking of interest in the case is more contrary to Islamic interests than mere literal taking of interest from non-Muslim banks.

*Hyderabad Educational Conference*:

The 33rd annual report of the Hyderabad Educational Conference, dated May 1946, discloses that during the last thirty-one years, the institution has granted to 868 students loans without interest, amounting to Rs. 1,18,251. With small beginnings, the Conference lent in 1945 over ten thousand rupees to 196 students of 22 different branches of study. Muslims and non-Muslims, boys and girls, all alike benefit from this institution. The government has allocated a sum of Rs. 20,000 out of the Excess Profits Tax to the Conference for procuring books to poor students in the next academic year. Several local companies, such as Wazīr Sultān Tobacco Co., the Azamjāhi Mills, the Osmānshāhi Mills, the Iron and Steel Works, the Vijay Card-Board Factory, etc. have set a nice example of not forgetting this institution at the time of paying the dividends of their concerns.

The Conference is shortly to bring out an annual Educational Directory. It has also sanctioned necessary amounts for starting an educational series of publications. Among the first to appear is a history of the administration of justice in Hyderabad.

M.H.

## DECCAN

*Two Exibitions held in Bombay*:

RECENTLY Bombay witnessed two important exhibitions *viz.* Vikram Exhibition and Exhibition of Mughal Art. The main aim of the former exhibition was to show the continuity of culture and to link it to contemporary forms or expressions of the same culture (Musulmans having continuously ruled India from the 10th century to the first half of the 19th). In order to do this successfully the organizers should have endeavoured to give this esxhibition continuity and system; they should also have provided a form and atmosphere worthy of the great traditions they were honouring. In this the exhibition has failed. The presentation and display of the Vikram Exhibition were of a deplorably poor standard. Contemporary contributions in the form of decorations and paintings of India's great men were either gaudy or dull or valueless and have been seriously criticized by prominent connoisseurs and lovers of Indian art. With its indiscriminate and unsystematic accumulation of antiquities and curios the exhibition was an antiquarian's show rather than a demonstration of national culture. Majority of the exhibits were those which were produced under the patronage of the Muslim rulers in India such as illustrated Persian and Arabic manuscripts and Mughal miniatures. The State Museum of Hyderabad-Deccan participated by exhibiting a

number of such valuable manuscripts. This exhibition, no doubt, found a greater number of visitors than any other exhibition which was mostly due to the aims and objects of the exhibition previously advertised. As the *Times of India*, Bombay (Jan. 10, 1946) reported, the organizers say that they prepared the exhibition for two years and that their funds were ample. But whether anyone came away with a comprehensive vision of Indian cultural heritage is more than doubtful. Dr. Tara Chand remarked in his presidential address before the Indian History Congress at Annamalainagar—" what is the date of the first use of the Vikram and the Saka eras." The second exhibition of Mughal Art was organized by the Academy of Islam. Mr. Justice Lokur, High Court, Bombay, presided over the function. He traced the history of Mughal Art and the patronage it had received from the Mughal emperors. Bābar, he said, was a great painter himself and had artistic taste from his forefathers. During the period of Akbar and Jahāngīr, the Hindu school of art blended with Mughal and the blended art reached its highest position during their period. Shāh Jahān was also a lover of art. Princess Bhuvan Kumari of Nepal opened the exhibition and while declaring it open remarked that the connection of Nepal with the Mughal emperors was close. Mughal art was Indian art and would always remain the inherited property of India.

*The University College Magazine, Trivandram :*

Volume second's first issue is before us. It is divided into two sections, *viz.* English and Malayalam. In its English section we fortunately find two important contributions appertaining to Islamic studies.

*Message of Iqbāl* by Mr. K. Muḥammad, lecturer in Arabic. This article on Iqbāl by a young scholar from the extreme south of India, takes us into another atmosphere about Iqbāl, because every one, living within the limits of Islamic thought, tries to expound the poetry and philosophy of Iqbāl according to his own point of view. He says : " Due to the interaction of the mind (Anfus) upon the world (Āfāq) knowledge results. The greater the mind the greater the knowledge which, when duly co-ordinated, gives rise to ideas of far-reaching significance. Iqbāl's was such a mind. Whether in his poems or his lectures we discern a rich background of erudition, penetration and integrity. He was well acquainted with the smallest particulars or details of ancient as well as modern philosophy. He had, as a poet, philosopher, and devotee, investigated the problem of life. That the three characteristics of poet, philosopher and devotee should harmoniously blend in one and the same person is, indeed marvellous.

> " For ages had life been lamented in the Kā'bah and the house of idols
> That from the gathering of love might emerge the sage and secret."

And when the ' sage of secret ' actually came out, tremendous consequences were sure to follow. Whatever Iqbāl reflected as a philosoher and whatever struck him as a devotee he has expressed them all in such lovely verse that it touches the heart of every reader and listener. There is not, however, any fundamental distinction between his poetry and philosophy. Philosophy adopts a logical and analytical method of exposition whereas poetry appeals directly to the heart and the soul."

" Truth when lacks warmth philosophy is,
When becomes impassioned the heart captures it."

* * *

*Jizya or Military Tax* by Mr. A. P. Ibrahim, iii class. The writer of this interesting paper on a very controversial problem of Islamic culture, after dealing with its pros and cons concludes thus: " Jizya was only a military tax. It was of course levied on the non-Muslim army, since they were barred by religion from service in the Muslim army. The payment of Jizya by any non-Muslim people naturally made it obligatory on the Muslims to protect them, at the same time exempting them from the compulsory military service. Jizya had never been used as a means of proselytization, not was it ever used to impoverish the subject non-Muslim elements of the state. On the other hand, whenever a people offered to pay Jizya they were entirely left to themselves to follow their own religion and law. And wherever any people had proffered military service or active assistance in the running of the Government, Jizya was not exacted from them and whenever a Muslim community had refused service in the army, they had been taxed."

*Commemoration of Iqbāl :*

Usually this year again almost all over India in many cities and towns Iqbāl Day was celebrated in the months of April and May. Particularly in Bombay, the Panjab Association excelled many such functions . Many learned poets, scholars, erudites and politicians paid tribute to Iqbāl's philosophy and poetry. The Bombay people thus collected a huge sum as they did last year. They aim at creating a marvellous monument to the memory of Iqbāl. It will not be out of place to suggest once again that the organizers of such functions on Iqbāl should put combined efforts to acquire the house of Iqbāl at Lahore where he breathed his last and create it a visiting place and establish there an institute of Islamic culture, as we find in Europe many such houses. And let it be called " Iqbal House." It will be injustice if we ignore in this respect the activities of the Bazm-i-Iqbāl, Hyderabad, which, in our opinion under the able guidance of a learned body of scholars with Nawab Hasan Yar Jung Bahadur as its president, is doing excellent work. Accordingly the Eighth Annual Session of the Bazm took place at Raichur on 10th, 11th and 12th May, 1946. Sayyid Zain-ul-'Ābidin, Collector of Raichur, in the course of his

welcome address, as president of the Reception Committee, expounded many useful points of Iqbāl's poetry. One sitting was presided over by Sayyidah Akhtar of Bangalore who delivered her address in a very melodious tone in which she quoted verses of Iqbāl very profusely. Nawab Hasan Yar Jung Bahadur's address was very illuminative, and he chalked out a programme of the Bazm contemplating on Iqbāl's poetry and philosophy. The last sitting was presided over by Afzal-u'l-'Ulamà Khan Bahadur Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥaq, Principal, Government Muhammadan College, Madras. His extempore address was very much appreciated because he gave a brief sketch of Iqbāl's philosophy of action. Many other scholars like Dr. M. 'Abdulla Chaghatā'ī from Poona, Sayyid Akbar Wafāqānī, Ranga Rao and others delivered speeches. The important feature of the function was an exhibition of paintings of Iqbāl's verses by various young artists of Hyderabad which were very artistically arranged by Sayyid Akbar Wafāqānī, who was responsible for this concrete expression of Iqbāl's verses. Nawab Ḥasan Yār Jang Bahadur's inspiring personality deserves great admiration for all this; he has made a permanent feature of studies on Iqbāl in Hyderabad.

*Hindus and Muslims should Co-operate :*

'Abdur-Raḥmān 'Āzzām Bey, Secretary-General of the Arab League, in the course of a speccial interview to the correspondant of the *Bombay Chronicle* said that, while all Arabs sympathized with Indian Muslim, he was personally in favour of unity between all creeds, whether Muslim or Hindu, particularly in politics. He said : " I would like to see Muslims and Hindus in India co-operating for the good of India, just as Muslims and Coptic Christians co-operate in Egypt and as Muslims and non-Zionist Jews in Palestine." "The Arab League is, at the moment, particularly interested in the Arab problem in Palestine. We are preparing our evidence and a statement of our case for the Anglo-American Commission." He added that the Indian Muslims are not all Arabs, but the league is 95 per cent Muslim and the Arab people are very proud of their religion which is the fundamental religion of the Arabs. "The Arabs consider their religion human and universal and that its main objective is peace. It preaches equality of races, equality of individuals and international good relations. It preaches social welfare and it is fundamentally democratic. It stands by the side of the poor and weak. We find in it the biggest source of inspiration for the Arab League. It is an instrument of unity, world peace, and co-operation. We stand for liberty, whether for white, black or yellow. There is certainly an Arab culture which is, in great part, a Muslim culture. In that way, our culture is common to the Muslims of India and to Muslims in other parts of the world. Any advance on one side will, certainly, have repercussions and bring help on the other side. We sympathize with our Muslim friends in India and elsewhere, although

personally I am in favour of unity between all creeds, whether Muslim or Hindu, particularly in politics. We have at heart unity between the various creeds whether Muslims or non-Muslims in order to serve our own interests as Arabs and the world interests as a whole."

*Muslim Patronage of Sanskrit Culture :*

In the course of his article Dr. H. D. Sankalia, on *A Brief Summary of Studies in Historical Geography and Ethnology of Gujrat*, contributed to the *Journal of the Gujrat Research Society*, Bombay (Vol. VII, No. 4), writes :— " Besides the weakening of the original Sanskrit culture, the increasing admixture of semi-barbaric people, pouring into Gujrat from the north-west as invaders, traders and so forth, and the appearance of new powerful forces under the Arabs, Afghans and Turks must have been responsible for this change. Had not Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Ghorī upset the political equilibrium, Sanskrit might have remained a court language for some centuries more in Northern India. For as late as the 15th century when Muslim kings patronized Hindu poets, inscriptions, beautiful Prasastis were composed in Sanksrit as the recently published Prasastis of Maḥmūd Begadah." Generally such statements of the individuals later on become the voice of a community against another community. Therefore we should not hesitate to point out here that it is all due to the patronage of Muslims, who, from the very beginning, tried to preserve Sanskrit culture in India by adopting the same Sanskrit legends in their coins pre-existing here and the use of Sanskrit language in their official documents. Many classical Sanskrit works were translated into Arabic and Persian by great scholars even before the establishment of Muslim empire in India. Maḥmūd of Ghazna is one of the most illustrious Sulṭāns of Muslim India. It was at his court a versatile genius like al-Bērūnī, who after maturing the knowledge of Sanskrit, wrote books on Indian culture and history which today are indispensable. Neither any Hindu scholar so far could surpass him in this respect nor any such compilation by any Hindu scholar could replace his works. Throughout all the Muslim regimes in India we have evidences and instances of Muslim patronage of Sanskrit language and culture. It was due to Akbar, who not only got translated so many Sanskrit works into Persian at his court but also gave consciousness to Hindus for the preservation of Sanskrit texts and edit them after collating them with so many other such works.

*Who Designed the Taj ?*

Recently the Archæological Department of the Government of India have issued the *Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India* under

the name : *Ancient India.* Its first number is before us. Its first article is on *Repairs of the Taj Mahal* by M. S. Vats, which invites our attention keeping in view some contributions already appeared in the *Islamic Culture.* Mr. Vats, who may be called a veteran in his department, is now on the eve of retirement after rendering so many valuable services to the cause of Archæology in India. Fortunately he has spent many years in Agra where the Taj stands. He writes in the course of this article :

" The question as to who designed the Taj is disputed, but there is epigraphical evidence to show that it was Ustād Aḥmad of Lahore." He has added a footnote to this statement which runs thus : " The *Mathnawī* of Luṭfullāh Muhandis, second son of Ustād Aḥmad of Lahore, which according to a chronogram in it, was completed in the year 1066 A.H. (1655-56 A.D. *i.e.* during the reign of Shāh Jahān) pointedly states that Ustād Aḥmad was responsible for the construction of the Tāj, the Delhi Fort and the Jāmi' Masjid at Delhi, besides other Imperial Buildings—vide also the Annual Number of the *Kārwān* for 1934 (Lahore), compiled by Majīd Malik, pp. 125-34." This controversial question of the designer of the Taj exists among us since long and so far it has not been quite clearly settled. If we accept the statement of Mr. Vats that " there is epigraphical evidence" which linguistically means that the name of Ustād Aḥmad is inscribed there on stone. Then this statement settles the problem once for all. It also means that this name has not been discovered by any scholar or a visitor so far and has been discovered only by Mr. Vats during his long stay there for so many years. We should bring to the notice of Mr. Vats, who, perhaps, has not so far carefully observed the monument which is obvious from his statement. No name of any person is epigraphed therein except of the calligraphist Amānat Khān Shīrāzī in the dome on the south wall. Mr. Vats has quoted the Annual *Kārwān.* We should also point out to him that a very detailed article on *A Family of Great Mughal Architects* by M. 'Abdullāh Chaghtā'ī has been published in the *Islamic Culture,* April, 1937 in which the article referred to by Mr. Vats from the Annual *Kārwān* has been fully utilized by the same author in his latter attempt. In these articles it has never been alleged that the name of Ustād Aḥmad has been epigraphed on the monument as Mr. Vats did, only the life and works of Ustād Aḥmad and his family are fully discussed in these two articles by M. ' Abdullāh Chaghtā'ī. It is a fact that Aḥmad's second son Luṭfullāh describes in his verses that his father did design the Taj also along with other imperial buildings. Mr. Vats also says in the course of his same article that " Mullā 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lahori, who was instructed by Shāh Jahān to write a detailed history of the Taj, further informs us in the *Bādshāh Nāma* that the foundation was laid on the sub-soil water level,....." This is also a baseless statement of Mr. Vats. 'Abdul Ḥamīd has not made such a statement in his history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Although it is a fact that in the course of his chronological order of the

record of events of the reign of his patron, he has given a detailed description of the Taj in his *Bādshāh Nāma* in a very flowery language among the events of A.H. 652.

*Manku, a Rajput Miniature-Painter :*

Mr. N. C. Mehta writes, in the *Journal of the Gujrat Research Society*, Bombay (Vol. VII., No. 4) under the heading of *A New Document of Gujarati Painting, A Gujarati Version of Gita Govinda*, " I would have preferred the term *Rajasthani* to *Gujaratī* painting but for the fact that the use of the former has been associated for a long time..... I have seen stray pages of Gita-Govinda done in the Mughal style in the collection of Sir Cawasji Jehangir at Bombay belonging obviously to the time of Akbar.....Another very remarkable version is the one painted by Manku in the Basholi style and exhibited in the Lahore Museum. The authorship of the paintings is claimed by Manku, *a woman painter*, who claims to have produced the illustrated edition in the year 1787 Samvat or 1730 A.D." We have only to point out to Mr. Mehta with reference to the *Islamic Culture* that Manku is not a woman. We should quote here an extract, from an article in the *Islamic Culture* 1934 :— *A Few Hindu Miniature-painters of the 18th and 19th Centuries*.." Manku and Chaitu of the hill school were employed in pictorial translation of the great Hindu calssics and stirring episodes of the epics of the Puranas. One study of Manku's is available with signature which reads :— *Manku ki lekhi* مانك کی لیکھی (the work of Manku). I (the writer of the article) think, perhaps Manku and Chaitu were father and son because in the Lahore Central Museum there is one portrait of Manku and the Hindi inscription on it read, although it is to some extent blurred, "Manku (son of) Chaitu." For refrence : Lahore Museum Nos. D 115-D 122 ; consult also the *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, by S. N. Gupta, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 64-65. We are sure Mr. Mehta will correct his statement accordingly.

*Coins of the Niẓām Shāhī Dynasty of Ahmadnagar :*

The writer of Cultural Activities several times has been questioned about the coins of the Niẓām Shāhī Dynasty. Mr. Hurmuz, a scholar-collector of coins, kindly sent the following letter in reply to a querry, " Many thanks for your p.c. of the 22nd instant. Since writing to you last I have come across a coin in my collection which is surely one of the Niẓām Shāhī Dynasty. It is from Daulatābād Mint and unfortunately does not bear any date. One of the coins of Ahmadnagar Mint in my collection bears date A.H. 992 ; as such it should belong to Murtaḍa Niẓām Shāh ( 972-998 A. H. ), with Ahmadnagar as his capital. But the coin I have now discovered in my collection after you

have kindly drawn my attention to the coin of this dynasty, is of Burhān Niẓām Shāh (I or II ?) and is form Daulatābād Mint. The second Burhān professed the Shī'a or Imāmia fatih, hence his coins should bear some reference to his new faith, as it is with the 'Ādil Shāhī Sulṭāns (Ghulām-i-Ḥaidar Safadar غلام حیدر صفدر ), but as this coin does not show anything of the sort, it could safely be attributed to Burhān I, even in the absence of date. But I must refer if Daulatābād was captured or belonged to the Niẓām Shāhīs during the reign of Burhān I (914-961 A.H.). My reading of the legends is :—

| obverse | reverse |
|---|---|
| برهان نظام ـے | (سنه) |
| ضرب شاه عاز | شهور فے ” M.A.C. |
| | دولتا (باد) |

DELHI

*The United Publications :*

The Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government of India maintains an autonomous section for publicity which publishes a number of journals and books under the name of United Publications. The department is under the supervision of a capable orientalist and linguist, Lt.-Col. A. G. Wheeler. Formerly this section formed part of the External Affairs Portfolio, but it was transferred to the Department of Information and Broadcasting. This department also maintained a research and reference section, but, on account of the extreme (and richly deserved) unpopularity of the department, the legislature refused to vote the demand for the research and reference section, which was rather unfortunate. The wrath should have fallen on sections like broadcasting. Fortunately, however, the publicity section escaped and its literary activities continue with full vigour. The following will show the wide field covered by the section :—

1. *Shaipūr.*—This is a monthly Persian journal and is widely sold in Iran. No less than 13,800 copies are printed every month. The magazine is divided into sections on India, Middle East, the United Nations and topics of general interest. There is a special section for women. This magazine contains articles of general interest. During the last three months it has published articles on *Ninevah, Iranian Architecture, Baghdād Colleges* and *Arabic Musical Instruments,* which are of specific Muslim interest.

2. *An-Nafīr.*—This is the Arabic version of *Shaipūr* and is even more widely read. In March, 1946, the print order was for 23,800 copies.

3. *Tāj Maḥal.*—This is a monthly journal in Persian for Afghānistān. This magazine also publishes articles of general interest. During the last three months this magazine contained, among other articles,

articles on *Maulānā Aṣghar Gondavī, the Indo-Muslim Architecture of Gujrat, the Life of Khwājah 'Abdullāh of Herāt, the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī, Dātā Ganj Bakhsh* and *Ismā'īl of Herāt.* A number of articles are on Indian topics.

4. *Al-'Arab.*—This is yet another Arabic monthly. Its main aim is to give to the Arab reader information about India and also about the Arab world. 6,300 copies were printed in March,'46 ; the sales are increasing. The cultural articles were on *Ḥaḍrat Niẓām-ud-Dīn Auliyā', 'Allāmah Shiblī Nu'mānī* and *Yemen.*

5. *Zhwand* is a Pushtu monthly of a popular character and contains little of cultural interest.

6. *Ājkal* is an Urdu fortnightly which enjoys a circulation of 11,000 copies. It publishes articles of cultural interest and during the last quarter it had articles on ' *Dakanī Mathnawiyon ke Mauḍū', Professor Nicholson* and various other literary topics.

7. *Āhang.*—This is a popular bilingual quarterly in English and Persian, meant mostly for such Persians as are interested in the English language. Its circulation is 3000 and it contains instructive and readable articles. The last issue, for instance, had articles on *Achæmonian Inscriptions, Marco Polo's Travels* and *the Writers Conference at Jaipur.* There is a Hindi edition of this journal as well.

8. *Duniyā* is produced in no less than eight languages and contains popular articles. A number of features dealing with the Middle East are published recently ; there was one article on *Syria : Old and New* and another on *Brusa, the City of Silk and Mosques* !

9. *Foreign Review.*—The old *Soviet Union News* has become *Foreign Review.* It is published every month. This has some useful articles on foreign countries and on cultural topics.

10. *Perspective* is published monthly for American consumption.

11. *Indii* is published for China and deals with topics of Indian interest.

12. *Lyetopis India* is a Russian magazine. The title means *Indian Chronicle* and gives information about India to the Russians.

13. *Onward* is published for Indian women. It appears once a month.

14, 15. *Nau-Nihāl* and *Heyday* are meant for children and are edited by an educated Muslim lady, Miss Masarrat Jahān Tīmūrī. The former is in Urdu and the latter in English.

16. *The Bugle* is another popular magazine in English.

17. *Mīzān News Letters.*—These leaflets are published monthly for the Middle East and discuss matters of Indian interest.

18. *Indian Trade Bulletin.*—In addition to these periodicals, the department publishes books and pamphlets on various topics. There is,

for instance, a Russian language series, and translations of Indian classics like the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* have been published in Arabic. This vast publication programme is carried on quietly and without fuss. The Indian Muslims may well emulate the activities of this department and undertake some publicity, at least in Muslim countries, to strengthen cultural bonds with them. The main feature of the United Publications is that they are sold and not distributed gratis and the print orders show that there is great avidity for literature on India in Muslim countries. Surely such an opportunity must not be lost.

*The Burhān.*—This Urdu monthly has again come under the editorship of Maulānā Sa'īd Aḥmad Akbarābādī, M.A., and the reader can notice once more a distinct improvement in its usually high standard. During these three months it has published some articles of outstanding merit. There is one on the religious tendencies of that much abused and misunderstood monarch, Muḥammad bin Tughluq who is generally pointed by European and Mulla writers alike as a paragon of tyranny, even insanity. The author Mr. Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmī has examined the problem critically and has put forward balanced views. Maulānā Manāẓir Aḥsan Gīlānī has an article on the description of the capital of a hill chief of Kumāon, but it is difficult to see by which mysterious process he calls it a Japanese capital. There are other articles on religious and other topics.

*New Books.*—The Maktabah-i-Jāmi'ah has published *'Ihd-i-Nabawī mēn Niẓām-i-Ḥukmrānī* by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh of the Osmania University. Dr. S. Aẓhar 'Alī has produced *al-Mukhtaṣar*, a book on Prosody and Rhetoric, which has been published by the *Maktabah-i-Jahān Numā.*

I.H.Q.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Iran Society, which was founded in Calcutta in 1944 for the study of Iranian learning, civilzation and culture in its diverse aspects and promotion of cultural relations between India and Iran, came recently into lime-light for its well-attended anniversary held in February, 1946. This society is a non-communal body having its president M. H. Kāshānī, Esq. and Vice-Presidents Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (London), and Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit. It arranges periodical public lectures and proposes to bring out a quarterly journal entitled *Indo-Iranica* and monographs on different aspects of the cultural relations between India and Iran. Some of the lectures delivered in the preceding years by various scholars are as follow :— (1) Dr. M. 'Abdul-Ḥaq, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Government Mohammadan College, Madras, read an interesting paper on *Qāḍī Dāwarī*, a Persian poet of the Ṣafawid period,

on 11th February 1945; (2) Prof. Dr. S. K. Chaterji, M.A., D.Lit. (London), Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Calcutta University, read a learned paper on *Islamic Mysticism, Iran and India*, on Friday, the 9th March, 1945, in the Assembly Hall of the Islamia College; (3) Dr. W. D. West, SC.D., F.G.S., F.N.I., Superintending Geologist, Geological Survey of India, delivered a lecture on *Modern Afghanistan* which was illustrated with lantern slides and cinematographic films. In the annual meeting referred to above, Mr. M. H. Kāshānī in his presidential address said: "Literary and cultural relations between India and Iran have existed from very ancient times. They are so old as the Pahalwi and Sanskrit tongues, or the Zoroastrian Guthas and the Vedic Geeta. This relationship will continue so long as the names of Firdausī, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ, 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī and the poets of the Persian language exist in this world." Mr. M.H. Kāshānī observed further that the literary and cultural relations between those two countries had, however, weakened in the course of time, but students of history were aware that the change of time had never led to a complete severance of that relationship. The relationship had always continued in some form or other. Regarding the ancient architectural resemblance between these two countries, Mr. M.H. Kāshānī said that those who visited the old monuments of the two ancient lands could observe that there existed a striking resemblance between these monuments. "This interrelationship between India and Iran," continued, Mr. M.H. Kāshānī "has existed in some way or other at all times." The high light of this annual function was that Calcutta's art connoiseur, Mr. Percy Brown, delivered an interesting lecture on *Iran and Indo-Islamic Architecture* illustrated with lantern slides. The learned lecturer traced his survey right up to 1545 A.D. He clearly delineated how the Asiatic-Roman influence on architecture gradually became stamped with the Islamic influence. The architectures of Qonia, Palmyra, Damascus and Jerusalem bear ample testimony to that. Ghaznī and Ghorī played very important roles in this regard. According to Mr. Percy Brown the Quṭb Mīnār and the tombs of Iltutmish and Humāyūn are the best specimens of Indo-Islamic architecture.

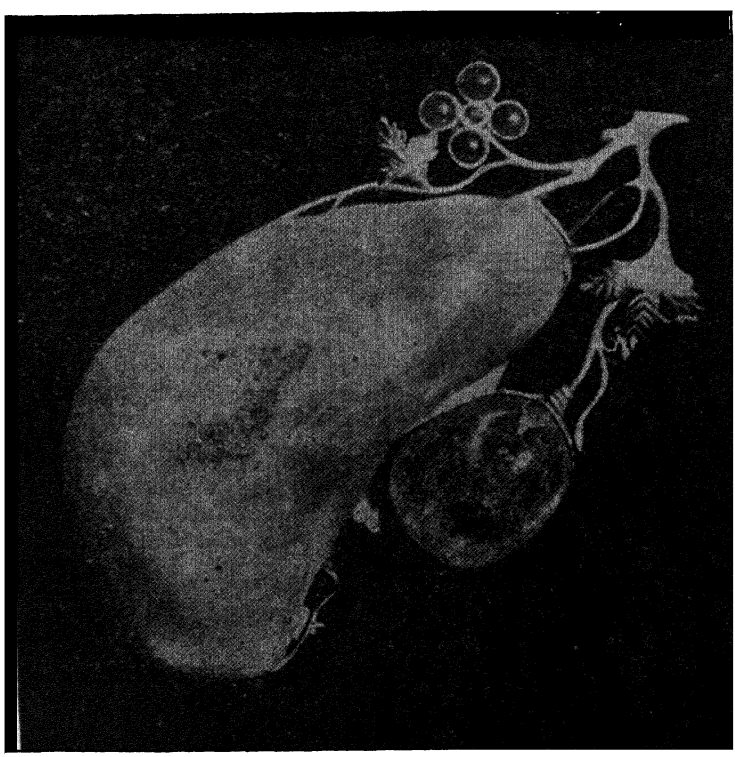
We wish the Iran society a long and successful life. A society founded for so noble a cause as appreciating the cultural values of the civilization of the two neighbouring countries and the revival of the age-long bonds of love and fraternity which existed between them, deserves response, support, and encouragement of all men of good-will. Its present office is located at 159 B., Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta.

The Reuter broadcast the following news from Cairo on the 15th February: "Sir Ḥasanein Pasha, Chief of King Farūq's Royal Court, was killed in a car accident in Cairo this afternoon. The accident occurred when the streets were slippery after a shower. Sir Ḥasanein Pasha's car collided with a lorry on Qaṣr an-Nīl bridge. He received severe injuries in the head and died shortly after reaching an Anglo-American Hos-

pital. " The *Morning News*, an influential Muslim daily of Calcutta, bewailed the death of Ḥasanein Pasha by writing a leaderette, in which it said, " The death of Ḥasanein Pasha, Chief of the Royal Diwan in Egypt, has deprived the world of a notable author, explorer and an eminent geographer. He has several important books to his credit, many of them are regarded as authoritative on the Sahara and the oases. It may perhaps be little known that Egyptians rarely master the English language, specially spoken. Ḥasanein Pasha was one of those very rare exceptions. He took his M.A. from Oxford with First Class Honours. He spoke English like an Englishman. His books first appeared in English and were later translated into Arabic. The reason was perhaps that the subject would not appeal to the average Arab, and the books were too scientific to be interesting. However, the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt undertook the production of his book in Arabic early in 1934. The venture proved a financial failure." The same paper mourned also the sad demise of Professor Ḥāfiz Maḥmūd Khān Shērānī by publishing in bold headline an article by Mr. Sayyid Hāshmi Farīdābādī. The mournful feelings and tributes of the learned contributor regarding the late revered Professor may be summed up thus. On the 16th February, 1946, Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmood Khān Shērānī, passed away in his native town of Tonk, once known to be a seat of Muslim learning and now lying in oblivious isolation in Rajputana. He was probably one of the world's greatest authorities on Persian classics, as his published works in Urdu may easily bear witness. But Urdu has yet to win a place in the curriculum of the Orientalists. Sherānī and his wonderful researches are, therefore, little known in Europe whose recognition counts so much in this country. He was well grounded in oriental languages and was particularly interested from his youth in the history and literature of medieval Iran, which subject he studied at various libraries, himself collecting many rare manuscripts, inscriptions and old coins. This hobby took him to Europe, where, especially in London, he carried on his studies, with relish and great diligence. How well he loved the Punjab, may be inferred from his writing especially from his brilliant thesis on *Urdu in the Punjab*, which is a work of high value for all students of the early history of Urdu. He was a regular contributor to the *Oriental College Magazine*, for which he also edited and published several Persian manuscripts on biography. In these critical studies Shērānī exploded a number of popular myths and literary beliefs but what caused something of a sensation was his scating criticisms of Maulānā Shiblī's *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*. In fact he attempted to reconstruct the whole history of Persian poetry on a sound footing and achieved his aim as perhaps few others could do. In certain sections of this comprehensive survey, Shērānī came into conflict also with Mīrzā 'Abdul-Wahhāb Qazwīnī, an orientalist of international fame, proving how sectarian bigotry could sometimes overcome the better judgement of the learned Mīrzā, as for instance, in his imputing the authorship of *Maẓhar-ul-'Ajā'ib* to Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn 'Attār, and thus almost

disfiguring the life of that erudite mystic and pious holy man. That spurious Mathnavī apart from other serious defects, teemed with expressions which as perhaps only Shērānī could show, got currency two or three centuries after the death of the Shaikh. Such was his profound knowledge of Persian classical poetry ; in particular he knew the immortal work of Firdausī in details that sounded incredible, but is well borne out by his books *Firdausī par Chār Maqālay* which the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu has published in a separate volume. Shērānī proved beyond any vestige of doubt that the " Hajv " on Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, attributed to Firdausī, was apocryphal. Mr. 'Abdur Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī, published an English translation of the thesis. Among the lesser lights of Urdu literature, Shērānī will be remembered as a poet who wrote the great elegy on the martyr Sulṭān Fatḥ 'Alī Khān Tīpū of Mysore. The poem was written while Maḥmūd Khān, was at Cambridge. It was published in the *Makhzan* of Lahore a generation ago but is still recited with deep feeling and sentiment by lovers of Tīpū. A great scholar and an efficent Professor, Shērānī was so simple, sincere and unassuming that it was impossible to know him and not to love him. He was generous and hospitable to weakness, and has left a considerable circle of friends and admirers.

* * *



*The biggest pearl in the world, the 605 carat " Pearl of Asia, " resembles a daliesque human stomach oddly growing from a stem.*

A very graphic account of the biggest pearl of the world has been given by the above-mentioned daily in one of its issues of the third week of March, 1945. Its description will interest our readers, so we quote it below: The French Board of Foreign Missions was recently in exactly the same position as the most miserable oyster in recorded history, which in 1628 lay in the Persian Gulf constipated by a gigantic pearl of 605 carats. Neither the oyster then nor the Board of Mission now could get rid of the pearl, which is the biggest pearl in the world and is priced at 500,000 dollars or Rs. 1,500,000 approximately. The oyster was eventually relieved of the huge pearl, big as a hen's egg, by Muscat pearl divers. Its career since then has become encrusted with legend. The jewel was sold by Arab merchants to the Great Mughal, Shāh Jahān, who called it the 'Pearl of Asia' and gave it to his beloved wife, Mumtāz Maḥal, for whom he built the Tāj Mahal. A hundred years later the last Muslim conqueror of India, Nādir Shāh, found the pearl in Delhi and gave it to the great Manchu Emperor of China, Ch'ien Lung. Ch'ien Lung had it set on a golden stem and framed it with golden leaves, apple-green jade, flesh-pink quartz and smaller white pearl. It was buried with him in 1799 but in 1900 during the Boxer Rebellion, it was stolen from his tomb near Peiping. By 1918 it had reappeared and was sold jointly to a Chinese mandarin and Father Souvay of French Mission in Hong Kong. It was over-priced at 1,650,999 dollars and remained unsold until World War II. Goering came to Paris to fondle it but did not buy at the asking price of 500,000 dollars. In 1944 the Board of Mission agent was showing the pearl to a supposed prospective buyer in Paris when five men masquerading as German police burst in and seized the pearl. A year ago the French police arrested a Belgian, Yvon Colette, and his wife in Marseilles on suspicion of having the pearl. Later their toilet overflowed and the pearl was found in the drainpipe. It resembles a daliesque human stomach oddly growing from a stem.

At the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held in February, 1946, Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islam (popularly spelt as Kazi Nazr-ul-Islam) received the Jagattarini Gold Medal for his superb literary achievements. He is the first Muslim writer to win this prize from the Calcutta University. He is regarded as the most revolutionary, vigorous and lovable poet of the Tagore period of Bengalee literature. For the magic spells, poignant feelings, lofty ideals and rejuvenating spirit of his poetry, he holds the same unique position amongst the Muslims of Bengal as the late revered Dr. Sir Moḥammad Iqbal has amidst the Muslims of India. His letters which he wrote to his friends are also being edited. These letters are likely to throw a flood of light on the little-known life of one of the greatest poets of Bengal.

Mr. Sayyid Mahdī Imām, a leading barrister of Patna, and a worthy son of the well-known legal prodigy, the late, Mr. Sayyid Ḥasan Imām,

has been highly appreciated and admired for his scholarship and erudition by Professor Amrnath Gupta who in an article entitled, *' Study of English Literature through Indian Eyes'* in *Hindustan Review* (edited by Dr. Sachidanand Sinha of Patna) says of him : " Sayyid Mahdī Imām's *Poetry of the Invisible* is an account of some of the English poets from Wordsworth, Shelley, John Keats to Francis Thomson, W. B. Yeats G. E. Russell and Bridges of our own days from the Indian points of view. Sayyid Mahdī Imām is a profound scholar of Indian metaphysics. He has selected passages from the works of English poets, which appealed to him greatly, for in them he squeezes philosophical subtleties approximating to the systems of Indian metaphysics. It is really the first book of its kind in English literature written by an Indian, and will be an eye-opener to those Indians and Europeans who believe in the isolation of the East and the West, forgetting that where the higher reaches of mind are concerned there is no such thing as the East and the West, nothing as black and white, all are parts of one great cosmos with universal laws of law, order and peace. It is really a great book by a profound scholar of both Indian and English literature."

The Hindustani Academy of Allahabad, though very much bereft of its ealier glorious attainments, has recently endeavoured to loom large for its varied activities. During the last year it published *Khuṭūṭ-i-Ghālib*, part II edited by Maulawi Mahesh Prasad. The following Urdu books are in different stages of preparation: (1) *Marthia* by Maulawi Sayyid Mas'ūd Ḥasan, M.A., (2) *Popular Psychology* by Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī, (3) *Canon of Western Criticisms* by Dr. S. A. Siddīqī, (4) *Amīr Khusrū* by Mr. Waheed Mirza, (5) *Physical Geography* by Dr. M. H. Raḥmān, (6) *Bibliography of Urdu Books* by S. A. Altāf 'Ali. The books noted below are to be edited: (*a*) *Khulliyāt* of Naẓīr Akbarābādī, excluding his two Dīwāns lately published by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, to be edited by Mr. Salīm Ja'far, with an introduction and annotations, (*b*) *The Dīwān of Dhauq* to be edited with an introduction, (*c*) the *Nau-Ṭarz-e-Muraṣṣa' of Taḥsīn* to be edited by Dr. Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Hāshmī, Lecturer, University of Lucknow (with introduction, etc.), (*d*) The Mathnawi *Siḥr-ul-Bayān* of Mīr Ḥasan (or if possible the *Kulliyyāt* of Ḥasan) to be edited by Professor Ḥāmid Ḥasan Qādrī of the Agra University. The academy announced last year 8 awards (4 for Hindi and 4 for Urdu) of Rs. 500 each for the best books published in the two languages up to 31st March, 1943 under heads, history and biography, prose, literature, poetry and science. On the Urdu side the prize for the best book in history and biography was awarded to Maulānā Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvī for his work *Ḥayāt-i-Shiblī*. No prizes were given for Urdu books under heads of poetry, prose, literature and science as the works submitted for consideration were below the standard. The official quarterly journal of the academy is *Hindustani* which is noted for its meritorious and learned articles. The contributions made in the journal during the last year are : (1) *Wasṭ Asia kī Qaumon kā Soviet Adab* (Soviet

Literature of the Nations of Central Asia) by Laṭīf-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, (2) *'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān Ḳhānān kī Hindi Shā'irī* (Hindi Poetry of 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khānān) by Sayyīd Rashīd-ul-Ḥasan, (3) *Mairā Naẓriya Ḥayāt* (My Theory of Life) by Professor 'Abdul Haye,(4) *Nafāis-ul-Lughāt* by M. Ajmal Khān, (5) *Falsafa yā Ḥikmat* (Philosophy or Science) by M. Mohd. Amīn 'Abbāsi, (6) *Urdu men Ṭibb-e-Maghrab par do Awwalīn aur Kamyāb Kitābēn* (Two Earliest and Rare Books in Urdu on Western Medicine) by Sayyid Mubāraz-ud-Dīn, (7) *Hindustān kī 'Ām Zabān kā Mas'ala* (Problem of the *lingua franca* of India) by Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil, (8) *Nawāb Mīrzā Shauq kī Mathnawīāt kā Mā'khadh* (Sources of the Mathnawīs of Nawab Mīrzā Shauq) by Shahanshāh Ḥusain Rizvī, (9) *Hindustan kē Purānē Akhbār* (*Farsī aur Urdu*) (The Oldest Persian and Urdu Newspapers of India) by Dr. A Ṣiddiqī, (10) *Maulānā Mohd. Ḥusain Āzād and Dīwān-i- Dhauq* by Professor Maḥmūd Khān Shērānī.

Dr. Rafī' Moḥammad Choudhri, Professor and Chairman, Physics Department, Muslim University, Aligarh, has been invited by Professor M. L. Oliphant, Director of Research at the University of Birmingham, to come and work with him on the latest aspects of cosmic rays and artificial disintegration of elements. He has been awarded the research fellowship of the Birmingham University. He is the first Indian to get this honour. In 1930-32 he worked in the famous Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge University, where he had the privilege of being the pupil of Professor Lord Rutherford. It is this laboratory where for the first time the atom was split by Dr. Cock-Croft, Walton, and Rutherford. It was here that the neutron, the trigger of the atom bomb, was discovered by Professor Chadwick in 1932 and Professor M. L. Oliphant did pioneer work in high voltage physics. Dr. Choudhri worked with the scientists who for the first time succeeded in breaking the nucleus of the atom. He was with them, while the researches that led to the manufacture of the atom-bomb were being carried out and so he may well be considered a good authority on this subject in India. An enthusiastic section of the Muslim press of northern India hailed him as a ' Pride of Muslim India.'

Just on the eve of writing these lines, the humble writer received from foreign mail a publication of the Illinois University, namely *the Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as Revealed in Despatches of the Venetian Baili* by Mary Lucille Shay. The main themes of this dissertation are, firstly, the political and social conditions of the Ottoman Empire under the Vizierate of Deamad Ibrahim ; secondly, the relations of the Ottoman Empire with the Republic of Venice and lastly the Russian-Turkish interest in Persia and its effect on the Porte's foreign policy.

S.S.

## NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

*New Publications :*

Among the recent publications of Shaikh Moḥammad Ashraf of Lahore, special mention is due to *Studies : Islamic and Oriental*, in which

Qāḍī Aḥmad Miān Akhtar, the well-known scholar of Junagadh, has brought together a number of papers and articles, which he has either read before learned bodies or has contributed to learned journals on different occasions. It was a happy thought, indeed, to collect these scattered writings, which contain a vast amount of valuable and interesting material extracted from original sources. The volume offers a rich intellectual feast to the reader interested in Islamic and Oriental literature ; and it is difficult to pick and choose from a fairly large variety of interesting essays. The two articles on the art of *Warāqah* are both interesting and informative while that on al-Māwardī gives a sketch of his life and works. In the article on the etymology and meaning of the word 'Saracen,' the author brings up some fresh matter which would help in elucidating the origin of the word in question. The volume also contains the Arabic text of a short tract by Avicenna on God and His attributes and its Persian translation by 'Umar Khayyām, together with an English rendering by the author. Professor Mohammad Shafī' contributes an appreciative foreword, in which he introduces the author to the reader, calls attention to the merits of the work and gives due praise to the patient industry, extensive research and scholarly interests of the learned author.

The *Maxims of 'Alī* is the title of a booklet of 80 pages in clear beautiful type, in which the sayings of the Caliph 'Alī are arranged according to subjects. The name of the compiler is not given on the title-page ; but we learn from the introduction that the sayings were rendered into English by J. A. Chapman, who received assistance in understanding their meaning from some other gentlemen conversant with the original Arabic.

*The Late Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khan Shērānī :*

In the death of Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shērānī, who passed away on the 15th February of this year, Persian studies in India have suffered a loss which it will not be easy to repair. Although he held the chair of Urdu at the University Oriental College, Lahore, he also carried on research in the domain of Persian letters, along with other professional duties. He also participated in the post-graduate teaching of Persian, and in his role as a teacher he proved a source of inspiration to several generations of students, who not only received instruction from him but also imbibed an abiding love for the subject.

Professor Shērānī leaves behind him several works of great importance and value. In *Panjab men Urdu,* he attempted to prove that the Urdu language had its origin in the Panjab. It is possible to differ from his views and conclusions but we cannot but be grateful to him for the amount of relevant material that he has brought together in this book, and which must be taken into consideration in any fruitful discussion of the problem.

Professor Shērānī possessed a highly-developed critical faculty, and a very considerable amount of his written work is devoted to a penetrating criticism of other persons' writings. The most outstanding example of this type of work is his detailed criticism of M. Shiblī Nu'mānī's *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, which originally appeared serially in *Urdu*, the official quarterly organ of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-Urdu, and was subsequently reprinted in separate book-form. While Shērānī's criticism does not touch Shibli's estimate of poets and his æsthetic appreciation of their poetry—which is in fact the heart and soul of Shiblī's illuminating work—, Shērānī sought to rectify factual errors and also attacked a number of individual problems in the course of his minute and painstaking criticism. His تنقید شعر العجم, thus, constitutes a most valuable and important contribution to the history of Persian literature.

Professor Shērānī was a great authority on the *Shāh-Nāma* of Firdausī, and possessed an unrivalled knowledge of that world-famous epic of Iran, a considerable portion of which he remembered by heart and could recite from memory whenever an occasion demanded it. It is a great pity that he did not devote a monograph to the subject ; for the few stray essays that he wrote on the subject and published in various journals do not at all represent the vast amount of reading and research that he had done in this field.

In the course of his literary career, Professor Shērānī had collected by purchase a large number of manuscripts in the Oriental languages. His collection, which was particularly rich in Persian literature produced in India, was acquired during his lifetime by the Panjab University, and now forms a part of the Oriental section of the University Library. Its varied and valuable contents, however, demand a separate notice.

Professor Shērānī was a man of retired habits, entirely devoted to his literary pursuits. His modest and unassuming demeanour, which added to the charm of his personality, gave no hint of his vast erudition and deep learning. His great qualities of the head and heart endeared him to everybody who came in close contact with him ; and it was indeed a rare pleasure and privilege to know him intimately. The world of scholarship is decidedly too poorer by his death, which we sincerly lament.

SH. I.

## FOREIGN

*France :*

UNDER the auspices of the Institut des Etudes Islamiques of the University of Paris, a series of learned publications has been started under the name of " Initiation à l'Islam." This consists mainly of translations or adaptations from German, Russian, etc. So far, three numbers have

reached India. Here is the translation of a list, as we learn from the advertisement on the wrapper of the 3rd of the series : .

1. Sauvaget, Introduction to the History of Muslim Orient, pp. 202.
2. Tor Andrae, Mohammad, his Life and his Doctrine, pp. 190.
3. Barthold, History of the Turks of Central Asia, pp. 204, with maps.
4. Fleisch, Initiation into the Development of Semitic Languages.
5. Sauvaget, Arab Historians, Selections and Translations.
6. Tor Andrae, The Personality of Muḥammad.
7. Blachère, History of Classical Arabic till the end of 15th Century.
8. Goldziher, Muhammadan Studies, 2 vols.
9. Contineau, Course of Arabic Phonetics.

The publisher of the Institut is Adrien-Maisonneuve, 11, rue St. Sulpice, Paris. This post-war enterprise has been started since 1943.

It was curious, that so far there was no first grade professor of Arabic or Islamic Studies, in the University of Paris, in spite of the fact that the French empire consists mostly of Arabic speaking Muslims. At long last in 1945, they have created a chair at the Sorbonne, to which the famous Jewish Orientalist, Levi-Provençal has been transferred on promotion from Algiers. The chair is called that of Arabic Language and Civilization. Even the Frenchmen call this delay a paradox.

At Palais Berlitz, Paris, recently a grand Exhibition of Tunis was inaugurated to depict not only the past history of this country but also its plight during the recent war, present devastated condition and future plans of reconstruction and developments. The process of assimilation of Arab Muslims to Frenchdom and their " Francisation " has been tremendously exhilerated, and under the recent franchise bills, a fifth of the Arab population of Algeria has been admitted to French citizenship. The recent municipal elections there show a marked leftist tendency. In the recent Constituent Assembly Algeria sent 13 " Citizen " and 13 " non-Citizen " representatives.

*Egypt :*

The King of Egypt has approved the appointment of Shaikh Muṣṭafà 'Abdur-Rāziq as the rector of Azhar University ; and according to the *Majallat-ul-Azhar,* just reached, he has already taken charge of his post.

It may be reminded that some years back the same Shaikh 'Abdur-Rāziq was dismissed from the staff of Azhar for publishing a work on Islam and the Principles of Government ( الاسلام و اصول الحكم ). The book was proscribed. It was later translated even in French. The author had propounded that Islam had nothing to do with theories of government, and that any and every change or innovation the Muslim community thought fit could be introduced in Muslim polity.

*Turkey.*

According to the census of 1945, the population of Turkey is nineteen millions. Although giant strides have been made for educating the masses, in rural areas illiteracy is still as high as 83 per cent. Urban teachers have proved a failure in rural areas. After many experiments, the Government has now found out that rural folk should be trained to become teachers. In connection with military conscription, intelligent young men are selected, and they undergo a five years course after which they become teachers in rural areas, and teach elementary mathematics, history, geography, Turkish literature and professions of rural economy like carpentry, hut-building and the like. It is expected, that in 15 years all the needs of the country could be met in this way. Mere adoption of Latin alphabet has not solved the problem of literacy as will be seen from the following statistics taken from the Survey of International Affairs (1928, p. 219 footnote) by Prof. Toynbee :

| | |
|---|---|
| Illiteracy in Japan (with its most difficult script) in 1923 | 0.94 % |
| Do in Portugal, with Latin Script, in 1911..... | 68.9 % |
| Do in Mexico in 1925..... | 62.0 % |

*Germany :*

The decentralization of the administration in Germany has necessitated the unfortunate suspension of the hundred years old quarterly *ZDMG.* As an interim measure, Prof. Kahle, its former editor and secretary of the *DMG* (German Oriental Society) has planned another quarterly *ZKM* (Zeitschrift der Kunde des Morgenlandes) which welcomes articles in three languages, German, French and English. All those students who have regard for German scholarship, will welcome this publication which will remain for sometime the sole organ of all the German Orientalists who cannot remain idle even during the occupation of so many masters. Those interested may correspond with Prof. P. Kahle, 24, Museum Road, Oxford.

The revised edition of *al-Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm has been fortunate in possessing a transcript of the autograph of the author for collation, and much additional data has been found. Prof. Fück has now made it ready to go to press.

In our last issue there was a note to the effect that Prof. Fischer of Leipzig succumbed to a bomb. There are reports, though still unconfirmed, that at least the material of the Arabic Dictionary was saved as it was transported to Egypt just before the war.

*England*:

The *Star*, Bombay, of March 3 last writes: An English Muslim Society, open to all Western Europeans who are Muslims or who are interested in Islam, has just been formed, with Mr. Conard Simpson, who has travelled widely in the Middle East, as chairman, and Mr. Colins Evans, editor of the *Muslim Press*, as secretary.

Hundreds of English Muslims are being asked to join.

The Society aims at not only banding together Englishmen and other Western Europeans with the same religious outlook but will also organize meetings to tell non-Muslims something about Islamic culture and philosophy.

Mr. Evans told *Globe's* correspondent: People from the Middle East and Indians are already doing much good work but it is essential for English Muslims to add their voices. There is still a certain amount of prejudice and as long as Islamic culture is preached only by people from the East, Western Europeans will be inclined to say, however good Islam may be its doctrine is suitable only for the East. When the man in the street realizes that many English men and women have adopted the faith they will sit up and take notice.

The formation of this society coincides with the appointment of Mr. David Cowan—a Scotsman—as assistant to the Imām of the East London Mosque. He is understood to be the first Western European Imām in the British Isles.

*General*:

*Qur'ān in Esperanto*:—Over 100 Esperantists have written from 12 European countries, Mr. Evans told *Globe's* correspondent. All want to correspond with Muslims and learn more about their religion and philosophy and help with the study of Esperanto. Mr. Evans hopes that enough Muslims will be present at the Universal Esperanto Congress to organize a pilgrimage to Mecca.

He has translated part of the Qur'ān into Esperanto.

M. H.

# NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

*MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH; by Maṭlūb al-Ḥasan Sayyid; publisher Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore;* 1945, *pp.* 939; *Rs.* 12-8-0.

WHATEVER political views one might have, there is no doubt that Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh is one of the most outstanding—if not *the* most outstanding—political figures of modern India, and it is well that we are seriously probing into his character which went to make the man. Mr. Sayyid has, therefore, done a service to the thinking public by bringing out this very readable and highly interesting biography of the Muslim leader. It is always difficult for a biographer not to be subjective in his argument and even description, especially when the subject of the biography is a living personality who is actually shaping our lives by his vigorous and unbending espousal of the cause he upholds, and the reader may well excuse Mr. Sayyid for being partial towards his hero, right from the beginning. In fact the very words of his dedicatory lines—to his own wife—tell the whole tale, for he explains to his readers that the models his wife has set for the education of her son are the Apostle of Islam (Muḥammad), fourth Caliph ('Alī) and he Leader (Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnāh).

Whatever partiality to the subject of the work may be gleaned by this dedication, there is no doubt that the author has worked very hard indeed to get a full view of Jinnah's background and his making. As a matter of fact, right up to the resurrection of the Muslim League at the hands of Jinnah during the fateful days of the Congress Ministries the book is a history of Indian politics from the point of view of the Nationalistic school—to which Jinnah belonged—rather than a life of Jinnah himself. It is only after the full glow of democracy and electioneering which went to obliterate the old spirit of *camaraderie* among the multitude that Jinnah's name is shown in greater perspective and his vision is clarified into what later came to be known as the Pakistan theory.

Although a partiality to the Muslim League and its *present day* policy runs right throughout the work there are many revealing passages and documents which give us an inner working of the psychology of the Muslim *vis à vis* the Hindus whether as members of the Indian National Congress or of the Mahasabha. It is not widely known that the originator of the Pakistan idea was no less a person that the great Arya Samajist Panjabi leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was one of the first to envisage "the establishment of separate Hindu and Muslim States" and suggested that "the Panjab should be partitioned with two provinces, the Western Panjab with a large Muslim majority to be a Muslim-governed province" and Eastern Panjab and went on to say that under his scheme the Muslims would have four states: (1) the Pathan province or the N.W. Frontier, (2) Western Panjab, (3) Sindh, and (4) Eastern Bengal. It was only a small step forward which led to the formulation of the epithet, *Pakistan* by a Panjabi student studying in England,

Choudhri Raḥmat 'Ali, by the clever manupulation of certain letters of the "Muslim provinces." The idea underlying Lala Lajpat Rai's scheme was—it seems so strange today—the division of the country for the sake of Hindu culture at least in some parts of India, for, so said he "what would the Hindus gain by Swaraj if they were annihilated as a community." Today this is the identical cry of a section of the Muslims who say almost in Lajpat Rai's words, *mutatis mutandis* "what would the Muslims gain by Swaraj if they were annihilated as a community!"

The coping stone to the structure of thought, so far as Muslims were concerned, was given by the philosopher-poet, Iqbal, who came down from his pedestal of lofty thought, and, as President of the Allahabad Muslim League propounded the idea of a "Muslim India within India," of a "North-Western Muslim State" and of the redistribution of provinces on "homogeneous principles" before any Federation could be worked at all. In a series of letters to Jinnah he brought home to the latter the danger of the grafting of Western ideas of democracy on a land which consisted of water-tight parties and principles, and thus, in a way, agreed with Lajpat Rai who had plainly told C. R. Das previously, questioning him whether "any Muslim could override the Qur'ān" and hoped that his reading of Islamic Law was incorrect! Said Lajpat Rai: "what about the injunctions of the Qur'ān or Ḥadīth? The (Muslim) leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed?" Intensely religious in principle as Iqbal always was, it seems that he also began to argue in the same vein as his fellow Panjabi Lajpat Rai, and by his powerful material argument contributed to the conversion of the staunch Indian Nationalist, Jinnāh, to a new way of thought.

The swing for extreme nationalism of Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnāh of 1916 to the extreme separatism of Qā'id-i-A'ẓam of 1946 is certainly one of the most marked features of the recent history of Indian politics, and this is well depicted by our author. Jinnāh gets up from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1913 and declares that he was proud that he belonged to the Congress party; while signing the famous Memorandum of the Nineteens in 1916 he declared that "the keynote of our real progress lies in the good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation between the two great sister-communities"; while discussing the Declaration of August 1917 he feels sure that "the Musalmans and Hindus would stand together"; goes on as the President of the great session of the Muslim League which set its seal on the Lucknow Pact that co-operation with the Hindus is essential to the establishment of Self-Government.

The parting of the ways with the Congress as a body and with its new leader, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came with the initiation of the Non-co-operation Movement, and Jinnah was one of the few among the 15,000 delegates of of the Nagpur Congress who voted against this movement. In spite of this rift he remained a great protogonist of Hindu-Muslim unity, and remained thus right up till the first Round Table Conference of 1930. We all remember how a new orientation of Indian political arena was promised in 1927 with the enumeration of the so-called Delhi proposals sponsored by Jinnāh in which the Muslims declared their willingness to replace Separate Electorates by Joint Electorates with reservation of seats, provided separate provinces were constituted in Sindh, N.-W. Fontier Province and Baluchistan, and the proportion of Muslim seats in Bengal and Panjab remained according to their population. It is possible the whole history of India may have been changed if these proposls had been accepted by the majority community but it was these very proposals on which the ship of Indian politics struck rock, first by the India-wide agitation against them and then in London at the time of the Second Round Table Conference.

The author goes step by step from the

agitation regarding the Nehru Report which was also wrecked on what seemed today innocuous amendments of reservation of seats for Muslims according to population in Bengal and the Panjab, and residuary powers at the centre, in lieu of the acceptance of Joint Electorates. As the author vividly says, a great offer was thus lost, and now Jinnāh set to work to organize Muslim opinion on the basis of the line of the greatest agreement *among themselves*. All this is clarified by Mr. Sayyid by means of profuse quotations from the speeches of leaders and resolutions of the Congress and the League, which are given at great length sometimes covering pages after pages which, at times, almost breaks the thread of the thought of the reader and which has managed to bring the size of the book to an odd 900 pages.

The contrast between the views of the Muslim League leader and the present policy of the League is also patent in the views Jinnāh has held regarding the part the student should play in politics. Mr. Sayyid quotes at length Jinnāh's speech on the subject delivered in London some years ago where he gave the clarion call to the students that to take active part in politics would injure their position as students. He did not ask them to eschew political discussion. They should be at liberty to discuss such matters, but they must not think of sending their resolutions to the Press or high Government officials.

There are one or two misstatements in the work which might be corrected in future editions. Mr. Sayyid says that Jinnah *founded* the London India Association in April 1913. This is not correct, as the Association was functioning even in 1912, and the compiler of this review actually held the membership of the Executive Committee, and was the Secretary in 1912, Vice-President in 1913 and had the honour of being its President in 1914. He was thus in close touch with the London Indian Association from 1911 to 1914, and it is strange that the author should suggest that the Association did not exist before Jinnāh's visit to London in April 1913! Again one feels astounded to read that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan "was busy advocating the extreme views of orthodoxy," and that he is bracketed in this connection with Tilak, B. C. Pal and Lajpat Rai! While delineating the rise of the Muslim League, and this has been done at great length, the author makes absolutely no mention of the famous deputation of the Musalmans which waited upon Lord Minto in December 1906 and which was preceded four years earlier by the establishment of the "Mohammedan Social and Political Organization" at Aligarh.

As has been mentioned above the book is a full-dress life of an idealized Jinnāh with a full background of the history of the Indian political scene. The author will greatly improve the work if he were in the second edition, to correct the few mistakes of fact which have crept in, decrease the number of pages devoted to extensive speeches and proceedings of various Conferences, and, in places replace the subjective matter by the objective viewpoint, if possible.

H. K. S.

*THE HOLY QUR'ĀN, English Translation and Commentary with Arabic Text, by 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī, pp. 56; published by Taj Co., Railway Road, Lahore; Rs. 2.*

SOME TIME back the first part of this series was reviewed in these columns; and the second of the 30 parts of the Qur'ān has now come out. The translator has maintained his standard and policy. He is endeavouring to interpret to the English-knowing reader the opinion of the Orthodox classical authors, although he never hesitates to utilise modern non-Muslim sources if they serve the purpose of elucidating the holy text. There are a few misprints, for instance the word اول (p. 81, footnotes) should read اذل. Some of the notes seem superfluous which are

added to explain the already clear text. To avoid them may considerably reduce the bulk and price. Everywhere the translator's wide reading has left agreeable traces.

M. H.

*ROAD TO ISLAM, by 'Abdul S. Mondol, pp. 68+3+17 Anjuman publications, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.*

WE would request the author not to enigmatise his name in blind imitation of Christian ways, and even render it infidelistic as *Abdul Mondol* would suggest.

The Muslim Anjuman of Port-of-Spain has started a very useful series of pamphlets for the eudcation of Muslim children, and they have already a dozen works to their credit. These may be had from the Jāmi' Masjid of the capital of Trinidad. The present brochure contains elements of the Islamic faith and rites, and the author has not only transliterated all the important Arabic prayers in Roman script but also translated them in order to make them better appreciated. There are a few mistakes of transcription owing apparently to local way of pronouncing Arabic words, such as *Istagfar* (p.18) instead of the correct *Istighfār*, or *Ijjat* (p. 46) instead of *'Izzat*. Yet, as a whole, the Muslim children of English tongue as also the converts who want to be initiated in the daily needs of their religious life would find it very useful.

In an appendix, the author has added an account of the Ascension (Mi'rāj) of the Prophet as also the pagan origin of some of the greatest religious festivals of the Christians, for general information.

The activity of the Anjuman, which is working under very hard conditions, deserves encouragement. The series is planned according to the Ḥanafi school of thought.

M. H.

*THE MUSLIM LEAGUE 1942-45, by W. C. Smith of the Foreman Christian College, Lahore, pp. 57, to be had from the Minerva Book Shop, Lahore; Rs. 2.*

THIS small booklet of average get-up is priced at an unusually high rate The author seems to have an obsession to read a clash between the peasants and other classes of the society in every little movement among Indian Muslims.

There is considerable documentation, useful for future worker in the field, and the author is gradually learning to appreciate the point of view of the Muslim League of British India, and has changed much since he published his *Modern Islam in India* three years ago. According to him the Muslim League of today has become, or at least embraces, peasants' movement of Indian Muslims; and he opines that the Muslim League and the Hindu Congress would come, however enormous the task may be, to an ultimate understanding of each other.

He surmises that Jinnāh did not want really to come to a settlement with the Hindus in the past, and that he was only playing a double game in order to get time for becoming stronger and thus obtaining better terms in the bargain. One need not agree with the author in order to enjoy his amusing interpretation and seeing things from his preconceived notions. The style is easy and entertaining.

M. H.

*THE WORKS OF MAX MEYERHOF, Hebrew University School of Oriental Studies, Jerusalem, 1944; pp. 28.*

IN this small booklet, compiled by Uri Ben Horin, presented to the lamented Meyerhof at the occasion of his 70th birthday in 1944, a complete list has been prepared of all the publications of the eminent orientalist. The matter has been arranged chronologically beginning with the year 1898,

going down to 1943. They include not only books but also articles and even reviews of books he has written in German, French and English. It is a useful reference work for those who specialize or have interest in the field of exact sciences, especially medicine, of mediæval Islam. In all, 293 items have been dealt with, to the complete reference as to the place and date of publication.

M. H.

*TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY, by Prof. Dr. M. H. Rehman ; pp. 14+350 ; may be had from Allahabad Publishing House, Grand Trunk Road, Juma Masjid, Allahabad ; Rs. 5-8-0.*

IN this vividly written work, the author has tried to trace the principles of the foreign policy of the Turks, both during the Sultanate as well as the Kamalist Republic. There are several illustrations and maps. According to the author, geographical factors have played a very decisive part in moulding the Turkish policy, political as well as commercial. Extracts from the still-born treaty of Sèvre and of the Montreux Convention have been annexed at the end of the book.

It is a very interesting and readable book and adds to the small literature written by Indian Muslims on foreign affairs.

There is unfortunately no bibliography and no trace either, of the author who is, by the way, a doctor of the Paris University, having utilized the enormous French literature on Turkey from the Middle Ages down to the present day. A few mistakes have crept in which, however, do not detract from the general value of the work. For instance the 'Drang Nach Osten" is incorrect orthographically as well as otherwise. Certainly books on the same line for other Muslim countries would also be very welcome.

M. H.

*A SHORT HISTORY OF TRANSJORDAN, by Baha Uddin Toukan ; pp. 50, Luzac & Co., 46, Gt. Russel Street, London ; £ 0-5-0.*

ABOUT a decade ago, the author had published a work on a similar topic in Arabic. Now we have a summary of it in English. It is a timely work in view of the recent improvement in the political status of this country, which has brought it in lime-light.

The author has succinctly dealt with the history, geography, topography, archæology, and administration of Transjordania, a country full of interest to students of Islamic, pre-Islamic and current history. Part of the country, including the important port of 'Aqabah belonged to the Muslim State even in the time of the Prophet. Treaties of the time of the Prophet concerning this and several other localities in the country have come down to us and contain important historical data, though our author has not utilized them. Again, the famous battle of Mu'tah of the time of the Prophet was also fought in Transjordania. Further, Humaimah, another locality, said to be still existing between 'Aqabah and Ma'ān, was the secret headquarters of the 'Abbāsid propaganda, which culminated in the overthrow of the Umaiyad dynasty in 132 A. H.

The treatment is vivid, and gives a fair picture of the country during the past several thousand years, under the Hebrews, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Nabatæans, Greeks, Romans, and Muslims, traces of whose influence have survived to this day, especially the Greek and Islamic monuments.

We expected a much better standard of printing and get-up from the famous publishers, Luzac of London. Even printing mistakes are not wanting. In addition to the printed errata, there are many more. On p. 3 they must mean *topography*, not *Typography*. On p. 6, it should read *Khirbet an-Nuḥās*, not *K. al-nubas*.

Transcription is also faulty :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balathari | for the correct | | Balādhurī |
| M'uta | ,, | ,, | Mu'tah |
| Ma'az | ,, | ,, | Mu'ādh |
| Sharahbil | ,, | ,, | Shuraḥbīl, etc. |

A good map of the country would have been welcomed and very much appreciated by the readers instead of the present rather fantastic one used as a decorative cover.

Nevertheless, the booklet is a very welcome addition to the small literature on the subject.

M. H.

## CORRIGENDA.

| Page | Line | Text | Correction |
|---|---|---|---|
| 110 | 6 | Works | Worms |

The *I. C.* is thankful to Principal H. K. Sherwani for the following, regarding our last issue :—

"(i) On p. 213 bottom it is said that I represented the *Hyderabad Government* in the Central Advisory Board of Archæology. This is not so, as I am one of three professors of History who represent the Inter-University Board of India on the Central Advisory Board of Archæology.

"(ii) On p. 223, column 2, top. I apologize if by a slip of my pen Dataoli was put down as being "*west*" of Jalali ; as a matter of fact, it is six miles *east* of Jalali.

"(iii) Perhaps 'M. H.' was not aware that I represented the Nizam College on the bi-centenary celebrations of the birth of Sir William Jones last January, and that I read out a message[1] of good-will and full co-operation in all matters of research on behalf of the Nizam College."

1. On behalf of the Nizam College, Hyderabad-Deccan, I have great pleasure in conveying a message of hearty felicitation to this august assembly on the occasion of the bi-centenary celebrations of the birth of its great founder, Sir William Jones. I assure this distinguished gathering that the Nizam College is second to none in promoting research, which was the object of Sir William Jones, and that it will strive to the utmost to carry the torch of learning onwards.

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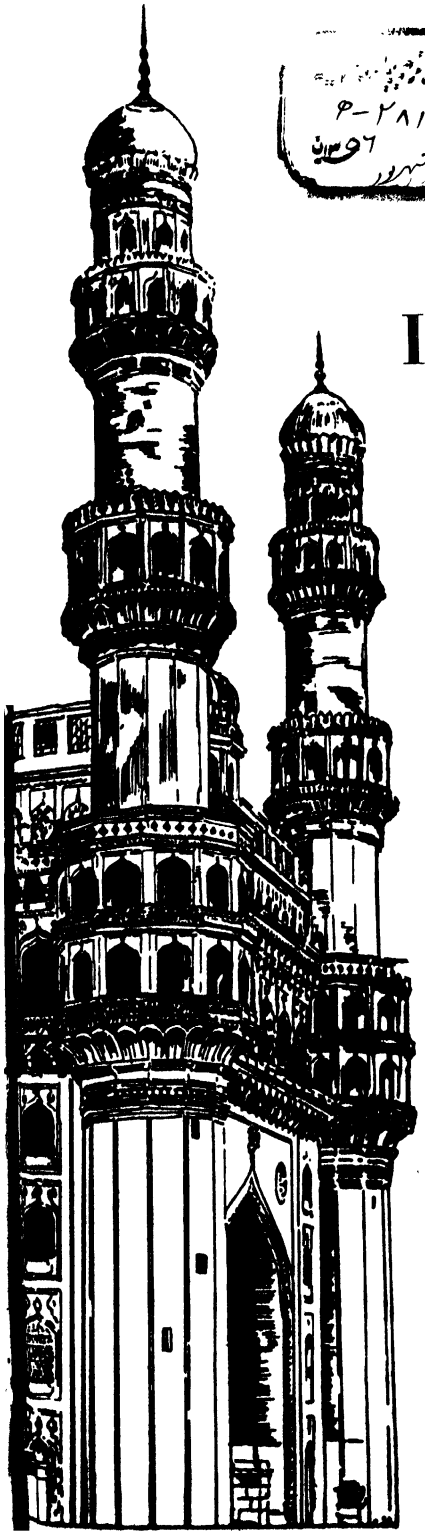
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*Ed., I. C.*


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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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# QUṬB AD-DĪN AL-BA'LABAKKĪ

Ibn Ḥajar in the *Durar al-Kāmina*[1] has a short biography of an important historian who deserved a more detailed notice. He says: " Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Ḥusain (Aḥmad) al-Yūnīnī al-Ḥanbalī Quṭb ad-Dīn, son of the Faqīh Abū 'Abd Illāh. He was born in Ṣafar 640 and studied under his father, the Shaikh ash-Shuyūkh, ar-Rashīd al-'Aṭṭār and others ; permission to teach was granted him by Ibn-Rawāj, as-Sāwī and others. After the death of his brother Abu'l-Ḥusain he was the acknowledged authority in learning in Ba'labakk. He abbreviated the *Mir'āt az-Zamān* to half its size and wrote a continuation in four volumes. He had great knowledge of contracts, was a prominent figure of great dignity and many virtues, generous, and became the authority in religious and legal matters after the death of his brother Abu'l-Ḥusain 'Alī. Then he grew old, lived a long life, and died in 726."

To this I can add at present: In 655 his father[2] took him to Damascus and in 658[3] he saw the then practical ruler of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) Bohemond in Ba'labakk where he had come to negotiate with Hūlāgū to hand over to his rule that city and other territory, in which he did not succeed. The following year[4] he travelled with his brother through Jerusalem and Ghazza to Egypt. In 673 he made the pilgrimage and visited al-Madīna, and on his return in the following year he passed in the month of Ṣafar[5] through al-Karak. A year later in 675 he was again in Egypt[6] but must have returned soon to Damascus and his native town Ba'labakk, for in 680[7] he accompanied Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maktūm in the battle against the Mongols near Ḥimṣ which took place on the 14th of Rajab and in which Ibn-Maktūm found a martyr's death.

1. IV. 383.
2. Fol. 129o.
3. India Office MS., fol. 60.
4. Fol. 129 v., 149 v.
5. Fol. 89 v.
6. Fol. 292.
7. Fol. 1482.

So much I have been able to gather from that portion of his chronicle which I have consulted : later parts will no doubt yield further information about himself. He frequently mentions his brother as a source for his accounts. This elder brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī was born in 621 and enjoyed a greater reputation than his younger brother. He reckoned among his pupils the historian Dhahabī who tells us that 'Alī had collected a valuable library. He was in this library at the beginning of Ramaḍān 701 when a madman, named Mūsā, entered and gave him several blows with a stick on his head and also wounded him with a knife on his head and the hand which he had held up to ward off the blows. From these wounds he died on the night of Thursday the 11th of Ramaḍān. After his death his brother Quṭb ad-Dīn became the leading authority in Ba'labakk and outlived his brother nearly twenty-five years.

The Library of the India Office possesses a manuscript (No. 1075) since 1875 which has the short title جزء من ذيل مرآة الزمان . It begins with the biography of Tāj ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-Mauṣilī who died in 671, so that the beginning of the events which happened in that year is missing. The method of the chronicle is the same as that used by earlier historians, as for example as-Sābī, namely to register the events of each year in chronological order and then add in alphabetical order biographies of noted personalities who have died during that year. In these biographies the writer makes several personal references which have been used in the preceding lines.

The Bodleian Library in Oxford possesses an ancient codex (Pocock 132) which is correctly attributed to our author and contains the chronicle of the years 658 to 674, so that the first four years of the India Office Manuscript are also found in this one. I have not yet had an opportunity to examine this manuscript but Prof. Gibb has been kind enough to inspect it for me and I hope to make a copy of it also.

The beginning of the work does not appear to be in our libraries, but Prof. Spies found in Istanbul two copies which contain the years 654-662 (Ayā Sofia 3146) and 654-668 (Ayā Sofia 3199) respectively.[1] He has given an extract of the introduction in which the author says that he had always had a liking for history and set out to abbreviate the *Mir'āt az-Zamān* of Shams ad-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, grandson of Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzī, and that that work ended with the year 654 in which the author died. He therefore undertook to write a continuation. Some people might find that he was rather too prolix in places and too short in others, but he wrote this chronicle for his own use solely and registered such things as had come to his personal knowledge or such as he had heard from trustworthy persons ; but he had also copied from their writings and the responsibility for the correctness of their statements rested with them.

1. Beitrage....Leipzig 1932.

These arguments are borne out by the contents of the India Office manuscript which I have copied completely. There are two features by which the author distinguishes himself from other chroniclers of his time. He does not, except on rare occasions, give a list of the Shaikhs of the persons whose biography he writes ; he is very meticulous in giving dates and very frequently mentions the relations of the person whose life he is dealing with and in this way includes biographies and dates of the past and future. Another feature, which he himself perhaps thought valuable, is that he gives abundant quotations from the poetry of contemporaries amounting often to extracts from their Dīwāns, and in one case we find twenty-three pages folio of a Takhmīs of the *Maqṣūra* of Ibn-Duraid. Further, he quotes *in extenso* several *official* proclamations (three on the conquest of the fortress al-Marqab from the Franks) which display all the verbosity introduced by the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in the Egyptian chancellery where in a hundred lines hardly ten contain any real information. He also cites at full length the deeds concerning the properties, with the names of villages, etc., appertaining to new foundations of public institutes such as Madrasahs or, for example, the deed appointing Ibn-Khallikān as chief judge of Syria.

The book had some circulation after the death of the author, and Ibn-Shākir in the *Fawāt* has copied extracts in various places, so no doubt has Dhahabī, since he was on friendly terms with him. Ibn-al-'Imād in the *Shadharāt* quotes Dhahabī as saying that he (Mūsā) composed a nice continuation of the *Mir'āt az-Zamān* and abbreviated the same work, that he (Dhahabī) profited by it and copied many useful particulars from it, and that the author reached the age of 86 years and was buried with his brother at Ba'labakk. Altogether he gives a favourable account of his character, which is also evident in many places of his book.

The India Office Manuscript is comparatively modern. At the end the scribe, who does not name himself, says that it is the 17th Juz'[1] and that he completed his copy on the 8th of Shawwāl 1115. He wrote a clear hand and apparently took care in writing the names of Mongols, Turks and Franks correctly, they certainly appear much better than in our printed editions of Ibn Khaldūn, Abu'l-Fidā, etc. He fails miserably however in copying the numerous poetical quotations. He leaves out words in the verses without noticing it and in many cases it is difficult to make out what could have been the word which he has misspelled. There are sometimes the usual irregularities in names like Ḥasan and Ḥusain, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubaid Allāh. These are at times difficult to correct as the same uncertainty prevails in other manuscripts and printed editions. Of many persons noticed in the biographies I have not found any mention elsewhere, as in the case of the many junior members of the royal Ayyūbī family, of which several led the life of private gentlemen principally in Damascus.

1. The MS. contains no doubt several Juz' not indicated except once at the end of the year 683.

I believe that the publication of this chronicle would considerably add to our knowledge of the history of Syria and Egypt in particular, at a time when the last remnants of the principalities of the Crusaders were finally conquered and the threat of the Mongols to those countries was at its height. For the period after 684 I know at present only one Cairo Manuscript for the years 671-687. The Landberg Manuscript is said to contain the years 671-702. I hope that copies containing the history of the later years may come to light as the author should have been able to give some valuable information for the later years of his life.[1]

(Since writing my article on the chronicle of Quṭb ad-Dīn I have had an opportunity of examining the Oxford Manuscript at Cambridge. It contains the first volume, but at an early date several leaves at the beginning were lost and one leaf by a later hand is added at the beginning. The manuscript is remarkable because it was written during the life of the author and before he had completed the work. Moreover it contains at the end the attestation by the author himself authorising the possessor to transmit the work. This owner is no other than the historian al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Birzālī (*Durar al-Kāmina*, III, 237) but he did not write the manuscript himself. This was done by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī who earned his livelihood by copying books for others, (*Durar al-Kāmina*, IV, 198). It is remarkable that Birzālī apparently did not care for the many poetical quotations given by Quṭb ad-Dīn and in that part of the work which coincides with the India Office Manuscript the latter has all these quotations while they are left out in the Oxford codex. The latter however contains some short biographies not found in the India Office Manuscript.

I am anxious to trace manuscripts dealing with the years 684 and later and shall be grateful to readers who can give me information about them.)

F. KRENKOW.

1. The Facsimile-edition of the *Mir'āt az-Zamān* for the years 495-654, published by I. R. Jewett in Chicago, is unfortunately very unsatisfactory. The get-up is almost sumptuous, but the text is very faulty, in fact so bad that the editor did not attempt to give an index for the proper names. The manuscript was then considered unique, now an edition could be published with some success.

# CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(*Continued from p. 296 of the July 1946 Issue*)

## III
## WAR COUNCIL

BEFORE the actual fighting commenced, a council of military officers was summoned to appraise the difficulties and think over the crucial issues of the battle. This was the general practice in the pre-Mughal as well as the Mughal period. During the days of the Sulṭāns of Delhi, this council was called Anjuman or Majlis or Majlis-i-Maliki[1] (Council of Maliks). The deliberations in this council took place under the guidance of the Sar-i-Lashkar (commander-in-chief), and all military officers having matured experience, ripe judgement and sound opinions participated in the discussion.[2] The 'Arīḍ and in his absence the Nā'ib 'Arīḍ were the important members of the council. All the members of the council shared equally the responsibility for conducting a battle to a successful termination. Decisions were arrived at after careful consideration of every matter and situation, for if the majority of the soldiers were convinced that a particular order of the commander would entail useless destruction of their lives they were not legally bound to obey him. So Fakhar-i-Mudabbir, the author of *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb wa'sh Shajā'at* (compiled in Sulṭān Iltutmish's period) warns the commanders that mere numerical strength could not be effective unless the campaign was carefully planned after due consultation.[3]

Amīr Tīmūr attached much importance to the deliberations of the war council. He writes in his *Tuzuk :* " My experience is that victory over the enemy does not depend upon the large number of the army nor can defeat be attributed mainly to the insufficient number of troops. Victory is gained by God's help as well as judicious devices..... My experience is that opinion, consultation and counsel must always

1. *Fatūḥ-us-Salatīn*, p. 254 ; *Tughluq Nāmah* by Amīr Khusrau, Hyderabad edition, p. 48 ; *Khaza'in-ul-Futūḥ*, Aligarh edition, p. 144.

2. *Tughluq Nāmah*, p. 84 ; *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 254 ; *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, by 'Abbās Khān Sarawani Elliot Vol. IV, pp. 340, 373, 381.

3. *Ādāb-al-Ḥarb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

be had from wise and experienced persons. The consequences of deeds lie, no doubt, hidden behind the veil of fate, but according to the tradition of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him!), all that I did was done after consultation. When counsellors assemble I discuss with them the good and evil sides of a plan as well its utility and futility and how to begin it, and why not to adopt it at all. When I hear their opinions, I think over the right and wrong aspects, and then keep judiciously in view the risks of doing that thing. If I see in performing some act two risks, I avoid it, and if I find in such an act only one risk, I try to do it..... In all works I seek counsel and in accomplishing them I adopt proper method, and after devising means I begin that task, and with the help of sound opinion and firm determination as well as care, caution and foresight, bring it to a successful end. My experience is that only those persons can be counsellors who are unanimously believed to be true and honest in their words as well as in deeds. If they promise to do something they do not fail to do it at any cost, and if they refuse to do it, they do not do it at all. My experience is that opinion is of two kinds. One is given by the tongue and the other from the care of the heart. I hear the opinion given by the tongue with my ear, but the opinion given from the core of the heart is heard by me with my ear and is also taken down in my heart. Before the beginning of a campaign I discuss the respective merits of battle and peace with the counsellors. I try to probe into the hearts of my nobles to learn whether they want battle or peace. If they wish for peace, I compare the benefits of peace with the losses of battle, and if they ask for battle, I deliberate over its advantages and disadvantages, and decide to choose only such an action as is highly profitable. I avoid listening to advice which is likely to cause disunity among my troops. Opinion offered in a hasty and haphazard manner is merely heard by me, but I try to give due consideration to the arguments of wise and able counsellors."[1]

Tīmūr's descendants in India made the best use of the above principles formulated by their illustrious predecessor. The war council held on the eve of battle was called Majlis-e-Kankash[2] or Arjuman-i-Kankash or merely Anjuman.[3] This council was presided over by the king and in his absence by the Sipāh Sālār or the leader of the army. It was attended by influential nobles ( امرائے ذوی الاقتدار )[4], trustworthy persons ( اهل اعتبار )[5], experienced officers ( حیرت گزیدان دولت )[6], experts ( کار آگاهان ),[7] and commanders of the army, *i.e.*, the chiefs of the Qushūn and Tumāns.[8] Debates in this council were held in a

1. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

2. 3. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūrī*, p. 5; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III, p. 290; *Malfūẓāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III. pp. 48, 433, 483.

4. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III. p. 482.

5. 6. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 25.

7. 8. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. II, p. 48, and also *Malfūẓāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 435.

detached manner, and " the modes of carrying on war, making and meeting attacks, arraying the troops, giving support to each other, and all the precautions to be observed in warring with the enemy " were thoroughly discussed.[1] This council was sometimes held even when the battle raged furiously. In such a case the meeting was summoned at the place where the royal standard was posted.[2]

The most remarkable features of the proceedings of the War Council were the lively speeches which the leader of the army delivered in order to cheer up the drooping spirits and embolden the failing courage of military officers. Instances of splendid pieces of oration are found both in the pre-Mughal and the Mughal period. For example when 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's 'forces were arrayed at Kili to oppose the hordes of Central Asia, Ẓafar Khān, the leader of the army, called an Anjuman of 'wise persons,' 'fearless warriors', and 'experienced officers' and addressed them thus : " Commanders of the troops ! What tactics should be adopted in this battle-field ? If we turn away from these infidel hordes, how can we afford to go into the presence of the king of the world ? And if we wage battle, the strength of our troops is only one thousand against ten thousands. We have been placed in a difficult position; the poor man is now between two wolves. Safety does not lie either in retreat or in encounter. I will however do what the experienced persons in this assembly will ask me to do." The members of the Anjuman replied : " O chivalrous Khān ! your fame in defeating the Mughals has travelled far and wide, so if you retreat, the king will not fail to welcome you." Ẓafar Khān, who was noted for his undaunted heroism and revelled in glorious death, did not like the reply of the members of the council, and recoiled at the thought of ignominious retreat, so he again spoke to them : " I am to die one day ; so I must die by attacking the enemy. I will end my life in this Hindustan like a hero and give up the ghost today in this battle, so that my name may be remembered in books of golden deeds. Those persons who at this adverse juncture wish to prove loyal in the battle, should follow the combatants, so that their names may be honoured for loyalty and fidelity. And those who want to retreat, may go back, their hands and feet are not tied. They may return safe, before the battle begins." The commanders of the army were much moved by Ẓafar Khān's words, so they unanimously said : " So long as we have life in our bodies, we will not fail to sacrifice our lives, and we will let our heads fall into the dust before you. We will obey your orders faithfully, and rush forth to fire if ordered to do so."[3]

Amīr Khusrau has versified in *Tughluq Nāmah* the speech which Ghiyāṯh-ud-Dīn Tughluq delivered in the presence of the officers of his army on the eve of commencing his fight against Khusrau Khān in the

1. *Malfūẓāt-i-Taimūri*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 435.
2. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III.
3. *Fatūḥ-as-Salāṭīn*, pp. 254, 255.

plain of Sarsiti. This speech may be summed up in the following words: "I am facing great adversity, still I am going to try your fidelity and bravery. Even if you do not prove loyal and faithful to me I will fight alone, having confidence in Divine help as well as in the prowess of my arms. Those who want to fight with me till the last breath of their lives, and to try their fortune along with me till they are killed, should come forward and tie themselves in the sacred bond of vows and oaths." Accordingly, the commanders of the army took solemn vows to fight on behalf of their leader, and to stake their lives.[1]

When Bābur led the expedition against Rana Sanga, his army was amazingly perturbed and exceedingly dejected. Bābur realised that a crisis was awaiting his troops, and some stirring and energetic measures were necessarily required to infuse heroic ardour into his dispirited and weary followers. So he at once summoned Bēgs, Amīrs, Khāns, and Sulṭāns, and addressed them: "Bēgs and braves!

هر که آمد بجهان اهل فنا خواهد بود آنکه پاینده وباقی است خدا خواهد بود

(Who comes into the world will die, what lasts and lives will be God). (Here follow two Turki verses, which mean: "He who hath come to the inn of life, passeth at last from earth's house of woe"). Better than life with a bad name is death with a good one.

بنام نکو گر بمیرم رواست مرا نام باید که تن مرگ راست

(Well is it with me if I die with a good name. A good name I must have, since the body is death's). Do you know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? Where is our birthplace? Where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners. Do you know, if we are defeated, what opinion the Muslim rulers of the neighbouring countries will form of us, and how will they remember us? Leave aside the opprobrium, censure and satire of the people of the world, what plea shall we offer to God in the Day of Judgement when we apart with this Muslim empire after our co-religionists have been slaughtered in such great numbers? If we do not fight with the infidels, and go back without any excuse, we shall be leaving the people of this country entirely at the mercy of these infidels. Alas! It is the most opportune time for gaining martyrdom, and for raising the cry of Jihād

چون جان از تن ضرورت رود همان به که باری بعزت رود
مر انجام گیتی همین ست وبس که نامے به نیکی بماند ز پس

(When the soul has to leave the body indispensably, it is better that it should depart honourably; the consequences of the world are all the

1. *Tughluq Nāmah*, pp. 84, 85, 86.

same, and only good names are left behind). God, the Most High, has allotted to us such happiness and has created for us such good fortune that we die as martyrs and we kill as avengers of His cause. Therefore each of us must take oath upon His Holy Qur'ān that we will not think of turning our face from this foe or withdrawing from this deadly encounter so long as life is not rent from our body." [1] This oration produced the desired effect and the spirit of the army was entirely restored, and all those present—bēgs, retainers, plebeians and nobles—seized the Holy Qur'ān and swore that they would not spare themselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as there was life in their bodies.

While Shēr Khān (afterwards Shēr Shāh), in his bid for the sovereignty of India, was encamped in the field of Chaunsa a little before midnight (preceding the day of battle) he assembled all his chiefs in a secret council of war, and defended himself for fighting against the Emperor Humāyūn by delivering a long speech, in which he said: " I have promised peace to the Emperor Humāyūn, but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit, and after all my loyalty to him in producing the defeat of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he demanded from me the fort of Chunar. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it, and when that failed, he came himself to seize the fort by force, but abandoned his attention when he heard that Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān had escaped from prison and had raised sedition in the country. Moreover, Sulṭān Bahādur, king of Gujrat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi, and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Quṭb Khān with him throughout the Gujrat compaign. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpur, etc. yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty ; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujrat, he got his army in readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me ; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When, in violation of his promises, he attached Bengal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sambhal, and have not left a single Mughal in those parts. Now, with what hope can I conclude this peace with him ? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and of all equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this pace ; but having appeased the rebellion of his borthers on his arrival at Agra and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot

1. This speech has been reconstructed with the help of the gist of it given in *Bābur Nāmah* translated by A. S. Beveridge, p. 556 ; *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 26; *Humāyūn Nāmah* by Gulbadan Bēgum, edited by A. S. Beveridge, p. 99.

and destroy me. I have often experienced that the Afghans are braver in battle than the Mughals, who only got the country because of the dissensions of the Afghans. If my brothers advise so, I will break off the peace and will try my fortune." The chiefs of Shēr Khān's army replied: " By your blessing, dissension has been banisehd from amidst the Afghan nation, and we all have been cherished by you ; we will not fail in devotion and gallantry to our utmost capability. Your purpose of breaking off the treaty is most wise."[1] Shēr Khān also exerted himself to infuse a portion of his own bravery into his soldiers if a wave of depression swept over them. Just on the eve of beginning his offensive against Humāyūn on the battle-field of Qannauj, he addressed his soldiers thus : " I have used my best efforts to collect you together, I have done my best to train you, and have kept you in anticipation of such a battle as this. This is the day of trial ; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, I will promote him above his fellows. Let there be one word and one heart amongst the Afghans. If there is unity amongst the Afghans, no power can prove equal to them in wielding the sword. I request my dear soldiers to forget their mutual jealousy, enmity and differences. The Afghans were defeated in Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's days mainly because of their discord and dissension. Victory is gained only by unity. Dear Soldiers ! you must know that I have made a firm decision to go out of this battle-field alive only when I have victory and conquest. Otherwise I will let my enemy trample upon my head with the hoofs of his horses. Death must come positively. But it is better to die fighting heroically for a good cause, so that a good name may be left behind. Dear Soldiers ! Do not be afraid of anything. Go to the battle-field with helmets on your heads. Greater ignominy and worse disgrace cannot be experienced by soldiers than to be left alive when their leader is killed. I beseech you to stand firmly in the battle-field, for on your firm determination lies the reconquering of Hindustan and the freeing of our women and children from the clutches of the Mughals. I have grown old, and have gathered together the Afghans after undertaking enormous difficulties. If this army is scattered by being defeated (God forbid it!), it is simply impossible to re-gather it, for buds once separated from the tree by a gust of wind can no longer be replaced on the branches."[2]

Akbar made a similar direct appeal to his troops. In the 18th year of his reign, he led a second expedition against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā of Gujrat. When the royal army was drawn up in order at Ahmedabad, Akbar encouraged his soldiers with the following speech. " The enemy appear to be numerous, yet the favour of God towards this suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive. It behoves our com-

1. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhi*, Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 373-74.

2. The full extract of the speech has been translated from the Urdu version given in Shams-ul-Ulemā Zakā-Allāh's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 302, 303.

rades to hold fast to the cable of the Divine favour and not give place to perplexity or alarm. Let them be of one heart, one face and one way, and, avoiding distraction and dispersion, assail the doomed body of troops which carries red standards, for it appears that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā has made red standards the mark of his special force. None of our brave men must be immoderate in his valour. When we have disposed of the ring-leaders in audacity, we shall easily get rid of the rest."[1]

In 1035 A.H. the Emperor Jehāngīr was crossing the Jhelum on his way to Kābul, when Mahābat Khān arranged a *coup de main* and placed the Emperor surprisingly under confinement. The whole of the Imperial cortège had crossed the Jhelum, and when Jehāngīr and his family were left alone in the camp, Mahābat Khān formed the bold desgin of rushing to the Emperor's tent with a detachment of two thousand men and taking him prisoner. A scene of tumult and confusion followed at this unexpected calamity, but Nūr Jehān, who accompanied her husband, did not lose her presence of mind. She put on a disguise and set out for the other side of the river in a litter of the most ordinary description. As soon as she found herself safe amidst the royal troops, she summoned a council of the chief nobles and addressed them in reproachful terms : " This," she said, " has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered into the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil and advise what course to pursue." The invectives cut the nobles to the quick, and they resolved unanimously to deliver an attack on Mahābat Khān.[2]

At the battle of Samugarh, Aurangzēb infused great vigour and fervour into his officers, supporters and soldiers by a spirited speech. On the night preceding the day when his troops were to be drawn up in battle-array, he addressed them thus : " Tomorrow is the day of heroic and manly deeds. Our capital is very far from this place. It is imperative that with one heart and with your faces turned one way you should assail the enemy, and with the blows of your shining swords take hold of ' the record of the office of Fortune,' and make your names famous in the world by gaining victory and administering defeat on your enemies.

بکوشید کوشیدن مرد وار رگ جان بکوشش کنند استوار
اگر دست بر دیم ما راست ملك وگر ما شدیم آن داراست ملك

(Try, and try like heroes ; make the vein of your life strong by your endeavour. If we are victorious, the country is ours, and if we are vanquished, the country is Dārā's property).[3]

1. *Akbar Nāmah*, Vol. III, p. 54, and the English translation by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 77.
2. *Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jāhangīrī*, by Mo'tamad Khān, Calcutta edition, p. 360; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 424.
3. *Wāqa'āt Ālamgīrī*, p. 42, Lahore edition.

Again, during the battle of Khājwa, the Emperor 'Ālamgīr was about to lose the day by Maharaja Jaswant Singh's act of treachery, but his wonderful and serene coolness saved the situation. 'Ālamgīr had not commenced the battle against his brother Shujā', when Maharajah Jaswant Singh (of Jodhpur), who commanded the Imperial Right Wing, entered into correspondence with Shujā' promising to fall upon the Imperial camp behind the field at the close of the night, and suggesting that while the Emperor hastened to the rear, Shujā' should attack the disordered army in front and crush it between two adversaries. This disgraceful treachery and double-dealing of the Rajput general spread the greatest confusion among the Imperial troops. In this distraction, some commanders left their post, others flew to protect the royal camp, and a large number of them went over to the enemy. 'Ālamgīr heard the news when he was engaged in his Tahajjud prayer. He displayed no sign of discomfort or worry, and finished his prayer very calmly. He then came out of his field-tent, and, mounting on a portable chair, addressed his officers and nobles :— " Thank God, this occurrence has led one to make distinction between friends and foes, and we take this as a mercy vouchsafed to us by God as well as an omen of victory and conquest. Some secret enemies have, in their mischievous intentions, thought that this incident meant the victory of the hostile army, so they have joined the enemy ; but they will be duly punished for their treacherous deeds and evil thoughts. The flight of that ill-behaved mischief-monger (*i.e.* Jaswant Singh) is good for us, and he will be properly punished for his disgraceful action."[1] This speech, which manifested the Emperor's confidence in victory and his firmness of determination, heartened the commanders of the army, and prevented the confusion from infecting the royal camp.

S. SABAHUDDIN.

(*To be continued*).

1. *'Ālamgīr Nāmah*, pp. 255, 256; Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 53.

# MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO METEORIC ASTRONOMY

LIVING under clear skies and impressed by the dazzling splendour of familiar stars the Arabs of the Jahiliyah as well as of the Islamic period were keen observers of celestial phenomena—astronomical as well as meteorological. Gifted with good eye-sight their poets could mentally resolve the bright clouds of the galaxy in Cygnus and Ophiuchus into individual stars and sing their glory. Soon after their conquest of the Old World they applied themselves assiduously to the study of astronomy and many other sciences ; but their centuries old passion for astronomy—the cult of stars—marked out that subject as their special favourite, and raised from among their scholars some of the greatest observers and investigators of all times. The nebula in Andromeda was distinctly noted in 'Abdur-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣūfī's illustrated work *Ṣuwar al-Kawākib ath-Thābit* long before Europe knew of its existence. Their theologians were well aware of the characteristic feature of the Zodiacal light, and distinguishing between the false and true dawn—Ṣubḥ-i-Kādhib and Ṣubḥ-i-Ṣādiq—they regulated the hour of morning prayer. Their keenness of observation revealed to them the significance of the anticrepuscular arc noted by the rest of the world centuries later—and they utilized the apparition as the time for breaking fast during the month of Ramaḍān. All these matters have been discussed by the present writer and published in various papers.[1] The object of the present article is to show what a mass of important information on meteoric astronomy lies buried in the writings of Arab and Arabicized scientists, historians, geographers and theologians of the Middle Ages.

A number of references to meteoric displays and meteorite falls have been brought to light by modern scholars from the writings of old Arabic authors while editing or reviewing them from a purely literary point of view. Most of the facts discussed in this paper have been communicated to the author, at his special request, by the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth and Prof. F. Krenkow, but for the conclusions deduced from a critical study of these data, the author alone is responsible. A perusal of this

1. *E.g.* Hyderabad Academy Studies, No. 3, 1941. Paper read before the 11th meeting of the All-India Oriental Conference, December 1941.

paper will show what a wealth of useful material could be collected from the writings of mediæval Muslim writers on all subjects if one could have easy access to them and make a systematic research for the descriptions of natural phenomena so faithfully and often graphically recorded by Arab or Shu'ūbite observers.

The very first step in the investigation of a natural phenomenon is accuracy of observation, and the mediæval Muslim scientists were enthusiastic and indefatigable observers—far superior to the Greeks and Romans. Alexander von Humboldt, the great all-round scientist of the last century, himself a keen and accurate observer of natural phenomena, was fully aware of the critical spirit of Arab and "Arabicized" scientists of the Middle East in recording observations—so fully, indeed, that in his description of the Zodiacal Light, a well-known meteoritic phenomenon[1], he writes: "It is difficult to understand how so striking a natural phenomenon should have failed to attract the attention of physicists and astronomers until the middle of the 17th century, and how it could have escaped the attention of *the Arabian natural philosophers in ancient Bactria, on the Euphrates and the South of Spain.*" It is a pleasure to state that this faith in the power of observation of the Arab philosophers of olden days has been justified by the present writer's memoir on the subject[2] which has elicited from the late Sir Joseph Larmor, at one time Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, in a personal communication to the author, the remark: "The tone of your memoir puts me in mind of the classical Arab astronomy of ancient times which I hope will have opportunity to revive." (Letter dated March 12, 1940). A perusal of Abū-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb ath-Tafhīm li-Awā'il Ṣinā'at at-Tanjīm*[3] in which he lucidly describes the apparition, will bear out the correctness of these remarks.

The first writers in Arabic on meteors, like Rustam al-Qūhi and al-Bīrūnī prior to the 12th century could not possibly have been aware of the real nature of these objects. It is only since the determination of the mechanical equivalent of heat in the last century and the discovery of ionization of the air in the last three or four decades of the present, that reliable theories can be built up concerning it; but graphic accounts of the famous meteoric showers available in the writings of somewhat later Arabic authors show distinctly that Arab scientists considered meteors to be cosmic or extra-terrestrial objects. As regards meteorites—solid bodies dropping from the explosion of fire-balls and bolides—not only were the mediæval Muslim authors fully convinced of such material 'falling from heaven,' they have cited examples of a number of siderites and siderolites (iron and stony-iron meteorites) being

1. *Cosmos*, Vol. I, p. 127, Bonn's Scientific Library, London, 1849.

2. H. A. Studies No. I. 1939 and No. 2, 1940—*The Zodiacal Light.*

3. Ghaznah, 1092 English translation (with original text) by Ramsay Wright, pp. 51-52, Luzac, London, 1934.

picked up fresh from observed falls and utilized in the manufacture of swords and daggers for the reigning monarchs. It may be mentioned, by way of contrast, that while the old Ionian Greek philosophers were convinced of the actual fall of meteorites from above, even the Academie des Sciences and the renowned chemist Lavoisier could not agree to this view about the origin of meteorites and pronounced, after examining a stone that was actually seen to fall by a number of people on September 13, 1768 at Lucè in France, that it did not fall and was only *an ordinary terrestrial stone disfigured by lightning* ! This is perhaps not so astonishing if we remember the lack of "affinity" that existed in those days of early scientific awakening between the different sciences—between chemistry and astronomy for example—and the general disinclination to give up preconceived notions based on insufficient data. It is actually on record concerning the fall of the Barbotan Landes stone on July 24, 1790, that the written statements of 300 actual observers (some of which were sworn to), were disbelieved by the philosophers of those days, and the phenomenon was authoritatively denied as being *physically impossible.*

Even as late as 1807, after Edward Biot's emphatic statement regarding the extra-terrestrial origin of the great meteorite shower of April 26, 1803, at L'Aigle, Thos. Jefferson (the President of the U. S. A. and himself a scientist) is reported to have remarked on hearing the views of Professors Silliman and Kingsley of Yale College concerning the cosmic origin of the Weston shower of meteorites that had occurred that year on December 14, "Gentlemen, I would rather believe that these Yankee professors would lie than believe that stones fall from heaven."

The most frequent and spectacular meteoric showers are the Leonids derived from Tempel's Comet of 1806. It is a pleasure to note that the very first observation on record about this shower (that of October 13, 902) is from Arab sources, *Vide* Mrs. Jonathan Foster's translation of J.A. Condés *History of the Dominions of the Arabs in Spain*, Vol. I, Henry G. Bohn, London 1854, p. 403, quoted by H. A. Newton of Yale in his description of 13 Leonid showers published in the American Journal of Science and Arts for May 1864. The date of the shower coincided with the death of Ibrāhīm II bin Aḥmad, the Aghlabid conqueror of Sicily and the year was long remembered as the year of stars. Since the Leonid meteors revolve in their orbit round the sun with a period of about 33¼ years, two such showers of the very next epoch (*viz.*, of October 14, 931 and 934) have been cited by H. A. Newton in the above-mentioned list. Not having access to this interesting old Journal it is difficult for one to trace the sources from which accounts of these two showers have been taken. But luckily a shower of the same epoch, *viz.*, that of 14th October 935, is described in (*a*) the *Kitāb al-Muntazam wa Multaqat al-Multazam* of Ibn al-Jauzī and (*b*) Miskawaih's *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Vol. IV, p. 573, English translation by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth. Thus :—

(*a*) On Monday 12th Dhu'l-Qa'da A.H. 323 (the 14th October 935)

stars fell at Baghdād and al-Kūfa from the beginning of the night to the end of it, in an astonishing manner. Never had anything like it been seen, nor anything approaching it.

(*b*) On the same night there was a fall of shooting stars from the beginning of the night to the end, in Baghdād, Kūfa and the adjoining regions, unparalleled and indeed unapproached in size.

Prof. Margoliouth communicated to me his opinion that the source of these notices was probably the astronomer Thābit bin Sinān himself. Thābit bin Sinān bin Thābit bin Qurrāh died in 973 A.D. (Ibn abī-Uṣaibi'ah, Vol. I, pp. 224-6).

Another important Leonid shower, that of October 19, 1202, mentioned by H. A. Newton and later by Norman Lockyer in his book, *The Meteoritic Hypothesis* (Macmillan, 1890, pp. 119, 120) is taken from Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ad-Dimashqī's *Akhbār ad-Duwal wa Āthār ul-Uwal*, Vide p. 179 of copy lithographed at Baghdād in 1282 A.H. [Dimashqi lived from 1532-1611. His authority for this shower is ad-Dhahabi, 1274-1348, *Duwal al-Islam*, Vol. II, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1337 A.H., p. 79]. About it H.A. Newton writes: "It is recorded (in the year 599 A.H. on the last day of Muḥarram) the stars shot hither and thither in the heavens, eastward and westward and flew against one another like a scattering swarm of locusts to the right and left; this phenomenon lasted until daybreak. People were thrown into consternation, and cried to God the Most High with confused clamour."

Edward Biot in his *Catalogue Général des Etoiles filant et des Autres Météores Obsérvés en Chine pendent 24 Siècles* has given a list of several meteoric showers and mentions some 16 meteorite falls, from 644 B.C. to 333 A.D. (while Greek and Roman annals give only 4 accounts, and it is sad to note, hardly one is available from Pre-Muslim Indian annals).

The late Dr. W. J. Fisher, research associate and lecturer on Astronomy at Harvard, in his paper on the Ancient Leonids[1] has given short notices of some 35 Leonid meteoric showers (from 902 A.D. to 1931) with brief historical data, several of which he obtained from Hirayama and Kanda of Japan based on accounts recorded in China, Japan, Korea and Manchuria. In this period there were about 32 epochs of Leonid returns. Several showers of the same epochs are included in the 35 showers abovementioned. It is a pity that there has been no systematic attempt to search for Arabic records about meteoric showers. In Fisher's list a number of epochs have been passed over as barren with the suggestion that planetary perturbations may possibly have deflected the orbit of Leonid meteors in 1066, 1133, 1166, 1266, 1300, 1333, 1400, 1433, 1500, 1633 and 1733. Evidently he could not trace any account of showers belonging to these epochs in any European or other annals accessible to him. A search for the first four of these (and for other showers like the Perseids, Lyrids, etc.,

1. *The Telescope*, October 1934. The Harward Observatory, Cambridge, Mass.

that have of late been found to be equally spectacular) in Baghdād Arabic works may prove fruitful. The lamp of learning was extinguished at Baghdād when the Tartars sacked it in 1258 A.D., so it is extremely doubtful whether any subsequent showers could be traced in later Mesopotamian annals. But Muslim Spain lingered on till 1492, the date of the fall of Granada and Muslim expulsion *en masse* from Spain. Hence it might be possible to find some references to the next five missing Leonid showers and perhaps other meteoric showers in the historical records of Hispano-Arab and Berber dynasties prior to that disastrous date. In any case search for such references may lead to some important results.

To come now to the subject of meteorite falls, the following data have been communicated to the author by Prof. F. Krenkow while editing the *Kitāb al-Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jauzī—omitted unfortunately in the printed copy of the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif:

(1) A.H. 313, Muḥarram 28 (April 25, A.D. 925), before sunset a very bright meteor that flashed from south to north lighting up the earth and accompanied by a noise like that of a thunder clap.

(2) A.H. 315, Rabī' I, 8 (May 13, A.D. 927) two hours before sunset, a very bright and large fire ball.

(3) A.H. 359, Dhul-Ḥijja (October, 970 A.D.) in the beginning of the night a meteor appeared like the sun, with noise like thunder.

(4) A.H. 361, Ṣafar 9 (September 29, A.D. 971), a huge meteor with a noise like thunder.

(5) A.H. 373, Ṣafar 10 (July 25, A.D. 983), a large bright meteor with a noise like thunder.

(6) A.H. 417, Ramaḍān (October, A.D. 1026), a very bright meteor with a noise like thunder.

(7) A.H. 427, Rajab 22 (May 21, A.D. 1036), at dawn, an enormous star fell whose light outshone that of the sun. At the end it assumed the appearance of a blue dragon (Tinnīn), its colour bordering on black and lasting for a while.

(8) A.H. 430, Rajab 20 (April 17, A.D. 1039), Tuesday, at even tide, an enormous meteor lighted up the earth and made a noise like that of thunder. It split into four pieces.

On Rajab 22 (April 19) the same year, a smaller meteor was observed.

On Rajab 27 or 28 the same year, a meteor bigger and brighter than the first with greater spread of rays.

(9) A.H. 433, Jumada II, 5 (January 30, A.D. 1042), at sunset a large and bright meteor.

(10) A.H. 435, Dhu'l-Qa'da 22 (June 20, A.D. 1044), Wednesday, at night a large star fell, the appearance of which was dreadful.

Friday next, June 22, at dusk a meteor was observed, as large as the biggest flash of lightning, illuminating the ground and frightening people.

The time from its falling (evidently meaning its first appearance) to its extinction lasted much longer than usual. Ignorant people thought that the heavens had been rent asunder.

(11) A.H. 447, Rabī'a II, 21 (July 20, A.D. 1055) at close of day, a large meteor was observed, which split into three pieces.

(12) A.H. 452, Jumada II, 2 (July 5, A.D. 1060) Tuesday a large meteor shone from west to east at sunrise and (the streak) lasted a long time.

We see from this list that some fifteen fire-balls (two of extraordinary brightness) were observed in 135 years by different observers and probably not all from the city of Baghdād. Eight of these are p.m. apparitions and only 2 are a.m. Numbers 8 and 11 of the list were seen to split (*i.e.*, drop meteorites)—and they were p.m. falls. The significance of these facts has been realised only recently and has been pointed out by the present writer in his paper " Comparison of Meteorite Falls during a.m. and p.m. Hours " (*C.S.R.M.*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1938).

The description of the sinuous form of the track pursued by the fireball of A.H. 427 Rajab 22 (No. 7 on the list) due obviously to the rapid rotation of the irregular-shaped meteorite in flight—likened to a blue Tinnīn or dragon, and its persistence for a while anticipates the accounts of twentieth century meteoriticists and investigators of meteoric astronomy in the U.S.A. From a perusal of the exceedingly lucid description of the great meteor of March 24, 1933, published by H. H. Nininger in *Pop. Astr.*, Vol. XLII, No. 6, 1944, pp. 291-306 with a lucky photograph taken by Charles M. Brown near Pasamonte in New Mexico, and particularly mentioned in a recent work,[1] it will be seen how closely the fireball of the Arab chronicler resembles that of March 24, 1933, and how graphically the word Tinnīn conveys the idea of the sinuosity of the meteoric train revealed in the modern photograph.

In this connection it is a pleasure to quote another account of a fireball explosion ( صاعقة ) from Prof. Margoliouth's communication taken from ad-Dimashqī's *Compendium of Muslim History* above referred to (p.179), where it is stated :— " In the year 593 A.H. (about 1196 A.D. during the reign of the 'Abbasid Khalif an-Nāṣir) there fell a huge stone, its fall being accompanied by a terrible noise, whereby houses and places were shaken ; people prayed for help and thought this one of the signs of the last day."

One should not regard such an account as highly exaggerated and impute it to ignorance on the part of the recorder. The evidence now slowly gathered from patient investigations concerning the formation of meteor craters like that of Arizona and as yet partially explored Siberian craters resulting from the gigantic meteorites that fell on the morning of June 30, 1908 (at 0 h 16 m, Greenwich Civil Time) in an islolated region near

1. *Between the Planets*, by Fletcher G. Watson of Harward, the Blackiston Co., Philadelphia.

the stony Tunguska river, proves conclusively what havoc is sometimes caused by these cosmic missiles.

Regarding the meteorites actually seen to fall and utilized in the manufacture of sword blades, etc., it is interesting to examine :

(*a*) the account of the siderolite that fell on the feast of Nauroz 1030 A.H. (about 10th April 1621 A.D. ) given in *Tuzak-i-Jīhāngīrī* ;[1]

(*b*) the siderite described by Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah (mentioned in H.A.R. Gibb's Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah's travels, George Routledge, p. 134, and discussed in Mohd. A. R. Khan's Letter in *Nature*, Vol. 154, No. 3910, October 7, 1944) ;

(*c*) the siderite fall in a river of Jurjān (East of the Caspian Sea) described by the Muḥaddith Ḥamza as-Sahmī, died 427 A.H., date of writing about 400 A.H. (*Tārīkh Jurjān*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Folios 870-887) as follows :—

سفيان بن عيينه عن عبدا لكريم الجرجانى قال وقعت صاعقة من السماء بجرجان وقعت
فى الماء ثم بعثوا به الى الخليفة ـ فاراد ان يتخذ منه سيفا ـ فادخل النار فلم ينسبك ـ

Qāḍī 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī died at Mecca in 170 A.H. (about 788 A.D.). It would be interesting to trace the further history of this fall. In regard to the صاعقة من السماء it would be unwise to attribute this mode of description to a confusion of meteorite falls with the usual thunderbolts in lightning storms. The investigations carried out in the U.S.A. concerning the light effects of the great meteor of March 24, 1933 above referred to have elicited the following remark from Dr. E. J. Workman (Prof., University of New Mexico) :— " Difference in electrical potential between an invading meteorite and the Earth may result in electrical discharges between the meteorite and the surrounding air, accompanied by enormous production of heat."

The phenomenon, however, still awaits very careful investigation by both the astronomer and the physicist. The use of the word " Ṣā'iqah " is a happy idea that may lead eventually to significant results.

Among other matters it might be possible to see if any of the Arabic accounts of fireballs refer to the much discussed phenomenon of " hissing " sounds so often reported, by competent eye-witnesses as accompanying some fireballs in their flight.

Meteors flash across the sky suddenly and of course quite unexpectedly, unless (like the modern observer) one sits up at night on *purpose* to watch for them. Arabic records of meteoric and meteoritic phenomena are almost always free from the incongruities one notices even nowadays in the accounts reported by well-educated persons not conversant with the technique of the subject. Accounts obtained from old sources other than

1. See *Meteors and Meteoric Iron in India*, Hyderabad, 1934 commented upon in *Nature*, Vol. 135, No. 3401, January 5, 1935, p. 39.

Arabic are generally not so clear ; *e.g.*, the very earliest account which is conjectured to refer to a shower of meteorites, *viz.*, that given in the Book of Joshua 10, 11 : " The Lord cast down great stones from heaven ..... ; they were more which died from *hailstones* than which the children of Israel slew with the sword, " is very confusing owing to the use of the word ' hailstones.'

Similarly the next reference to meteors found in Chinese annals, for B.C. 687 is translated by Biot as follows :—"In the middle of the night of March 23, stars (des etoiles) fell like rain." Abel-Remmat[1] translates this part " there fell a star in the form of rain," which would need one to suppose that a shower of meteorites (from the explosion of a fireball) was meant. Such ambiguities are not generally found in Arabic records. In the list of falls, however, obtained from Ibn al-Jauzī's *Muntaẓam* there is one which is reported to have occurred on Sunday 8th Dhul-Ḥijja A.H. 451 (January 16, A.D. 1060) which seems to refer more appropriately to a procession of meteorites than to a shower of shooting stars. Two such phenomena have been cited by Prof. Chas, P. Olivier in his article on meteors in the Encyclopædia Britannica. One is reported to have been observed in Cairo in A.D. 1029 and the other procession was seen to pass over Canada and the Atlantic (on February 9, 1913) and consisted of 4 or 5 groups of 40 to 60 meteors each.

A more critical examination of the original Arabic version concerning the January, 1060, apparition may possibly clarify the point.

Ibn-al-Jauzī makes a special point of describing the natural phenomena of the periods he writes about, like the inundations of the Tigris and the Euphrates, violent storms, meteoric showers and cometary apparitions.

It would be worthwhile investigating whether the account of the great-meteor of A.H. 447 Rabī' II, 21 (July 20, A.D. 1055) splitting into three pieces—No. 11 on my list of statements about fireballs and meteorite falls mentioned in Ibn al-Jauzī's *Muntaẓam*, has any connection with the apparition of the Supernova near Zeta Tauri, which eventually assumed the form of the famous Crab Nebula, N. G. C. 1952, or M1, discovered in 1731 and forgotten, but rediscovered by Messier in 1758 (and designated as No. 1 in his well-known catalogue of 103 " nebulæ").

George Gamow in his *Birth and Death of the Sun* (Macmillan 1940, p. 185) states : " The study of Chinese manuscripts of the eleventh century reveals that there actually was at that time a very brilliant stellar explosion which took place in A.D. 1054, where we now see the curious (Crab) nebula. Thus there is scarcely any doubt that the Crab Nebula is the result of a Supernova explosion that was observed 886 years ago. " The date 1054 is deduced from the rate of expansion of the nebula (*viz.* about 0.18 angular seconds per year).

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1. Ch. P. Olievier, *Meteors*, p. 2, (Baltimore, 1925).

Hutchinson's *Splendour of the Heavens* gives a photograph of this nebula on page 558 (taken with the sixty-inch reflector of the Mount Wilson Observatory), which clearly brings out its irregular shape (whence the name Crab) and filamentons character.

There is not much difference between 1055 and 1054, judging from the manner in which the date of the apparition has been calculated. It must be admitted, however, that the Chinese account is, in this case, more complete.

It is a pity there is no further reference to this apparition in the *Muntaẓam* though a few more fireballs and comets are mentioned. How interesting it would be to have access to Ibn al-Jauzī's original source of information.

MOHD A. R. KHAN.

# MAULAVĪ 'ABDUL-QĀDIR'S REPORT ON NEPAL

KIRKPATRICK was the first Englishman who entered into the heart of Nepal as the agent of the E. I. Company and thereby broke her isolation. Prior to his embassy, Nepal was a land of mystery to the people of Leadenhall Street. His lengthy and valuable report is the earliest and most authentic source of information regarding the history of that mysterious land. Following in the steps of Kirkpatrick, Maulavī 'Abdul-Qādir, while he was on deputation to Nepal,[1] recorded some of his experiences there in the form of three or four small reports which were unknown to us hitherto. These reports are embodied in the Political Consultations of the E. I. Company records and throw some new light on certain obscure points regarding the valley of Nepal, barely mentioned in Kirkpatrick's account. The difference between the two accounts is one not of degree but of kind. While Kirkpatrick's account is a full and exhaustive narrative of the social, political, religious and economic relations of the people of Nepal, with a detailed description of the topography, climate, and the boundaries of the country, the narrative of the Maulavī is scrappy, limited, and not analytical. It should be remembered that the Maulavī was despatched with the avowed object of ascertaining the possibility of extending British trade in Nepal and of testing the feeling and disposition of the Raja of Nepal towards the Company. The Maulavī's report on these two points at least is graphic and accurate. The successive embassies to Nepal in the last decade of the 18th century inevitably point to the eagerness of the Company's servants to acquire information regarding the territory of Nepal, and it is really interesting to read the tale of Nepal as told by Maulavī 'Abdul-Qādir.[2]

In the first part of his report[3] the Maulavī gives a sketch of the market of Nepal and enumerates the difficulties of the merchants of Hindustan and

1. Maulavī 'Abdul-Qādir was deputed to Nepal in 1795 by Sir John Shore with a Commercial Mission. For the details of his career and embassy see my article *Maulavī Qader's Nepal Embassy 1795—A Forgotten Episode*, published in *Calcutta Review*, January 1943.

2. The report of Kirkpatrick was printed in 1811 and it is fairly well known to us. So it needs no discussion here. But the reports of Qādir are not yet published and so some detailed discussion is given here. The reports of the Maulavī are preserved in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

3. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 3.

Tibet in their commercial transactions with the country. Nepal, as the Maulavī saw, was " in the nature of a Bazar for the inhabitants of Tibet and Hindostan." It was bounded on the west by Srinagar and on the east it extended right up to Morang and Buxaduar. Commerce was the mainstay of the people of Nepal and they used to produce different articles of merchandise.[1] Although the Nepal market was constantly visited by the people of Tibet and Hindustant, the Nepalese " appropriated to themselves the profits of the Trade." The Hindu merchants from Hindustan and Nepal could not carry on a profitable trade in Tibet like the Muḥammadan traders. What was the cause of this advantageous position of the Muḥammadans ? The cause as explained by the Maulavī is two-fold ; one is religious and the other climatic. " 1st. all Hindoos who go from Nepaul into Thibet cannot attend to the Doctrines prescribed by the Shaster as they are forbid either to eat or drink with the people of Thibet and they are allowed by their Faith to eat the Flesh of Cattle, Dogs, Hogs and other Animals whether alive or dead. 2ndly the Water and Air of Thibet are very cold and there are frequent frosts and falls of snow, but all Mussulmans of Hindostan who carry on Trade with industry and have houses in Patna, Benares and Nepaul, carrying articles the produce of Hindostan and sell them to advantage."[2] The Tibetans trading in Hindustan also suffered from similar climatic difficulties. Born and brought up in a cold climate, the Tibetans were not accustomed to the terrible heat of Hindustan and therefore they had to transact commercial business with the Company's Provinces through the inhabitants of Nepal. Thus the Nepalese by acting as the intermediaries between the people of Hindustan and Tibet used to earn a huge profit. Even the Raja of Nepal was not an exception. To remove these inconveniences the Maulavī was not slow to find out a remedy. In his report he has drawn up a plan for the introduction of British manufactured goods into Nepalese and Tibetan markets. He suggested the establishment of five factories, containing manufactured articles of Europe, one at Cooch Behar, one at Champaran and the other three in the northern extremities of the Vizier's dominion. These factories were to be controlled by the Company's Gumāshtahs.[3] Any person desirous of purchasing the Company's goods would be allowed to make purchases at the factories and every article would be sold under the seal and signature of the Gumāshtahs. The Maulavī calculated that as the said factories were to be established in the coldest part of the Company's and the Nawab Vizier's dominions, the inhabitants of China and Tibet " would probably resort

1. Among the different tribes in Nepal, the Newars encouraged arts, agriculture and commerce and they were more advanced than any other tribes. They inhabited the valley of Nepal. Markham—*Bogle and Manning*, Introduction, pp. LIII-LIV. see also Kirkpatrick's *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, pp. 209-10.

2. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 3.

3. C.f. Kirkpatrick's plan of making Katmandu the centre from which the British staples were to be distributed throughout Tibet—Appendix No. II, ' D.'

thither in the cold season, and the trade might then be carried on without the intervention of others."[1]

The most interesting part of the Maulavī's report is that in which he gives a detailed list[2] of articles of Hindustan proper for exportation to Nepal, with a comparative statement of profit per rupee to be derived by the Company over their sale in Nepal and Tibet. The Maulavī mentions the following items:

(1) Broad Cloth of all colours except yellow—the profit in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 10 annas.

(2) Coral (used for army officers and Sardars)—the profit in Nepal 6 annas and at Lhasa twice that sum after deducting all expenses.

(3) Pearls of different colours (not round)—the profit the same as for Coral.

(4) Cotton clothes—the profit in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 10 annas.

(5) Conch-shells for ornaments—the profit in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 100 per cent.

(6) Bengal raw silk—the profit in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 10 annas.

(7) Woollen Carpets of different colours—the profit the same as for Bengal raw silk.

(8) Looking glasses, Knives and Scissors, etc.,—the profit on these in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 100 per cent.

(9) Brass Scales and weights—the profit the same.

(10) Cardmums, Lace, Sandal-wood, Gogol, Allum, *Chhohara* (dates) —the profit on these in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 10 annas.

(11) Benares Kamkhwāb (Brocade)—the profit the same.

(12) Silk piece-goods—the profit the same.

(13) Cotton—the profit the same.

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1. The plan, although highly creditable to the Maulavī, was not approved by Sir John Shore. In his minute he said—"Of these stations one is at Champarun which at all times I should conceive unnecessary as the Trade between Bayhar and Nepaul appears sufficiently understood, and with due protection to the Merchants, would soon reach to its utmost extent; a second is in Cochbehar, and the profits attending the Trade would not I fear pay the Establishment; the other three Stations, are in the northern extremities of the Vizier's dominions.

"To the establishment of Factories there, under the authority and protection of this Government, there would be objections under any circumstances, but we know so little of the nature of the country or the authorities beyond the limits of the Viziers' provinces, whether any and what intercourse subsists between the subjects of them and those of Owde, that I cannot recommend the adoption of the Moluvy's Plan. The natural obstacles to a Trade by the routes proposed by him seem almost insuperable." (*Pol. Con.*, 7th March 1796, No. 23).

2. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 4.

(14) Shields of Murshidabad and Sylhet—the profit the same.

(15) Benares Sugar—the profit the same.

(16) Tobacco—the profit the same.

(17) Kora (coarse) cloth—the profit the same.

(18) Indigo—the profit in Nepal 4 annas and at Lhasa 100 Per cent.

(19) Kuff(?) of diamond—the profit the same as for indigo.

Having furnished the list of comparative profit the Maulavī closes his report on trade and commerce by specifying certain articles proper for importation to Hindustan from Tibet and Nepal. Of the articles of Tibet he mentions gold, silver, Shohaga, Cowtail Chowries, Musk, Shawl blankets, China silk cloths, etc.; and of Nepal Munjit, wax and woods, etc.[1]

The account of Maulavī 'Abdul-Qādir regarding the character and government of the Raja of Nepal[2] is no less vivid and interesting than his account of trade and commerce. The Raja was very young and inexperienced and " has listened to the advice of the lowest class people and employs his time in attending to singers and in dissipation and also in singing himself." His teacher in music was a man of Cutch extraction, who was previously in the service of Raja Chait Singh of Benares. The Raja exercised absolute power[3] in the administration and seldom listened to the advice of his ministers except Gajraj Misra. He was more oppressive and tyrannical than the Chinese ruler. In the words of the Maulavī— " the Raja took by force from his Ryots and from the merchants of Thibet and of the Company's provinces near twelve lacks of Rupees, as Nuzzeranah on the pretence of his accession to the Musnad. He now attends to nothing but how he shall oppress his Ryots." On the other hand, " He (the Emperor of China) has remitted all the duties on the merchandize imported into Thibet and in order to alleviate the Distresses of the Inhabitants of Thibet occasioned by the Depredations of the Nepaul troops and promote the prosperity of the country he has remitted their large sum of money and made advances both to the cultivators and merchants to enable them to renew their Labours and procure a maintenace for themselves. The Advances are to be repaid after the expiration of ten years. The Ryots and merchants of Thibet are much pleased in consequence and the Traders of Nepaul and Hindostan who resort to Thibet are greatly delighted with the treatment they receive from the Rulers of China."[4]

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1. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 5. The list of articles produced in Nepal and Tibet as furnished by Kirkpatrick is however long. See *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, pp. 205-9.

2. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 9.

3. See also Kirkpatrick's *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, p. 196.

4. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 9.

The military department of the Nepal Raja was efficient. The royal artillery was managed by the Europeans, specially the French and the Portuguese.[1] " The Raja has retained in his service three Fringees[2] one of them is a Frenchman who is very skillful in his profession and was entertained in the Rajah's service by Deenanaut Oppadea's brother in Calcutta. While Bahadur Shah was in office, this man received 500 Rupees per mensem and was employed in casting cannon. Since his removal, near 200 Cannons having been previously cast and several natives of Nepaul having learnt the art, his salary has been stopped."[3]

Lastly, the Maulavī praises Bahādur Shāh, the Raja's uncle and the late regent of the kingdom, as " a man of great sense who annexed to Nepaul the possessions of several Rajas and listened to the advice of men of knowledge and character and was in his heart disposed to cultivate the friendship of the Company ; of the Sovereign of China and of Nabob Vazir." After his dismissal by the Raja, Bahādur Sāh kept himself aloof from administrative affairs, spending his time in religious and pious activities. He was popular with the Chinese rulers, who more than once recommended him to the Raja for appointment as his Nā'ib. The Maulavī closes his account by saying—" All the great men and Ryots of Nepaul, are friendly to Bahadur Shah who is in terms of friendship with Gudjeranji Misser and the other men of understanding in the Country.... It is probable from the general dissatisfaction that prevails in Napaul, if Bahadur Shah shall be restored to power that the friendly intercourse between the two countries will increase."[4]

B. CHAKRAVARTI.

1. Kirkpatrick also mentions in his account that in the Raja's military establishment there were several European adventurers, p. 213.

2. Correctly, Fringhees.

3. *Political Consultation*, 7th March 1796, No. 9.

4. *Ibid.*

# THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLES OF THE IKHWĀN-AṢ-ṢAFĀ

THE question of the authorship of this famous and important document of the philosophical and religious thought of the tenth century has excited the curiosity of scholars ever since it was first made public. It has been ascribed to various people—sometimes on grounds of strange misunderstandings. So one still finds—even in recently published works—the assertion that Abū Ḥayyān at-Tauḥīdī was one of theBrethren; all this because in a book of his he quoted most interesting *refutations* of some of the main doctrines of the Epistles. Other rumours at least had more reasonable motives. So al-Majrīṭī was considered to be the author because he played a great part in disseminating the Ikhwān's ideas in Spain. It can be easily understood too that the Ismā'īlīs, among whom the *Rasā'il* enjoyed a quasi-canonical authority, ascribed them to someone or other of their "Hidden Imāms."[1]

While no conclusive evidence has been forthcoming up to now as to the *personal* identity of the author (or authors), it can be noted with content that some of the book's mysteries have been unveiled by modern scholarship. Dieterici, the pioneer of the studies connected with the *Rasā'il*, did not yet recognize that the tracts he made European scholarship acquainted with, owe their origin to the great Bāṭinī movement of the tenth century. It was only in 1898 that Casanova discovered the fact that the Epistles—and especially the so called "Recapitulatory Epistle"—were well known to the "Assassins" of Syria and their origin is therefore to be sought among the Ismā'īliya.[2] The rediscovery of the Fāṭimid

1. Dr. H. Hamdānī in his article "*The Rasail Ikhwan al-Sıfa in the Ismaili Literature*" (*Der Islam* 1936) collects the passages containing this view (sometimes in the fantastic form that the *Rasā'il* were composed during al-Mā'mūn's reign) and registers other theories of the authorship, too. The first Bombay edition stated in its colophon, on the authority of the *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Idrīs Imād ad-Dīn (see Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 62), that the author was the Imām Aḥmad. Ahmad Zakī Pāshā, in an article written in the eighties of the last century (reproduced in the new Cairo reprints of the *Rasā'il*) professed to have given much thought to the question who this (then) mysterious Idrīs might possibly be—till he was informed by a "well-informed man" that the book and its author were bogus, invented to secure the *Rasā'il* the protection of a copyright!

2. *Journal Asiatique*, 1898, I hope to publish this *ar-Risāla al-Jāmi'a*.

literature fully confirmed his views, in so far as it proved that the Ismā'īlīs of Yemen and—later - of India saw in the *Rasā'il* one of thefundamental documents of their faith. A perusal of Ivanow's survey of this literature[1] will show its richness in works summarizing and commenting on the Epistles.

But these discoveries and the expansion of our knowledge of Bāṭinism though solving many puzzles, also give rise to many new ones. The approximate place of the Tracts in the history of Islamic thought has been ascertained. (Their *philosophical* antecedents and connections were always more or less apparent). But what is the background of their religious doctrines, what their relations with Hellenism, with other Ismā'īli groups ? To be sure there is a profound discrepancy between their radicalism and the moderation of official Fāṭimid theology as it appears in the newly found literature. Whence can the puzzling coalition of philosophy and Bāṭinism observable in every one of the Ismā'īlī groups, *e.g.* the Pseudo-Jābir writings,[2] the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, the Fāṭimid da'is ? There are other similar problems concerning the " after life " of the *Rasā'il*. How did it come about that, in spite of their different spirit, the Epistles were accepted by the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlīs ? What was the exact process of this penetration ? It seems (if in the present embryonic stage of the research one is entitled to express any opinion) that the *Rasā'il* were brought into vogue in those circles somewhere about the end of the eleventh century—it is about that time that the first books about the *Rasā'il* begin to appear in Mr. Ivanow's *Guide*.

These questions, however, will not be dealt with here. It is only proposed, instead, to establish the identity of these mysterious " Brethren," the anonymous authors of the Epistle. It is a pity that even with the help of the three new texts to facilitate the identification, only little more than the names of authors can be ascertained ; their personality and environments remain as vague as they were before.

As a matter of fact, the discovery is not wholly new. In the article of his biographical lexicon of philosophers and physicians dealing with the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*,[3] al-Qifṭī quoted two versions as to the authorship of the Epistles. The first is that of the Ismā'īliya : " Some people say they have been written by one of the Hidden Imāms." But al-Qifṭī himself clearly does not think much of this theory and proceeds to another more acceptable account. After long research he found—so he affirms—in the *Kitāb al-Imtā 'wal-Muanasa* of Abū Ḥayyān at-Tauḥīdī the reproduction of a discussion on the respective merits and faults of a certain Zaid b.

1 *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, 1933.

2. The problems of this literature have been superbly dealt with by the late Dr. Paul Kraus (Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, in the *Memoirs Presentis a l' Institut d' Egypt*, 1944 ; II. *Jābir et la science grecque*). The third volume treating of the Ismā'īlī connections of Jabir has been left in manuscript by its lamented author.

3. Ed. Lippert, p. 238.

Rifa'a, a friend to whom he dedicated his *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣadiq waṣ-Ṣadaqa*. He is reproached for frequenting the society of the heretical authors of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, whose names are also recorded as follows: Abū Sulaimān Muḥammed b. Ma'shar al-Bisṭī al-Maqdisī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Hārūn az-Zanjānī and Abū Aḥmad al-Mihrajānī al-'Aufī. At-Tauḥīdī also reports in this connection the opinion expressed by Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī, his master, on the *Rasā'il* and an argument between a certain al-Ḥarīrī, another pupil of al-Manṭiqī, and Abū Sulaimān al-Maqdisī about the respective roles of Revelation and Philosophy.

While this account was considered by scholars as quite plausible in itself, its evidence was not admitted whole-heartedly. After all, we had to do with a second-hand testimony, the source of al-Qifṭī not being available. The fact, too, that at-Tauḥīdī did not seem to have known about the Ismā'īlī connections of the Ikhwān, did much to detract from the reliability of his information.

The position has been entirely changed by the publication of at-Tauḥīdīs' *Kitab al-Imtā' wal-Muanasa*.[1] Now that we have at-Tauḥīdī's original text there remains hardly any reason to doubt the correctness of his statements. The theory, put into al-Maqdisī's mouth, about the prophets being the " Physicians of the heart " is one frequently found in the Epistles. It is true that the radical turn al-Maqdisī gives this simile (to the effect that healthy hearts such as those of the Brethren are in no need of doctors) goes much farther than the views the Ikhwān thought wise to publish in writings destined to have a broad circulation. It seems that al-Maqdisī, in the heat of dispute, let slip from his mouth opinions which were usually restricted to the inner circle of adepts. (This surmise has a direct bearing on the question of the " esoterism " or " gradual initiation " of this Ismā'īlī group).

On the publication of the *Kitāb al-Imtā'* it appeared also that in al-Qifṭī's version it has been considerably curtailed. The passage which has been omitted by him, but which can be found in the original, leaves little doubt as to the question whether at-Tauḥīdī was aware of the Bāṭinī allegiance of al-Maqdisī or of the Ikhwān generally. He brands them as the heirs to the heresies of certain thinkers qualified as Bāṭinīs: Abū Tammān an-Naisābūrī[2] and Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Amīrī. (It is of little significance whether this qualification is really justified).

These facts remove the suspicions which one had to entertain in regard to al-Qifṭī's text. But if there remains any doubt, two further contemporary texts, hitherto unknown, will suffice to settle the matter definitely, beside throwing interesting sidelights on the wide circulation of the *Rasā'il* and the relation of their authors to the philosophical circle of the above-mentioned Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī. The new material

1. Ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Cairo, 1942-44. The passage in question is to be found Vol. II. p. 4 *seq.*

2. There is an extremely meagre article of three lines about this otherwise quite unknown philosopher in the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmat*, fol. 159. (About the book see later).

comes partly from the *Kitāb al-Imtā' wal-Muanasa* itself, partly from another book emanating from the same circle. We should have liked to have better assorted evidence, but as there can be no question of a deliberate mystification, the proof is conclusive nevertheless.

In the course of giving a choice collection of edifying stories (quoting among others the fable of Ibycus and his cranes), at-Tauḥīdī writes as follows:[1] "The Qāḍī Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Hārūn az-Zanjānī, the founder of the sect, told me the following story." The story itself is about two fellow-travellers, a Zoroastrian and a Jew. The former is practising the high humanitarian principles of his religion, while the other acts according to the mysanthropy enjoined by his Law. It has, no doubt, its ultimate origin in some Zoroastrian writing of polemics. (Parallels can be quoted from such sources: the best known one is perhaps the pseudo-decalogue of the Denkart, containg the following laws: (3). Men should perform injustice rather than justice; (4). Men should act unrighteously and disgracefully in every matter; (5). Men should lead greedy and selfish lives; (10). Men should be cruel, revengeful and murderous).[2] But, what is still more important, the story is copied verbally from the *Rasai'l Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafa* ! There it is contained in the ninth tract of the first series,[3] dealing with Ethics. Of course, the Zoroastrian is there to serve as a prototype of the "Sincere Brethren" loving each other, working for the welfare of their Society and of mankind in general. It is to the manner of the *Rasā'il* to insert such fables in order to illustrate their moral teaching. The story of the Dove with the necklace and her Sincere Brethren even suggested the title of the tracts. They also frequently used the story of Borlam and Josaphat, the *Rasā'il* being perhaps the earliest testimony for the existence of this Indian legend in an Arabic translation.

The passage proves conclusively that az-Zanjānī, the narrator, was indeed the author (*i.e.* one of the authors) of the *Rasā'il*, that at-Tauḥīdī *was* personally acquainted with him (otherwise he could hardly have used the expression "Ḥaddathanī"), and that he had before him a copy of the Epistles (the reproduction of the text *verbatim* can be explained only by assuming that at-Tauḥīdī, when writing his book, aided his memory by having recourse to a MS. copy).

The second contemporary evidence is still earlier, coming as it does from Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī himself, at-Tauḥīdī's teacher, the same whose judgement of the *Rasā'il* his pupil recorded in the passage referred to above. He was the author of an extremely interesting work on philosophers, ancient and "modern," partly a biographical lexicon, partly a

1. *Al-Imtā' wal-Muanasa*, II, p. 157. حدثنى القاضى ابو الحسن على بن هارون الزنجانى صاحب المذهب

2. Denkart, ed. Peshotan Dastur Behraj Sanjani, Bombay, 1874-1900, p. 437-8. Quoted among other similar stories by Gray, *Judaism in the Pehlevi Literature*, in the Proceedings of the XIV Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I, p. 177.

3. Ed. Bombay, Vol. II, p. 46.

collection of apophthegmata, and the principal source of that part of the *Kitāb al-Milal wan-Niḥal* of ash-Shahrastānī which deals with the story of philosophy. The work (or abbreviatures of it) still exists,[1] and an edition is an urgent desideratum. The last article of this *Kitāb Ṣiwan al-Ḥikma* is a notice about al-Maqdisī, already known to us from the *K. āl-Imtā'*. Here is a translation of the paragraphs :[2] " Abū Sulaimān al-Maqdisī : He is the author of the fifty-two Epistles inscribed The Espistles of the Sincere Brethren ; all of them are full with Ethics and the science of.... They are current among people, and are widely read. I wish to quote here a few paragraphs in order to give an idea of the manner of their parables, thus bringing my book to an end." Follows the reproduction of the well-known passage from the fourth series about the " degrees " of the Brethren, containing the famous quotations from the Gospel, Phædon, the Aurea verba of Ps.-Pythagoras and Bilauhar, *i.e.* Barlam and Josaphat.

The exact date of the composition of the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* is not known to me ; but the fifties of the tenth century can be named without danger of committing a grave error.

The text of the last paragraph of the *K. Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma* is as follows :—

ابو سليمن المقدسى : له الرسائل الاحدى والخمسون المسماة رسائل اخوان الصفا وكلها مشحونة بالاخلاق وعلم ..... موجودة مابين الناس قدتداولتها الايدى ذكرت هاهنا فصولا يسيرة على الرسم فى امثالها وبه يختم الكتاب .

قال أبوسليمن ان قوة نفوس اخواننا فى هذا الامر الذى نشير عليه على أربع مراتب اولها صفا جوهر نفوسهم وجودة القبول وسرعة التصور وهى مرتبة ارباب الصنايع فى المدينة وهى القوة العاقله المميزة لمعانى المحسوسات الواردة على القوة الناطقة بعد خمسة عشر سنة من مولد الجسد والى هذه اشار لقوله تعالى واذا بلغ الاطفال منكم الحلم - وهم الذين نسميهم فى مخا طبتنا ورسايلنا اخواننا الابرار والرحماء وفوق هذه المرتبه مرتبة الرؤسا ذوى السياسة وهى مراعاة الاخوان وسخا النفس واعطاء الفيض والشفقة والرحمة والتحنن على الاخوان وهى القوة الحكمة الواردة على القوة العاقلة بعد ثلثين سنة من مولد الجسد واليه (اشار) عز و جل بقوله ولمابلغ اشده اتيناه حكما وعلما - وهم الذين نسميهم فى رسايلنا اخواننا الاخيار الفضلاء والرتبة الثالثه فوق هذه وهى مرتبة الملوك ذوى السلطان والامر والنهى والنصر والقيام بدفع العباد والخلاف عند ظهور المعاند المخالف لهذا الامر بالرفق واللطف بالمداراة فى اصلاحه وهى القوة النفسانية الموسية الواردة بعد مولد الجسد باربعين سنة الا انها اشار بقوله تعالى ولمابلغ اشده وبلغ اربعين سنة قال رب اوزعنى ان اشكر نعمتك الاية وهم الذين

1. For the manuscripts see M. Plessner in *Islamica*, 1931 p. 537.

2. I owe the following extract to the courtesy of the late Dr. Kraus and of the Director, Egyptian Library, Cairo. It is taken from a photographical copy of the Istanbul MS Mehmet Murād, 1408, fol. 174.

ليسميهم اخواننا الفضلاء الكرام والرابعة فوق هذه وهي التي يد عواليها اخوانناكلهم في اي مرتبة كانوا وهي التسليم وقبول التائيد ومشاهدة الحق عيانا وفي القوة الملكية الواردة بعدخمسين سنة من مولد الجسد وهي المهده للمعاد والمفارقة للهيولى وعليها نزل قوة المعراج وبها نصعد الى ملكوت السماء فنشاهد احوال القيامة من البعث والنشور والجسر والحساب والميزان والجواز على الصراط والنجاة من النيران ومحاورة الرحمن ذى الجلال والاكرام و الى هذه المرتبة اشار بقوله تعالى - يا ايتها النفس المطمئنة ارجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية فادخلي في عبادي وادخلي جنتي - واليه اشار ابراهيم عليه السلام بقوله واجعلني من ورثة جنة النعيم واليه اشار يوسف عليه السلام بقوله رب آتيتني من الملك وعلمتني من تاويل الاحاديث فاطر السموات والارض انت ولي في الدنيا والاخرة توفني مسلما والحقني بالصالحين واليه اشار المسيح عليه (السلام) بقوله للحواريين اني اذ افارقت هذا الهيكل فانا واقف في الهواء عن يمين العرش بين يدى ابي وابيكم تشفع لكم فاذا هبوا الى الملوك في الاطراف وادعوهم الى الله تعالى ولاتهابوهم فاني معكم حيثما ذهبتم بالنصر والتاييد لكم واليه اشار نبينا محمد عليه السلام بقوله انكم تردون على الحوض غدا واحاديث اخر مشهورة مروية عند اصحاب الحديث واليها اشار سقراط بقوله يومر سقى السم اني وان كنت افارقكم اخوانا فضلا فاني ذاهب الى اخوان كرام قد تقدموا في حديث طويل واليها اشار فيثاغورس في الرسالة الذهبية في آخرها انك اذا فعلت ذلك على ما اوصيتك به فانك عند مفارقة الجسد تبقى في الهواء غير عايد الى الانسية ولا قابل للموت واليها اشار بلوهر حين قال الملك لوزيره ومن اهل هذه المقالة قال هم الذين يعرفون ملكوت السماء في حديث طويل واليها ندعو نحن اخواننا جميعا والله يهدي من يشاء الى صراط مستقيم واليها اشار بقوله تعالى والله يدعو الى دار السلام ويهدي من يشاء الى صراط مستقيم واليها اشار تعالى في آيات كثيرة وهي كل آية فيها صفة الجنان و اهلها ونعيمها [1]

To summarize the results : the authors of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā* were contemporaries of Abū Sulaimān al-Manṭiqī and of Abū Hayyān at-Tauḥīdī. The former was acquainted with the *Rasā'il*. This is borne out by the paragraph on al-Maqdisī in his book and by at-Tauḥīdī's reference to his criticism of their doctrines. The fact that he specially mentions al-Maqdisī among all the co-authors leads to the conclusion that he was personally acquainted with him. At-Tauḥīdī had met at least one of the authors besides being conversant with the text of the tracts. In a word : their information is absolutely reliable and we can rest assured that they do give us the actual names of the Sincere Brethren, the authors of the *Rāṣa'īl Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*.

M. STERN.

1. In ash-Shahrastānī (Cairo, 1317, III. p. 93) there is a short list of Islamic philosophers, taken without doubt from the *Siwān al-Ḥikma* ; among others, Abū Sulaimān Muḥammadī al-Maqdisī al-'Amirī and Abū Tammām an-Naisābūrī are mentioned.

# WHAT IS ṢŪFISM?[1]

SCHOLARS wrangle about the derivation of the word Ṣūfī though about its exact connotation I do not think that there is any reason to quarrel. Let us cast a hurried glance at the various attempts of the lexicographers :—

(1) Some say : " The Ṣūfīs were only named Ṣūfīs because of the purity (Ṣafā صفا ) of their hearts and the cleanliness of their acts (Āthār آثار)." Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith said : " The Ṣūfī is he whose heart is sincere (Ṣafā) towards God." Another great Ṣūfī has said : " The Ṣūfī is he whose conduct towards God is sincere, and towards whom God's blessing is sincere."

But if the term Ṣūfī were derived from ' Ṣafā ' the correct form would be " Ṣafawī " ( صفوی ) and not Ṣūfī !

(2) Others think that the Ṣūfīs were only called Ṣūfīs " because they are in the first rank (Ṣaff صف ) before God, through the elevation of their desires towards Him, the turning of their hearts unto him and the staying of their secret parts before Him."

But if the term Ṣūfī were referred to Ṣaff (rank) it would be Ṣaffī ( صفی ) and not Ṣūfī.

(3) Others have said : " They were only called Ṣūfīs because their qualities resembled those of the people of the Dais ( اصحاب الصفه ) who lived in the time of God's Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him !). They had left this world, departed from their home and fled from their companions. They look of this world's goods only, so much as is indispensable for covering nakedness and allaying hunger. Because they were devoid of all worldly possessions they were called ' paupers.' One of them was asked : ' Who is a Ṣūfī ?' He replied : ' He who neither possesses nor is possessed.' By this he meant that he is not the slave of desire. Another said : ' The Ṣūfī is he who possesses nothing, or if he possesses anything spends it'."

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1. Presidential Address, Islamic Philosophy Section, All-India Philosophical Congress, held in December 1945 at Trivāndrum.

But, remember, if the term "Ṣūfī" were derived from "Ṣuffah" (صفه) (or Bench) the correct form would be "Ṣuffī" (صفی) and not "Ṣūfī!"

(4) Lastly it has been claimed that they were only called Ṣūfīs because of their habit of wearing Ṣūf (صوف) *i.e.*, wool. For they did not put on raiment soft to touch or beautiful to behold, to give delight to the soul: they only clothed themselves in order to hide their nakedness, contenting themselves with rough haircloth and coarse wool.

If the derivation from Ṣūf (wool) be accepted the word is correct and the expression sound from the grammatical point of view. Abū Bakr al-Kalābadhi thinks that "it at the same time has all the necessary meanings such as withdrawal from the world, inclining the soul away from it, leaving all settled abodes, keeping constantly to travel, denying the carnal soul its pleasures, purifying the conduct, cleansing the conscience, dilation of the breast and the quality of leadership."[1]

Ibn-Khaldūn was also of the opinion that the word Ṣūfī is derived from Ṣūf. But it is necessary to remember that it is not merely by putting on rough hair-cloth and coarse wool that one becomes a Ṣūfī. As Hujwarī has said: "Purity (Ṣafā صفا) is a blessing from God and the 'wool' (صوف) is the proper dress of the cattle."[2]

According to the researches of Imām Qushayrī the word "Ṣūfī" came into vogue a little before the expiry of the second century of the Hijra (or 822 A.D.). After the death of the Holy Prophet, "Companion" (صحابه) was the title adopted by the people of that age. They needed no better title, for "Companionship" ("صحابیت") was unanimously regarded as being the highest and the best state. Those who associated with the "Companions" were called in their own times "Tāba'īn" (تابعین) "followers." And "اتباع تابعین" was the title conferred upon those who sat at the feet of the Followers. After the expiry of this period there was a slackening of religious spirit. Hearts were turning more towards the pleasures of the world than towards God. A number of systems and orders cropped up, and each order was divided into a number of branches. Seeing this state of affairs those who adored God above all things and were wholly consumed by the fire of His love separated themselves from the rest of the world and devoted themselves to the recollection and remembrance of God the only object of their love.

"I recollected thee,
Not that my memory
For the twinkling of an eye
Suffered thee to slip by!"

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1. Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi's *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl at-Taṣawwuf*, translated by Arthur John Arberry, Cambridge, 1935, p. 9.

2. الصفامن الله انعام و اکرام و الصوف لباس الانعام

These men were later called the "Ṣūfīs." They were cut off from humanity for God's sake, clean of impurities, full of meditation, and in their eyes gold and mud were equal. And that is why Ibn-'Alī ar-Rudhabārī has defined a Ṣūfī thus :

" One who wears wool over (his) purity, gives his lusts the taste of tyranny, and having overthrown the world, journeys in the pathway of the chosen one " (*i.e.*, the Prophet).[1]

In the light of these historical facts it is now easy to determine the exact meaning of Ṣūfism. If you cast a glance over the various definitions of Ṣūfism given by the Ṣūfīs themselves you will find not a few necessary attributes ascribed to them. It is not necessary to try to state them all here. But the gist of them all is beautifully expressed in a definition formulated by Shaik-ul-Islam Zakeryah Anṣārī which is as follows :

" Ṣūfism teaches how to purify one's self, improve one's morals, and build up one's inner and outer life in order to attain perpetual bliss. Its subject-matter is the purification of the soul and its end or aim is the attainment of eternal felicity and blessedness." By way of illustration compare the following few sayings of more prominent Ṣūfīs which amplify and extend with fresh details the definition above formulated :

Imām Qushayrī, the author of the great Ṣūfī compendium, *Rasā'il*, takes Ṣūfism in the sense of purity ( صفا ), *i.e.* the purity of inner and outer life and says that " purity ( صفا ) is something praiseworthy in whichever language it may be expressed and its opposite impurity ( كدورة ) is to be eschewed,"[2] Abu'l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī being asked what Ṣūfism is, replied : " Abandoning all the portion of the carnal soul."[3] Al-Junayd was asked the same question and said : " It is the purification of the heart from associating with created beings, avoiding the temptations of the carnal soul, taking up the qualities of the spirit, attachment to the sciences of reality, using what is more proper to the eternal, counselling all the community, being truly faithful to God and following the Prophet according to the Law."[4] To Abū 'Alī Quzwīnī Sūfism is nothing but " pleasing manners " ( الاخلاق الرضيه ); Abū Sahl Ṣa'lūkī defines it as " abstaining from objections " ( الاعراض عن الاعتراض ); Abū Muḥammad al-Jurayrī thinks that Ṣūfism is the building up of good habits and the keeping of the heart from all evil desires and passions.

It is clear, then, that according to these great Ṣūfīs, Ṣūfism is nothing but the purification of the senses and the will. It is the effacement of one's desires in the will of God. It is the building up of a solid wall between the pure self and the Gog and Magog of passions and desires. It

1. *K. at-Ta'arraf li Madhhab Ahl at-Tasawwuf*, p. 10.
التصوف من لبس الصوف على الصفا و اذاق الهوى طعم الجفا و لزم طريق المصطفى و كانت الدنيا عنه القفا

2. الصفا محمود بكل لسان و ضده الكدورة وهى مذمومة

3. التصوف ترك كل حظ للنفس

4. A. J. Arberry's *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* (translated from Abū Bakr al-Kalabadhi's *Kitāb al-Ta'arraf*).

is, in a word, self-discipline the avoidance of what is forbidden and the performance of what is ordained. The Ṣūfīs are agreed that all the ordinances imposed by God on His servants in His Holy Book and all the duties laid down by the Prophet (in the Traditions) are a necessary obligation and a binding imposition for adults of mature intelligence; that they may not be abandoned or forsaken in any way by any man, whether he be a veracious believer (Ṣiddīq), or a saint or a gnostic, even though he may have attained the furthest rank, the highest degree, the noblest station, or the most exalted stage. They hold that there is no station in which a man may dispense with the prescriptions of the religious law, by holding permissible what God has prohibited, or making illegal what God has declared legal, or legal what God has pronounced illegal, or omitting to perform any religious duty without due excuse or reason, which excuse or reason is defined by the agreed judgment of all Muslims and approved by the prescriptions of the religious law. The more inwardly pure a man is, the higher his rank and the nobler his station, so much the more arduously does he labour with sincerer performance and a greater fear of God.

In this sense Ṣūfism is a purely Islamic discipline which builds up the character and inner life of the Muslims by imposing certain ordinances and duties, obligations and impositions which may not be abandoned in any way by any man. The Prophet Muḥammed was sent to " instruct " mankind " in Scripture and Wisdom and to sanctify them."[1] The Ṣūfīs keep these " instructions " before their eyes, strive their utmost to perform what has been prescribed for them to do and to discharge what they have been called upon to do subsequent to that prescription. God says : " And those who fight strenuously for us we will surely guide them into our way "[2] and again " Oh ye who believe ! Do your duty to God, seek the means of approach unto Him and strive with might and main in His cause : that ye may prosper."[3] Believing in these exhortations the great Ṣūfī Yaḥyā has said :" The spirit of gnosis will never reach thy heart, so long as there is a duty owing to God which thou hast not discharged !" Thus Ṣūfism, in the words of Abū 'Alī ar-Rūdhabārī, is " giving one's lust the taste of tyranny " and " journeying in the pathway of the Holy Prophet."

But this is not the whole meaning of Ṣūfism in Islām. It certainly has an esoteric sense. To understand this esoteric meaning it is necessary to follow the three main categories or classifications of men given by the Qur'ān in Sūra LVI (Wāqi'a). Here men are sorted out into three classes : (*i*) The Companions of the Right-Hand (Aṣḥāb-ul-Maimana); (*ii*) The Companions of the Left-Hand (Aṣḥāb-ul-Mash'ama); and (*iii*) Those nearest to God (Muqarrabūn).

1. S. II, 129.
2. S. XXIX, 69.
3. S. V, 38.

The Companions of the Right-Hand are " those who believe in the Unseen," are " steadfast in prayer " and " have the assurance of the Hereafter " in their hearts. They are " on the right path guided by their Lord." The Companions of the Left-Hand are " those who reject Faith," and go after false Gods. The Qur'ān describes them as those " who have bartered guidance for error " and " have lost their true direction." This classification is thus according to the knowledge out of which spring their actions—knowledge of the right path and knowledge of the wrong path. But who are the " Muqarrabīn ?" They are not just the companions of the Right-Hand only. Otherwise they would not have been placed in a different category. The Ṣūfīs believe that it is just another name for those who are not only on the right path guided by their Lord but also know the right relation between ' Ḥaqq ' and ' Khalq,' or between the Creator and the Created, between God and man. To be more explicit those who regard their Creator as their " Ilāh " ( الٰہ ) or Deity and worship Him alone and ask for His aid alone and believe that there is none other than He worthy of our devotion and able to help us, are called in the Qur'ān the Companions of the Right-Hand. And those who regard some Created Beings as their deities and worship them and seek their aid, thus rejecting the faith which lays down that God alone is our Cherisher and Sustainer, are termed the Companions of the Left. The " Muqarrabīn " are those not only believe in their Creator as their only Deity ( الٰہ ) and worship Him alone and seek for His help alone, but also know the true relation that exists between them and their Creator. Thus the great Ṣūfī Saint Shaikh Shahābuddin Sahrwardī in his famous Sūfī Compendium *'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif* (Chapter One ) holds that though the term Ṣūfī is not used in the Holy Qur'ān, the word " Muqarrib " connotes the same meaning as that which is expressed by the term Ṣūfī.

Now let us determine in some detail the nature of the exact relation which the Qur'ān posits between Ḥaqq and Khalq.

At the outset it is clear that the Qur'ān teaches the doctrine of Pluralism. As opposed to the claims of Singularism it posits the " otherness " of Khalq, or created things, their discreteness, their manyness, and plurality. This otherness is " real " and not merely " suppositional." Ḥaqq or God, the One, exists and possesses infinite attributes. Things, the Many, also exist and have attributes. Externally, things are the creatures of God and God is the creator of things. Says the Qur'ān : " God is the Creator of every thing " ( اللہ خالق کل شی ). Internally things are the ' Ideas ' (*i.e.* " objects known ") of God. God knows the things—is their Knower. And God knew them before He created them. They existed as " ideas " in His mind before they were created.

وھو بکل شئی علیم

" And He knows everything."

Now the relation between the Creator and the Created, the Knower and the Known, is not one of " Identity " but is definitely that of " otherness." Things known or created are the ' other ' of their Knower and Creator. A painter conceives, say, the idea of a dog and then paints it on the canvas. The idea exists in his mind, depends for its (mental) existence totally on his mind. The painter's mind is the ' Substratum ' of the idea. But the Knower and the Known, the mind and the idea are in no sense identical. The painter is not the dog and the dog is not the painter. The relation between the two is clearly one of ' otherness.'

Now, as was shown above, things are internally the ideas of God. God being a Knower from eternity Knows His own thoughts—those being the objects of His knowledge. Now the Ṣūfīs call the ideas of God the " Essences of things " ( اعيان ثابته ) which when manifested or created are called "external objects " or "created things " or merely the many " things " of the world (Khalq).

Let us now analyse more fully the internal aspect of things, things considered as the ideas of God or " Essences," *i.e.* before they are created externally. Even as ideas, things are not identical with the essence or Dhāt of God. Now what constitutes the difference between God, the Knower, and the ideas of God or essences which must now be termed as " the Known ?" This may be briefly expressed thus :

| | *The Known* | *The Knower* |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | Is a form possessing limitation or determination or individualisation. | (1) Is free from any limitation or determination—is not a form. |
| (2) | Subsists in the mind of the Knower, does not possess its own independent existence. The Sūfīs call it " a relative non-existent." ( عدم اضافى ) | (2) Exists in Himself, depending on nothing else but Himself. |
| (3) | Possesses no attributes, *e.g.*, life, knowledge, will, etc. though possesses the capacity acquiring those attributes, if given. | (3) Possesses positive attributes, *e.g.*, life, knowledge, will, power, hearing, sight and speech. (These are called the primary attributes of God). |
| (4) | Is passive. Having no existence and existential attributes of their own, they possess no activity of their own. | (4) Is active. |

From the above statement it is clear that the relation between the Known and the Knower is one of ' otherness,' never of ' Identity.' The essence of things are the ideas of God, co-eternal with God. God is ' one,' His

ideas are ' many.' God exists independently, ideas depend on the mind of God for their existence. The essence of God is free from any limitation or determination; the ideas, though unlimited in number, are limited or determined in form, possessing their own peculiarities or characteristics or essential nature, termed,) ( شاکلات ) " Shāklāt " in the Qur'ān.

If the ideas or essences are ' the other ' of God, things which are just the external manifestation of ideas must, for the same reason, be the other (or غیر ) of God. God manifested externally what was contained in the essence or the essential nature of things. God transcends the limitations and determinations of things. Says the Qur'ān :

لیس کمثله شیٔ وهوالسمیع البصیر

" He is not in the likeness of anything ;
He is the hearer and the seer."

Again :

سبحانه تعالی عمایصفون

" Praise and glory be to Him : For He is above what they attribute to Him." The essence or Dhāt of God being absolute is free from all limitations and, as all things are necessarily determined, " God is not in the likeness of anything " and is " above what they attribute to Him". How can God be identified with things ? How can the Creator be the same as the Created ? Essentially things are different from God, and this difference is not merely suppositional but is a real difference—difference of essences, the essence of God being the other of the essence of things. God is comparable to no created beings. He is transcendent in the sense of being a necessary being self-begotten, self-caused self-existent, independent and absolute in contradistinction to the contingent, created and determined beings of the phenomenal world. He is transcendent also in the sense that He is unknowable and incommunicable and beyond all proof, as the Qur'ān says :

یحذرکم الله نفسه

*" God keeps the knowledge of His Self hidden from you."*

The relation between God, the one, the transcendent Being (" not in the likeness of anything ") to the many things of the Universe may be expressed in theological language thus :

| The One | The Many |
|---|---|
| Khaliq (Creator) | Makhlūq (Created beings) |
| Rabb (Lord) | Marbūb (Slaves) |
| Ilāh (The worshipped) | Malūh (Worshippers) |
| Mālik (The Master) | Mumlūk (Servants) |

Thus the gist of the whole doctrine so far stated is that man cannot become God, as some people considering Islamic mysticism to be a phase of Pantheism are led to suppose.

So far I have stated the doctrine of Pluralism according to which the essence of God is different from the essence of the Created beings and shown how the relation of ' otherness ' exists between the two. Now it is equally true that according to the Qur'ān as shown by the Ṣūfīs, Pluralism does not negative Singularism. Apparently this seems to be a strange thesis, combining two irreconcilables—Pluralism and Singularism. Let me formulate the thesis of Singularism or Monism as stated in the Qur'ān.

. The Qur'ān asserts that God is immanent in all beings whatever. This immanence is clearly indicated in various ways. The proximity of God to man is shown in the following verses :

نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد

" We are nearer to man than his jugular vein " (S.L-16).

نحن اقرب اليه منكم ولا كن لا تبصرون

" We are nearer to him than ye and ye see not " (LVI-85)

The Omnipresence of God is shown by the following verses :

ولله المشرق والمغرب فاينما تولوا فثم وجه الله ، ان الله واسع عليم

" To God belong the East and the West : Whithersoever ye turn, there is the presence of God, for God is all-pervading, all-knowing " (II-1115).

وكان الله بكل شئ محيط

" And God it is that encompasseth all things " (IV-126.)

وهو معكم اينما كنتم

" And He is with you wheresoever ye may be " (LVII-4).

هو الاول والاخر والظاهر والباطن وهو بكل شئ عليم

" He is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward and He knows everything " (LVII-2).

How is this proximity, nearness, omnipresence, outwardness, inwardness or immanence of God to be understood ? How is the transcendence of God to be reconciled with His immanence ? How is God, in spite of being the ' other ' of things, the first and the last, the inward and the outward of things ? Here a clear knowledge of the metaphysical background of the problem is necessary. At the risk of repetition let me state the whole thing succinctly.

The Ṣūfīs believe that according to the Qur'ān God exists and is the absolute knower. Knowing implies ' knowledge ' and the ' object known.' God knows His own thoughts, these being the objects of His knowledge. Now if God's knowledge is perfect (which, ex-hypothesis, is the case), His ideas (objects of knowledge) are also perfect in every way. But God

has knowledge, is a Knower from eternity. Therefore His ideas are also eternal. They are uncreated. Knowledge is an attribute of God and cannot therefore be separated from Him. It constitutes the very essence of God. As God is uncreated His knowledge (or ideas) is also uncreated. The difference, of course, does not impair the essential unity of knowledge, Knower and Known, but is nonetheless inherent in the nature of things, *i.e.*, in Reality as manifested to us. " Triplicity " ( تثليث ) as Ibn-ul-'Arabī says, " is the foundation of becoming."

Now the ideas of God are technically called " Essences " ( اعيان ) The essences are firstly uncreated and secondly perfect and unchangeable. They are the essences of things. Every essence has its own characteristics or essential nature. In the Qur'ān these characteristics are called " Shākilāt."

As the essences are uncreated and unchangeable their characteristics or aptitudes are also uncreated and immutable.

Now as we have seen above, creation is nothing but the external manifestation or actualisation of the ideas of God or the ' essences.' The secret of Creation, the Ṣūfīs believe, is that God manifests or reveals Himself in His own Ideas. In thus manifesting Himself God remains unchanged as He ever was, is, and shall be. God gives and yet preserves Himself, is multiplied and yet remains one. He manifests Himself according to the ' aptitudes ' of the things in which He is manifesting Himself. He bestows His attributes on His Ideas or forms or essences and they become things. The essences of things ( اعيان ثابته ) are in themselves non-esxistent, that is to say, they subsist only in the Knowledge of God as ' ideas. ' They derive what existence they possess from God who is the real substance of all that exists. There is really nothing in existence except God. He is the First, the Last, the Outward, the Inward, He is the substance of what is manifested ( هو الظاهر ) and is substance of what remains latent ( هو الباطن ) at the time of manifestation. In explaining the Qur'ānic Verse:

" He is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward, and He knows everything.—" (LVII-2).

the Prophet says:

انت الظاهر فليس فوقك شئ، انت الباطن فليس دونك شئ ، انت الاول فليس قبلك شئ وانت الاخر فليس بعدك شئ

" You are the Outward and there is nothing above you: You are the Inward and there is nothing below you; you are the First and there is nothing before you and your are the Last and there is nothing after you." Thus by reason of His manifesting Himself in the forms of things God becomes the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward of things. That is how His proximity, nearness, omnipresence, in a word, immanence in every thing becomes comprehensible. An eminent Indian Ṣūfī has expressed the whole thing in the following couplet beautifully:

وهی وجود منزه که بـاز اهت خود هوا ـهے جلوه نمـا با شبـاهت هرشے

" The same incomparable Being in spite of its incomparability has manifested itself in the form of everything." Ibnul'-Arabī says : " Glory be to God who created things, being Himself their essence, *i.e.*, external being."

When things derive their existence from God who is the real substance of all that exists, it follows necessarily that all attributes, *i.e.*, life, knowledge, will, power, hearing, sight and speech, belong to God alone. As 'Abdul-Karīm Jīlī has said : "When the Ṣūfī knows the true meaning of 'God was and there was naught beside Him,' in that moment it is revealed[1] to him that his hearing is God's hearing, his sight God's sight, his speech God's speech, his life God's life, his knowledge God's knowledge, his will God's will and his power God's power, and that God possesses all these attributes fundamentally ; and then he knows that all the aforesaid qualities are borrowed and metaphysically applied to himself whereas they really belong to God."[2] This is what is called the doctrine of Tauḥīd-i-Ṣifāti ( توحید صفاتی ), a necessary consequence of the doctrine of Tauḥīd-i-Dhātī ( توحید ذاتی ).

Attributes go forth into actions. When attributes really belong to God it necessarily follows that God alone is the doer, the agent. We negate actions, according to the Qur'ān, from the essences of things as we negate existence and attributes from them ( Tauḥīd-i-Fe'li, توحید فعلی ) God alone exists, has attributes and is the real agent. And to God alone " belong all things in the heaven and on earth " ( له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض ).[3] He is the only Lord and Master (Tauḥīd-fi'l-Āthār, توحید فی الاثار )

Such is then the nature of the relation between ' Ḥaqq ' and ' Khalq.' The Knower (or Ḥaqq or Reality) manifests Himself in the Known (or Khalq) revealing all the aptitudes of the Known. Khalq by itself is non-existent. Existence belongs to the Knower alone, which is the only Reality. There is no duality of Being or existence. Ontologically there is but one Reality, (Singularism—Unity of Existence).

The existence is one but the Essences are multiple. Essences, as we have seen above, are the Ideas of the Knower. They are co-eternal with the Knower. They are uncreated. If the Ideas were created by the Knower, the Knower did not possess them before they were created by Him. But this means that the Knower was ignorant of them before they were created. Nobody thinks of God as ignorant at any moment. Therefore the Ideas are co-eternal with God. Ideas constitute the knowlege

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1. Cf. the Tradition known as " حدیث قرب نو افل " " I am for him hearing, sight and hand, so that through Me he hears and through Me he sees, etc."

2. Jīlī's *Insān-i-Kāmil* (Cairo edition) ; quoted by Dr. Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 93.

3. S. II, 255.

of God and are not separable from Him. Further the Ideas are not the same as God. For various reasons given above, a relation of ' otherness '—not of identity—exists between the Knower and the Known. But this constitutes no "Shirk" ( شرك ) (believing in another external existence), for ideas possess no external existence. They merely subsist in the mind of God. God manifests himself in the forms of His Ideas, expressing their aptitudes in full, and thus the world appears.

If the Ideas or Essences are the ' other ' of God, being limited in form things which are just the external manifestation of ideas must for the same reason be the ' other ' of God. So in the Qur'ān they are called ( غير الله ) the others of God, (Pluralism—Multiplicity of Essences).

Thus in Existence there is unity, but in Essences there is multiplicity. And one who knows the true relation that exists between himself and God is a Ṣūfī, in the esoteric sense of the word. The Ṣūfī knows that internally he is an idea in the mind of God. Being an idea he is co-eternal with God. Externally he is a created being in whose form God has manifested Himself according to the aptitudes or ' Shākilāt' of the Ṣūfī. He possesses neither independent existence of his own nor any existential attributes (life, knowledge, power, etc.). He exists with the existence of God, sees through God, hears through God, etc. As one of the Ṣūfīs has said :

When Truth its light doth show
I lose myself in reverence,
And I am as one who never travelled thence
To life below.

When I am absented
From self in Him, and Him attain,
Attainment's self thereafter proveth vain,
And self is dead.

In Union divine
With Him, Him only I do see :
I dwell alone, and that felicity
No more is mine.

This mystic union
From self hath separated me :
Now witness concentration's mystery
Of two made one.[1]

MIR VALIUDDIN.

1. *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, p. 118.

# THE STATUS OF THE SUBEDARS AND DIWANS OF THE DECCAN IN THE TIME OF SHĀH JEHĀN

THE Deccan policy of the Mughals from the time of Akbar was one of expansion of their territory towards the south. Akbar succeeded in annexing the whole of Khandesh and large portions of Berar to his Empire, but the southern kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda remained intact.

Jehāngīr failed to continue a vigorous campaign in the Deccan owing to his other preoccupations in the North. Prince Parvīz, Subedar of the Deccan, and Khān Khānān, his guardian, grossly mismanaged the operations, involving a huge waste of men and money and loss of territory. Malik 'Ambar, who had organized the Deccan confederacy against the Mughals, had almost succeeded in re-establishing the power of the Niẓām Shāhīs and had reconquered the territory ceded to the Mughals.

In 1616, Jehāngīr transferred prince Parvīz to the Subedārī of Allahabad and recalled Khān Khānān from the Deccan, appointing prince Khurram as the Subedar of Khandesh and the Deccan in order to retrieve the prestige of the Mughal arms. Prince Khurram justified his choice. He was anxious to win the glory of bringing the protracted Deccan War to a successful conclusion, especially as Parvīz and Khān Khānān had proved a failure in that quarter. In 1616 the fort of Ahmednagar surrendered to prince Khurram. Malik 'Ambar offered to make over the territories in Khandesh and Berar which once belonged to the Mughal Government and which he had occupied by force of arms. Although Khurram patched up a peace in the Deccan, a struggle between the Deccanis and the Imperialists very soon started again.

To Khurram the Deccan campaign brought glory and honour. It proved his courage, tact and statesmanship in the eyes of the best generals in the land, who came to appreciate his steadiness and power of resolute will. In recognition of his services to the Imperial cause Jehāngīr dignified him with the title of Shāh Jehān and raised him to the rank of 30 thousand Zāt, 30 thousand horse, with the privilege to sit on a chair near the royal throne.

After Malik 'Ambar's death in 1626, his son Fatḥ Khān and Murtāḍa Niẓām Shāh's minister, Ḥamīd Khān, re-started the policy of harassing the Imperialists by stirring up commotion in their territory. Ḥamīd Khān even succeeded in inducing Khān Jehān, the Subedar of the Deccan to accept a bribe of three lakhs of huns (nearly twelve lakhs of Rupees) and make over to him the Imperial territory of Bālāghāt as far as the fortress of Ahmednagar. This happened in the last years of Jehāngīr's feeble reign.

After his accession to the throne Shāh Jehān realised the grave situation into which the Mughal interests had drifted in the Deccan on account of the treachery of Khān Jehān. Knowing as he did the strategy and politics of the Deccan, Shāh Jehān clearly perceived that new arrangements were called for in order to avoid irretrievable loss to Mughal interests in that part of the country. He wanted to send persons of the highest integrity to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān was appointed as the Subedar of the Deccan, and during his absence his son Khān Zamān was to officiate for him.[1] But this arrangement did not prove very successful. Shāh Jehān wanted some other noble of high rank and unquestionable integrity to accept the Subedari of the Deccan, as the prestige of the Mughal Empire was involved in the open challenge thrown out by Murtāḍa Niẓām Shāh II by protecting Khān Jehān and refusing to surrender the Bālāghāt. Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Khān, Vakīl of the Empire, strongly recommended Irādat Khān, the Dīwān-e-Kul of the Empire, for the post. The Emperor accepted Āṣaf Khān's recommendation and appointed Irādat Khān to the Subedari and command of the Deccan. In the third year of his reign Shāh Jehān himself proceeded to the Deccan to resume his plans for the final reduction of the Deccan States. In view of his services Irādat Khān was honoured with the title of A'ẓam Khān and raised to the rank of 6,000 Zat, and Sawar. Khān Jehān was pursued and killed. Murtāḍa Niẓām Shāh II was poisoned by Fatḥ Khān, in whose place Shāhjī placed Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, a boy of ten years of age, on the nominal throne of Ahmednagar. The latter was captured and sent to Gwalior for lifelong imprisonment. Thus the kingdom of Ahmednagar came to an end and all its territories were annexed to the Imperial dominions.

In March, 1632, Shāh Jehān returned to Agra in consequence of the untimely death of Mumtāz Maḥal at Burhanpur. He offered the Subedari of the Deccan to Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Khān, first noble of the realm and Vakīl of the Empire. On his declining the offer Mahābat Khān was again appointed as Subedar of Khandesh and the Deccan.[2] Mahābat Khān displayed great efficiency and thoroughness in the reduction of Daulatābād and other fortresses and in extending the Imperial sway. He, however, died in October, 1734. As a temporary arrangement the Deccan was divided into two administrative areas of Bālāghāt and Pā'īnghāt.

1. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 199.
2. Qazvīnī, *Bādshāh Nāma* (Daftar-e-Diwani MS.).

Murtāḍa Khān was appointed Governor of Bālāghāt and Allāh Vardī Khān of Pā'īnghāt, but they were soon replaced by Khān Zamān and Khān Dawrān Nuṣrat Jung who had given ample proof of courage and resourcefulness in the recent operations in the Deccan.

Shāh Jehān well realized that the Deccan affairs were still critical owing to the contumacious attitude of the ruler of Bijapur and the appearance of the Marathas as a force to be reckoned with. He started for the Deccan for the second time in September 1635. After securing the submission of 'Ādil Shāh and effecting a settlement with him which lasted for about twenty years, Shāh Jehān departed for the north in July 1636, leaving Prince Aurangzīb as the Subedar of the four provinces of the Deccan.

Aurangzīb's first Viceroyalty of the Deccan lasted for nearly eight years, *i.e.*, from July 1636 to May 1644. During these eight years Aurangzīb proved by his actions that the Mughals could no longer play any but a predominant part in Deccan politics. Although the Mughal suzerainty over the feeble Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda was established beyond challenge, yet the Deccan Subedar had to maintain a large army for emergencies. The revenues of the four provinces of the Deccan did not balance the expenditure, and the deficit had to be met by sending money from the exchequers of Malva and Gujerat and partly by drawing on the cash reserve stored in the treasury of Daulatābād.

Aurangzīb's second Viceroyalty of the Deccan lasted from 1652 to 1658 during which period he effected revenue reforms with the help of Murshid Qulī Khān, an exceptionally skilled revenue officer. The latter tried to remove these financial difficulties which had beset Aurangzīb during his first term of office as Viceroy of the Deccan, and introduced into the Deccan a system of survey and assessment for the stabilisation of the revenues and restoration of cultivation. But in spite of Aurangzīb's economies in administrative expenditure, the Deccan remained a drain on the Central treasury. As there were two States of Golconda and Bijapur across the frontier, a very large Imperial force had to be permanently stationed in the Deccan. The Jagirdars to whom most of the territories of the Deccan provinces were assigned for their personal expenses, as well as for the maintenance of their military contingents, were unable to realise enough revenue to be able to meet their obligations. Aurangzīb's requests to his father for an advance of money from the Central treasury or from the treasuries of other provinces were granted with extreme reluctance. In several of his letters Aurangzīb complains to his father about the want of appreciation of his difficulties and also points out in this connection the importance of the Deccan in comparison with other provinces of the Empire. He says: "Your Majesty has been kind enough to bestow on the disciple (Murīd) the Government of the four Subahs of the Deccan which form a great Dominion (Wilāyat). As two States with treasuries

and armies are across the frontiers, the Wilāyat of the Deccan has no comparison with the Subahs of Bengal or Gujerat. In view of these circumstances it was necessary to bring these matters to your Majesty's notice so that the devoted servant may not be accused of negligence and incapacity."[1]

In another letter to his father he points out :

" This province (*i.e.* the Deccan) is different from Bengal and Gujerat in many respects. It is essential that a large force should be stationed here permanently."[2]

In several letters of Aurangzīb the Deccan is mentioned as ' Suba-e-'Umda-e-Sarḥad ' (the great frontier province) and in one letter it is referred to as ' Mamlukat ' (dominion or realm).

These quotations clearly show that Aurangzīb considered the responsibility of governing the Deccan to be of higher and greater importance than the Subedari of other provinces of the Empire. The importance of the Deccan in these days is also shown by the fact that only men of the highest status and integrity were appointed there as Subedars and Dīwāns, in view of its distance from the centre of the Empire. After his first Viceroyalty, Prince Aurangzīb was succeeded by Khān-e-Dawrān Nuṣrat Jang, holding the rank of 7,000 Zāt and horse. He was Subedar of the Deccan till June 1645. In order to develop the country he consolidated the ' Tankhwas ' of the Manṣabdārs who held Jagirs in Khandesh and the Deccan for the upkeep of their troops. He was a strict task-master and an efficient administrator. He sent to the court nearly a crore of rupees to show that whereas hitherto money was always sent from the court to meet the deficit, he in his Subedari was sending money from the Deccan. When he was satisfied with the administrative settlement of the Deccan, he set himself to Bijapur and in this connection was summoned to the court for consultation. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir, and then took leave and came to Lahore where he was murdered by a servant. Maharaja Jaisingh was ordered to officiate till the arrival of the new incumbent to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan.[3]

The Emperor was anxious to appoint some really first-rate and trustworthy man to the Deccan and in this connection consulted Islām Khān

1. *Ruqa'āt-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 116 (Dar-ul-Muṣannifīn, Azamgarh).
واعلی حضرت از روے عنایت و ایالت این چہار صوبہ را کہ ولایت کلان است و از جہت اتصال بسرحد دو حاکم صاحب خزانہ با جمعیت سپہے بہ دو بہ بنگالہ و گجرات ندارد ، باین مرید تفویض فرموده اند ، بنا بران درین وادی عرضداشت نمودن لازم دید تا ثانی الحال محمول بر غفلت و نارسائی این فدوی نہ گردد ۔

2. *Ruqa'āt-e-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 122.
و درین صوبہ کہ از جہات کثیرہ با صوبہ بنگالہ و گجرات سپہے ندارد باید کہ جمعیت خوب ہمیشہ موجود باشد گر چہ خدمت بدو بست و نظم و نسق این مملکت از پیشگاہ خلافت باین مرید مفوض است ۔

3. *Maasir-ul-Umarā*, p. 758.

Mashhadi, the Dīwān-e-Kul of the Empire and an old favourite of Shāh Jehān. The latter after deliberation suggested his own name as he had somehow got a hint that the Emperor wanted him to undertake the arduous responsibility of the Deccan administration. He was raised to the high rank of 7,000 Zāt, 7,000 horse. He governed the Deccan for two years, and made his best endeavours to increase the prosperity of the country.[1]

For nearly one year Shāh Nawāz Khān officiated, until Prince Murād Bakhsh was appointed the next Viceroy. He soon quarrelled with his guardian, Shāh Nawāz Khān, and the administration of the country fell into great confusion. On being apprised of this state of affairs the Emperor recalled Prince Murād and appointed Shā'ista Khān in September 1649. He governed the Deccan till 1652 and was succeeded by Prince Aurangzīb.

During Aurangzīb's second Viceroyalty there were off and on hostilities with Golconda, Bijapur and the Marathas which involved military operations and diplomatic manipulations. Owing to his far-reaching initiative in these matters Aurangzīb was misunderstood by his father and his brother Dārā. They suspected him of using the resources at his command in the Deccan in order to increase his own authority.

In fact it was chiefly due to Aurangzīb's military and diplomatic activities that the status of the Subedar of the Deccan was raised. He even used to receive costly presents from the ruler of Golconda about which the Emperor complained that their price was not credited against the annual tribute from that ruler.

In the time of Shāh Jehān the Subedar of the Deccan used to have four regular Subahs or Provinces under his direct administration, *viz.* Khandesh, Bera, Daulatābād and Telingana. He had the authority to appoint the Subedars of these four Subahs after obtaining due association from the Emperor ; for instance we find mention of Rashīd Khān Anṣāri Subedar of Khandesh and later of Telingana, Hādi Dād Khān, Subedar of Telingana, and Mīrzā Khān, Subedar of Berar. One of the causes of friction between the Emperor and Prince Aurangzīb, the Viceroy of the Deccan, was that the latter was very anxious, to appoint his own men to higher posts in the Deccan. By the irony of fate Aurangzīb later on made use of the resources of the Deccan against his father, as the latter had earlier employed them against his own father, *i.e.*, Jehāngīr.

It was due to the strategic and political importance of the Deccan that ambitious and capable men coveted its Viceroyalty. No other Suba is referred to as Vilāyat in current literature except Bengal, which in those days was regarded as a penal province, and to which Aurangzīb in one of his letters referred as " A hell well-stocked with bread." But

1. *Maasirul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 167

in later history Bengal was converted from a penal province to a ' Paradise among Countries ' (Jannatul Bilād).[1]

There is a series of documents in the Daftar-e-Diwani in which the epithets and designations employed for the Subedars of the Deccan throw revealing light on their status. Here are some examples :

حسب التجویز نواب مستطاب معلی القاب ممالك مدار گردون اقتدار خورشید اشتهار عضد الخلافة الکبری، خان دوران نصرت جنگ ـ برساله سیادت پناه نقابت دستگاه ، نجابت وصفوت دستگاه ، عمده وزرائے رفیع الشان (طبلق نمبر ۱۶۱)

زبدة خوانین بلند مکان ناظم مناظم ملك و مال ، ناهج مناهج دولت و اقبال ، گنجور اسرار بادشاهی ، دانائے ضمیر حضرت ظل الهی ، عمدة الملکی مدار المهامی اسلام خان ـ (طبلق نمبر ۳۱)

حسب التجویز نواب مستطاب معلی القاب ممالك مدار ،خورشید اشتهار ، گردون اقتدار ، عضد الخلافه الکبری رکن السلطنة العظمی عمدة الملك شائسته خان ـ (طبلق نمبر ۵۱۹)

اعتضاد السطنت و فرمان روائے اعتماد خلافت و کشور کشائے رکن السلطنة ابهة الخاقانیه موتمن العمید السلطانیه ، گنجور اسرار بادشاهی ، دانائے ضمیر شهنشاهی عقده کشائے معاطب دین و دولت ، خان خانان سپه سالار ( مهابت خان ) (طبلق نمبر ۱۷۲)

From the documents of the Daftar-e-Diwani it has been discovered that the Diwans of the Deccan enjoyed higher privileges and status than the Diwans of other Subahs. For the purpose of revenue administration the Deccan had been divided into two parts known as Pā'īnghāt (lowlands) and Bālāghāt (highlands), the former comprised the whole of Khandesh and the western half of Berar and the latter consisted of the Subahs of Daulatābād, Telingana and the eastern half of Berar. Both Pā'īnghāt and Bālāghāt used to have their separate Diwans. But during the second Viceroyalty of Aurangzīb, Murshad 'Alī Khān who was formerly Diwan of Bālāghāt, was appointed the Diwan of the entire Mughal Deccan.

The epithets employed for the Diwans are also significant. They are referred to as Vizārat Panāh and Madār-ul-Mahām, the designations reserved for the Diwan of the Central Government. Here are some examples :

برسالهٔ وزارت پناه لایق المراحم والاحسان مدار المهامی دیانت خان (طبلق نمبر ۱۷۵)

برسالهٔ سیادت ووزارت پناه نقابت دستگاه قابل المراحم والعنایت واللطف والاحسان مدار المهامی ملتفت خان (طبلق نمبر ۱۴۳)

به دستخط وزارت و اقبال پناه ، مدار المهامی دیانت خان (طبلق نمبر ۴۱۸)

حسب التماس وزارت پناه ، مرشد قلی خان (طبلق نمبر ۲۱۲)

1. *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1923.

There is a document in which both Diyānat Khān, Diwan of Pā'īnghāt, and Sa'dullāh Khān, Diwan of the Central Government are referred to with a slight difference in the shade of their epithets.

بمہر عمدۃ الملکی مدار المہامی علامی فہامی سعد اللہ خان نزد وزارت واقبال پناہ اجلال دستگاہ دیانت خان آمدہ ۔ امر والا قدر نفاذ یافت کہ بموجب ڈول اصل واضافہ بمنصب دوہزار پانصدی ذات ودوہزار سوار سرفراز باشد ۔ (طبقی نمبر ۱۳۱)

In this document the Diwan of Pā'īnghāt is referred to as " Vizarat-o-Iqbāl-Panāh " and the Diwan of the Central Government is mentioned as " Umdat-ul-Mulkī Madār-ul-Mahāmī," while in other documents in which the Diwan of the Deccan alone is mentioned he is styled " Madar-ul-Mahām."

Thus it will be seen from the above facts that in the time of Shāh Jehān the Subedars and Diwans of the Deccan enjoyed a very high status commensurate with their position of trust and responsibility.

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

# A PEEP INTO THE WASĀYĀ' AND SIYĀSAT NĀMA OF NIẒĀM-UL-MULK

IT would not be erroneous to assert that some of the works which constitute the entire body of Persian literature are not the true and faithful labours of those to whom they are attributed. The reasons in support of this statement can easily be grasped from the fact that very few authentic and laboured histories of Persian literature have so far come down to us. Glowing tributes must be paid to the western orientalists for the untiring zeal which they have shown in compiling histories to be relied upon. Their splendid services in this domain have left behind them an imperishable heritage for which Persians must feel greatly indebted to them for all time to come. *Tadhkaras* (biography of the poets and authors) which are considered the only source of information remain either unpublished or uncared for, and those which enjoy a press reputation are not reliable. These are neither accurate nor trustworthy in their delineation of characters, life records and works, and are only based upon the copying system of their predecessors with an addition of mere grandiloquence. Modern researches have proved the worth of such compilations by refuting the wrong statements supplied therein. Notwithstanding all this, our reverential homage goes to the Persian writers too, but for whose information we should have been in a state of still greater perplexity.

'Umar bin Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām the philosopher, mathematician and poet, enjoys great celebrity in western countries, but in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen his skill as an astronomer and a great mathematician far exceeds his ability as a poet. He is considered little of a poet in Iran, and that is why feelings of uncertainty have crept in as regards the genuineness of his poetical genius. 'Umarian quatrains, so far discovered, greatly differ in their exact number and no one has reached the correct estimation of his *Rubā'iyāt*. Criteria have been formed to test their originality, researches are being carried on to prove their certainty, and yet we find that a number of *Rubā'iyāts* are still fathered upon him. Most of these quatrains, as the result of modern researches compels us to believe, are termed vagrants and spurious. The number of vagrants still goes on increasing as we examine the anthologies and modern editions of other poets. Apart from this Dr. Christenson has

reached the farthest limit in saying that " only 12 quatrains, in which the name of the poet is mentioned, could be considered probably as genuine—such verses being less liable to wander." Such glaring defects are so common in almost every *Tadhkara* that one can easily guess how such complications have deformed and badly injured the resplendant surface of Persian literature. Under the circumstances it is very difficult for a critical observer to take the spurious coins at their face value.

Now we turn our attention to another doubt that has arisen in this field of literature. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, the son of Isḥāq, better known as the famous Niẓām-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr of Alp Arsalān and later of Malik Shāh the great Saljūq, is universally believed to be the author of *Siyar-ul-Mulūk* or *Siyāsat Nāma* (A treatise on the art of Government), the *Dastūr-ul-Wuzārā'* or the *Waṣāyā'*, and a *Safar Nāma*. The first two books, *i.e.*, the *Siyāsat Nāma* and the *Waṣāyā'*, exist and are available in print but the third one, namely the *Safar Nāma* an account of Niẓām-ul-Mulk's journey from Khurasan to Kabul *en route* to Transoxiana, is totally lost. Before we give our surmise about the two books, it is advisable to quote from two great Orientalists. T.W. Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* on page 32 says, " Niẓām-ul-Mulk *appears to be the author* of the work entitled *Syer-ul-Mulūk*." Prof. E. G. Browne writing about the *Siyasāt Nāma* in his *Literary History of Persia* (Vol. 2) remarks: " yet the historical anecdotes must be accepted with a certain reserve, while serious anachronisms are of constant occurrence." Both these statements leave room for doubt—a doubt which is strengthened by a close observation of the original texts.

" Niẓām-ul-Mulk," as Prof. Browne says, " was a prime minister of the realm of the Saljūqs. He was a most capable administrator, an acute statesman and a devout and orthodox Sunnī." He was in all but name a monarch and ruled his empire with striking success. So long as Malik Shāh adorned the Saljūqid throne with his towering personality, the commanding genius of his prime minister, Niẓam-ul-Mulk, held together the discordant elements which had arisen in the State. During this period of 20 years, *i.e.*, 465-485 A.H., in which he acted as Malik Shāh's prime minister, till his own assassination, he busied himself in " modelling the new State as closely as possible on that of the Ghaznavids in which he had been born and brought up."[1] Almost all the historians and *Tadhkara*-writers unanimously believe that no other minister under the great Saljūqs excelled Khwāja Niẓām-ul-Mulk in statesmanship, sagacity and justice. He had to control the affairs of a kingdom which extended from the confines of China to the Mediterranean on the west, from Georgia in the north to Yemen in the south. The grandeur and magnificence of Malik Shāh's reign and the prosperity of the people rivalled the best period of Roman or Arabian domination and it was all due to this able minister. So much occupied was Niẓām-ul-Mulk in setting State affairs

1 *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. 2, Part 2.

right, adorning the cities of Asia with colleges, hospitals, mosques and palaces, and covering the empire with roads and canals to facilitate traffic and fertilize the soil, that he can hardly have found time to centre his attention on producing works like *Waṣāyā'* or *Siyāsat Nāma*—a work on administration and Government which forms an enduring monument of his genius and capacities.[1] And if we take it for certain, as the learned *author* of the *Niẓām-ul-Mulk* believes, that both the *Waṣāyā'* and *Siyāsat Nāma* are the outcome of the great minister's masterly pen, our belief is sorely shaken by a close perusal of the original text. The chronological inaccuracies, the digressions which are frequently met with, and the numerous discrepancies in both the books are, in truth, not worthy of the pen of Niẓām-ul-Mulk. The general belief is, however, that both books were written by this Wazīr and the true authorship is yet undiscovered. It is clear that *Siyāsat Nāma* was written in 484 A.H., a year before the supposed author's assassination. (Vide Introduction to *Siyāsat*-Nāma) :

سبب نهادن این کتاب آن بود که سلطان سعید ابوالفتح ملك شاه بن محمد امین
انار الله برهانه در سال چهارصد وهشتاد چهار چند کس را از بزرگان ودانا یان فرمود

But when the *Waṣāyā'* was written is unknown. (Vide the *Niẓām-ul-Mulk*, p. 73) :

"اس کا سن تصنیف معلوم نہین مگر مضامین سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ یہ کتاب وزارت
کے اخیر زمانہ میں لکھی گئی ہے ۔"

This much is certain, that Niẓām-ul-Mulk (if he ever wrote these books) wrote them a year or two before his assassination. But the disturbances and the Sulṭān's anger which he encountered in his later years weaken our belief. Moreover none of the contemporary historians had ever mentioned Niẓām-ul-Mulk in the capacity of an author. Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvī, the learned author of *Khayyām*, has indeed rendered great services to Persian literature in advancing more proofs supporting the researches made by Zhkoskvy, Dr. Ross, Prof. Houtsma and Prof. Browne. The *Waṣāyā* or *Dastūr-ul-Wuzarā'* is pretty certainly spurious for the ' Three School-fellows Story ' seems rather impossible on chronological grounds.

"*Waṣāyā'*," as Nadvī says, "is probably a collection of stray notes and written documents of Niẓām-ul-Mulk preserved by the descendants of his family, which at a later date (probably in the 9th century A.H.) were compiled in book form by one of his descendants, who added an introduction to it. In the preface the compiler claims his own self and Amīr

1. *History of the Saracens*, by Ameer Ali, p. 315. Abdur Razzaq of Cawnpore.

Fakhr-ud-Daula Ḥasan b. Amīr Tāj-ud-Dīn, to whom the book is dedicated, as the direct descendants of Niẓām-ul-Mulk."[1]

"اما این ضعیف هدا یا وتحف، هیچ چیزی مساوی آن نصائح ندانست که صاحب نظام الملك جهت ولد اعزخود فخر الملك نوشته و فی الحقیقة هر یك ازان در براعت قانونی شامل ودر وزارت دستوری کامل وبدان جهت تا امروز در اطراف منتشرودر آفاق مشتهر و برافواه والسنه سائر ودر ازمنه و امکنه دائر وآن سخن های بعضی درکتاب بمطالعهٔ این ضعیف رسیده وبعضی از اجداد خود که منتسب بآن دودمان بودندشنیده واین نصائح مع لواز مها دریك مقدمه ودوفصل ممهد میگر داند."[2]

Thus it becomes quite clear from the above passage that apart from the notes written by Niẓām-ul-Mulk, there are other records which the compiler either extracted from other books or supplied merely on hearsay. Thus the introduction and 'the Three School-fellows Story' appear to be mainly based upon hearsay and are surely to be rejected. The main authority for these portions is the book *Sarguzasht-i-Sayyidnā* (Story of our Lord), the tales of which had been travelling about during the latter part of the 7th century A.H. The compiler of the *Waṣāyā'* produced the same wandering and baseless stories in the introduction, representing himself as *Niẓām-ul-Mulk*. As to the age of Imām Mu'affaq, the word سبق used for lesson, the method of getting education in those days, and the frequent use of Arabic words in the *Waṣâyā'* supply a conclusive proof that it is not genuine.[3]

A little further evidence which I have discovered may be of some benefit to the readers of this dissertation.

On page 9 of the *Waṣāyā'* the following few words are worthy of attention :

"ودر سنه ۴۸۷ھ سبع ثمانین واربع مائه که سلطان از اصفهان به بغداد نهضت فرمود."

The author here seems to be wrong in his statement. All the historians are of the opinion that Sulṭān Malik Shāh came to Baghdād for the third time on the 24th of Ramaḍān in the year 485 A.H., corresponding to 28th of October 1092, and the Wazīr Niẓām-ul-Mulk was assassinated on the 10th of Ramaḍān 485 A.H. or October 14, 1092 A.D. near Sinha, between Kanguvar and Bistūn as the court was on its way from Isphahan to Baghdād.[4] The first and second visits of Malik Shāh to Baghdād were in the years (4th of Jumadā I) 479 A.H. (1087 A.D.) and 28th of Ramaḍān, 484 A.H. (October 1091) respectively.[5] The *Waṣāyā'* assigns the third and last visit to 485 A.H. and not to 487 A.H.

1. *The Khayyām* by S. S. Nadvi, p. 131.
2. *Waṣāyā*, p. 5. (Navalkishor edition).
3. S. S. Nadvī deals exhaustively with these problems in his *Khayyām*.
4. *Tārikh-ul-Khulafā'* of as-Suyūtī, p. 432.
5. *Tārikh-ı-Āl-i-Saljūq* by Isphahāni.

Again on page 17 of the *Waṣāyā'* :—

سالی که سلطان ملك شاه شمس الملك خانان را از بتریز هزیمت داد .....

صلاح دولت ملکی اقتضاء آن کرد که زمستان در ری اقامت نموده شود تا عساکر اطراف مجتمع گردد ..... مقصود ازین تمهید آنکه زمان توجه بری در حدود بسطام ولد اوسلطان محمد را پسری متولد شد - خبر بیدر رسانیدند - سلطان گفت اورا چه نام کردی گفت سلطان با یزید - پدرش استحسان کرد و گفت مال بسطام بدو داده شود .....

اتفاقا آن طفل در آن دو روز فوت شد و تا امروز از آن تاریخ هفت سال است -"

Shams-ul-Mulūk the Khāqān was defeated by Malik Shāh in 466 A.H. or 1073 A.D. at Tirmidh, and not at Tabriz.[1] The date on which Malik Shāh came to Ray is the month of Sha'bān, 473 A.H.[2] It was here that Malik Shāh, having inspected his army, discharged 7,000 of his soldiers. It is clear from the wording of *Waṣāyā'* that on the way to Ray a son was born to prince Muḥammad the son of Malik Shāh near Bisṭām, who did not live more than two days. When the happy tidings of his grandson's birth were carried to Malik Shāh, he allotted the revenues of Bisṭām to his grandson, who was named Bāyazīd in memory of the great local saint. Now let us weigh and consider the truth of this statement. On the authority of *Tārīkh-ī-āl-i-Saljūq* by Isphahani, p. 64, Malik Shāh was born on the 9th or 19th of Jumada I, 447 A.H. (Ravandi and the author of *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh* wrongly assert 445 A.H.) and died on the 15th of Shawal 485 A.H. (18th November 1092). Thus he lived for 37 years and some months. His first marriage, as we know, took place during the reign of Alp Arsalān when he defeated Romanus Diogenes, emperor of Greece, in 463 A.H. (1070 A.D.).[3]

Alp Arsalān, the father of Malik Shāh, died in the year 465 A.H. So, at the time of his father's death he was 17 years of age. The first marriage of Malik Shāh seems to have been contracted by his father in 463 or 464 A.H.—a little earlier before his own death. Ibn-i-Athīr says that in 481 A.H. the eldest son of Malik Shāh named Malik Aḥmad died at Merv. He was the immediate successor to his father and was 11 years old at the time of his death. This, however, determines the date of Malik Aḥmad's birth between the years 469 and 470 A.H. The second marriage was contracted by Malik Shāh in 471 A.H. with Turkān Khātūn who bore him a son Maḥmūd in 480 A.H. Prior to this there had been another marriage of Malik Shāh with his uncle's daughter Zubeida Khātūn since she gave birth to a son Barkiyaruk by name in 471 A.H.

Malik Shāh had four sons who outlived him ; the eldest being Barkiyaruk, Muḥammad, Sanjar and Maḥmūd the youngest of all. On the

1. Ibn-Athīr's *Kāmil*, Vol. 10, p. 32.

2. *Al-Wāfī* Vol. I, p. 379.

3. The battle of Alp Arsalān against the Roman emperor, known as the battle of Malazgard, was fought in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah 463 A.H., *i.e.*, 1070 A.D. Vide Ibn-Khaldūn and Ibn-Athīr.

authority of Ibn-i-Athīr the third son Sanjar was born on the 25th of Rajab, 476 A.H. in the city of Sanjar. The date of birth of Muḥammad is not known to us yet in consideration with the chronological data it falls between the years 471 and 476 A.H. But the author of *Waṣāyā'* asserts that in 473 A.H. while coming to Ray, a son was born to prince Muḥammad (who at that time can hardly have attained the age of puberty). The statement is also proved futile inasmuch as Malik Shāh himself was of 26 years of age since he died in 485 A.H. and under the circumstances, therefore, the birth of a grandson can never be justified.

و تا امروز ازان تاریخ هفت سال است .

If we take the year of Khāqān's defeat as 465 A.H. and add seven years to it when these words of the *Waṣāyā'* were recorded, it amounts to the year 472 A.H., and if the year of Malik Shāh's arrival at Ray, *i.e.*, 473 A.H. is admitted, it comes to 480 A.H. But the years 473 or 480 cannot be accepted as the exact time of the *Waṣāyā's* record.

ص ۹ : در سنه ۴۸۷ه که سلطان از اصفهان به بغداد نهضت فرمود از غرض گفته بودند و مرضی نیز داشت - از سلطان تخلف نمود و در اصفهان توقف کرد .....

بعداز عود صحت روزی استکشاف کرد که تا ادرا رات و مرسومات که باسامی مستحقان ممالك از اموال خاصه متعین و مرسوم بود در آن سال بدیشان واصل گشته یا نه - بعداز تحقیق و توضیح چنان ظاهر شد که نرسید و مصارف و خیرات از حقوق مکارم اوعاطل مانده سخن شیخ مهنه ( حضرت ابوسعید ابی الخیر ) بیادش آمد که علامت انصرام دولت آثار انهدام حشمت توان باشد که مواد خیرات تو از اصحاب استحقاق منقطع گردد وبسیار متالم شد - دانست که میقات دولت بانتها رسیده بل میعاد حیات به انقضا انجامید ، پس فخر الملك را طلب فرمود و گفت .....

The year 487 A.H. is rejected above and if we accept this statement as correct, then it must be the last year of his life, *i.e.*, 484 A.H., because in the following year he was assassinated. Thus the above-mentioned years 473 and 480 do not seem concordant.[1] It was in the later months of 484 A.H. that Khwāja fell illat Baghdād, and after his recovery from such a long illness he was given knightly robes by the then caliph al-Muqtadi.

ص ۱۳ : در سنه ۴۵۶ه ست و خمسین و اربعمائه سلطان الپ ارسلان متوجه از خراسان بروم نهضت فرمود - چون بنواحی کرخ رسیدند سلطان متوجه روم شد - استخلاص ولائت کرخ شاهزاده سلطان ملکشاه موسوم بود - لپسر بدان توجه نموده شد - ،،

The year 447 A.H. is admittedly the Sulṭān's date of birth. In 456 A.H. he becomes nine years of age. Still a child, as the Sulṭān was, according to Niẓām-ul-Mulk, he commands a huge army to conquer the strong fortress of Maryem-Nashīn and this seems unbelievable.

1. Ibn-Athir's *Kāmil*, Vol. X, p. 69.

These doubts are further supported by the fact that *Waṣāyā'* abounds with high-flown language and the copious use of Arabic words and expressions. It is not the style of the 5th century A.H., for the literature produced during this period (*Safar Nāma* of Nāṣir Khusro and the *Qābūs Nāma*) is extraordinarily simple and unadorned, devoid of any kind of rhetorical artifice, almost colloquial and marked by a good many archaic forms characteristic of this early period. But this is not the case with *Waṣāyā'*. On the contrary, it is rich and profuse in the use of Arabic words and expressions—a point which brings into light its spuriousness.

The other book ascribed to Niẓām-ul-Mulk is the famous *Siyāsat-Nāma* or *Siyar-ul-Mulūk* and it also falls a victim to the same doubts. The universal belief is that the book was written by Niẓām-ul-Mulk. It comprises 50 sections or chapters treating of nearly every royal duty and prerogative and every department of administration.[1] It was written in 484 A.H. (1091-92 A.D.) in response to a request by Sulṭān Malik Shāh to his most able and experienced counsellors. The introductory chapter contains the following impression :

( سیاست نامه مطبوعه پیرس : س ۱ - ۲ ) چنین گوید ناسخ کتاب های خزانه که سبب نهادن این کتاب آن بود که سلطان سعید ابو الفتح ملکشاه بن محمد امین امیر المومنین درسال چهار صد و هشتاد چهار چند کس را از بزرگان و پیران و دانایان فرمود که هر یك درمعنی مملکت ما اندیشه کنید و بنگرید تا چیست که آن در عهد مانه نیکست و بر درگاه و دیوان و بارگاه و مجلس ماشرط آن بجای آرند و برماچه پوشیده شده است وکدام شغلست که پیش از ما پادشاهان شرائط آن بجای می‌آوردند و مانمی کنیم - و نیز هرچه از آئین و رسم ملوك گذشته بوده ست آن تعلق بدولت و ملك سلجوقیان داردهمه بنویسید و بر رای عرضه کنید تا ما تامل کنیم و به فرمائیم تاپس ازین کارهای دینی و دنیاوی بر قاعده خویش رود و هرشغلی بجای آورده باشد - و آنچه نه نیکست ازان باز دارند - چون خدای عز و جل جهان را بما ارزانی داشت و نعمت بر ما تام گردانید و دشمنان مارا مقهور کرد و نباید که هیچ چیز در مملکت ما بعد ازین ناقص باشد و شغلها بنا واجب رود و یا چیزی برما پوشیده ماند و این اشارت به نظام الملك و شرف الملك و تاج الملك و مجد الملك و ما نند این طائفه کرده بود - پس هر کس را آنچه فراز آمد در این معنی بنوشتند و بر رای عالی عرض کردند و از آن هیچ کس پسند نیافتاد الا از آن نظام الملك - گفت این همه فصلها چنان نوشته است که دل من خواست و بر ین مزیدی نیست - من این کتاب را امام خویش کردم و بر ین خواهم رفت و این کتاب از جهت خدمت خزینه نبشت و پیش آورد -،،

That the later years of Niẓām-ul-Mulk's life were filled with disaffection

1. *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, by Prof. E. G. Browne.

and disgust is quite manifest from the diverse historical works in addition to his own utterances. The persons, namely, Tāj-ul-Mulk, Sharf-ul-Mulk and Majd-ul-Mulk, who were asked by Malik Shah to write a treatise on the art of government, were all inimical to the Vizier. Tāj-ul-Mulk Abu'l-Ghanā'im al-Marzbān b. Khusro Fērōz was in the good books of Turkān Khātūn, the favourite queen of Malik Shāh. Besides being a private secretary to Turkān Khātūn, he also acted as the head of the royal treasury and the superintendent of the harem. For his loyal services to this ' Lady of the Harem ' he was awarded the high title of Tāj-ul-Mulk and even aspired to the premiership. It was through his instigation that Turkān Khātūn always poisoned the Sulṭān's ears against the Khwāja and thus the feelings of disaffection were increasing day by day. Sharaf-ul-Mulk Abū Sa'd Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Majd-ul-Mulk Abu'l Faḍl As'ad b. Muḥammad, the Mastawfī-ul-Mamālik, had come under the direct influence of Tāj-ul-Mulk who was raised to the position of the head of Dīwān-ul-Inshā' by this time. These three successfully conspired to estrange the Sulṭān from his great Vizier, thus bringing the matter to a critical juncture. The aged minister had entrusted the affairs of the State to the care of his twelve sons in order to keep a stronghold over the whole empire. The king did not like it, and more fuel was added to the fire when Niẓām's grandson Uthmān, the ruler of Merv, meted out harsh treatment to Quoden (the sentinel of Merv and a favourite of the Sulṭān). Tāj-ul-Mulk and Amīr Yalburd charged Niẓām-ul-Mulk in the presence of the Sulṭān, who by this time was incensed with the Viziers' championship of al-Muqtadī, with extravagant expenditure on the army and with nepotism and Malik Shāh's wrath was finally inflamed and past all bounds by an unguarded reply made by Niẓām-ul-Mulk to an accusation of these malpractices in these words :

قولوا للسطان كا نك اليوم عرفت انى فى الملك مساهمك وفى الدولة مقـاسمك وان دواتى
مقترنة بتاجك فمتى رفعتها رفع ومتى سلبتها سلب

The result of this insolent reply was disastrous. The Khwāja was deposed from his high office and many other changes were wrought in the machinery of the government.

These were the unfavourable circumstances under which Niẓām-ul-Mulk had to employ his genius—nay was rather compelled by his sovereign to write a treatise on the art of government in comparison with the written manuals of his hostile confederates, Majd-ul-Mulk, Sharaf-ul-Mulk and Tāj-ul-Mulk. In the light of above considerations it is unthinkable that these three antagonists would have allowed the aged and worried Niẓām-ul-Mulk to carry off the palm of superiority from them when he was mentally perturbed and physically run down. Likewise it is not reasonable to judge that out of the treatises composed that of the Niẓām-ul-Mulk could be highly appreciated and accepted by Malik Shāh, with a heart

full of animosities, as his guide, saying, "He wrote this book as I desired and nothing can be improved in it." A critical observer can very easily test the worth of these fabrications fathered upon Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

ص ۵ : ,, نخست نظام الملك چهل كم يك فصل بر بديه گفته بود ـ مختصر بعد از آن تاملی كرد وبسبب رنجی كه بر دل او همی بود از جهت مخالفان دولت يازده فصل ديگر در افزود ـ ودر هرفصل لائق آنچه هر فصل بود زيارت كرد وبوقت حركت مرا ؟ داد ـ وچون اورا در راه بغداد آن واقعه افتاد ( اصل : وچون اورا در راه بعد از آن واقعه افتاد ) من ؟ اين كتاب را آشكار نيارستم كردن تا اكنون كه عدل واسلام به بقای خداوند عالم قوت يافت ايزد تعالی اين دولت را تاقيامت مستدام داراد ـ بمنته وكرمه ,,

The *Siyāsat Nāma* was written in 39 chapters when it was presented to Malik Shāh, and the later 11 chapters were added to it the following year, *i.e.*, in 485 A.H.[1] This means that the book was not yet complete and the words of Malik Shāh, " Nothing can be improved in it " ( برلن مزيدی نيست ) are merely deceptive in this light. What was the necessity of supplementing these 11 chapters when the book had been presented to the Sulṭān and was commended by him ? Moreover these 11 chapters deal with various dangers that threatened the empire at the time of writing and that too from the sect of the Ismā'īls. In the words of Prof. Browne "the whole of this portion of the book is levelled against Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and his followers."

فصل چهل وسيم : ص۱۶۴ ـ

( اندر باز نمودن احوال بدمذهبان كه دشمن ملك واسلام اند )

,, بنده خواست كه فصلی چند در معنی خروج خارجيان ياد كند تاجانيان بدانند كه بنده را در اين دولت چه شفقت بوده است وبر مملكت سلجوق چه هوا وهمت دارد خاصة برخداوند عالم خلدالله ملكه وبرفرزندان وخاندان او كه چشم بد از روزگار او دور باد درهركشوری كه درجهانست بر پادشاهان وپيمبران هيچ گروهی نيست شوم تر وبددين تر وبد فعل تر ازين قوم بداند كه از پس ديوارها بدی اين مملكت می سگالند وفساد دين می جويند ـ گوش بآواز نهاده اند ، وچشم بحپشم زدگی ـ اگر نعوذ بالله ، هيچ اين دولت قاهره را از آفتی حديثه رسد يا آسيبی العياذا بالله پيدا شود ، اين سگ ها از نهفت ها بيرون آيند وبرين دولت خروج كنند ..... وملك خداوند عالم را هيچ خصمی از ايشان بتر نيست ..... واگر بنده غطا از سر اين ديگ بردارد ای بسا رسوائی بيرون آيند وليكن از آنكه از تماشاهای ايشان خداوند عالم را مالی حاصل شده است در اين معنی می خواهد كه شروعی كند بسبب توفيرها كه نمايند وخداوند بر مال حريص كرده اند ، بنده

1. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the article *Niẓām-ul-Mulk*.

مرا صاحب غرض نهند و نصیحت بنده در این حال دلپذیر نیاید - آنگاه معلوم فساد و مکر ایشان که بنده از میان رفته باشد و بداند که هوا خواهی بنده بچه اندازه بوده است دولت قاهره را و از احوال و سگالش این طائفه غافل نبوده است و بهر وقت بر رای عالی اعلاه الله می گذرانیده است و پوشیده نداشته و چون می دید که در این معنی قول بنده قبول نمی افتد نیز تکرار نمی کرد و لیکن بابی در معنی ایشان بر سبیل اختصار در این کتاب سیر آورد ..... تا پس از وفات بنده تذکره باشد خداوند ملك و دین را..... .....بنده از صدیکی یاد خواهند کرد تا معلوم رای عالی دام عالیا گردد از ابتدائی تا انتهای کار ایشان - ،،

It is an established fact that till 483 A.H. the Batinis (followers of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ) had not gained much power. " Towards the close of Malik Shāh's reign, the Assassins, the Nihilists of Islam, made their appearance in the inaccessible defiles of Māzandrān, which at one time harboured Babek and his confederates."[1] In 483 A.H. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ obtained possession, partly by force and partly by treachery, of the inaccessible castle at Alamut (Eagles' Nest) and from there commenced his attacks on constituted societies. Two expeditions were directed by Malik Shāh against the Assassin but death overtook him ere he could root out the hateful fraternity of the Fidā'īs. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ no doubt entertained great malice against Malik Shāh and his powerful Vizier which he thus exposed, " if he had had at his bidding but two devoted friends, he would soon have overturned the power of the Turk and the Peasant (the Sulṭān and the Vizier)." These words reveal the profound and extensive plans of this ' Old Man of the Mountains, yet he did not put his ideas into practice until he felt confident of his own powers and resources. It was in 485 A.H. that Niẓām-ul-Mulk became the first victim of his long meditated schemes. Just a month or so after the assassination of his Vizier, Malik Shāh too quitted this perishable globe, and the greatness of the Saljūqids expired in his person. At the instance of Turkān Khātūn, his infant son Maḥmūd was invested by the caliph with the dignity of a Sulṭān. But the little Maḥmūd had to make way for his elder brother Barkiyārūq, who proclaimed himself king after Malik Shāh. Shortly afterwards another claimant arose in the person of Muḥammad, the second son of Malik Shāh, and the civil war that ensued between the brothers, facilitated the execution of Ṣabbāḥ's ambitious designs, and " in this bloody hot-bed of intestine discord, the poisonous plant of murder and sedition flourished." These ten years of civil war proved of great benefit to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and his Assassins. By degrees they made themselves masters of some of the strongest fortresses in the mountainous tracts of Northern Persia, Iran and Syria, and pursued the best men of Islam with their daggers. Barkiyārūq, after securing his position as king,

1. *A History of the Saracens*, by Ameer Ali, p. 317.

attended to the havoc wrought by the Bāṭinīs and in 494 A.H. (1101 A.D) ordered their general massacre. Ṣabbāḥ, greatly enraged at this, did not feel pacified "until he had executed ten Muslims to avenge the murder. of a single Bāṭinī. So full of terror were the days that if a person returned not to his home at his usual hour, he was considered to have fallen a victim to a Bāṭinī's dagger. The Amīrs used to wear armour under their cloaks for defence purposes."[1] "These destroying angels and the ministers of the vengeance of the Order remained the cause of that far-reaching terror that they inspired a terror which made kings tremble on their thrones,"[2] till the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad. In 500 A.H. (1107 A.D.) the Sulṭān himself manœuvred his troops towards the fort of Shāh Dīz near Isphahan, a fort constructed by Malik Shāh, and conquered it after strong and stubborn resistance. In 503 A.H. (1109 A.D.) Alamut was invaded but the setting-in of winter retarded the steps of the Imperial forces, and again in 511 A.H. (1117 A.D.) another attempt was made but the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad left the day undecided. During the time of Sanjar a peace treaty was concluded offering very humiliating terms to Ṣabbāḥ, to which he consented, and thence onwards Syria and Yemen became the busiest centres of Ṣabbāḥ's profane practices. Yet all these victories could not save him from the icy hand of death, and at length having enjoyed 90 years of life, he breathed his last on the 28th of Rabī' II, in the year 518 A.H. (1134 A.D.).

A perusal of the above history of the Ismā'īlīs and of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ in particular make it clear that Niẓām-ul-Mulk cannot be held responsible for so sternly denouncing the heretics. Till his time, they had not gained so much power and influence that Niẓām-ul-Mulk should burst out all at once saying: "There is no faction more accursed, more unsound in their religion or more evil in their deeds than these people. Let the king know that behind their walls they meditate evils to the kingdom and seek to corrupt religion.....if any reverse should happen these dogs will emerge from their hiding-places and rise against the empire to carry out their Shī'ite propaganda."[3] Now there remains little doubt that the 11 chapters added to the *Siyāsat Nāma* are not the outpouring of the great Niẓām-ul-Mulk's pen.

ص ٦٥ : ..... وبعد ازان محمود بهر جای صاحب خبران و منهیان را بگماشت چنانکه اگر کسی مرغی بنا حق ستدی یا مشتی بر کسی زدی در ولائت او را خبر بودی و تلافی آن بفرمودی کردن و از قدیم باز این ترتیب پادشاهان نگهداشته اند الا آل سلجوق که درین معنی دل نه بسته اند ،،

One point should be borne in mind here, that Khwāja Niẓām-ul-Mulk had spent the early years of his life at the Ghaznavid's courts, and that

1. *Kāmil* of Ibn-Athīr, Vol. X, pp. 108-9.
2. *A Literary History of Persia*, by Prof. Browne, Vol. II.
3. *A Literary History of Persia* by Prof. Browne Vol. II.

is why he seems to sing the praises of the Ghaznavids in *Waṣāyā'* and *Siyāsāt Nāma*. A good many stories bear reference to the peoples of this dynasty, of which Maḥmūd was the renowned glory. The Saljūqs erected the edifice of their Sulṭānate on the ruins of the Ghaznavids. In 420 A.H. (1029 A.D.), when Sulṭān Maḥmūd realised the ever-increasing power of the Saljūqs, he contrived some means to check it. So he asked Tughril Bēg to send one of his chiefs to his court, and Tughril's uncle Isrā'īl was deputed. Sulṭān heard about the growing strength of the Saljūqs from him, and in order to curb their power Isrā'īl was made prisoner and thrown into the fort of Kalanjar, where he remained for 7 years and perhaps died in captivity. Maḥmūd was still in search of some means when he was overtaken by death in 441 A.H. (1030 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Mas'ūd. Now hostile feelings ensued between these two dynasties and the conquests of Nishapur and Khurasan on the part of Thughril weakened the power of Mas'ūd. The superiority and lordship of the Saljūqs were acknowledged by the Caliph al-Qā'im. Hostilities still continued between Farrukhzād and Alp Arsalān and when in 451 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ascended the throne, a truce was concluded with Chagrī Bēg by which the acts of warfare came to an end.

Keeping in view the above facts it appears to be sheer folly on the part of Niẓām-ul-Mulk to refer to the precepts and anecdotes of a dynasty whose members had an innate hatred for the ruling Saljūq and his family, and moreover a king at whose bidding Niẓām-ul-Mulk is said to have written this book. The eulogistic remarks about the Ghaznavids uttered by Niẓām-ul-Mulk in the face of a Saljūqid Sulṭān, and those too in an admonitory tone, as " the house of Saljūqs but lacks this noble practice," do not seem to make any good impression on the mind of a reader. The above remarks, weighed psychologically, would have rather fanned the flames of fire. Any loophole in the administration was a direct insult to the reigning monarch and his ancestors. Moreover, when the Khwāja was himself exalted to the rank of a prime minister, a profane utterance from him would have meant nothing short of his own destruction.

Again, the same sort of advisory notes are meant for the king in the 10th Chapter of the *Siyāsat Nāma* on page 65 :

ولیکن اولی‌تر آنکه صاحب‌خبر باشد که‌صاحب‌خبر داشتن یکی از قواعد ملکست‌چون اعتماد چنان باشد که‌باید درین معنی‌که گفتیم دل مشغول نه بود.

According to a story quoted on this very page, Alp Arsalān, the father of Malik Shāh, abolished the system of espionage on the plea that it creates disaffection and estrangement among friends and relations. After its abolition this system is never found to have been introduced as referred to above. Had it been so, the Khwāja, being the favourite with unfettered powers, could himself have introduced it like other reforms, with a view to the welfare and prosperity of the country. But the reality seems to be

that he never dreamt of it. Secondly, if this system had been prevalent it would certainly have kept the empire united against the movements of the Ismā'īlīs and would have nipped in the bud this universally hated society, and thus the tragic assassination of the Khwāja would never have happened.

س ۹۲ : " ترتیب ملوك قدیم آنچنان بوده است که اقطاع ندادندی و هر کس را براندازه درسال چهار بار مواجب ایشان زر خزینه نقد بداد ندی.....و این را پشیه گانی خواند ندی و این رسم و ترتیب هنوز در خانه محمود باقیست - "

As far as authentic accounts of the Saljūqs are supplied by the early historians, the Jagir system seems to have been in vogue and the system of paying monthly salaries did not exist. Niẓām-ul-Mulk preferred the system of giving monthly emoluments after the fashion of the Ghaznavids. But we find no trace of such a practice during the sovereignty of Malik Shāh.[1] Had there been tenacity of purpose in Niẓām-ul-Mulk, he, being the fountain-head of all reforms could himself have brought it into force. Further, this indirect praise of the Ghaznavids would certainly provoke the virulent wrath of the Saljūq monarch. Such an action from a most responsible person like the Khwāja can hardly be expected.

That the Khwāja was a religious-minded person is quite evident from a study of his life and that is why Niẓāmī 'Urūdī of Samarqand remarked in his *Chahār Maqāla* on page 89 :

خواجه بزرگ نظام الملك رحمه الله در حق شعر ای اعتقادی نداشت از آنکه در معرفت آن دست نداشت و مجالست او پیوسته باعلماء و مشایخ بودی .

For the elaboration of our point, let us quote Ibn-Athīr from his *Kāmil*, Volume X, page 71 :

" As for his various characteristics, he was a religious-minded person, just, humane, easy to forgive the defaulters and very quite and reserved. His assembly was humming with the readers of the Holy Qur'ān, the jurists, the doctors of the faith, and other noble and pious people. When he used to hear the call of a Mu'adhdhin, he gave up all his affairs and did not attend to any work until he had offered his prayers. If the Mu'adhdhin had become idle by chance and the time for offering prayers was ushered in, he used to order the Mu'adhdhīn the sacred call, and he kept fast every Monday and Thursday."

1. Of Ar-Rāvandī, *Rāḥat aṣ-Sudūr* p. 131.

" The soldiers who used to remain for ever in the service of Malik Ṣhāh and whose names were officially recorded amounted to 6,040 horsemen. They had their Jagir in scattered lands so that if ever they happen to go elsewhere, they might not fall short of provisions."

*Tārīkh-e-Guzīda*, by Ḥamdulla Mastawfī, p. 232.

"وچهل وهفت هزار سوار پیوسته ملازم او بودند و اقطاعات ایشان در ممالك پراگنده بودی تا هر کجا که رسیدندی باز ماندگی نبودی - "

In the words of the author of *Ṭabaqāt-ul-Kubrā*, " He was a Shāfi'ite and a staunch observer of the doctrines of this school. In point of worship and devotion he can be rightly called an ascetic. Never did he miss any prayer, any fast of the month of Ramaḍān, or the daily recitations of the Holy Qur'ān."

Ibn-Sabkī has reproduced in his *Ṭabaqāt* a lecture of Abu'l Ma'ālī Imām al-Ḥaramayn 'Abdul-Malik Juwaynī wherein the Imām has addressed the Khwāja Niẓām-ul-Mulk with such high titles as ملاذام و ملاذام مؤيد الدين و سيد الورى and مستخدم للسيف و القلم In that Khuṭba, he has enumerated the virtuous deeds performed by the Khwāja and has dealt with his rigidity in faith, his dispensation of justice and his profound generosity. The Imām was held in great esteem by the Saljūq monarch and he exercised considerable influence over the public mind. Therefore the words which he uttered about the Khwāja can never be accused of hyperbolism. As the Grand Muftī and Chief Justice of Malik Shāh's court, every sort of religious decision or Fatwa was issued under his seal. His superiority can be judged by a single event of Malik Shāh's reign, when once the Imām proclaimed his verdict in direct opposition to that of the Sulṭān and finally Malik Shāh had to bow before the Imām.[1] How could such a personality, who cared not for the king, be so enamoured of the greatness of Niẓām-ul-Mulk as to rain down such laudatory remarks upon him ? In reality, the faithful observance of religious duties and the unostentatiously pious and charitable ways of the Khwājā's life compelled the author of the *Asar-ul-Wuzārā'* to write :

" خواجه نظام الملك باوجود دولت و عظمت بسيار و اشغال بى شمار دائما بر حال ضعفاى رعيت و بيچارگان هر ولائت رسيدى و بازهاد و مشايخ و علماء صحبت داشتى و اوقات و ساعات را مستغرق طاعات و عبادات گردانيدى۔"

In the 40th chapter on page 136 of the *Siyāsat Nāma* another doubt arises which strongly keeps the reader in suspense. It can be clearly seen after reading through the original text that the writer of *Siyāsat Nāma* is some other personality and not the Niẓām-ul-Mulk, for he is mentioned here in the third person as if the book was written after the assassination of the Vizier.

وعميدان و متصرفان را بملك لقب دهند ۔ چون شرف الملك وعميد الملك ونظام الملك وكمال الملك وبعد از روزگار سلطان سعيد الپ ارسلان رحمه الله قاعده ها بگشت وتميز برخاست ولقب هادر آميخته شد وكمتر كسى لقب ميخواست ومى دادند ۔ تا لقب خوار شد .....وپيش ازين در لقب ملوك دنيا ودين نبود ۔ امير المؤمنين المقتدى بامرالله در القاب سلطان ملكشاه رحمه الله معز الدنيا والدين آورده بود وبعد از

1. *Akhlāq-i-Jalāli* of 'Allāma Dawwāni

وفات او سنت گشت برکیارق را رکن الدنیا والدین ومحمود را ناصرالدنیا والدین و اسمعیل را محی الدنیا والدین وسلطان محمود را غیاث الدنیا والدین.....
ونخستین وزیری که در لقب او الملك آورده اند نظام الملك بود که لقب او قوام الملك کردند - ،،

The word رحمه الله (may God be kind to him!) is first used for Alp Arsalān who deceased long before the *Siyāsat Nāma* was composed, *i.e.*, in 465 A.H., and the same expression is again repeated in the case of Malik Shāh, who was still alive. Should we consider him dead and Niẓām-ul-Mulk as living in the light of his own words:

وبعد از وفات اوسنت گشت

It appears from the above lines that Niẓām-ul-Mulk lived even to see the times of Maḥmūd (485-487 A.H.), Barkiyārūq (487-498 A.H.), and Muḥammad (498-511 A.H.). But this is impossible, for internal as well as external evidence shows that Niẓām-ul-Mulk was assassinated in the year 485 A.H., and a month later Malik Shāh followed his aged minister to the grave. The words of Mu'izzī[1], the court poet of Malik Shāh:

رفت دریك مه بفردوس برین دستور پیر شاه بر نا از پس او رفت در ماه دگر
کرد ناگه قهر یزدان عجز سلطان آشکار قهر یزدانی به بین و عجز سلطانی نگر

and the words ونخستین وزیری که در لقب او الملك آورده اند نظام الملك بود lead us to think that Niẓām-ul-Mulk could never have been the writer of these words. Very easily he could have brought to light his self-assertion as saying ونخستین وزیری که درلقب اوالملك آورده اند این بنده است. The same departure from the real facts is met with at another place in the book on page 150:

وهر پادشاهی که او بزرگ شده است وتا قیامت نام او به نیکی می برند همه آن بوده اند که وزیران نیك داشته اند وپیغمبران همچنین سلیمانؑ آصف بن برخیاداشت و موسی چون برادرش هارون وعیسی چون شمعون ومصطفی علیه الصلواة والسلام چون ابوبکرصدیق واز پادشاهان چون کیخسرو وگودرز ومینوچهر چون سام وافراسیاب چون پیران وویسه وگشتاسپ چون جاماسپ ورستم چون زواره وبهرام گور چون خورده روز ونوشیروان چون بوزرجمهر وخلفای بنی العباس چون آل برمك وساما نیان چون بلعمیان وسلطان محمود چون احمد حسن وفخر الدوله چون صاحب اسمعیل عبّاد وسلطان طغرل چون ابونصر کندری والپ ارسلان وملك شاه چون نظام الملك ومانند این بسیار است - ،،

The remaining chapters of the book, as has already been said, are "levelled against the denunciation of the heretics" which is another

1. These verses are also contained in *al-'Urazā fi'l Ḥikayāt-i-Saljūqiya*, p. 68 and the manuscript copy of *Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār* by Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn present in the (Punjab University Library).

proof that Niẓām-ul-Mulk was not the real author. The 50th or the last chapter of *Siyāsat Nāma* closes with a long Qaṣīda composed in praise of Sulṭān-e-Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. Who composed this Qaṣīda is yet unknown, but the verses contained therein lead us to believe the *Siyāsat Nāma* to be a production of this period, *i.e.*, 498 A.H. to 511 A.H. In describing the *Siyāsat Nāma* in a very laudatory tone the poet says :

قانون رسم های بزرگان نا مدار فهرست کار نامهٔ شاهان تا جور
هرکس که این بخواند و بود کار بند این اقبال جاودان بودش بیگمان ببر
اندر خور شهنشه دیندار دادور تالیف یادگار نظام نکو سیر
هرگز شهی ندید وزیری دگر چنین هرگز کسی نه کرد کتابی چنین دگر
این دفتر مبارك و دستور خسروان فرخنده باد برشه دیندار وداد گر
سلطان غیاث الدین محمد محمد آنکه دادش خدای عرش بر اعدائی دین ظفر
شاهی که برسریر شهی درسرای دین شاهنشهست چون جدوشاهست چون پدر
سلطان بود پسر که پدر باشدش ملك خسرو بود پدر که ملك باشدش پسر
این بنده قدیمی وخطّاط ومدح گوی دارد حقوق خدمت سی ساله بیشتر
شعرش رسد بشعری وکارش رسد نظام گر شه ببوئی بنده برحمت کند نظر
آن نام ورسم وحرمت او باز اودهد
تا بنده زنده گردد و باشدش بال و پر

and the last words that conclude the *Siyāsat Nāma* are :

ص ۱۲۰ : " این است کتاب سیاست که نبشت آمد و خداوند عالم بنده را فرمود که درین معنی جمع سازد وبحکم فرمان برفت - وقتی را بربدیهه سی ونه فصل نبشته بود وبمجلس عالی فرستاد وپسندیده افتاد - بس مختصر بود وبعدازان درافزود ونکته های که لائق هر بابی بود اندر اوزیاد کرد وبلفظی روشن شرح داد ودر سنه خمس وثمانین واربعمائة که سوی بغداد خواستیم رفت نویسندهای کتاب های خاص محمد مغربی را دادیم تا بخطی روشن بنویسد - اگر بنده را باز آمدن نباشد از این دفتر را پیش خداوند عالم برد تا مجلس عالی راتنبیه افزاید وگوش بخویشتن دارد وپیوسته این کتاب را میخواند که از خواندن این کتاب ملال نگیرد که در این کتاب هم پند است وهم حکمت و مثل وتفسیر قران و اخبار پیغمبر علیه السلام و قصص الا نبیاء علیهم السلام اجمعین - وسیر وحکایات پادشاهان عادل واز گذشتگان خبر است واز ماندگان سمر است وباین همه درازی مختصر است وشائسته پادشاه داد گر است - "

In the light of the above statements we can easily be moved to change our opinion about the authorship of *Waṣāyā'* and *Siyāsat Nāma*. The popular ascription of these works to the great Saljūqid minister Niẓām-ul-Mulk is so deeply rooted that the attempt, I believe, may be appreciated. Yet a careful study of the works in the original along with the facts stated will carry a disciplined mind to an untraversed field of literature. We have simply tried to set the ball rolling so that the popular belief may be contested on the basis of modern research. If this is done some amazing results will certainly follow.

FAIZ-UL-HASAN FAIẒI.

# DEVIL'S DELUSION

## *TALBĪS-IBLĪS* OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN-AL-JAWZĪ

(*Continued from page 310 of the July 1946 Issue*)

*Series of illegal acts committed by the Ṣūfīs in the course of their travels and wanderings*[1]

WE have been told by Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to the Ṣūfī Abū Badr al-Khayyāṭ according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Ḥamzah say : I went on a journey in reliance, and one night when travelling sleepily I fell into a well, and found myself down in it and unable to get out owing to the height of the ascent. So I sat down there, and while I was sitting two men stopped at the head of the well, one of whom said to the other : Can we pass on and leave this in the path of Muslims who go along ? What, said the other, can we do ? I was about to call to them when a voice called to me, saying : Dost thou rely on Us and yet complain to others of the trial which We impose ? So I kept silence, and the two men went away and presently came back, bringing something which they placed over the well so as to cover it. I said to myself : I am safe against their filling it up, only I am imprisoned in it. Thus did I remain a day and a night, but the following morning something which I did not see called to me saying : Take firm hold on me. I stretched out my hand which came upon something rough, of which it caught hold ; the thing drew it up and flung me on the ground : it proved to be a lion ! When I saw him, I felt what was natural in such circumstances. Then a voice called to me, saying : Abu Ḥamzah, we have saved thee from one trial by another, from one thing which thou fearest by another thing which thou fearest.

*The same story is told from another channel, the chief variety being that Abū Ḥamzah is called al-Khurāsānī*

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz after Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thabit[2] a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Nu'aim, who was heard narrating how when the Ṣūfī Abū Ḥamzah ad-Dimishqī came out of the well he recited the verses.

In reverence for Thee I my love would hide,
Now need not show it, with Thee at my side.

1. Continued from page 324 of the Arabic Text.
2. Author of the *Kitāb Baghdād*, see I, 391.

Mysteriously Thou dost Thyself display ;
" Thy hand shall hold Me," Thou dost seem to say.
I see Thee, and Thy majesty alarms ;
And then Thy tenderness all fear disarms.
To one whose death Thou art Thou givest breath,
Thy lover ; strange companions, life and death !

I would observe that there is a difference of opinion about the identity of the Abū Ḥamzah who fell into the well. Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulami says he was Abū Ḥamzah al-Khurāsānī, a contemporary of Junaid ; in another account we have given him as ad-Dimishqī ; the Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aim says Abū Ḥamzah al-Baghdādī, whose name was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Of this last there is a notice in al-Khaṭīb's History,[1] where the story is told of him. Whichever of these persons it may have been, he acted wrongly and illegally in keeping silence, and so helping his own destruction. It was his duty to cry out and stop the closing up of the well, just as it would have been his duty to defend himself against anyone who tried to kill him. His saying " I shall not ask for help "[2] is like a man's saying " I shall eat no food and drink no water ": it is ignorance on the part of the man who acts in this way, and opposition to the wisdom shown in the order of the world. For God ordered things with wisdom, giving man a hand with which to defend himself, a tongue with which to speak, and a mind guiding him to the averting of mischief and the procuring of what is profitable to him. He ordained foods and drugs for men's advantage, so that one who turns away from what God has created for him, and guided him to, rejects the ordinance of the Code, and frustrates the Creator's wisdom. If an ignorant person should ask : How am I to guard against destiny ? our answer will be : How should he not guard, seeing that the Author of destiny bids him do so, saying (*iv.* 103) *Be on your guard* ? And indeed the Prophet hid in the cave, and said to Suraqah " Keep our affair secret,"[3] and hired a guide to Medinah. He did not say " I will start out in reliance," but in his body was always occupied with means and in his heart with their Author. We have dealt fully with this principle in what has preceded.

The saying of Abu Ḥamzah " a voice called to me from within me " is to be explained as the suggestion of an ignorant mind, convinced through ignorance that reliance means rejection of means ; for the Code does not demand of a man any procedure which it forbids. Why too did not his inner self rebuke him when he stretched out his hand and seized hold of the object which was let down to him ? For that too was a violation of his professed rejection of means, which he calls reliance. What is the difference between calling out that he was in the well and taking hold of the object let down to him ? Indeed, the latter is the more serious, since

1. *Kitāb Baghdād*, cited above. The difference is noticed there.
2. In the second form of the tradition.
3. This detail has found its way into some of the histories, *e.g.* Ibn-Kathīr's *Bidāyah*, III, 185.

action is more serious than speech. Why did he not keep still till he was lifted out without means ? If he were to say : This object was sent to me by God : I should reply : Both the object which He sent into the well and the tongue which can call for assistance were His creations. Had he called for assistance he would have been employing means created by God to serve him in self-defence ; by keeping silence he made of no effect the means created by God and resisted the Divine wisdom. Hence he deserves censure for rejecting the means. As for his being rescued by a lion, supposing it to be true, it is the sort of thing that sometimes occurs, though we do not disapprove the idea that God deals tenderly with His servants ; that which we do disapprove is his acting contrarily to the Code.

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Junaid according to which the latter said : I was told as follows by Muḥammad as-Samīn[1] : I was, he said, on the Kufah road, near the open country which is between Quba and as-Sakhrah, whence is the parting of the ways ; the road had come to an end.[2] I saw a dead camel lying on the road, with seven or eight lions tearing at its flesh and charging one another. My soul said to me : You had best turn off to the right or to the left, but I determined to keep to the main road, and prevailed on myself to continue walking till I stood close to them as though I were one of them. Then I turned my thoughts inwards, to see how I felt, and found that my alarm persisted. Still I declined to budge, and in this condition lay down on my side to sleep. I slept in this posture, the lions remaining where they were, and after I had been sleeping for some time I woke and found that the lions had dispersed, and none of them remained. Also my feeling *of alarm* had passed away, and in this state of mind I rose and departed.

I would observe that this man too violated the Code in exposing himself to the lions. No one has a right to expose himself to a lion or a snake ; it is his duty to flee from whatever is likely to harm or destroy him. It is recorded in both *Sahīh* that the Prophet said : If an epidemic occurs when you are in another country, go not to the place where it is.[3] He also said : Flee from a leper as you would from a lion. Passing by a leaning wall the Prophet hurried. Now this person desired of his nature that it should feel no alarm, a feeling from which Moses was not immune, since (xxvi.31) *when he saw* the snake, *he retuned to flee headlong*. If his narrative be true, and it is very improbable, since men's natures are uniform, and we give no credit to one who says that he is not naturally afraid of a lion, any more than we do to one who says that the sight of beauty stirs no passion in him—the man apparently forced himself to sleep among

1. "The fat," sobriquet of Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, died 235 or 236 ; notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, II, 266. Junaid's death-date is given as 297).

2. The geographers seem to throw no light on the locality mentioned.

3. The words according to Bukhārī (Cairo, 1312, IV, 10) and Muslim (Cairo, 1290, II, 189) were slightly different. Men were not to leave or go to a land afflicted with an epidemic.

the lions, abandoning himself to destruction, owing to his supposition that this was reliance. This supposition is, however, erroneous, since if reliance were really this, approaching dangerous things would not have been forbidden. Possibly the lions found sufficient to occupy them and satisfy their hunger in the camel, and when a lion is satiated he does not prey.

Now Abū Turab an-Nakhshabī was one of the most eminent of the Ṣūfī Community ; he met in the desert with lions who tore him to death.[1] We do not disapprove the idea that God dealt tenderly with Muḥammad as-Samīn and saved him owing to his belief in God's goodness ; we are only pointing out the error of his conduct to the ordinary man who, when he hears this story, may think it extremely meritorious and evidence of firm conviction, and regard this person's state as superior to that of Moses when he fled from the snake, or of our Prophet when he hurried away from the leaning wall, or to the latter's practice of wearing a cuirass in all his campaigns when fighting was going on, even saying at the Battle of the Ditch ;[2] It is not for a prophet to don his war-mail and doff it without a fight. He might also regard this Muḥammad's state as superior to that of Abū Bakr when he stopped up the holes in the cave for fear of injury from snakes. Preposterous is the idea that the rank of prophets and saints could be surpassed by this law-breaker with his foolish fancy that such conduct is reliance.

We have been told about the same person by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Farghāni,[3] who said he had heard Memmal al-Maghrabi[4] say : I accompanied Muḥammad b. al-Samīn[5] on a journey between Takrit and Mausil. While we were in a desert we heard a lion roar close by. I was terrified and shaken, as appeared by my face, and bethought me of running away. He fortified me, saying : Ah ! Muammal, this is the place for reliance, not the cathedral mosque !

I would observe that undoubtedly the effects of reliance are shown in difficult situations, only abandoning oneself to lions is not one of its conditions, since this is not allowed.

We have been told by 'Umar b. Ẓafar a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Ali al-'Attar according to which the latter said : I was told by al-Khawwāṣ[6] that one of the shaikhs had informed him that 'Alī al-Rāzī being asked why he was no longer seen with Abū Ṭālib al-Jurjānī,

1. This is stated in the account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* XII, 317.

2. The author is mistaken. This was said before Uḥud (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p 558).

3. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād* V, 450.

4. This *Nisbah* is probably corrupt.

5. In the previous anecdote the text has Muhammad as-Samīn. As will be seen from a previous note the dates would suit a son of as-Samīn better than as-Samīn himself. For both stories the author of the *Kitāb Baghdād* is cited, but I have been unable to find them in that work.

6. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, died 291. Account of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār* I, 128.

replied : We went on a journey, and went to bed in a place where there were lions. When he observed that I did not sleep, he cast me off, saying : You shall not accompany me after this day.

I would observe that this man transgressed in demanding that his companion should alter the nature with which he was created ; that was not in his capacity or power, and no such effort is demanded by the Code. Moses was not equal to it when he fled from the snake. All such procedure is based on ignorance.

We have been told by Ibn-Ẓafar a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ to the effect that the latter had heard Ḥasan brother of Sinan say : When I was walking on the Meccah road thorns would get into my feet, but my belief in Reliance kept me from picking them out from my feet, so I rubbed them against the ground as I walked.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abd al-Bāqi b. Aḥmad a tradition going back to Abdallāh b. 'Ali al-Sarrāj[1] according to which he said : I heard Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Wajīhī[2] say : Ad-Dināwarī performed the pilgrimage twelve times, barefoot and bareheaded, when a thorn got into his foot he would rub his foot against the ground without bending his head, so sound was his reliance.

I would observe : Look at the effects of ignorance ! It is no act of obedience to God to traverse that desert barefoot, which is highly injurious, nor bareheaded ; what merit is produced thereby ? Were it not obligatory to uncover the head during the pilgrim state, the act would have no meaning. And who commanded him not to pick the thorns out of his foot, and what form of piety is involved therein ? If his foot had swollen through the thorns remaining in it, and he had died inconsequence, he would have been helping his own destruction. And could he rub his foot against the ground without removing some of the mischief of the thorn ? So why not remove the rest by extracting it ? Where is reliance to be found in these acts which conflict with both reason and the code, which enjoin securing that which is profitable to oneself and averting what is injurious ? For this reason the code permits one to whom the pilgrim attire has proved harmful to violate the rule of pilgrimage, wear ordinary attire, and cover his head, paying ransom. Indeed I heard Abū 'Ubaid say : I can gauge a man's intelligence by his getting out of the sunshine and walking in the shade.

We have been told by Abū Manṣur al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abu Bakr al-Baqqī[3] according to which the latter said : I was told as follows by Abu Bakr az-Zaqqāq :[4] I started, he said, in the middle of the year, for Meccah, when I was young ; I had a horse-cloth, half on my

1. Author of the *Luma'*. 2. Frequently cited in that work.

3. His name is given in *Lawāqih al-Anwār* I. 158 as Abū Bakr b. Daud ad-Dinawarī, and his death-date as after 350.

4. This story is told in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*, p. 276*b*. of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ' Abdullāh az-Zaqqāq. Also in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 442.

waist and half on my shoulder. On the way my eye became sore; I wiped my tears with the horse-cloth, which ulcerated the place: blood came out together with the tears, but so ardent a neophyte was I and so thrilled with my " state " that I could not distinguish between tears and blood, and lost my eye on that pilgrimage. When the sun affected my body, I would kiss my hand and place it on my eye, out of delight in the trial.

*The same story is repeated from another channel.*

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Bakr az-Razi say: I asked Abu Bakr az-Zaqqāq, who was one-eyed, what had caused the loss of his eye. I used, he answered, to enter the desert in reliance, and resolved to eat no food belonging to the people at the stations, practising abstinence. In consequence of hunger one of my eyes dropped out on my cheek.

I would observe that when a beginner hears the state of this person he supposes these acts to be great exploits, whereas the journey of which the man boasted combined several varieties of transgression and inconsistency. Among them his starting in the middle of the year alone, walking, without provision as without mount, wearing a horse-cloth, and wiping his eyes with it, and supposing that this would bring him near to God. God is to be approached by His ordinances and His code, not by procedure which He has strictly forbidden. If a man were to say: I should like to hit myself with a stick since that self has sinned,[1] thereby finding favour with God, he would be sinning. Likewise the delight of the man in what befell him is a serious error; a man should only rejoice in a disaster when he has not himself brought it about. It would be the height of folly for a man to break his own leg and then rejoice in the calamity. Then his declining to ask at a time of necessity and forcing himself to endure such famine that his eye dropped out and calling this " abstinence " are follies of ascetics, mainly due to ignorance and remoteness from learning. And indeed we have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Mutarrif b. Mazin,[2] according to which Sufyān al-Thaurī said: A man who, being hungry, declines to ask and dies in consequence, goes to Hell.

I would observe: Consider how good is the language of the jurists! Its principle is that God has provided the hungry man with the ability to find ways and means; but if none such are apparent still it is in his power to beg, which in such a case is earning. If he omits to do this he has infringed the rights of the soul which has been committed to his care, and so is deserving of punishment.

1. The play on the words " stick " and " sinned " in the original can scarcely be reproduced.

2. As-San'ānī, died 191. Notice of him in *Lisān al-Mīzān*, VI, 47.

An even more remarkable account of the loss of this man's eye has been related to us by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqi according to which Abū 'Alī ar-Rudhbārī[1] used to relate how Abu Bakr ar-Zaqqāq had said: I asked for hospitality from an Arab tribe, where seeing a fair woman I gazed on her; I plucked out the eye with which I had done so. I (said Abu 'Alī) said: You are the sort whose gaze is devoted to God.

I would observe: Just consider this man's ignorance of the Code and remoteness from it. If his gazing on the girl was unintentional, he was guiltless; if it was intentional, he had committed only a minor offence, for which repentance would suffice. He added to it a capital offence, plucking out his eye; and of this he did not repent; because he believed the act to be a means of winning God's favour. Now one who believes that a forbidden act is a way to win God's favour is in the most serious error possible. Possibly he had heard the story about some Israelite who having gazed on a woman plucked out his eye which, though exceedingly improbable, may have been permissible by their code,[2] whereas it is forbidden in ours. These people indeed seem to have invented a code which they designate Ṣūfism, having abandoned that of their Prophet Muḥammad. We ask God's protection from the devil's delusion. Something of the sort, however, has been recorded of a devout Ṣūfī woman. We have been told by Abu Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-'Amīrī a tradition going back to Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Aḥmad al-Baṣrī, slave of Sha'wanah,[3] according to which he had been told by his mistress how a pious woman neighbour of hers having gone out one day to the market had been seen by a man, who was captivated by her and followed her to the door of her house. The woman asked him what he wanted of her, and he replied that she had captivated him. She asked what he admired about her, and he replied: Your eyes. Entering her house, she plucked out her eyes, went behind the door and flung them out to the man, saying: Take them, without God's blessing!

Now consider, my brethren, how the devil makes game of the ignorant! The man by gazing committed a minor offence; she committed a capital offence, supposing that she was performing an act of piety. Moreover she ought not to have talked to a strange man. It is true that some of these people acted contrariwise, as it is recorded of Dhū'l-Nūn al-Misrī among others that he said: I met a woman in the desert, and said something to her, and she said something to me—an act which was unlawful for him, and for which he was reproved by a woman of discretion. We have been told by 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh ath-Tarukhi[4] a tradition

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1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 322.

2. The author would seem to be thinking of the precept in the Gospel.

3. Devout lady of whom there is a short note in *Lawāqih al-Anwār* I. 88. Her date may be inferred from the statement that she was consulted by al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ, who died 187.

4. Perhaps at-Tirwakhi, so named from a village in Bokhara.

going back to Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Farajī,[1] according to which the latter said: I heard Dhu'n-Nun say: I saw a woman somewhere in the country of the Bujjah,[2] and called to her. She said: And what right have men to address women? Were it not for the weakness of your intellect, I should have thrown something at you.

We have been told by 'Abd ar-Raḥman b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Haitham[3] according to which the latter said: I was told by Abū Ja'far al-Ḥaddad[4] as follows: One year, he said, I entered the desert in reliance, and remained seventeen days without taking any food. I became too weak to walk, and remained some more days tasting nothing. I then fell on my face in a fainting fit, and was infested with lice to an extent the like of which I had never seen nor heard of. While I was in this condition some riders passed by, who saw me in it; one of them dismounted, shaved my head and beard, and tore my clothing. He then left me in the burning sunshine and went off. Then there came by some other riders, who conveyed me to their tribe, and put me down, powerless as I was, somewhere or other. A woman came, sat down at my head, and poured milk into my throat. I opened my eyes a little and asked them where was the place nearest to them. They said: The Rebels' mountain. So they conveyed me to the Rebels.

I would observe that if a lunatic were to get loose from his chain, take a knife, slice his own flesh, and then say that he had never seen madness comparable to the above, he would be right. Just consider the state of this poor wretch and what he inflicted on himself, believing that it was a mode of winning God's favour! We pray God to keep us sane. We have been told by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abu'l-Ḥusain ar-Raihānī according to which he heard Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ say: I saw a shaikh of the "people of knowledge" who, after seventeen days in the desert, turned aside to *employing* means. A shaikh who was with him forbade him, but he refused, so he fell, not rising above the limits of means.[5] I would observe that the man wanted to remain a longer time without sustenance; endurance, however, up to this limit, even if it be feasible, is no virtue.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain, who said that he had heard his grandfather Ismā'īl b. Nujaid[6] say: Ibrāhīm al-Harawi[7] entered the desert with Shabbah, to whom he said: Shabbah, cast away

1. Died after 270. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, III, 387.

2. Said to be Nomads living in the region between Abyssinia, Nubia, and Egypt. Istakhri, p. 35.

3. Probably the Qāḍī of Okbara, died 279. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, III, 362.

4. This story is told in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XIV, 412 on the same authority.

5. The expressions are obscure; the sense would seem to be that his fall was a moral one, since he proved unable to hold out till food came to him miraculously.

6. Abū 'Amr as-Sulamī died 366. Notices of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār*, I, 159 and *Shajrat adh-Dhahab* III, 50.

7. A notice of him in *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār*, I. 85.

all attachments. So, said Shabbah, I cast them all away, reserving one dinar. He took a few steps, and said : Cast away all that is with you, do not distract my mind.

So, said Shabbah, I took out the dinar, and handed it to him ; he threw it away, then walked a few steps and said : Cast away what is with you. There is nothing with me, said Shabbah. My mind, said Ibrāhīm, is still distracted. Then, said Shabbah, I recollected that I had on me a bundle of straps ; I told him that this was all I had. He took it and threw it away. He then said he would walk and we did so. I felt no need for the satisfaction of hunger in the desert but found it thrown in front of me. He said to me : This is what happens to one who deals truly with God.

I would observe that all these doings are wrong. The throwing away of money is unlawful, and it is amazing that a man should throw away what he possesses and take something of which he does not know the source nor whether he has or has not the right to take it.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī,[1] who said he had heard Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz[2] say : Once I entered the desert without provision, and felt the want. Seeing a station in the distance I was gladdened by the thought that I was about to reach it, but then I reflected that I had been complaining, and relying on something other than Him. I vowed then that I would not enter the station unless carried to it, dug myself a pit in the sand, and buried my body therein up to the chest. At midnight I heard a loud voice crying : Ye people of the station, a saint of God has shut himself up in that sand, so go after him. A party came, drew me out, and carried me to the station.

I would observe that this person overtaxed his nature, demanding of it what it was not created for ; for it is the nature of every man to welcome what he likes, and a thirsty man is not to be blamed if he welcomes water, nor a hungry man if he welcomes food. The same is the case with anyone who welcomes what he is anxious for. When the Prophet returned from a journey and came in sight of Medīnah, he put on pace, out of desire for his home ; when he left Meccah he turned longingly towards it. Bilal used to say : May God curse Utbah and Shaibah for having expelled us from Meccah, and recited the verse :

I wonder, shall I yet on some night abide
At Fakhkh, with the rushes and reeds by my side.[3]

1. Famous preacher died 338. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XII, 75.

2. His name was Aḥmad b. 'Īsa, died 277. Account of him *ibid.*, IV, 276 and *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār*, I, 121.

3. The line is quoted inaccurately, and has been corrected from Azraqī, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 383, and Yāqūt, S. V. Fakhkh, who says it is a Wadi in Meccah. The three persons responsible for the expulsion are more fully named in Azraqī as-Shaibah b. Rabi'ah, 'Uthbah b. Rabi'ah, and Umayyah b. Khalaf. Since our author uses the plural where the dual would be required, probably the omission of the third of these is due to a copyist.

We implore God's protection from entering on any action not demanded by knowledge and intelligence. We must add that the man's keeping himself away from public prayer was improper. Indeed what is there in the whole of this procedure which is earning the favour of God ? It is ignorance, pure and simple.

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Bakr b.Muḥammad,[1] according to which he said : I was with Abu'l-Khair an-Nisābūri[2] who talked freely to me about the beginning of his career, and presently I asked him how his hand came to be amputated. The hand, he replied, sinned, and was amputated in consequence. Afterwards I met him in company with others, who asked the same question. He said : I travelled till I reached Alexandria, where I remained twelve years, having built myself a hut, whither I retired night after night, breaking my fast on what the hermits threw away, and at times jostling the dogs for the sweepings from tables ; in the winter I would eat from the fields. A voice within me called to me saying : Abu'l-Khair, thou holdest that thou dost not share with mankind in their means of sustenance, and dost point to "reliance," when all the while thou sittest in the midst of the familiar.[3] I said : My God and Lord, by Thy might I will not stretch out my hand to aught which the earth produces until Thou bring me my sustenance from a source wherein I have no path. For twelve days I kept on performing the ordinary prayers and some extraordinary, and then, being too weak for the latter, I kept on for twelve days performing the ordinary prayers with the *sunnah* ;[4] then I became too weak for the *sunnah*, and kept on for twelve days performing the ordinary prayers only ; then I felt too weak to stand, and kept on for twelve days performing them sitting ; then I felt too weak to sit, but thought that if I were to fling myself on the ground my ordinary prayers would cease : so I had recourse to God, saying : My God and Lord, Thou hast put on me an ordinance, for which Thou wilt hold me responsible, and Thou hast assigned and guaranteed my sustenance. Mercifully grant me my sustenance and punish me not for the contract which I made with Thee and the promise which I made. Truly I will strive to break no contract that I have made with Thee. And, lo, in front of me were pieces of bread with something between them. Night after night continually I took this provision, and presently I was required to go to the frontier, and marched till I entered Farama. In the mosque there I found a story-teller narrating the tale of

1. Probably Abū Ahmad al-'Aṭṭār, noticed in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 96, as having studied in the year 363.

2. Somewhat the same story is told in *Lawāqih āl-Anwarī*. 144 foll. of Abu'l-Khairal-Tīnatī, from a place in Syria near Massisah. Yāqūt (*Geogr. Dict.*, S. V. *Tinal*) quotes Ibn al-Faradī for the statement that the saint's name was 'Abbad b. 'Abdallah ; but the passage is not found in the printed edition of his work. It is probable that an-Nisābūrī is a mistake of the author's. Abu'l-Khair's death date was after 340.

3. I.e. are doing the same as other people do.

4. Certain formulæ and practices which form no part of the prescribed devotions ; a list of them is given in *al-Fiqh according to the Four Systems*, Cairo, 1347, p. 199.

Zakariah and the saw : how, when he was being sawn asunder, God revealed to him saying : If a groan ascends to Me from thee, I will erase thy name from the register of prophecy. So he held out till he was cut in twain. I said : Zakariah was patient ; My god and Lord, verily if Thou shalt try me, I will be patient. Then I went to the frontier, and at that time I was ashamed before God to take refuge behind a wall for fear of the enemy, so I established myself in a wood, where I remained during the day, going out at night to the sea-shore, where I stuck my spear in the soil, setting my shield up against it as a prayer-niche, with my sword slung on me, and praying till morning. When I had performed the morning prayer I would go off to the wood where I would remain the whole day. One day when I sallied forth I came upon a tree whose fruit took my fancy ; and, forgetting my covenant with God not to stretch out my hand to anything that the earth produced, and my oath by Him, I stretched out my hand and took some of the fruit. While masticating it I remembered my covenant, tossed it out of my mouth, and sat with my hand on my head. Some riders surrounded me and bade me rise ; they brought me to the shore, where was a commander with cavalry and infantry, and in front of him a number of blacks who had been captured infesting the road. Horsemen had gone in different directions in pursuit of those who had fled, and had found me, a black, with sword, shield and spear. When I was brought before the commander he said to me, What are you ? One of God's slaves, I replied. He asked the blacks whether they knew me, and they said, No. Nay, said he, he is your captain, whom you would ransom with your lives. I am going to amputate your hands and feet. The men were brought forward, one by one, and he amputated a hand and a foot of each till it came to my turn. He bade me come forward and stretch out my hand, which I did ; it was amputated. Then he bade me stretch out my foot, which I did, but raising my head heavenward I said : My God and my Lord, my hand sinned, but what has my foot done ? And, lo and behold, a horseman stopped by the circle, and dismounting hastily shouted out : What are you doing ? Do you want the green to close down over the grey ?[1] This is a saintly man named Abu'l-Khair ! The commander flung himself on the ground, picked up my amputated hand, kissed it, and took hold of me, kissing my chest and saying with tears : I implore thee by God, absolve me ! I absolved thee, I replied, from the beginning of thy amputating it ; this is a hand which sinned and so has been amputated.

I would observe : See the effect of ignorance on this man ! He was indeed a man of worth ; had he only possessed knowledge, he would have known that his performance was unlawful. The devil has no more effective weapon against devotees and ascetics than ignorance.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Daud ad-Dinawārī[2] according to which the latter said :

1. I.e. the sky on the earth.

2. Died 360 ; notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 266.

I heard Ibn Ḥadiq say: We entered Massisah with Ḥāṭim al-Asamm,[1] who there vowed that he would eat nothing till his mouth was opened and the food put into it; otherwise he would not eat. He bade his companions disperse, sat down, and stayed nine days eating nothing. On the tenth day a man came to him and set food before him, saying Eat; Ḥāṭim would not reply. The man said it three times and still obtained no answer. He said, The man is mad. So he got ready a morsel, and pointed to Ḥāṭim's mouth; but the latter neither opened his mouth nor spoke. Then the man produced a key which he had with him, and saying, Eat, opened Ḥāṭim's mouth with the key, and put the morsel into it. Ḥātim then ate, and said to the man: If you would like God to benefit you therewith, feed these people—pointing to his companions.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭāhir after 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanukhi after his father[2] after Hilāl b. 'Abdallāh after the Qaḍī Aḥmad b. Sayyār the following story. I was told, he said, by a certain Ṣūfī how he with a number of people had accompanied a Ṣūfī shaikh on a journey. The subject of reliance, sustenance, and the weakness of conviction on the matter as also the strength of it came to be dicussed, and the shaikh vowed with solemn oaths that he would eat no food unless some hot almond and honey jelly should be brought to him in a bowl, and only then if he were adjured to do so. We were, he said, walking in the open country, and the company said to this shaikh: You cannot be serious.[3] He walked on and we with him till we came to a village, by which time a day and two nights had passed during which he had taken no food. With the exception of myself the company left him, and he threw himself down in the village mosque, surrendering himself to death, so weak was he. I stayed with him, and on the midnight of the fourth day, when the shaikh was near expiring, suddenly the door of the mosque was opened, and in came a black slave-girl with a covered dish. When she saw us, she asked whether we were strangers or of the village. Strangers, I told her; she then uncovered the dish showing a bowl of almond and honey jelly seething hot. She offered us the dish, bidding us eat. I told him to do so, but he said, I will not. Then the girl raised her hand and administered a violent cuff, saying: By God, if you will not eat, I shall cuff you till you do. Then he said, Eat with me, and we did so till the bowl was empty. The girl wanted to depart, but I asked her to tell me her story and that of the bowl. She said: I am in the service of the chief man of the village, who is of hasty temper. A little while ago he asked us for a bowl of this jelly, and we started preparing it for him. He found it took too long, and told us to hurry; we said we would, and then he asked for it again, and swore with the sanction of divorce that neither he nor any member of the household nor any of the villagers should eat it; only a stranger

1. Died 237; notices of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VIII, 241 foll, *Shajarat adh-Dhahab*, II, 87 and elsewhere.

2. *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, Part II, sec. 47.

3. This seems to be the sense; Tanūkhī has something different.

should do so. So we went out looking in the mosques for a stranger, and found none till we came to you. Had this shaikh not eaten I should have beaten him to death till he did eat in order that my mistress might not be divorced from her husband. Then (he added) said the shaikh: How think you of him when he wants to receive sustenance?

I would observe: It may well happen that an ignorant man who hears this tale will believe it to be a miracle performed in honour of a saint; whereas in fact the man's conduct was as wicked as possible. For he was tempting God and defying Him, while inflicting on himself starvation which he had no right to inflict. It may be admitted that he was treated with tenderness, but his action was quite wrong nevertheless. And it may be that his salvation was bad for him, leading him to believe that a miracle had been wrought in his honour, and involved a high degree of sanctity. The same may be said of the story of Hāṭim which preceded; if it be true, it indicates ignorance and illict conduct: for the man supposed that reliance is nothing but rejection of means. Had he acted in accordance with his fancy, he would neither have masticated nor swallowed his food, since those actions are employment of means. Surely all this is a game played by the devil with the ignorant by reason of their imperfect acquaintance with the code. Besides, what is there in such futile acts to win God's favour? In my opinion they are mainly due to disorder of the bile.

We have been told by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad ath-Ṭabari[1] according to which the latter said: I was told by Ja'far al-Khuldī that he stood at 'Arafah fifty-six times, twenty-one of them "according to the system." I asked Ibrāhīm (said the transmitter) what was meant by "according to the system." He replied: He would mount the Yasiriyyah Bridge and shake out his pockets so that it should be known that he had with him neither provision nor water, after which he would say *labbaika* and proceed.[2]

This, I would observe, is contrary to the Code, since God says (ii. 193) *And take provision*, and the Prophet did so. It cannot be said that this human being would need nothing during a period of some months; if through taking no provision he perished, he would be guilty; if he begged or put himself in people's way he would not be maintaining his professed "reliance;" if he claimed that a miracle would be wrought in his honour, and that sustenance would be furnished him without means, his regarding himself as meriting such treatment was a "probation."[3]

1. Died 324. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VI, 19.

2. This story is taken from the *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 230, whence the *Nashiriyyah* of the text has been corrected. The Yasiriyyah Bridge was over the 'Isa Canal in the Yasiriyyah Quarter of Baghdād, the western-most of that city. It is described by Le Strange, *Baghdād*, p. 74. Since this Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Nu-sair (died 348) was of Baghdād, he started on his pilgrimages after the performance described.

3. This is Nicholson's rendering of the word in *Kashf*, p. 26. Here it seems to mean "tempting providence."

Had he followed the rule of the code, and carried provision, it would have been better for him in any case.

We have been told by Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir that he had been informed by his father on the authority of a Ṣūfī how the latter had been visited in Meccah by a company of Ṣūfīs, whom he asked with whom they had travelled. They replied: With the Yemen pilgrims. Alas, he said, that Ṣūfism should have come to this! Has Reliance then quite disappeared? You have not come in accordance with the Path and with Ṣūfism; you have merely come from the table of Yemen to the table of the Sanctuary. Then he said: I swear by friends and brave men that four of us in company made the journey to the Prophet's Tomb, detached from worldly things, binding ourselves by a contract not to turn to any creature or rely on any known support. We came to the Prophet and remained three days without anything being granted us. So we departed till we reached al-Juhfah,[1] where we alighted. In front of us was a party of Arabs, who sent us some porridge. We glanced at each other saying: Had we truly belonged to this system, nothing would have been granted us till we entered the sanctuary. So we consumed it with water, and this was all our food till we entered Meccah.

I would observe: Listen, my brethren, to the way wherein these people's "reliance" restrained them from taking the provision which they are commanded to take, and made it necessary for them to accept alms. Their supposition that their procedure was "dignified" was ignorance of the sense of "dignities."[2]

One of the strangest stories about their travels that has reached me is one told us by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī after Abū Muḥammad ath-Tamīmī after Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, who said: I have been told that Abū Shu'aib al-Muqaffa', who made seventy pilgrimages on foot, on each occasion donned pilgrim costume whether for the minor or the greater pilgrimage from the Rock in Jerusalem, and entered the desert of Tabuk in reliance. On his last pilgrimage he saw a dog in the desert hanging out its tongue in thirst. He asked: Who will buy of me seventy pilgrimages with a drink of water? Some man handed him a draught, which he gave to the dog, saying: This is better for me than my pilgrimage, for the Prophet said: There is a reward for every creature with a hot liver.[3]

We have been told by 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Īsā a tradition going back to Abū'Alī ar-Rudhbārī according to which the latter said:[4] There were a number of us in the desert, one of us being Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Atufi. Some-

1. According to Ibn-Khurdādbeh, 167 miles from Medinah and 97 from Meccah.
2. The reference is to their idea that they should have held out till they reached the sanctuary.
3. A similar tradition in Bukhārī (ed. Krehl), II, 78.
4. This story comes from the *Luma'* of as-Sarrāj (one of the transmitters here), p. 205.

times distress would overtake us[1] and our way be dark. Abu'l-Ḥasan would mount a hillock and howl like a wolf so as to make the dogs of a tribe hear, and these would bark in response ; he would be guided by their sound and bring us provision from the tribesmen.

I would observe : I have only recorded such stories as these in order that the intelligent reader may divert himself with the amount of these people's knowledge and their acquaintance with Reliance, etc., and see how they disobey the ordinances of the code. I should like to know how those of them who start out with nothing deal with the ceremonial ablution and with prayer : suppose a man's garment gets torn and he has no needle with him, what does he do ?

Some, however, of their shaikhs used to bid the traveller take supplies before starting. We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz after Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb[2] a tradition going back to al-Farghani according to which the last said : Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ denuded himself of everything for the sake of reliance, wherein he was very strict, yet he never parted with needle, thread, waterskin and scissors. He was asked why, when he enjoined detachment from everything, he carried all these. He replied : This sort of thing is not inconsistent with reliance ; for God has laid on us certain obligations. The dervish will only have on him one garment ; supposing it gets torn, and he has with him no needle nor thread, indecent exposure will result, and this will nullify his prayers. If he has no waterskin, he will not be able to practise ceremonial cleanness. If you see a dervish without waterskin, needle and thread, you may suspect him in the matter of prayer.

D. S. Margoliouth.

*(To be continued).*

1. This is the reading of the *Luma'*. Our text has " the caravan," but this does not suit the context. Abu'l-Ḥasan used an ingenious method for discovering habitations.

2. *Kitāb Baghdād*, VI, 8.

# CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

## HYDERABAD-DECCAN

*A daily for Qur'ān :*

FROM September last the daily Urdu "*Qur'ānī Dunya*" (Quranic World) is appearing in Hyderabad. Among articles of interest there is a series of contributions on "Translations of the Qur'ān in Different Languages," along with specimens for which the first chapter has been selected. It is astonishing to note that there have been not less than fourteen Latin translations some of which are still in manuscript form.

*The Weekly Clarion :*

Dr. Syed 'Abdul Laṭīf has founded and is editing the weekly *Clarion* from August last. The journal has great literary and cultural attraction.

*Publications :*

Dr. 'Azzām Pāshā's *Baṭl-ul-Abṭāl*, a biography of the Prophet, has been translated into Urdu under the title of *Tājdār-e-Dō 'Ālam.*

Prof. Shukrī Kardāhī (Choukri Cardahi) had published a study in French on Muslim Private International Law. The Osmania University is publishing its Urdu translation under the title *Taṣādum-e-Qawānīn kā Islāmī Taṣawwur awr 'Amal.*

The Wall Maps of Islamic History have been published by the Shirkat Warāqat, Deccan (15, Bachelors' Quarters, Hyderabad-Deccan). The set consists of ten maps, the more important of which are the "Lands Under Muslim Rule at one Time or other," the "World of Islam, Homelands of over 400 Million Muslims of the World," and the like. The first of these gives limits of each dynasty, like the Umaiyads, Abbasids,

etc., and is very instructive. The latter one gives the figures of Muslim population in all the present States of the world, with indication of their proportion to the total population in each country.

M. H.

## DECCAN

*Gujarat Muslim History and Culture :*

THE writer had the opportunity to attend the last session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Peshawar. An exhibition of MSS. and antiquities was also a usual feature of the function. The Madrasa Rafi'-ul-Islam, Peshawar, had exhibited there some of the very valuable MSS. But the MS. to be described here was unfortunately not included in the printed catalogue of exhibits. The exhibitor Sayyid Fazl Ṣamadāni, the founder and the custodian of the Madrasa had exhibited there one MS. along with other valuable MSS. which were closed in a glazed almirah. I had copied out the following portion of its text from its exhibited leaf :

الحمد الله رب العالمين می گوید مولف این کتاب فیض الله بن زین العابدین بن حسام بنیانی المخاطب بملك القضاة صدر جهان که چون درسنه سبع وسبعمائه ( تسعمائه ) این مولف در دکن در شهر دار الملك محمد آباد عرف بیدر از گجرات بحکم فرمان بادشاه منقبت محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه وابد خلافة یاد آورد و برسم رسالت رسید در غیبت آن حضرت بتسوید این تاریخ مشغول گشت .

It was really very amazing to the scholars because therein the transcription of the wrong date سع و تسعماية (A.H. 707) instead of سبع و سبعماية (A.H. 907) was a great puzzle. And the same was a very striking point for the exhibitor to regard it a very early MS. But it is also a fact that very few cared to take the incident noted therein the text cannot be assigned to that date, *i.e.*, A.H. 707. Its another reason to my own point of view was that the scholars in the extreme north of India are not expected to be experts of the western Indian history. This MS. was written in a very ordinary hand of Nasta'līq style. I tried to see it more carefully. It abruptly begins as follows :

مقاله اول در ذکر انبیا و رسل که مبین از اسلام .....شمانمید انید - یعنی انبیا و اولیا وعلما وزهاد و مشایخ وبادشاهان عادل مثل سلطان الاعظم شنهشاه عالم حجة الحق خلیفة الله فی الارض محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه خلد الله ملکه وابد دولته .....

It shows that it was composed during the reign of Maḥmūd Bēgadah of Gujarat (862/1458—917/1511) and it is a general history containing so many parts and dealing with prophets, saints, scholars, famous people, monarchs, etc. Its author was Faīzulla, son of Zainu'l-'Abiḍīn, son of Ḥusām Bunyāni entitled Maliku'l-Quḍāt Ṣadar-i-Jahān, who, according to the extract noted above, was deputed as a plenipotentiary by the sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgadah to Muḥammadabād *alias* Bidar in the Deccan during the year A.H. 907/A.D. 1501, while the author (Faiḍullāh) was secretly busy at the compilation of this work. There is a fragmentary MS. in the British Museum, London (Rieu p. 86), which is an unnamed work on general history by Faiḍullāh, son of Zainu'l-'Ābidin, son of Ḥusām Bunyānī, known as Ṣadar-i-Jahān. The author of this work incidentally refers to the reigning sovereign as Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, etc. It all shows that the MS. of Peshawar which is more less complete and that in the British Museum which is not complete, are identical being by one and the same author. The *Tārīkh-i-Ṣadar-i-Jahān* (Rieu p. 1099) which is the name of an entirely different work extensively quoted by Farishta as well as a later writer Sarup Chand in his work the *Ṣaḥīḥ-u'l-Akhbār* (Elliot-Dawson, VI, 572; VIII, 314).

The author Faiḍullāh, son of Zainu'l-'Abidīn, son of Ḥusām Bunyānī, entitled Maliku'l-Quḍāt Ṣadr-i-Jahān was not only a great historian of the reign of Maḥmūd Bēgadah but was also a great literator, as he had composed another work under the name of مجمع النوادر . Its one unique manuscript is in the Shirāni Collection (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1939, pp. 98-106), now in the Panjab University Library, Lahore. The colophon of this MS. of the *Majma'u'n Nawādir* now at Lahore shows that it was composed at Muḥammadabād Champāner where the author lived and he speaks very highly about it. " Like the gardens of Heaven with pillars, and nothing like them ever built in the universe. The city is sacred and quite safe. Fruits are produced there by the Divine grace which are tasted by pious people. It affords pleasure and freshness to the eyes to behold it. Souls get satisfaction. It was written there in A.H. 903/A.D. 1497." This MS. consists of a collection of episodes, showing different stages of society of kings, ministers, scholars, poets, philosophers, justices, teachers, etc., which have been derived from history and other similar sources, mostly from Arabic. It is on the style and plan of the *Chahār Maqāla* of Niẓāmī 'Urūḍī(A.D. 1157). The *Majma'-u'n-Nawādir* contains forty chapters instead of four of those of the *Chahār Maqāla*. The *Chahār Maqāla's* name is also the *Majma'u'n Nawādir*.

There is another MS. of the لباب اللباب *Lubāb-ul-Albāb* in the library of Sayyid Nūrud-Din Qāḍī of Bharoch. It begins thus:

الحمد لوليه و الصلوة على نبيه و على آله واصحابه المتادبين فهذه فوايد وافيه بحل مشكلات

الكافيه .... ..... ..... هذا لفقير الحقير المعترف بوفور القصور والتقصير فى سلخ

شهر رمضان الذی هو غرة الفیضان السنه التسعمائه الموعود لاحیا الملة فی معتکفی من المسجد الجامع فی قلعة چنپا نیر الّتی هی بمحمد اباد ..... وقد نباه جامع جمیع المجامع السلطان الامع کالشمس الساطع کل خافض ورافع المرجان ..... ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان زادالله فی کل یوم لحظة علیه الفضل والاحسان ..... ..... ..... فیقول الفقیر الی غفور ربه الغنی بهبة الله بن عطی الله الحسنی الحسینی الشهیر بشاه میر الهبة الله بقیعته الکثیر لما کان تتبع علم اصول الحدیث وکتاب الخلاصه للشیخ العالم الربانی ابی محمد الحسین بن محمد الطیبی طیب الله مثواه بطیب النبی صلی الله علیه وآله وبارك وسلم

Unfortunately it is defective at its end; therefore we cannot get its actual date of transcription. However, on examination it revealed to me that it contained four parts under the title of مقصد *Maqṣad* and one epilogue.

These compilations made at Muḥammadabād Champānēr during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgadah are a sufficient proof to realise that Muḥammadabād Champānēr which today is in ruins was once a very flourishing town and full of life all round. In other words it could easily be regarded as the cradle of Gujarat Muslim culture. The writer is very hopeful if other researches are made in the old families of Gujarat many missing links of Gujarat Muslim history and culture will be revealed to the public.

*Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning :*

Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has contributed a learned paper to the B.C. Law volume, part II, recently published at Poona, under this heading, We should not hesitate to say that the writer has done a great service to this cause by giving a very sympathetic account in a very brief way. We, taking the advantage of this paper, try to jot down salient points for our readers. Documentary evidence in this connection is found scattered mainly in Sanskrit works many of which are still unpublished. Formerly an article in Bengali was published in the *Sahitya Patrika*. This was followed by M. M. Patkar's paper *Mughal Patronage to Sanskrit Learning* (Poona Orientalist, III) and recently by a book entitled *Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning* (Calcutta, 1942) by Dr. J. B. Chaudhri. In the fifteenth century Malik Saluta Sahi or Malik Sarak Sulita Sahi of Kada, near Allahabad, who was the son of Bahādur Malik, seems to have been a great patron of Indian music and literature on it. In Bengal Jalāl-ud-Din continued the same policy of his father Rāja Ganēsa. He patronized scholars like Brhaspati on whom was conferred the title of *Rayamukuta*. Zainu'l-'Ābidin of Kashmir (1420-69), besides getting Sanskrit works translated into Persian, took pains to collect MSS. for scholars at consider-

able expense. Mandana, the prime-minister of Hoshang Ghori of Malwa composed *Srngaramandana*, *Kavya Sarasvata* and *Sangita* in most of which the patron is referred to in glowing terms. Udayaraja, a court poet of Maḥmūd Bēgadah of Gujarat was the author of the *Rajavinoda*, a poem in praise of the Sulṭān. Salim Shah, a contemporary of Humāyūn had honoured Candrakirti, the author of the grammatical work, the *Sarasvataprakriya*. Sabaji Prataparaya was a protége of Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar (A.D. 1560). Akbar's name as the patron of Sanskrit learning stands foremost. Gangadhara composed his *Nitisara*. Pundarika Vitthala wrote the *Nartananirnaya*. The same author also composed *Sadragacandrodaya* under the auspices of Burhān Khān Farūqī of Khandesh. Padmasundara had written the *Akbarasahisrngaradarpana*. Akbar had encouraged Krsnadasa to compile a Persian grammar in Sanskrit entitled *Parasiprakasa* and also a lexicographical work of the same name. He conferred the title of *Jagadguru* on Narayanbhatta. Nrsimha, father of Raghunatha, author of the *Muhurtamala*, received the title of *Jyotirvitsarasa* from Akbar on the occasion of his occupation of the fort of Asiri. Besides, many other great Hindu scholars were honoured with such titles for their achievements in the field of Sanskrit literature. Similarly Jehāngīr patronised Govinda Sarman, son of Nilkantha, author of the *Tajik*, to Kavikarnapura, who composed at his instance the *Parasipadaprakasa*. Paramananda wrote the astronomical treatise *Jahangiravinodaratnakara* at the instance of I'tibār Khan. A MS. is found with a seal on it bearing the name Salīm. It is of Vamana's *Kavyalankarasutra*. Shāh Jahān was the patron of Kavindracarya, Jagannatha, Nityananda, Vedangaraya and Parasurama. It is stated that on one occasion Kavindracarya waited on Shāh Jahān on behalf of the Hindu community to protest against the system of pilgrim tax levied on pilgrims visiting Benares and Allahabad. It was at the instance of Shāh Jahān and his minister Āṣaf Khān that one Nityananda wrote an astronomical work, the *Siddhantasindhu*, in 1628. Venidatta composed the *Pancatattvaprakasa* under the orders of the son of Miamira, who himself was the author of a Sanskrit dictionary called the *Asalatiprakasa* written at the instance of Aṣālat Khān. Kalyanamalla wrote the *Anangaranga* on erotics for Lad Khan, son of Aḥmad Khan of the Lodhi dynasty. *Sabdaratnavali*, a dictionary of synonyms and homonyms was composed by Mathuresa under orders of Mūsa Khān, son of 'Īsa Khān. Dārā Shikoh's personal interest in the Sanskrit language is very well known. The interest taken by Musulmans in Sanskrit is illustrated in other directions as well. It was the court language of some Muslim rulers of Kashmir. Sanskrit inscriptions have been found on a number of Muslim tombs in many parts of India.

*Persian, Turkish and Arabic MSS. :*

Mr. Fazal Ahmad Khan has described particularly those MSS. which are found in the library of the Archæological Department of the Govern-

ment of India in the form of a short paper, which he has contributed to the B. C. Law volume. A Turkish MS. of the work of Mīr 'Alī Shēr Bēg Nawai has the royal seal impressions of Bābur and Humāyūn. It bears an autograph of Maulāna Jāmī dated A.H. 886. One MS. of the *Khamsa-i-Nizāmī* contains eleven miniatures in Persian style and some seals of emperors and librarians. There is MS. of Hātifī's *Laila Majnū* which has been transcribed in Akbar's reign. Its seven miniatures in purely Mughal style bear the names of two artists such as Tāra and Farrukh, the Qalmaq. The MS. of the *Nasihāt-ul-Mulūk* of Sa'dī is in best Nasta'-līq style of calligraphy. The only Arabic MS. is of *Hisn-i-Hasin* by Shaikh Shams-u'd-Dīn Abu'l-Khair Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Yūsuf-al-Umari ad-Damishqi ahs-Shirāzi, known as Ibn al-Jazari. He completed this collection of prayers at Damascus in A.D. 1389, revised, partly enlarged, partly curtailed it in Shirāz and then it was sent by Maulānā Najīb Safī' to Ahmad of Gujarat.

*Akbar's Tomb at Sikandara :*

Dr. S. K. Banerji of the Lucknow University has tried to describe the tomb of Akbar's architecture which is a futile effort because formerly a good deal has been written on the same. Particularly one of them, the most authoritative monograph by Edmund Smith, was published by the Government Archaeological Department in the very early years. We do not find therefore that Dr. Banerji without having any knowledge of architectural science can add anything new or useful in this domain. No doubt, this contribution to the B.C. Law volume is full of ambiguities and baseless statements.

*Sūfīs and Music :*

In the B. C. Law's volume Dr. M. L. Roy Chaudhri's article with this heading requires careful study by Muslim experts on mysticism, because it contains many controversial points from religious point of view. Dr. Chaudhri says in the beginning that 'it is not the place to define what Sūfism is and what a Sūfi stands for. Suffice it to say that Sūfism is an attitude of mind towards God and things Godly. The Sūfis have their own way of thinking, which the orthodox says, is not warranted by the law of the Prophet. They were often maligned, cursed and persecuted for their free thinking. Still they exist as a powerful factor in the community of the Muslims. Sūfis generally hold independent opinions on many fundamental points of Islam. One of the most important of their orders is that of the Chishtis. The Naqshbandi order holds that music is unlawful. Sattaria and Qādiriya hold that permissibility of audition of music is conditional. Other minor orders follow the practices of their preceptors—Pīrs.' He has profusely quoted many authorities to support his own views.

*Rudakī, the father of Neo-Persian Poetry:*

Dr. M. Isḥāq's well-documented thesis on Rudakī, no doubt, is worthy of study by serious students of Persian literature. Here we have one complaint against him that being a Persian he has totally ignored the references of two great Indian scholars, *viz.*, Maulānā Shiblī's *Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam* and Prof. Shairāni's criticism on *Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam* which, being indispensable, should not have escaped his attention. It is not the first time that a Persian scholar ignores the labours of Indian scholars ; we are afraid that Persian scholars in general hate the labours of Indian scholars, although they fully make use of them.

*Sandesarasaka by Abdul Rahman :*

It is edited by Sri Jina Vijaya and Prof. Harivallabha Bhayani, published by the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay. It is a poem containing 223 verses in different metres. It is a description of a lady of Vijayanagara separated from her lover who had gone to Stambhatirtha sending her love-messages through a traveller. It consists of three sections, *viz.*, introduction, main theme and a description of six *itus*. Though the work is by a Muslim poet who was a weaver by profession or caste, which is very rare, yet it is indeed very interesting and he follows the style of Hindu writers by using the same terminology. Prof. Bhayani deserves congratulation for his critical introduction, notes, etc., which have added to the worth of the book.

*Muslim Rulers of Mysore and their Christian Subjects :*

This important article by Prof. George M. Moraes has very recently been published in the Journal of University of Bombay, Vol. XIV, Pt. 4. It mostly deals with the activities of Ḥyder 'Ali and partly of his son Tīpū Sulṭān. The Christian community according to Prof. Moraes mostly consisted of emigrants from Goa, who had left their country with a view to better their fortunes and were welcomed by the princelings of Kanara on account of their industrial habits. Thus the Christians grew in number and they could count twenty-seven settlements, each with a church. They were under the control of the archbishop of Goa. The then Raja of Kanara had bestowed upon them a good many facilities. When Ḥyder 'Ali wrested this province from the Nayak of Ikeri, he confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their time-honoured privileges. By a Parvana issued in 1776, he granted 2440 Fanams yearly to the Catholic Church at Calicut together with the property belonging to it. " Every one of the Christians," says the Parvana, " that may commit any guilt or crime, the justice thereof belongs to Padre and the Factor." He also maintained the same

policy according to the terms of the treaty of 1714 regarding the customs on export and import at the port of Mangalore. In 1768 Ḥyder was at war with the English. The latter decided upon a division on the west coast to relieve the alarming situation in Madras. The government of Bombay sent an expedition to seize Mangalore which created a delicate situation for the Portuguese factor. The Portuguese remained neutral. The officers of Ḥyder naturally expected the Portuguese factor to stand by them. When the Portuguese did not side with Ḥyder, his officers formed a plot to entice the Portuguese away from the fort and themselves take possession of it. This plot was betrayed by the captain of the artillery which was manned by Christians. All Christians were given shelter in the factory. Ḥyder's troops intended to storm the fortress. On invitation the English assisted against Ḥyder's troops and thus the English gained their objective. The Portuguese did their best to capture the Pier Hill and the territories of Ḥyder adjoining the Goa frontier. But the English were shaken by the victories of Ḥyder's son Tīpū. Ḥyder 'Ali was incensed at the treacherous behaviour of the Christians. He summoned the Portuguese priests and questioned them as to what punishment such treachery merited. And when answered that death was the penalty for betraying one's sovereign, he preferred to be lenient and had them clapped instead behind prison bars. Just after it Ḥyder, after settling his score with the English, had to face the Marathas which necessitated him to secure his dominions in Kanara from the depredations of his immediate neighbours, the Portuguese. Accordingly he forced the English to accept a humiliating treaty and opened negotiations with the Portuguese, for an alliance. A treaty was forthwith concluded. " Every thing is as old. Christians have liberty, for the moment the envoy arrived Ḥyder released the Vicars and had them sent back to their churches. He had them as his prisoners because they had gone over to the English and were arrested when he took the place back." (vide a newsletter from Goa, dated 4th February 1769). These amicable relations continued till 1776 when Ḥyder, being no longer content with mere negative help on the part of the Portuguese and unwilling to allow them to levy their accustomed tribute and custom, imprisoned the Portuguese factor of Mangalore. Because it was permitted on the condition that they defend the town against any enemy, Ḥyder's peace with the English could not endure long. He died on December 7th 1782. The English taking advantage of the situation landed at Kanara a week later. Tīpū seeing all this hurried from Arcot with a third of his powerful army and recovered the entire country including Nagar (Bednur) and Mangalore. This was sufficient to provoke Tīpū against the Christians of Kanara who had gone over to the English. He charged the priests with having brought all this trouble on himself and his people, fined three lakhs of rupees and had them expelled from his kingdom. Consequently, Prof. Moraes says, " while condemning outright the action of such of the Christians as made common cause with English against their own sovereign, we must admit that Tīpū in making the entire

community pay for the crime of a few of their number was guilty of a procedure which can hardly find approval on moral grounds. The only extenuating circumstance that can be pleaded on his behalf is that the community, having enjoyed a position of exceptional privilege, was expected to perform the corresponding obligations with consequent liability to punishment, when treachery was detected in its ranks."

M.A.C.

## DELHI

*A Literary Society :*

Mr. Faṣīḥ-u'd-dīn Aḥmad was a well known figure in the literary life of Delhi. He was the secretary of the Hardinge Public Library and, as such, had made it the centre of several intellectual activities. His sudden death last month has left a gap which will not be easy to fill. One of his creations was the Literary Society which organized Mushā'irahs, discussions and literary *conversaziones* and published a literary journal in Urdu called the *Adīb*. This active society ran successfully without a constitution of even an organized membership. At his death his friends felt that it would be better to put the society on a sound basis. Hence it has now been properly organized with a registered constitution and a new set of office bearers. The well-known Urdu writer of Delhi, Khwājah Muḥammad Shafī' is the new secretary and Mr. Le-Bailey, the deputy commissioner, is its president. The Society will continue to publish the journal, and it is continuing to organize literary functions. The Society has an ambitious programme and it is hoped that it will achieve even greater success under the new energetic office bearers.

*The Nineteen :*

A group of young men, mostly research students and post-graduate students of the University of Delhi, have organized a modest study circle which is known as ' The Nineteen.' This name has been adopted because the original membership was limited to this number. Mr. Naqvī, a young scientist of considerable promise, now working as a research student in Physics, is the chief organizer. The standard of papers read under the auspices of this group has been high and the scope of the subjects discussed quite varied. One of the papers read was on ' *The Economic Conditions during Muslim Rule in India* ' by Mr. Prakash, a post-graduate student of the University.

*Scholarships for Arabic and Islamic Studies in Egypt:*

The Sunnī Majlis-i-Awqāf of Delhi has decided to award at least two scholarships to suitable candidates who will be sent for higher education in Arabic and Islamic studies in Egypt. Applications will be invited soon and if good candidates are selected, it will forge further cultural bonds between Indian Islam and Egypt, besides enriching our own heritage.

*Current literature:*

*The Perspective*, has published an article on *The Development of Indo-Muslim Culture* by Dr. I. H. Qureshi. There is another article by Mr. M. L. Roy Chaudhry on the *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*. The latter is full of errors and should have been edited properly before publication.

*The Hindu College:*

The Bazm-i-Adab in the Hindu College has organized a number of literary meetings at which some good papers have been read. One of these was on *Jamāliyāt* by Khwājah Muḥammad Shafī' who does not only possess considerable literary acumen, but whose chaste Delhi Urdu also is a joy to hear.

I. H. Q.

## NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Dr. Muhammad Zubayr Ṣīddiqī, Professor of Islamic Studies, Calcutta University, has made a useful addition to the niches of learning and literature by editing and bringing out *Tārīkh Nāma-i-Harat* by Sayf ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb al-Harawī, the unique manuscript of which was the proud possession of the Bihar Collection of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. The book which was written between the years 718 and 722 A.H. at the instance of Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn of Herat, is divided into 138 discourses, dealing with the various aspects of the history of Kurt rulers of Harat since their advent in 643/1245 till the sixteenth year of the reign of Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn to whom alone 39 discourses (238 pages) are devoted. It is the only available contemporary account of the Kurt rulers of Herat, and has been greatly utilized by later famous historians like Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū, Muīn-ud-Dīn az-Zamchi and 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Samarqandi in compiling their works. Its elegant and forceful literary style has been admired by Dr. Zubayr Ṣīddiqī in his brief but comprehensive and substantial introduction which will help much in realizing the merit and importance of the book.

Mr. 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī, who is well-known in British India for being a talented journalist, an erudite scholar, a brilliant rhetorician and an eminent politician, has recently been animated with a laudable spirit to make the Muslim youths of India feel the true ideals and perspective of Islam, and think over the excrescences that have grown over and hidden the pristine beauty of message that went forth from Medina. In a long written discourse entitled *Duty of Muslim Youth*, he asserts that acknowledgment of the supremacy of the west even in intellectual and cultural aspects of our life led us disastrously to forget the old saying of the Holy Prophet to take what was good and shun what was evil. Actually we took the good and the bad but more of the latter. That uprooted us from the past and did not help us to take root in the present. A peculiar result of this psychology was our acceptance, without question and without doubt of the political philosophy of the west, its separation of the Church from the State and its principle of nationhood based on geographical boundaries and common race, language and interest. This, perhaps more than any other, has been the most important and painful symptom of our malaise collectively. Muslim youth has to consider these and other symptoms dispassionately and deeply and think out remedies which will give results better than what their fathers and grandfathers were able to achieve. One Allah, One Rasūl and one Qur'ān must be the basis upon which we have to raise the structures of One Society, One Fraternity and One Humanity. Mr. 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān exhorts the Muslim youths further to have no racial prejudice and concentrate their thoughts and intellectual energy to discover the errors of present day economic theories and, in a determined spirit of enquiry, find out Islamic solutions for re-establishing a better economic equilibrium among the " nations " of the world. If the richer and better equipped nations are allowed to gather more and more riches, the poorer and ill-equipped nations will slide down and down at a faster and faster pace. The old story of the ' Haves ' and ' Have-nots' will be repeated and, instead of advance all along the line the starving and suffering sections of humanity will act as a halter round the neck of the better-fed and better-provided sections and break to pieces the structure raised on an economy based on the rickety foundations of money alone. The human element, its labour, both manual and intellectual, must have a status equal, if not superior to finance. Banking and labour laws must be examined in retrospect and man, the beast of burden, must be raised to the status of ' homo-sapiens ' with reason and more than that, with a soul in him. Mr. 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī preached the same ideals, when he presided over the Iqbal Day, celebrated with eclat by the Punjab Muslim Association of Calcutta on the 5th May 1945. He told the audience that Iqbal's teaching asked the Muslims to go back to Medina and the Holy Qur'ān for that gave a better conception of the intention of the Creator as to how he wanted His creatures to behave on this earth. The devastation caused by the war, and the misuse of science for the destruction of mankind were anti-Islamic and most " anti-God."

The type of Muslim Iqbal wanted to revive was not the only one which paid attention to ritual and not to action. In fact, Iqbal wanted the Muslims of today to follow in the foot-steps of the Muslims who lived in Medina during the time of the Messenger of God. If this was achieved, then nothing would stand between the Muslim and the leadership of the world once more, for the Muslim looked at humanity not as black and white, or high and low but as equals amongst whom eminence was to be measured not by the wealth one possessed but by one's piety and service to God's humanity. A similar sentiment was expressed by Mr. Ṣiddīqī, when he spoke on *Muslim World of Today* at a meeting held on the 7th May at Islamia College Hall, Calcutta. He observed that Islam alone could teach the world a lesson of toleration and mutual accommodation which would lead to peace and prosperity. The UNO would never be able to obtain under its present onesided, selfish and unjudged constitution, the results of which were already observable in the cat-and-dog fight in the Foreign Minister's Conference and the Security Council, formed under it. Islam alone could find the remedy for all the ailments of humanity. Mr. Ṣiddīqī gave a picture of the downfall of Islamic Governments in the latter half of the 19th century and dilated on the miserable conditions prevailing in the Muslim countries now-a-days. From Indonesia to Morocco on the Atlantic coast, the Muslims economically, culturally and politically, were not happy. The condition of the Muslims in China was even worse and in Soviet-Russia they were far away from the political field. " The war " continued the speaker, " had set in motion new forces, which if harnessed properly by Muslim leaders all over the world, would bring about a resurgence that promised a general betterment of the world. The fraternity of Islam had a lesson which the fighting nations of the world could learn advantageously even from the suppressed Muslims of today. " " The time had come," observed the learned speaker, " when the new forces reverberating in different parts of the Muslim world should be made to run jointly in the Islamic channel, for alone, through a joint effort, the Muslims would regain their lost position and teach the world the lesson of freedom, brotherhood and equality."

The Muslim Press of Calcutta has published during the period under report a large number of articles, either written by foreign scholars or borrowed from some foreign journals. We like to mention some of them:

(1) *Modern Turkish Literature,* by Rusen Esref Unaydin, Turkish Ambassador in London. In this article a succinct but learned and useful survey of a large number of modern poets, littérateurs, novelists and other scholars of Turkey has been made. The poets mentioned are Ziya Gok Alp, an inspired poet and passionate nationalist and idealist with a wonderful gift for formulating and expressing moral and social principles; Yahya Kemal, the greatest Turkish poet of modern times, who by his unequalled technical control of the Turkish language brought the ancient instrument of the ' Arūz a verse-form ten centuries old, to its highest perfection and

who in his sonorous and gorgeous verse and the thrill of lyrical poetry and measured control makes the Turkish people feel even to its least details, the greatness and culture of their majestic past; Ahmet Hasim, whose dreaming verses dazzle the eyes and captivate the hearts; Mohmet Akif, poet of spritual life and fire, imbued with the ideals of Islam, with a criticism of moral and social weakness, having a romantic and religious appeal and whose poetical works appeared under the general title of *Ṣafahat or The Aspects*; Midhat Amal, a talented poet, a warm friend of Mohmet Akif of whom he wrote a most appreciative biography. Amongst the gallant young poets are Faruk Nafiz Camlibel, Necip Fazil Kisakurkek, Kemalettin Kami, Behcet Kemal Caglar, Yasar Nabi, Hamdi Tanpinar, Muhip Dranas, who are admired for their verses, which describe all the subtle shades of feelings that range from homesickness, the weariness of unsatisfied desire or the soft melancholy that rises from a sense of the passage of time, to heroic aspiration towards beauty and perfection, the glow of energy and the mystery of the secret dreams of the human soul. Other authors and novelists referred to are: Halide Edib, a well-known woman novelist of great talent and psychological insight; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu, a short-story writer, novelist and essayist with a delightful style and a profoundly artistic taste; Refik Halit, writer of short-stories and of distinguished prose, with an exceptional gift for description; Omer Seyfettin, a sound commentator on current affairs; Falih Rifke, whose brief and striking phrases gave a new charm to Turkish prose; the historian Ahmet Refik who with his vivid pictures of various episodes in the history of the Ottoman Empire, created an entirely new style of writing in the popularization of historical subjects; Mehmet Fuad Koprulu, the eminent Turkish Savant with an international reputation, who gave a new trend to the history of Turkish literature, widening and lending depth to its horizons; Ziya Gok Alp, whose sociological writings and almost dogmatic pronouncement on affairs formed the Credo of contemporary youth; Hamdullah Suphi Tanriover, a distinguished poet, a fine prose writer, and a brilliant orator, whose speeches, marked by a sonorous and compactly built style have been preserved in two volumes; Fazil Ahmet, a gay writer both of verse and of prose, who could use an encyclopædic erudition to the advantage of his wit; Midhat Amal, the author of *The Third Istambul*, which evokes pictures of a social period in the ancient capital, with its mingled traditions both of the revolutionary and of the international spirit, the whole intelligently conceived and described in bold relief; Falih Rifki Atay, who holds a foremost place for his concise, spirited, brilliant, and amazingly colourful style; Abdulhak Sinasi Hissar, who has made a name for himself in recent years by publishing a novel entitled *Fahim Bey and Ourselves*, which is a psychological analysis of a very acute character. He also produced quite recently another novel *Moonlight on the Bosphorous* which is a superb study of recollection and of analytical description of the nature of reality. It is a scene of pleasure after a manner of Watteau's *Embarkation for the Isle of Cythera.*

The learned writer of the article concludes by saying that as a result of the united and powerful efforts of the above scholars, together with a vast production of translations from the literature of the world as well as appreciable output of literary criticisms and essays, Turkish language is being enriched and going forward. It has grown fresher and more attractive in its simplicity. It is no longer overweighed with borrowed luxuriance and flowery epithets and metaphors. And it aspires to the pride of reaching its ideal of expressing the whole soul and personality of the nation becoming the mirror which faithfully reflects the innermost life of the country and thus of winning the glory of true and complete originality.

(2) *India's Greatest Artist* by Peer Obeidy. This is an appreciated study of the art of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Chūghtā'ī. Whilst paying glorious tribute to the profound excellence and versatile genius of this Muslim artist the writer says: 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Chūghtā'ī, an artist of versatile genius, a colourist daringly luxuriant and a draughtsman brilliantly meticulous with vital design instinct in his pictorial conceptions had long been acclaimed " the foremost exponent of the new Artistic Renaissance of the east," ere he took up etching. To those who like most of his less-gifted contemporaries alleged in the beginning that though Chūghtā'ī had no definite message of his own yet he exercised great charm over his audience through the palette of refreshing colours a palette enviably his very own, his life-drawings were no less a surprising revelation. But those with wider understanding of art can well appreciate that colour alone could never be described as the main appeal of an artist's great and outstanding work. And Chūghtā'ī, without his virile, strong and spontaneous lines, powerful drawings and original composition of rare conception, could never command such an overwhelming applause from outstanding critics and connoisseurs at home and abroad. The writer of the above lines admires very enthusiastically one of Chūghtā'ī's drawings ' *Mujahid* ' as a masterpiece of superb tones and delicate brush having a world of pathos and emotion and a world of great movement and action. And it was on account of the series of his other similar superb pencil works that *Manchester Guardian* said most rightly of him that " he has won the foremost place among modern Indian artists. He is master of an exquisite line in brush or pencil. In his line drawings, the artist most satisfies. His work shows more vigours of design than most of the ' Bengal School. ' His romantic sentiment and invention are undeniable."

Mr. Aḥmad 'Ali, Professor and Head of the Department of English, Presidency College, Calcutta, has according to the report of Associated Press of India, been invited by the National Central University of China, Nanking, as a visiting professor for the next academic year. The Government of India and the British Council have co-operated to provide additional funds to subsidise Mr. 'Ali's stay in China in the interest of Indo-

Chinese cultural relations. Mr. 'Ali belongs to the younger school of writers and is the author of several volumes of short stories in Urdu as well as of an English novel *Twilight in Delhi* which was published in London in 1940. He has also written a book on Elliot's poetry entitled *Mr. Elliot's Penny World of Dreams*. He is at present engaged in the difficult task of compiling an anthology in English of Urdu poetry, a few specimens of which have been published in an English daily of Calcutta. For example he renders one of Mo'min's Ghazals thus :

There was a bond between you and me,
The promise of love's stability,
You may or may not remember.
You had showered grace and loved me well,
How all that I remember still,
You may or may not remember.
Those lovely tales, each time new plaints
That show of temper, those complaints,
You may or may not remember.
At times if something pleased you not,
Before complaining you forget,
You may or may not remember.

We shall like to quote here the actual Urdu Ghazal :—

وہ جو ہم میں تم میں قرار تھا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو
وہی وعدہ یعنی نباہ کا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو

کبھی ہم میں تم میں بھی چاہ تھی کبھی ہم سے تم سے بھی راہ تھی
کبھی ہم بھی تم بھی تھے آشنا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو

وہ نئے گلے وہ شکایتیں وہ مزے مزے کی حکایتیں
وہ ہر ایک بات پہ روٹھنا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو

کوئی بات ایسی اگر ہوئی کہ تمہارے جی کو بری لگی
تو بیاں سے پہلے ہی بھولنا تمہیں یاد ہو کہ نہ یاد ہو

As we compare the above two versions, we find that the emotionalism of the Urdu verses, couched in soft, sweet and smooth tone, depicting the tragic gloom, intense pathos and poignant grief of the bruised heart of a lover has been evidently robbed of in the above versified translation. Really speaking an Urdu Ghazal with all the peculiar characteristics of its rhythms, images, similitudes, metaphors, figures as well as the ideas cannot be transformed into another language, either metrically or prosaically, with strict fidelity. Sometimes back an enthusiastic admirer of the poet Ḥasrat Mohāni rendered his Ghazals into English, but he failed to convey to the readers the elegance, melody, spontaneity of the poet's lyrics, so all his (the translator's) love's labour was lost. We are reluctant to

believe that Professor Aḥmad 'Ali's venture would deserve the same ill fortune, still we shall like to advise him to utilize his literary career of great promise in a more useful piece of work.

Dr. M. G. Zubaid Aḥmad of the Allahabad University has now published his dissertation entitled '*The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*,' which he submitted to the University of London in 1929 for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The first part of the thesis deals in eleven chapters with the contributions of India to Qur'ānic literature, Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Taṣawwuf, Islamic Dogma and Scholastic and Controversial Theology, Philosophy, History, Biography and Travel, Mathematics and Medicine, Grammar, Lexicography and Rhetoric, Ornate Prose and Poetry. The second part contains a detailed list of all the Arabic works written in India or by Indians. Professor H.A.R. Gibbs of the Oxford University has written a foreword to the book in which he says "By his clear arrangement and his careful summaries, Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad has performed a valuable service which illuminates a hitherto obscure branch of Arabic literature and sets it in its true perspective."

The U. P. claims to be the home of elegant and chaste Urdu, but in the mass production of Urdu books, it has not, of course, been able to compete successfully with His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, nor with the predominantly Muslim populated province of the Punjab. It has, however, recently contributed a good number of noteworthy works, some of which we would like to mention here: (1) تفسیر سورہ قیامہ by the late Maulānā Ḥamid-ud-Dīn, who, for his keen insight and encyclopædic knowledge, is still acknowledged as one of the greatest authorities on the Holy Qur'ān. His other commentaries on سورہ کافرون & سورہ اخلاص وسورہ فاتحہ appeared previously. Some more manuscripts are preserved in the Daira-i-Ḥamidia, Saraimir, A'ẓamgarh, which hopes to publish them in the near future. (2) *Tārīkh-i-Islam*, Vol. IV (History of Islam) by Shah Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Nadvi, is a publication of the Shibli Academy, A'ẓamgarh. It treats at length, in clear and crisp style, the political history of Abbassid Caliphs from Mustakfi-bi-Allah (334 A.H.) till Musta'ṣim-bi-Allah (640-656 A.H.). (3) مسلمانوں کے زوال سے دنیا کو کیا نقصان پہنچا (what harms were done to the world by the downfall of the Muslims) by Maulānā Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī of Nadwat-ul-'Ulamā,' Lucknow, is a well-written book, which provides a useful and thoughtful reading. (4) *Lucknow ka Dabistan-i-Urdu Shā'iri* (Lucknow School of Urdu Poetry) has been published by the Muslim University, Aligarh. This is a thesis approved by the University for the Degree of Doctorate in Urdu. Two more Ph.D. degrees in Urdu have been awarded by the same University on the dissertations entitled *Delhi School of Urdu Poetry* and *Origin and Genesis of Urdu*, the publications of which are awaited. The Allahabad University has also approved a Doctorate Degree in Urdu on *Religious Elements in Urdu Poetry* which, we trust, will be a good addition to Urdu literature if published. (5) The Indians' Press, Allahabad, has brought out with an excellent get-up

and lovely cover, the collection of Urdu verses by Dewan Pundit Radhay Nath Gulshan, entitled *Bāgh-i-Nishāṭ*. It consists of forewords by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Raja Narander Nath of the Punjab, Nūḥ Narvi as well as reviews by Dr. ' Abd-us-Sattār Ṣiddīqī of the Allahabad University, and other scholars, all of whom have made an appreciative study of Gulshan's poetic talent.

In Bihar, *Ma'āthir* is the only journal in Urdu, which merits any attention. Its chief contributors are the members of the teaching staff of the Patna University. In its early career it was hurled into prominence due to some articles of Professor Kalīm-ud-Din, M.A. (Cantab.) (Chairman, English Department, Patna College) who made some scathing criticisms on the old moulds of some classical writers and conventional poets of the Urdu language. But it has recently deteriorated much in quality. The stuff of most of its articles, require to be warped and woven up with greater substance, better thought and livelier diction and style. We hope the members of the teaching staff of the Patna University, specially of the Oriental Department, will pay in future greater attention to it, and realize the grave responsibility of preparing their own ambrosia to feed their own minds and minds of the nation to which they belong.

S.S.

## CEYLON

*The Muslim Mosques and Charitable Trusts Ordinance :*

A DRAFT of the above Ordinance was gazetted in August 1943. Its object was the exercise of adequate control over the management of the temporalities of the mosques and the various Muslim Charitable Trusts with a view to ensuring efficient administration and satisfactory disbursement of the funds connected with them. Certain features of the bill, however, provoked strong opposition among the Muslims and as a result a Special Committee was appointed to suggest modifications (if any). This Committee, after hearing representations, has decided that the following changes, *inter alia*, should be recommended to the Executive Committee of Home Affairs :—

(*i*) In view of the Public Trustee being a state official he should carry out the decisions of the Board of Muslims to be created under the Ordinance which will function as an Executive Body and not as previously contemplated, be merely an Advisory Board.

(*ii*) The Public Trustee should be the Chairman of the Board without the right of voting, and

(*iii*) The election of Trustees as well as the membership of the Jamā'at should be both in accordance with the settled schemes of management prevailing at present in the respective mosques.

It is hoped that the bill will shortly be taken up for discussion by the State Council. One of the welcome features of the bill is the creation of the Muslim Charities Fund which will receive a contribution equal to one per centum of the amount of the gross annual income from all the registered mosques in the Island.

*The Muslim Advisory Board:*

This Board which is functioning satisfactorily at present was appointed in 1941 on the recommendation of the then Registrar-General for the purpose of assisting him on matters of difficulty arising out of the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Registration Ordinance which came into operation in 1934. The Board consists at present of seven Muslims with the Registrar-General as Chairman.

The Ordinance created Kathis and Kathi Courts, defined their powers and jurisdiction and made registration of marriages and divorces compulsory by Officiating Priests appointed by the Registrar-General. A Board of Kathis was also provided for, to hear appeals from Kathis.

" Nothing contained in the Ordinances " shall however " be construed to render valid or invalid merely by reason of registration or non-registration any Muslim marriage or divorce which will otherwise be invalid or valid according to the Muslim Law in force in Ceylon." Prior to 1934, registration of marriages was optional and there was no statutory provision for the registration of divorces.

*Arabic Teachers in Government Elementary Schools:*

Provision exists in the current Estimates of the Government for 100 Arabic Teachers on the salary scale of Rs. 480 to Rs. 600 with annual increments of Rs. 12. The Salaries Committee has recommended for them the new salary scale of Rs. 576 to Rs. 900 wih 18 annual increments of Rs. 18. A Committee of Muslims advises the Director of Education on the recognition of such Arabic teachers. In Ceylon two Madrasas are recognized as competent institutions for the purpose.

*Central Ceylon Muslim Board of Education:*

Steps are being taken for the registration under the Societies Ordinance of the above Board which has been recently inaugurated. The chief function at present of the Board is the management of the Zahira College, Gampola, which was hitherto a branch of the Zahira College, Colombo, the only Muslim Secondary School in the Island. It is managed by the Executive Committee of the Maradana Mosque.

*The Ceylon Muslim Scholarship Fund:*

The 2nd annual General Meeting of the Board of Trustees was held on 31st March 1946. The collections have so far amounted to about Rs. 160,000 and 55 students are already receiving assistance from the Fund. A letter has been addressed to the Rector of the Al-Azhar University, Cairo, seeking his advice as regards forms of investment that are not repugnant to Islamic Sharī'at Law. Steps are being taken by the Committee of Management for the collection of further funds during the coming Ramaḍān. Local Committees are being formed by the authorized Representatives for the purpose.

*Moors' Islamic Cultural Home :*

The first reading of the bill to incorporate the Board of Trustees of the above was passed by the State Council recently. The intention of the promoters is to establish a cultural home on the lines of the Y.M.M.A., Cairo, and funds are being collected for the purpose.

Az.

## FOREIGN

The last year (1945A.D.) has been singularly unfortunate for Oriental studies, on account of the death of several eminent British and Continental scholars who had distinguished themselves in different fields of Oriental studies. It is only in the fitness of things that we should record their deaths in this Journal with a sense of loss as well as a feeling of admiration and gratitude for the valuable contributions they made to the various branches of Oriental learning.

*Sir Percy Sykes:*

First of all, we have to notice the death of Sir Percy Sykes, who passed away on the 11th June, 1945. He will be chiefly remembered for the contributions he made to the geographical and historical knowledge of Persia. He was particularly interested in the geography of Persia, and his extensive travels in that country gave him an excellent opportunity to make a first-hand study of the subject. He explored the little known parts of southern and eastern Persia, including the volcano of Koh-i-Taftān and surveyed the regions that he traversed. In 1902, he published *Ten Thousand Miles of Persia*, in which he gave a vivid account of his travels and discoveries. The same year, the Royal Geographical Society awarded

him its Patron's Gold medal for his important contributions to the cartography of eastern Persia, Seistan and Baluchistan. In *The Glory of the Shia World* (London, 1910), he displayed an intimate knowledge of the life and customs of old Persia. This was followed in 1915 by his *History of Persia* in two volumes, which treats of everything connected with Persia over a period of several thousand years. This work, which reached a third revised edition in 1930, is generally regarded as a standard work on the subject. It was later compressed in one volume and published under the title of *Persia* in 1922. After his retirement from military service in 1920, he published in collaboration with his sister *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*, a work which contained much new information about eastern Turkistan. The last important work to appear from his pen was his *History of Afghanistan*, which was published in two volumes in 1940. Sir Percy Sykes served as an honorary secretary of the Royal Central Asian Society for many years, and succeeded in recruiting many new members and in obtaining competent lectures for its platform. In short, he lived an active and useful life and is thus entitled to our grateful remembrance.

*Prof. R. A. Nicholson :*

Islamic studies have suffered an irrepairable loss by the death of Prof. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, who passed away in Chester on the 27th August 1945, at the age of seventy-seven. He spent almost the whole of his adult life at the University of Cambridge, first as the pupil of Prof. Robertson Smith and then as the colleague and friend of Professor E. G. Browne, whom he succeeded as Sir Thomas Adam's Professor of Arabic in 1926. He first made his mark in Persian studies by the publication of his selections from the *Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* of the great Persian mystic poet Jalāl-ud-Dīn-i-Rūmī in 1908 ; and subsequently devoted himself to the study of Ṣūfism in particular, till he became one of the foremost authorities on the subject. He wrote many excellent books and papers all of which are distinguished by the exact scholarship and faultless taste of their author. He crowned his life-long work on Ṣūfism by preparing his magnificent edition, translation and commentary of Rūmī's great *Mathnawī*, which will probably remain as his chief monument in the eyes of posterity. Even if he had produced no other work except this meticulous edition of Rūmī's *magnus opus*, it would have been enough to justify his life as a professor and entitle him to the deep gratitude of many generations to come.

Dr. Nicholson had a remarkable gift for translating Arabic and Persian poetry into English verse. This is evidenced by the numerous renderings, incorporated in his *Literary History of the Arabs* and his *Translations of Eastern Prose and Poetry*. Had he developed his natural gifts in

this direction, he would have probably become as famous as Fitzgerald himself.

Dr. Nicholson has been known to students of Arabic literature chiefly by his excellent *Literary History of the Arabs*. Although originally designed for the general reader unacquainted with the Arabic language, it has been the sheet-anchor of Arabic students for the last forty years and is not likely to be superseded for many years to come. It is specially valuable for a proper understanding and appreciation of Arabic poetry, to which the author devotes a considerable portion of the book. The chapter on the Prophet and the Qur'ān is massed by the unnecessary reproduction of the views of certain hostile critics, which have long been discarded by most modern scholars, including the author himself. Moreover, in the earlier chapters devoted to pre-Islamic Arabia, Dr. Nicholson contents himself with reproducing the legendary history as preserved by native tradition, instead of reconstructing it in the light of modern discovery and research. In spite of all this, the work remains unique in its own field as a comprehensive survey of the subject.

Of a retired and unassuming disposition, Dr. Nicholson was essentially a man of the study. He suffered from a noticeable impediment of the tongue ; but nature had compensated him for this physical handicap in other directions. What he lacked in the flow of his speech he gained in the vigour of his written word. He had developed a remarkably lucid, vigorous and graceful style, so that when he put his pen to paper, he " wrote like an angel." His numerous pupils and admirers in India are keenly sensible of the great loss which Oriental studies have suffered through his death.

*Leonidas Stanislas Bogdanov :*

L. Bogdanov, who was considered an authority on the Persian dialects of Afghanistan, died in Kabul in November 1945, at the age of sixty-four. He was a Russian by descent, but became a naturalized French citizen in 1932,when he changed his name to Dugin. He had studied in St. Petersburg under the distinguished professors gathered there at the beginning of this century. He became a lecturer in Persian before the first World War, and at the time of the Russian revolution (1917) he was at Enzeli. He later came to India, and for several years served as Professor of Persian at Tagore's University at Shantiniketan. He was a lecturer in Persian in Calcutta University from 1932 to 1941, when he was appointed consular attaché in the French Legation at Kabul.

He collaborated with Barthold in his *Historico-Geographical Description of Iran* (in Russian) ; and also published a book on Modern Iran (St. Petersburg, 1909). His publications include an edition of the Persian text of the *Ṭūṭi Nāma* (Paris, 1927), which he later translated

into French under the title *Les Contes du Perroquet* (Paris, 1938). Among his works on Afghanistan, we may mention in particular his *Notes on Kabuli Persian*, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1930 ; pp. 1-124). He also published numerous translations from Russian and German in the *Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute*, Bombay, and *Islamic Culture*. His last publication was *The Kashf-ul-Mahjūb of Abu'l-Hasan ʿAlī al-Jullābī* (in *JRABS*, 1942, pp. 315-379).

*Dr. Max Meyerhof :*

Dr. Max Meyerhof, who contributed some article to this Journal, must be well-known to our readers. We regret to record that he passed away at Cairo on the 20th April, 1945, at the age of seventy-one. A professional ophthalmologist, he specialized in the history of science in general and that of Arabian medical science in particular. He edited and translated several important scientific texts, *e.g.*, the *Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye* ascribed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, Arabic text with an English translation (Cairo, 1928) ; the abridged version of *The Book of Simple Drugs of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī* by Barhebraeus, in 2 volumes (Cairo, 1932-36) ; *Al-Morchid fi'l-Kohl, Le Guide de l'Oculistique, Ourvrage in edit de l'oculiste Arabe-espagnol Mohammad ibn-Qassoum ibn-Aslam al-Ghāfiqī ; traduction desparties ophtalmologiques* (Barcelona, 1933), and his edition and translation of Maimonides' work on materia medica, *Sharḥ Asmā'al-Mqqār* (Cairo, 1940). He also wrote a large number of articles in various learned journals, which have been detailed in a special Bibliography of his works (32 pages), published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1944. Although he suffered form indifferent health during the last years of his life, it did not prevent him from carrying on his learned labours to the last moments of his life. His services to the history of Mediæval science are very valuable and deserving of the highest praise.

*Friedrich Sarre :*

According to reports received through Swiss sources, Friedrich Sarre, the distinguished German Archæologist and art connoisseur died on the 1st June, 1945, at his residence near Berlin at the age of 79. He was probably the greatest authority on Islamic art, of his time ; and his death becomes all the more tragic when we learn that the suburb in which he lived was soon after attacked and in the ensuing holocaust his house, along with his extensive library and priceless art collection, was totally destroyed. It is therefore with a sense of irrepairable loss that we recall the life-work of one who had devoted his life to the appreciation and interpretation of Islamic art and who did his best to demonstrate the magnitude and importance of the subject. .

He made many scientific journeys to Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia and Turkestan. His expedition to Mesopotamia in 1908-9, in collaboration with E. Herzfeld, proved the most fruitful, since it resulted in the publication of his excellent *Archäologische Reise ins Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, which is chiefly concerned with the Muslim architecture of that region. Thanks to his initiative, active steps were taken to excavate the ruins of Samarra, which had served as the capital city of the Abbasid Caliphs for about half a century. These excavations have thrown much valuable light on the architecture of the period and have filled in many gaps in our knowledge of the history of art and architecture. He was also instrumental in holding an Exhibition of Islamic arts in München in 1910, when he succeeded in assembling and displaying in one place a large number of beautiful and rare specimens, belonging to the many public and private collections scattered all over the world. The more important objects exhibited on that occasion were later reproduced and described in that superb volume, prepared in collaboration with F. R. Martin.

Sarre possessed a fine sense for the inherent artistic value of various objects, including the works of the common artisan. His fine taste had enabled him to form a vast personal collection, besides enriching the Islamic sections of the various museums of Berlin, of which he was the director for many years. (He was succeeded in this post by his pupil E. Kühnel). According to some reports, Greek jars have almost completely disappeared from these museums during the recent conflict and the resulting administrative disorganization. In these circumstances, one cannot but feel apprehensive for the fate of the collections of Islamic art, formed over a long period with such care and good taste.

*French Orientalists :*

Several French Orientalists, too, passed away during the fateful year 1945. The most notable among them are August Cour, Alfred Bel and H. P. J. Renaud.

Prof. A. Cour died at Constantine on the 10th January, 1945, at the age of seventy-nine. He passed most of his life in French North Africa, where he studied the history, literature and ethnography of the Muslim Occident. His publications include a monograph on Ibn-Zaidūn entitled : *Un poète arabe d' Andalousie : Ibn-Zaidoun. Étude d'apres le Diwan de ce poète et les principales sources Arabes* (Constantine, 1920).

Prof. Alfred Bel, who had been the Director of the Madrasa of Tlemcen (Tilimsān, Morocco) from 1905 to 1936, died on the 18th February, 1945, at Meknes at the age of seventy-two. He was considered an authority on the history, sociology and folk-lore of North Africa. His works include a hand list of the manuscripts preserved at Fez, in which he called atten-

tion for the first time to the autograph copy of Ibn-Khaldūn's *History*, and a fine historical study: *Les Banou Ghanya et leur lutte contre l'Empire almohade* (Paris, 1903), in which he gave a lucid account of the rise of the Almohades (al-Muwaḥḥids). He also edited, in collaboration with Ben Chenek, the part of *Takmilat eṣ-Ṣila d'Ibn-el-Abbār* (Algiers, 1920) which is wanting in Codera's earlier edition of the work.

H. P. J. Renaud, who had been a professor at L'Institut des Hantes-Études Marocaines for many years, died at Rabat (Ribāṭ, Morocco) on the 5th September, 1945, at the age of sixty-four. He had devoted himself chiefly to the study of Arabian science, and his publications include a French translation of Prof. E. G. Browne's *Arabian Medicine*.

SH.I.

## EGYPT

*Arab League :*

The Encyclopædia Britannica has acquired services of 'Azzām Pāshā, Secretary-General of the Arab League, for contributing a detailed article on the aims and objects as well as other matters concerning the newly formed Arab League.

*Exhibition of Arabic Books :*

A grand exhibition was recently held in Cairo, says the *Rahbar-e-Deccan* of 25th August last, of the printed books in Arabic language, from all parts of the globe. Among the rarities were works printed in Europe as early as 16th century. Others were those printed by order of Napoleon. It was opened by the Minister of Education in the presence of a very large number of scholars and notables. The credit of management goes to Dr. Ibrāhīm.

*Royal Society for Arabic Language :*

In December 1932, *Majma' Fu'ād al-Auwal lil-Lughah al-'Arabiyah* was formally constituted with 20 members from different countries, including five European scholars of Arabic. Its aims and objects are the following:

1. Preservation of the integrity of the classical Arabic.
2. Coining of new technical terms on catholic principles.
3. A grand Dictionary of Arabic language with etymological and historical data regarding each word.
4. Research on dialects of Arabic language.

It has so far published several important monographs, and its printed proceedings are a mine of useful information to Arabists.

*Petrol Pipe Line from Arabia to Egypt* :

*Cairo, 26th July.*—The Prime Minister informed the House of Representatives that the American-Arabic Oil Company has accepted to extend the pipe line from Sa'ūdi Arabia up to Egypt. It will be about 1,300 miles long, and will cost about 40,000,000 pounds sterling.

*English Civil Service in Sūdān* :

According to a press note published by the Sūdānese Government in Khartoum, 61 per cent. of the income of the country is spent on the salary of British Officials. An average pay for them is about 1070 guineas per annum, whereas the Sūdānese themselves in government service consume about 38 per cent. with an average of 107 guineas per year (*Rahbar*, 11th August).

## SYRIA AND LUBNAN

*Law Conference* :

A Law Conference was announced in Beirut for 1st September 1946. It was to sit for a whole week. Not only lawyers but others with juristic interests were to take part in it. Mr. 'Umar, leader of the local bar was elected convener.

*Unification of the Laws of Arab Countries* :

Under the auspices of the Arab League, a grand Law Conference was held in Buldān, near Damascus, 'Abdurrazzāq Pāshā Sinhaurīy presiding. Among the many important topics discussed was the resolution for the unification of commercial and maritime laws of all the Arabic-speaking countries. Mutual recognition of patent and copy-right was also recommended.

The Conference strongly recommended to establish an institution for research in Muslim law.

It was attended by delegates from all Arabic-speaking countries as well as judges from Egypt, Syria, Transjordania, etc.

Unification of civil law in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt is a question on which respective governments are carrying on active negotiations.

## IRAQ

*Indo-Iraq Society :*

Ḥāfiẓ Sharīf Ḥusain has, with the permission of the Iraqi Home Minister, organised an Indo-Iraq Society, reports *Rahbar* of 5th August. Its object is to promote friendship and co-operation between Muslims of Iraq and India ; promote cultural and economic relations between the two countries ; and promotion of the interests of Indians residing in Iraq, especially the visitors to holy shrines.

## YAMAN

*Iraqo-Yaman Relations :*

The Government of Ṣan'ā has asked the Baghdād government to send a cultural mission to Yaman, in order to study and report on educational problems of Yaman. Another economic mission will investigate irrigational and agricultural possibilities in Yaman.

An Iraqi engineer has already left for San'ā, *via* Cairo, in order to construct a wireless station at the metropolis of Yaman and organize broadcasting there.

## ITALY

*Relations with the Pope :*

Egypt and Lebanon have decided to establish legations at the Vaticana. It may be recalled that there are important Christian minorities in both these Arab countries.

A delegation of Palestineans consisting of both Muslims and Christians was received by the Pope, and the subject of discussion was how the interests of Palestine can best be safeguarded in the face of Jewish inundation.

## AMERICA

*Mosque in San Fancisco :*

Diplomats of Arab countries in United States have joined together in sponsoring the construction in San Francisco of a Muslim Mosque expected to cost three million dollars and to be the finest, if not the only one of its type in the U.S.A., reports UPA. Gifts have already been received from the King of Egypt and some princes in the country, H.H. the Agha Khan of India and other Muslims in eastern countries.

*Mosque in Washington* :

Maḥmūd Ḥasan Pāshā, Egyptian ambassador, has placed at the disposal of a committee of Muslim envoys in U.S.A., consisting of ministers of Iraq, Iran and Afghānistān, a plot of ground acquired for the construction of a big mosque in Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, at a cost of a hundred thousand dollars. The half a million dollars so far collected for the purpose contain donations from H.E.H. the Nizām of Hyderabad (50,000 dollars), King Fārūq (10,000 guineas), Egyptian government (20,000 guineas), and Iraqi government (as much as that from the Egyptian government).

## SIAM

*Muslims in Bangkok* :

Mr. Ṭāhir Dilāwar Ḥusain, Nāẓim (Director) of the *Jam'iyat-ul-Islām* (Islamic Society) in Bangkok writes a letter in the monthly *Ma'ārif* of Aẓamgarh (U.P., India) for August 1946 :

There are about a million (*i.e.*, 6 per cent.) Muslims in Siam, of whom about a thousand are Indians. The Siamese government used to resent at names in non-Siamese languages, and hence Muslims in government services have generally given up their Arabic names, and their names and their customs make them indistinguishable from heathens. There are more Muslims in southern Siam, bordering on Malay Peninsula. In Bangkok there are more than 100,000 Muslims, and more than 80 mosques. Muslims in the country are generally farmers, artisans, and timber merchants.

Unlike Muslims of other countries, Siamese pilgrims to Mecca generally spend 10 to 15 years there, and when they return, they possess a profound knowledge of Arabic.

There is too much freedom among the women folk.

The *Jam'iy'at-ul-Islām* has been working for the last 12 years. There is another society, called *al-Iṣlāḥ*, aiming at social and moral reforms. There are others also, petty ones ; and there is movement to federate all of them and thus concert for the protection of Islamic interests in and out of the country.

## MALAYA

*Revised Plan for Malaya* :

London *Times* of 5th July writes, substantial modifications of the Malayan Union Plan have been announced in Singapore after consultation between the Governor-General MacDonald, Governor of the Malayan

Union and the Malay Rulers. A "Malayan Federation" will be substituted for the "Malayan Union," and a High Commissioner for the Governor. The Sulṭāns have accepted these proposals. There is to be further discussion on the proposal for a new Malayan citizenship within the Malay States.

The adoption of the term "federation" is welcomed in Malaya because it avoids a break with the past and implies an expansion of the pre-war Federation of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang States, which was founded in 1896 by Sir Frank Swettenham, to include all the nine States of Malaya Peninsula, and implies also the preservation, at least partly, of the pre-war constitutional basis whereby each Sulṭān was recognised as the sovereign ruler of his own State, with the Malaya population as his subjects. The Malays have felt that the Malayan Union was an amalgamation of the Malaya States obliterating their historic identity, rather than a union of combinations.

The substitution of the title High Commissioner for Governor is also a significant return to pre-war usage. Before the war the Governor of the Straits Settlements was also High Commissioner for Malay States. Now Sir Edward Gent, first and last Governor of the Malayan Union, will become the first High Commissioner, to be solely responsible for the Malay States, and to have his permanent headquarters at Kuala Lumpur.

The English Rājā of Sarwak, Borneo, has sold his State to the King of England, and the country has become a Crown Colony, to be amalgamated with British North Borneo and finally merged in the Malay Federation. It was from the Sulṭān of Brunei, Borneo, that Mr. Brooke had acquired grant of territory about a century ago. Several generations of the white Rajas could not endear themselves to the local population. The cession was voted by English ministers. The large majority of indigenous ministers voted against cession.

The Heiress-apparent of the Raja has embraced Islam, and before the war generally lived in Paris.

It is hoped that the Dominion Status will not long be denied these peoples.

## TURKEY

*Elections :*

In the first elections under the reformed electoral laws, the ruling party under 'Iṣmet Inönü has retained its hold, and Mr. Inönü has been re-elected President of the Republic. Adult franchise and secret ballot are the chief features of the new law.

## GENERAL

*Pan-Arab Air Junction* :

The Arab Aeronautical Conference, held for a week in Beirut, was attended by delegates from all Arabic-speaking countries. Concessions to Arab Airways Companies, closer air-relations between Arab countries, etc., were among topics of discussion. Thanking the guests, the Lebanese delegate reminded the age-long importance of Lebanon as an international commercial junction, and that it was from here that the Umaiyad Caliph Mu'āwiyah I had launched maritime operations against Africa and the Mediterranean islands and it was here that he established the first Arab naval battle and ship-building yards.

*18th Medical Conference* :

Ḥalab (Aleppo) was the venue of the 18th Conference of Arab Medicine from 27th to 31st August during the Ramaḍān 'Īd festival. All Arab countries sent delegations.

*King of Iraq in Eton* :

The eleven years' old boy King of Iraq has joined Eton College for study. An Englishman has been appointed as his tutor.

M.H.

# NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

*GLIMPSES OF ISLAM, by Prince Agha Khan and Dr. Zaki Ali; printed in Geneva; published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, pp. 72; Re. 1-8-0.*

THIS small yet important booklet contains three articles of unequal length: Fundamentals of Islam (10 pp. by Agha Khan), Islam and Medical Sciences (43 pp. by Zaki Ali), and Religious Revival of Islam (10 pp. by both the authors). It was published during the war in 1944.

The sequence of chapters, in the mind of the authors, seems to be that in the post-war world there will be a great desire in the Christian west to change their old order. Therefore, the first article seeks to give in a small compass a survey of the fundamentals of Islam. Then they want to combat the western prejudices against Islam by endeavouring to show that Islam has always encouraged the pursuit of science and furthered progress; and as an example the contribution of the Muslims to medical sciences has been outlined. Lastly they want to revive the inherent, though actually dormant, capability of Islam to adapt itself to all times and climes without, however, losing its essentials. For this they propose an *ad hoc* all-Islam conference to undertake Ijtihād by means of Ijmā'.

At the end of the first world-war, H.H. the Agha Khan and Syed Ameer Ali, although they themselves represented the two main dissentient sects opposing the main Sunni caliphate, had tried to pursuade the Turks not to abolish the institution of caliphate. The opportunity was missed, for the obstinacy of the Ata Turk, to end the great schism in the Islamic political society existing for the last thousand and more years.

It is symptomatic of new times that young Islam is not content with the artificial watertight compartments of sectarianism in Islam perpetuated by Mullas of both sides. And at the close of the second world-war, the son of the Agha Khan has come forward boldly to say :—

> The interpretation of Islam which I wish to present is not that of the sect to which I myself belong, that is, the Ismaili sect, nor that of the Shi'a school in general... I wish to present to my western readers the vast Sunni stream which has its roots in the ideas of the school founded by al-Gazāli and the development from century to century, as far as is known, of the sources of that school's interpretation of the Qur'ān and of the life of the Prophet (p. 8).

A few extracts of the concluding chapters would better interpret what the authors have to say on the "revival of Islam," for which they propose :—

> holding an All-Islam conference which would represent the various and numerous peoples of Islam... composed of delegates, including distinguished and representative learned men as well as leaders of thought from all parts of the Muslim world... not limited to Sunnites only, but the Shi'ate sects and subsects (*e.g.*, the Ismā'īli sect headed by Agha Khan) should be invited to the conference which can thus become a

truly representative assembly of the entire Islamic world.

The main objects of such conference would be :—

1. To come to an agreement on the most appropriate interpretation, in the light of the present age, of Muslim law in all its aspects... Such an interpretation, by means of the Ijtihād, can be made within the general limits of the Qur'ān and Traditions... It is, therefore, necessary to seek again a direct contact with the Qur'ān and with the authentic Traditions.

2. And until the caliphate is restored, the congress may eventually become a sort of a permanent Muslim Assembly, a sort of an Islamic League of Nations concerned with Muslim welfare in all domains...

3. Another important object..... would be to emphasize the necessity of mastering the economic resources of nature...

4. A further and important object of the conference would be to encourage and work out the best measures of Muslim activity for spreading Islamic culture both in India and in Africa.

5. Pan-Islamism is a real heritage of every Muslim..not political Pan-Islamism...a spiritual union of Muslims, a religious and moral unity... Only thus will it be possible for Muslim countries to take their worthy place in the rebuilding of the post-war world and to render the highest services to mankind, (pp. 62-72).

Transcription of Arabic proper names is sometimes loose. Again, (on p. 25) the old error has been repeated that Muslims entered Spain only in the time of Umaiyads, under Ṭāriq. As was shown by us, in a previous issue of *Islamic Culture*, it was much earlier, in the time of the 3rd Caliph Uthmān, in the year 27 H., that Mulims first got a foothold in Andalus, and remained there until Ṭāriq came to complete the subjugation of the Peninsula (Vide, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* and Ṭabarīy's *Annales*).

M. H.

15

*THE MANṢABDĀRĪ SYSTEM AND THE MUGHAL ARMY; xvii+xxiv+ 242pp.; by Mr. 'Abdu'l 'Azīz, Bar-at-Law ; published by Ripon Press, Lahore; Rs. 6.*

ALTHOUGH by profession an Advocate at Law, Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz owes the gratitude of the workers on Medieval Indian History by his objective studies of some of the most important aspects of life during the Mughal period. His first book, the *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals* came out three years ago and was reviewed in the *Islamic Culture* of October, 1943 at pages 356-7. The book under review is the second of the series, while six more are to follow according to Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's programme. It need hardly be mentioned that the scholar who makes an objective study of an important period of Indian history naturally deserves our best thanks especially if he makes a study of the Mughal period which, however 'brilliant' it might have been, has begun to be maligned with lapse of time and owing to anachronistic ideas of many of the so-called moderns.

The questions raised by the prevalence of the Manṣabdārī system among the Mughals, the exact meaning of the Dhāt rank and the Sawār rank, and the significance of the epithets Hazārī, Panj-hazārī, Haft-hazārī and so on which meet us right through Mughal history at least from the time of Akbar the Great onwards, have been helplessly unsolvable enigmas to the bewildered student owing to numerous contradictions met with in our chronicles as well as in the descriptions couched in the few modern authors who have discussed them. Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz has delineated the military system from the time of the Mongol hordes of Central Asia till it acclimatised itself on the plains of Hindustan. He has discussed all the data he has been able to command, both primary and secondary, and has compared his conclusions with the lists supplied by Indian as well as foreign contemporary authorities. By Dhāt rank he understands the obligation to maintain an establishment of horses, elephants, carts, etc. for which a Manṣabdār received a fixed salary

or an equivalent Jāgīr, and he gives full tables of establishments corresponding to Dhāt rank from 10 to 10,000 carrying emoluments ranging from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 75 permensem. By Sawār rank is meant the obligation to maintain *a certain number* of horses, which does not always correspond to the figure of the rank owing to the corruption which became rampant after Akbar, and the individual Manṣabdārs soon managed to keep only a fraction of the number of horses allotted to them so much so that in Shāh Jahān's time ½ and ⅓ became the rule in force.

Our author takes pains to calculate the amount of Jāgīr income allowed to the Manṣabdārs, which had inflated in the time of Shāh Jahān to the extent that the rank of 7,000 Dhāt +7,000 Sawār carried with it an income of 20 crore 60 lakh dāms or something like 5 lakh of rupees per mensem which, according to the present value of money amounts to at least 30 lakh per month. Naturally such large disbursements could only deplete the treasury and this, accompanied by the fast-increasing war expenditure in Aurangzēb's reign, could only lead to a tremendous financial crash of much the same kind as that witnessed just before the Revolution in France in the eighties of the eighteenth century.

Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz describes the social life of the nobles and at the Imperial court in an interesting manner and rightly says that the Manṣabdārī system was the basis not only of the army but of the aristocracy as well, for it was "the army, the civil administration and the peerage all rolled into one." While his discussions arising out of the Manṣab are penetrating, his description of the army of the Mughals, which he has condensed into a single chapter, would be interesting even to a layman. He deals with the great arms of the army, cavalry, infantry, artillery and the Ahadīs, as well as with the order of battle, the role of camels and elephants in war and many other items of great interest and brings to our minds' eye what the army of the Great Mughals was both in the time of peace and of war.

The book is divided rather incongruously into just two chapters: Ch. 1, 'The Manṣabdārī System and the Military Aristocracy' divided into 8 sections and taking up 173 pages, and Ch. 2, 'The Mughal Army' divided into 3 sections and covering 38 pages. It would have sustained the interest of even a lay reader if the matter contained in Chapter 1 had been dealt with in a number of chapters such as Historical Background, the System before Akbar, Akbar's Reforms, Further Development, and so on. The unequal division into two chapters one containing 8 and the other 3 sections seems rather odd. Then in spite of the diacritical points mistakes of transliteration are profuse, such as Amāmat (Imāmat), Anjū (Injū), Kamal (Kambal), Sowār (Sawār), 'Aml ('Amal), etc. Lastly, while the author has invariably transliterated quotations from authors like Bernier, Monserrate, etc. he has somehow left untranslated the fairly frequent quotations from the German of Dr. Horn which seems a great pity as they contain a number of very useful suggestions which are like a closed book to those not conversant with that language.

The work is an extremely valuable contribution to the literature on the institutions of one of the most resplendent periods of the history of India.

H.K.S.

*قرآن اور تصوف by Dr. Mīr Valī-ud-Dīn, pp. 173; published by Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn, Delhi; Rs. 3.*

DR. Valī-ud-Dīn has earned fame and distinction as a writer, who interprets the teachings of Islam in their real and true perspective. The present book, which must be cherished as a valuable addition to Ṣūfistic literature in Urdu, has been compiled with a similar laudable and genuine desire. Taṣawwuf or Muslim mysticism, robbed off its original ideals and denuded of its intrinsic objectives is now a hotch-potch of fantastically ambiguous thoughts and thickly coloured ideas. This was due to the infiltration of certain

doctrinal peculiarities of Greek philosophers, egnostic preachings of some Iranian scholars as well as a host of ascetic-methods of Hindu recluses. Consequently a class of people has been misled to believe that Taṣawwuf has developed into a school of thought, which is different from the established order of Islam. The learned author of the above dissertation has made a careful and penetrating analysis of Taṣawwuf and has tried to show that Taṣawwuf, if properly understood, is not in anyway at variance with the orthodox tenets and fundamental principles of Islam. The salient features of Tasawwuf, according to him, are to get rid of Nafs and evil desires to behold that the world, as a whole is a mirror and manifestation of God's names and attributes and lastly to annihilate one's self, *i.e.* both ego and non-ego by renunciation of all the carnal desires and pleasures of this mortal world in order to be merged into the Immortal God. For all objects are to be annihilated and there will remain the face of God with His glory and beauty. In the process of this loftiest elevation, a Ṣūfī has to undergo several stages during which his speculation, contemplation and action must conform to the preachings of the Holy Qur'ān. For the Holy Qur'ān is God's own words and these words do not say anything which can lead a creature to think other than Creator and so a Ṣūfī can be conscious of the manifester, the manifested and the manifestation only if his thinking and feeling do not come in conflict with the lines of Sharī'at, and if Taṣawwuf is followed in this proper mould it cannot be excommunicated by Islam.

The author is a teacher of philosophy in the Osmania University, so as a matter of fact, he likes very much to indulge his philosophic discourse in words, phrases and terminology, which are easily chewed and digested by philosophers. This shows his masterly grasp and thorough acquaintance with the kind of language in which an exposition of abstract thought must be made. But an average reader wants an abstruse and spiritual theme to be dealt with in simpler language and easier diction so that he may get at the kernel of the matter without taxing his patience much over the difficult and terse style. We know that it is very difficult at times to adopt easier mode of writing, but a writer of Dr. Valī-ud-Dīn's erudition and calibre could have given the required excellent touches to his diction if he wanted to do. A book on Tasawwuf, if it is intended to provide a religious and spiritual nourishment, must be compiled, we think, to be admired not only by a certain class of people having Ṣūfistic taste and aptitude, but it should possess the glamour of being easily understood and have at the same time the relish of being animatingly appreciated even by discriminating readers. This is, however, a personal suggestion, which does not in anyway undermine Dr. Valī-ud-Dīn's scholarship and great painstaking with which the book under review has been written.

S.S.

## BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Kings and Beggars*, (the first two chapters of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, translated into English with introduction and notes) by Dr. A. J. Arberry, publishers: Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C. £ 0.6.6.
2. *Commonsense on Pakistan* by Dr. G. M. D. Sufi; publishers: The Bombay Muslim Students' Federation, Juma Masjid Building, Grant Road, Bombay, 8.
3. *Islam As a Religion—A Comparative Study* by al-Ḥājj Sir Ḥasan Suhrawardy; publishers: the Islamic Press, Ltd., 552-553, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C. 2.
4. *The Muslim Educational Problems* by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan; publisher: Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.
5. *The Future Development of Islamic Polity* by Dr. I. H. Qureshi; publisher: Sh. Md. Ashraf, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.

6. *The Book of God and the Religion of the World* by S. M. Sabih; publisher: M. Leyaquat Hussain Khan, Arjun Lall & Co.'s Press, Line Bazar, Purnea.
7. *The British Policy in Eastern Ethiopia* by S. Pankhurst; published by the author at 3-Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex.
8. *British Policy in Eritrea* by S. Pankhurst.
9. *The Pakistan National Movement and the British Verdict on India* by Choudary Rahmat Ali; publishers: The Pakistan National Movement, 16-Montague Road, Cambridge.
10. *The Millat and her Minorities* by Choudary Rahmat Ali.
11. *The Millat and her Ten Nations* by Choudary Rahmat Ali.
12. *India—The Continent of Dinia or the Country of Doom* by Choudary Rahmat Ali.
13. *Conflicts in the Arab East* by Philip, K. Hitti; published by the Institute of Arab American Affairs, Inc., 160-Broadway, New York City.
14. *Indian Art and Letters*; published twice annually by the Royal India Society, 3-Victoria St., London, S.W.1., £. 0-5-0.
15. *Literary Services of the Compilation and Translation Bureau*; Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.
16. *Ramadan Annual*, August 1946; publisher: Md. Makki, 98-100, Brickfield Road, Durban.
17. *Five Pillars*; publisher: Md. Makki.
18. *Sind Muslim College Magazine*; edited by Prof. S. J. Wasiti.
19. *Journal of the Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute*, Bikaner.
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22. *Ishā'at Islam* ( اشاعت اسلام ); edited by Hazrat Khwaja Kamal Alauddin Saheb, the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Azeez Manzil, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

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