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VOLUME II

PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

VOLUME II

PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS

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OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY.

Nature of Muslim Philosophy—Pre-Islamic Iranian Philosophy and Religion—Zarathusthra and His Philosophy—Mithraism, Buddhism and Christianity—Arsaka, the Expounder of the Zarvānic Theory—Bardesanes—Mani and His Philosophy—Manichæism and the *Quran*—Mazdak—Greek Philosophy—The Early Thinkers —The Sophists—Socrates—Plato—His Metaphysics: The Doctrine of Ideas—His Ethics—Muslim Writers on Plato—Aristotle —His Ethics and Politics—His Theory of Education—His Political Ideals—His Ideas on Arts and Sciences—His Works as Known to Muslims—Neo-Platonism—Plotinus —The Intelligence and the Intelligible World—The Soul—Man, Immortality, Descent and Ascent, Emancipation—Ethics—Beauty and Vision—The Alexandrian School—Rise of Christianity in the East—Syria and Iran as Centres of Learning—Translation of Philosophical Works—First Muslim Thinkers—Al-Kindi—Ahamad Sarkhas—Abu Nasar Muhammad of Fārāb—His Philosophy—His Logic—His Metaphysics—Human Being and His Psychological Aspect—Fārābi as an Expounder of Sufism —Fārābi's Politics—Fārābi's Influeunce on European Logic—Ibn-e-Maske-waih—His Ethics—His Philosophy—Motion, Mover and Movable—Ibn-e-Sina (Avicenna)—His Works—His Logic—His Psychology—His Metaphysics—Being—First Cause—The Theory of Love—Soul—His Conception of Physics—His Pupils—The Encyclopædists of the Akbwan-us-Safa—Ethics —The Golden Age of Muslim Philosophy—Abu Bakr Ibn-e-Bajja—Suhrawardi—Iranian Fravashi or Platonic Ideas—Soul—Virtue and Vice—Elements—Zoug—Ethics—Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes)—His Philosophy—The Intellect and the Soul—His Psychology—Divine Knowledge—Quranic Teaching—Other Writers in Philosophy—Later Muslim Philosophy—Muslim Ethics —Ibn-e-Muqaffa—Nasir-ud-din Tusi and Dawwani—Dawwani's System of Politics—Hussain Wāez—Philosophy After the Fall of Muslims in Spain—Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji—Sadr-ud-din Shirāzi—Decline of Muslim Philosophy—Muslim Philosophy in the XIX Century—Haji Mulla Hadi Subzāwāri—His Philosophical Views—His Psychology—Mirza Abdul Hassan Jilwah—Sir Muhammad Iqbal—His Basic Philosophical Idea—His Theory of the Preserving Self,

Nature of Muslim Philosophy.

Muslim philosophy is a blend of Western and Eastern thoughts under the dominating influence of Islamic doctrine. The blending is such that Muslim philosophy develops on its own lines, independently of those whom it imitates. Nevertheless, for a correct understanding of its principles and doctrines, a brief study of Greek philosophy and Pre-Islamic thought in Iran and Syria is necessary. Greek philosophy was a revolt from dogmatic dicta, whereas Muslim philosophers endeavoured to reconcile religion with philosophy. Muslim religion rests on the teaching of the *Quran*, the traditions of the Prophet and fixed canons as expounded by early Muslim theologians, and Muslim philosophy has, at all times, gone hand in hand with religion. Unlike Hindu thinkers, Muslim philosophers did not, with few exceptions, take a pessimistic view of existence; with them, there is no doctrine of re-birth and no theory suggesting the extinction of conscious personal existence. The majority of Muslim philosophers are either Iranian or Spanish, and North African.

Pre-Islamic Iranian Philosophy and Religion.

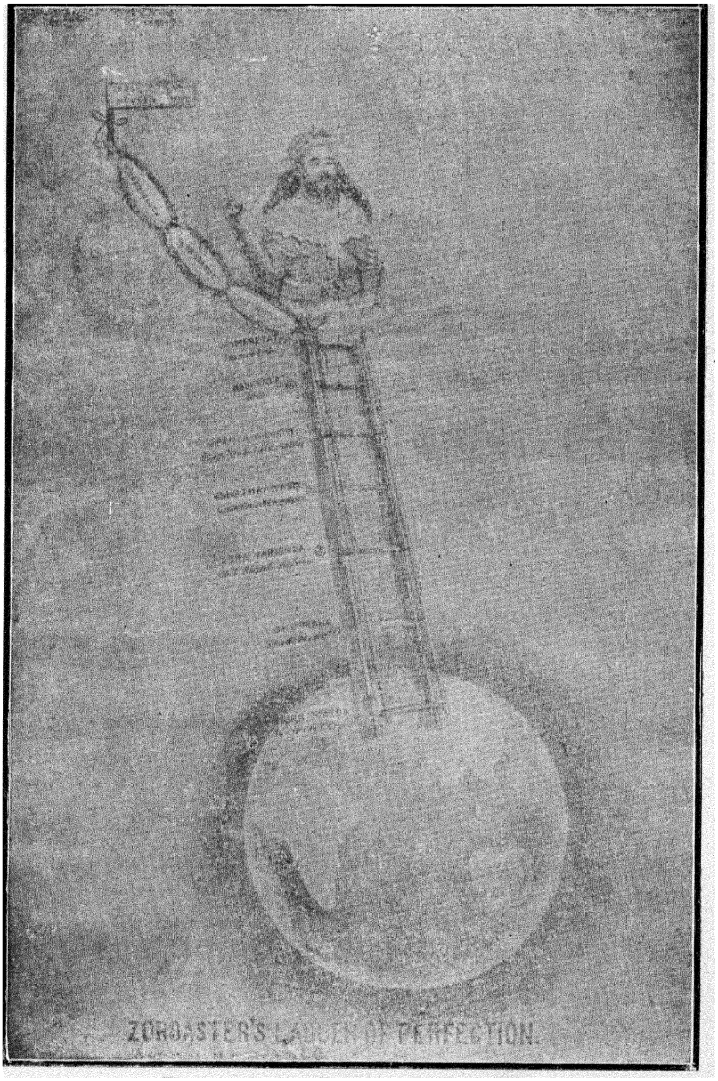
Iranian Pre-Islamic philosophical, scholastic and theological views reappeared mixed up with Greek philosophy and played a most important part in the moulding and development of Muslim philosophy. Buddhism and Indian Vedāntism have also been indirectly introduced but they mostly affected Muslim mysticism.

Zarathusthra and His Philosophy.

The earliest Iranian philosopher and religious teacher was Zarathusthra,[1] who flourished about 1000 or 1200 B.C. His name had already become mythical during the rule of the

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[1] ***Zarathusthra***: Also known as *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; the founder or reformer of the religion of the Parsis; though certainly a historical personage, nothing whatever certain is known of him, except that his family name was Spitama, that he was born in Bactria, or



ZOROASTER'S *Ladder of Perfection*

Achæmenian kings (550–330 B.C.). Several Zarathusthras have been mentioned by Greek writers. The latest was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Zoroastrian teaching, as expounded in the *Gāthās*, is based upon "Being" as *mainyu* or spirit. There are two *mainyus*, constructive and destructive. Matter has no independent existence. It is the creation of Ahura, the Supreme Being, who is perfect, eternal, unchangeable, the Creator of heaven, the shaper of the universe. When manifested, he is known in his two aspects—one is permanent, constructive, light, life and good; the other transitory, destructive, dark, death and evil. These are manifested everywhere in the universe. Matter is a receptacle of these two aspects. Ahura is assisted by the following:—

(1) *Vohu-manah* (Skt. *Vasu-Manas*), which means the best mind or the universal intelligence.

Media, and that he flourished, according to some, about 800 B.C., and, according to others, about 1100 B.C. Some hold that he was a monotheist, though later the Manichæan doctrine of dualism became associated with his name, as Zoroastrianism, and that the institution of fire-worship, though attributed to him, was probably not taught by him. These views, however, have not won general acceptance. Though in later Avestan literature, he appears in a mythical garb, in the Gāthās, which are perhaps the earliest parts, he is represented in such a simple way as to suggest a real person. Mr. L. H. Mills thinks he "was probably only the last visible link in a far extended chain". Legendary accounts speak of his being born by the side of a river, and being in danger of his life, was rescued by Ahura-mazda, who revealed his laws to him. His teachings are found in parts of the *Avesta*. His system appears to be dualistic, being based on the doctrine of a conflict between the powers of light, represented by Ormuzd and his angels (the Amshashpends), and the powers of darkness, represented by Ahriman or Ahura-mazda, and his demons (or *Devas*). Fire, as being the means of purification, is symbolical of Ormuzd. Victory over the powers can only be achieved by means of veracity, purity, ritual exactitude, and the active pursuit of agriculture. The modern literature bearing on Zoroaster's religion is growing. *See* J. Darmsteter, *Ormuzd* et *Ahriman* (1876); *Le Zenda Vesta* (1892); Reinach, *Orpheus* (1910); J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs* (1911); J. H. Moulton, *The Treasure of the Magi* (1917).

(2) *Asa* (in the Achæmenian dialect *arta* and in Skt. *ṛta*), the life energy or the universal soul.

(3) *Ksathra Vairya*, the divine power or the universal will whose receptacle is *ārmaiti* (Skt. *Armati*), the primal matter which takes the form of the universe.

To these are added the twin *haurvatat* (Skt. *Sarvatati*), the boundless space, and *Amartat* (Skt. *Amartati*), the endless time or immortality. A human being is the microcosm of universal existence. In him, all the six above-mentioned divine attributes, *viz.*, intelligence, soul, will, matter, space and time are formed. Therefore, what the universal mind does as a whole, man must do as an individual. The human soul is a creation of Ahura, and a human being possessing his will is responsible for his action. He is made up of soul, will and matter. His will has the power of either spiritualizing or materializing itself. Death is a new life, the consciousness of the soul as to its true nature. The Zarathusthrian ethics is based upon this conception. Man is placed between matter and spirit, good and evil, morality and immorality, darkness and light. He must choose one of the two. If he chooses virtue, he must not only act good, but speak and think good. He must keep clean to the greatest possible extent the four elements of fire, air, water and earth. He must live full of hope, courage and boldness; be obedient to the laws of nature, and king and country; cheerful, contented, philanthropic and under discipline; with self-respect and self-control; prudent, modest, adventurous, conscientious, honest, tolerant and generous; sweet and submissive to elders; and kind and genial to equals and subordinates. Such, in brief, was the moral code of the earliest Iranian thinker.

Mithraism, Buddhism and Christianity.

After the fall of the Achæmenian dynasty and the establishment of the half-Iranian Seleucidæ and Parthians,[2] the

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[2] *Parthia*: An ancient country corresponding to North-east Iran; was inhabited by a people of nomad Iranians who set up an independent kingdom in 250 B.C. In 53 and 36 B.C., they defeated the



MITHRAS

The God of all Oriental Nations after the time of Alexander the Great

Greek intellectual influence became predominant. Greek philosophy and literature were studied in Iran by high and low, though in religion the Zarathusthrian doctrine remained a rival religion to the West, and in the form of Mithraism,[3] it even exerted influence on the whole of Roman Europe and North Africa. Along with Greek philosophy, Buddhism penetrated all over East Iran, *viz.*, modern Afghānistān, Bukhārā and Khurāsān. A number of Iranians in the East adopted Buddhism and worked for its spread in China. In

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Romans under Cassius in Mesopotamia, and conquered Syria and Palestine; also defeated Mark Antony in Armenia. They also exhorted a tribute of 50 million denarii from Emperor Macrinus in 218 A.D. Ctesiphon was their capital. The Euphrates lay between them and Rome. They were overthrown by Ardashir in 224 A.D. The Parthians were famous horse-archers, shooting in retreat their arrows backwards, often with deadly effect, on a pursuing enemy.

[3] *Mithraism*: The cult of the worshippers of Mithra, a God common to the Iranians and Hindus. Mithra became the God of all the Oriental Nations, after the time of Alexander the Great. By about the first half of the 1st century B.C., the religion of Mithra had become general in the Roman provinces in the West and in a century in all Roman Empire. Much has been written on it by European writers and none has gone into it with greater insight than J. G. Frazer. "The immense popularity," he says, "of his (Mithra's) worship is attested by the monuments illustrative of it, which have been found scattered in profusion all over the Roman Empire. In respect both of doctrines and of rites, the cult of Mithra appears to have presented many points of resemblance, not only to the religion of the Mother of the Gods, but also to Christianity. The similarity struck the Christian doctors themselves and was explained by them as a work of the devil, who sought to seduce the souls of men from the true faith by a false and insidious imitation of it. . . . .However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Mithraic religion proved a formidable rival to Christianity, combining as it did a solemn ritual with aspirations after moral purity and a hope of immortality. Indeed, the issue of the conflict between the two faiths appears for a time to have hung in the balance. An instructive relic of the long struggle is preserved in our festival of Christmas, which the church seems to have borrowed directly from its heathen rival." *Vide* J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IV (1907).

the West (*i.e.*, the Roman Empire), Mithraism was subdued by Christianity, which made some progress in Iran also.

Arsaka, the Expounder of the Zarvānic Theory.

Towards the end of the Parthian and the beginning of Sassanian rule, a great religious ferment set in in Western and Central Asia, and several schools of scholasticism came to be founded. Among the thinkers of this period, there was one Arsaka or Arask, who is said to have been the expounder of the Zarvānic theory. The word *Zarvan* (eternal time) is mentioned in the *Avesta*, but no importance is attached to it. The time theory is also mentioned in the *Svētasvatara Upanishad* (VI. 1) in the following lines:—

"Svabhāvam ēkē kavayō vadanti kālam
Tathā anyē parimuhyamānāḥ ||

i.e., some wise men deluded, speak of nature, and others of time (as the cause of everything).

Also in the *Bhagavad-Gitā* (XI. 32) the following line occurs:—

Kālo 'smi lokakshayakṛit pra vriddho
Lokānsamā hartumiha pravṛttaḥ ||

i.e., Time am I, laying desolate the world, made manifest on earth to slay mankind.

In Iran, the time theory was made so predominant that with the Zarvānist, Zarvān superseded even Ahura, who, together with Angramainyu, became its offshoot. It was the ultimate cause of everything in existence. Its other aspects were *thwāsa* (space) and *kšeta* (light). In Zarvānic theology, *thwāsa* and *Vāyu* (wind) have a high place and were worshipped together with Zarvān. The twelve signs of the Zodiac were assigned to space; as in Mithraism,[4] much importance was given to planets which were believed to control human destiny by their celestial movements. Zarvānism was a philosophical conception, as well as a religion, of which, as

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[4] *Ibid.* See Footnote 3 above.

in Mithraism, symbolism, mythology and astrological speculation were the chief features. It prevailed all over Iran and might have influenced India and Syria. Some of the great Zoroastrian theologians of the Sassanid period were Zarvānists. It is doubtful whether it existed as an independent religion. It finally died on the revival of orthodox Zoroastrianism and the spread of Maniism,[5] though the idea of time as an important factor in the universe existed even in Arabia at the advent of Islam, as it is thus mentioned in the *Quran*:—

> "I swear by the time, most surely man is in loss except those who believe and do good and persuade others to take up the truth and have patience."
>
> And they say: "There is nothing but the present life in this world: we live and die and nothing destroys us but *time*."—(Ch. XLV–24).

Bardesanes.

Among the more important religious reformers and thinkers of this period was Ibn Daisan or Bardesanes,[6] who

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[5] *Maniism*: Mani, the founder of the sect (*b.* 215 A.D.), appears to have borrowed his system in great part from Zoroaster. His teachings are referred to in the text lower down. They ascribe the created universe to two antagonistic principles, the one essentially good—God, spirit and light; the other essentially evil—the evil spirit, matter, darkness. Mani was partly influenced by the Gnostics. He called himself "leader", "ambassador" and "paraclete". His religion was one of physical redemption, and admits the worship of no personal redeemer. His religion spread abroad, influenced Christianity and even succeeded in capturing Augustine. Mani wrote six works in Syriac and a *Holy Gospel*, the latter in opposition to the *New Testament*. See Russell, *Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages* (1918).

[6] *Bardesanes* (154–222 A.D.): An Iranian, born at Edessa in Mesopotamia. It is said that he was the tutor of Clement of Alexandria. He was the last of the Gnostics, but developed a system of his own. He tried to explain the origin of evil by assuming two supreme principles, the one good, the other evil, which are co-equal. He asserted that the body of Christ was not real, but celestial, and he would not

is said to have descended from a Parthian clan. His father migrated to Edessa, where Bardesanes was born in 154 A.D. He was brought up in Syria, and knew the Syriac language well. At the age of 25, he embraced Christianity and received baptism, apparently from an Iranian Bishop named Hystaspes. He died at the age of 65, in 222 A.D. He derived his theology partly from Christianity and partly from Zoroastrianism, and maintained the existence of the dual principles of light and darkness. His hymns are supposed to be the best pieces of poetry in the Syriac language. He described the origin of the world by a process of emanation from the Supreme Being, whom he calls "the father of living". It is through destiny that intelligence descends into the soul and soul into the body. Evil cannot be created by God. A human being has freedom of will but his body is subject to nature and his mundane affairs such as death, disease, etc., are under the influence of destiny. Hence will, nature and destiny constitute the life of man. He denied resurrection. As a Christian, he believed that Christ was not born of Mary but through Mary.

Mani and His Philosophy.

Mani was another great Iranian thinker of this period. His father was a member of a respectable family, resident in Nishapur, who went over to Hamadan and finally settled in a village close to Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sassanian Empire, where Mani was born in 215 A.D. He received a sound education under his father. He studied Greek literature and philosophy, music, painting, astrology and medicine. At the age of about 25, he declared himself a reformer. As to his philosophical views, he did not agree with the Zarvānist, who believed both matter (darkness) and spirit (light) to be creations of Zarvān; neither did he accept the

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accept the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. His hymns are well-known. *Vide* A. Hilgenfeld, *Bardesanes* (1864). See also lower down in the text.

Zoroastrian teaching, which placed Ahuramazda above everything. He further did not agree with the Avestan teaching that wordly life in its essence is the work of Ahuramazda. He conceived matter not as a receptacle (as in Zoroastrianism) of the spirit, but as an absorber of the spirit. In Zoroastrian teaching, matter has no real existence. It is receptive of good and bad forces, which continue to fight each other, till one is subdued by the other. The human soul manifested as "Will", through the light of intelligence, has to side with one of these and accordingly forms its future destiny. But Mani makes matter the opponent of spirit, with a true independent existence. He says that the visible world is the result of the mixture of darkness with a portion of light; that light and darkness are two separate elements, one above and the other below. Their union is forced and unnatural and separation is necessary. Matter is blind, devoid of intelligence and will. Its activity is formed by mixing with the spirit. It must revert finally into the dark pit, and the soul must try to release itself from material bondage. The world is not the creation of God but of the devil and material life in its essence is evil. Mani called the Supreme Being "Father of the Kingdom of Light". He is pure in his nature, eternal and wise. He is the truth, ever existent, glorious in his power and conscious of his self. According to Mani's cosmogony, matter (darkness) thrusts itself into the realm of spirit (light). The Father of the Kingdom of Light, to repel its encroachments, successively called the following into being: *First Descent.*—He, the Supreme Being, emanated as mother of the life, who, in turn, produced the primal man; *Second Descent.*—(1) A friend of life (*narasaf* or *nairyo Sanha*); (2) as *bān* (builder); and (3) as *Mithra.* The *Third Descent* was in the form of visible light. As the mother of life, or the universal intelligence, is an emanation of the Father of Light, she must be the same with the Father in essence. The mother in turn produces the primal man or the Universal Soul, who is reflected in all individual souls. The primal man was appointed to the difficult task of subduing

matter (darkness). He was preceded by an angel named Nahashbat, bearing a crown of victory, but he was vanquished in the struggle and lost a portion of light, which was absorbed or became mixed with darkness and formed into the universe. Thus matter or darkness, in consequence of its contact with light, became tame and active. On the other hand, light was deluded and confused. The aim of the Father of Light in surrendering a small portion of light was to stop further progress of darkness into his realm and to gradually release the imprisoned light. The aim of worldly life is to rescue the imprisoned soul from matter. Hence, body, though a prison for the spirit, is the source through which spirit finds its way to freedom. The soul (light portion) must be distilled by renunciation of material jugglery (pleasures) and, after its purification from matter, will be taken up through the sun and moon to the realm of light. A human being, in his essence, is an image of higher existence. He is the instrument of the Father of Light, through whom the Father draws the imprisoned light. He is a miniature world, a mirror of all powers of the heaven and earth. In him, the soul is the light and the body is the darkness. When all souls are released of their bodies, the world will come to an end.

Mani's ethics is based on renunciation of all the worldly enjoyments, by avoiding idolatry, falsehood, greed, murder, want of charity, magic, hypocrisy, etc. As among the Buddhists, his followers are divided into the elect and the lay. The elect or the renouncers of the world's pleasures, were the select few. The other class was named "hearers" (Buddhist, *srāvakas*). The elect had to abstain from marriage, wine, all animal food and live a wandering life and to remain content with one day's food and one year's cloth. They could not trade or cultivate, nor even prepare their own food, which had to be provided by the "hearers" and even that each day for that day's sustenance. Man or woman could become an elect. The "hearers" lived ordinary lives but they too were recommended to be vegetarian in their diet. Besides this,

corresponding to the three Indian qualities of *sattva, rājasa* and *tāmasa,* there was, according to Mani, a third class of sinners. They were men of darkness and ignorance. Matter was called "the dark" or "hyle", the Arabic *hayula,* originally a Greek word, meaning an eternal but unspiritual element. Among the great thinkers and the reformers who preceded him, Mani has mentioned the names of Plato, Zarathusthra, Hermes, Buddha and Jesus with great respect. He has explained the fall of man as the voluntary entanglement of good with the evil to release the captive light. His Jesus is not the one crucified by the Roman Governor Pilate, but a revealed and visible light, which is life and salvation to humanity, through his sacrifice and suffering. In other words, he is the life energy and nature, causing man's activity through food. Hence, the meaning of the last supper, cup and wine was interpreted to mean the hidden life energy flowing into human beings through vegetation and other foods. It was considered a blasphemy, if one thought that God has created both bad and good, or the Demon of darkness and primal man were both creations of the one God or that sun and moon are dead, and rise and set mechanically. Mani's conception of spirit as light to be distilled and released gradually from matter cannot be reconciled with a belief in resurrection. There must be birth and re-birth in some form, which is called *Zādmurd* in Manichæan writing, and means "birth-death", till the whole imprisoned light in the body is released. It may be released, as in the case of a few of the "elects", sooner than in that of the "hearers", but we do not know exactly whether the forms of birth and re-births were the same as in the Indian system, or the Manichæans had some peculiar theory of their own. Mani expounded a theory of evolution as given in the following lines, taken from one of the Manichæan hymn books named *Mahrnamag* (Book of the Mahr or Mitra), which I copy from Mr. W. Jackson's article published in the *Journal of the J. A. O. Society* for September 1925:—"*Az franapt ahêm urvar,* I proceed from plant". This idea was taken up by the Sufis, as we find it in the

following famous verses of Jalal-ud-din Rumi:—"I was dead in inorganic things and took growth into that of plants and died in plant and reached to the stage of animal life and when dead in animal, I live as human being; then why should I be afraid of death and consider that by dying I may be lost."[7]

Maniism spread in the West as far as Europe and Africa and in the East to China, India and Tibet. It influenced Christianity and Islam. When the Muslim Arabs conquered Iran, they made no distinction between Manichæans and Zoroastrians. Therefore, Arab rule was a temporary relief to Manichæans from Zoroastrian persecution. But, in course of time, it became known that the Manichæan community is a secret body dangerous to the cause of Islam and a severe persecution was started by the Khalif and his successors. Nevertheless, their number was not much reduced till the invasion of the Mongols, when they were finally extirpated both from Iran and Central Asia.

Manichæism and the Quran.

There are some ideas parallel to Manichæism appearing in the *Quran,* among which are:—

(1) The parable of the two trees, one relating to the life of God and the other to Death and Darkness filling the whole space.

(2) That the Jews did not crucify Jesus but crucified some other man by mistake.

(3) The grades of men classified according to spiritual attainment or material tendency are three, both in the *Quran* and the Manichæan doctrine.

Islam, Judaism and Christianity make *Satan* the tempter of Adam and Eve and the result is the Fall and sin of Adam. Mani, however, takes quite a different view. He says it was Jesus who revealed the secret of death and the misery of

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[7] *Cf.* Shakespeare:—

Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

—*Hamlet,* Act V. 1.

material human existence by making man taste the fruit of knowledge. According to Mani, primal man and the mother of the living are manifestations of the divine energy. They are not eternal. He refuted the system of Bardesanes and argued against his theory that the human soul is purified in this body; according to Mani, it was really imprisoned and lost its purity. Mani holds that matter prevents the soul from attaining salvation. Mani's writings are of two kinds, philosophical and theological. His theology is a collection of rather crude myth and parables, but, for a careful observer, there is in it an under-current of deep philosophy and reasoning.

MAZDAK.

Another Iranian thinker of this period was Zaradusht, the son of Khurragān, a native of Nisa and a successor of Mani. His views were expounded by a follower of his school, named Mazdak, a native of Tabriz, or according to some writers of South Iran. Mazdak, like Mani, was highly learned. He became a Zoroastrian high priest while yet a young man. His as well as his master's philosophy is a modification of Manichæism. Mani had agreed that the universe is formed by the entanglement of the spirit in matter and that matter is the cause of such mixture. Now, the point open for discussion was the possibility of such mixture. Mazdak maintained that since matter possessed neither intelligence nor will, it could not be aggressive. Therefore spirit must have descended into matter. But the spiritual aspect of man is weak and revolting to matter. Therefore the union of spirit which makes matter intelligent and active is matter's encroachment, but accidental and not intentional, as depicted by Mani. He has emphasised this point and thus founded a separate school of thought. Further, he asserts that the imprisoned spirit in matter has the attribute of intelligence and will. Therefore it must realize its unnatural state and strive to release itself and join its original source. According to Mazdak, the world is composed of three elements, *viz.*,

fire, water and earth. That being which is produced of harmonious and pure combination of the elements is good and that which is polluted and is produced from unequal combination is bad. God, the Supreme Being, is possessed of the attribute of the power of discernment, memory, intelligence and contentment, and these his four powers, direct the affairs of the world, through seven sub-powers, and are responsible for the formation of the universe. Under these sub-powers, there are twelve qualities permeating all animate things. Through these qualities, man attains the seven higher powers and gaining them turns towards the four highest divine attributes and finally attains emancipation. The ethics of Mazdak, like that of Mani, is based on the renunciation of all worldly possession. He prohibited the eating of flesh, killing of harmless animals, war and bloodshed.

The Mazdakites were persecuted by King Khusroe I and his successors, and once again by the Muslim Khalifs but the teaching of Mazdak remained alive, and appeared in a much modified form in the Ismailiyya and Khurramiyya movements. Mazdak announced his teaching in about 487 A.D. and was beheaded in 528-29 A.D. at the age of 68.

Greek Philosophy.

During the semi-historical age when Egypt, Babylon and other Eastern countries formed centres of civilisation and learning, Grecian scholars travelled to those countries and acquired knowledge and in turn themselves became the torch-bearers of culture and illuminated the East with their art, architecture and philosophy. History repeated itself in the scholastic period of Europe, when once again Europeans sought culture and refinement from the East, but soon surpassed their masters.

The Early Thinkers.

Among the earliest Greek philosophers was Thales of Miletus,[8] who lived probably in the early 6th century B.C.,

[8] *Thales of Miletus*: Lived about the close of the 7th century B.C.; a philosopher of the physical school. Miletus from which he

and therefore a contemporary of the Median kings of Iran, and not far removed from the age of Gautama Buddha. Thales had studied astronomy and perhaps other branches of science also in Babylon. It is not certain whether he was a pure Greek or an outsider domiciled in Greece. He has been reckoned so great a philosopher as to be counted as one of the seven sages of ancient Greece. He stands at the head of the philosophical school, and usually spoken of as the father of philosophy in general as the first to seek and find within Nature an explanation of Nature. "The principle of all things," he says, "is water"; "all comes from water, and to water all returns." His countryman and successor Anaximander, born about 610 B.C., improved upon Thales by saying that the primitive substance is something indeterminate and eternal, infinite in space and time, that the earth is not flat resting on water but is suspended in space. Anaximanes, the third philosopher of the Miletian school, fixed air as the first principle of things. Air, according to him, is the elementary substance, by becoming cool or warm, dense, liquid or dry changes its forms. It was about this time that West Asia Minor was invaded and annexed by Cyrus the Great[9] to his vast Empire. Thus the Iranians came into direct

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took his name was the foremost Iranian city of ancient Asia Minor, at the mouth of the Meander; was the mother of many colonies; was the port from which vessels traded to all the Mediterranean countries and to the Atlantic; its carpets and cloth were far-famed; its first greatness passed away when Darius stormed it in 494 B.C.; it was finally destroyed by the Turks; amongst its famous sons were Thales, the philosopher, and Cadmus, the historian.

[9] *Cyrus the Great*: Also called Cyrus the Elder, the founder of the Iranian Empire (560–529 B.C.); overthrew his grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes; subdued Crœsus, king of Lydia; conquered Babylon; and finished by becoming master of all Western Asia; a man of great energy and generosity; he left the nations he subjugated and rendered tributary free in the discharge of their institutions; historians have remarked that this policy was actuated by political motives. Xenophon's work, *The Cyropædia*, is an idealistic account of the education of this great king.

contact with the Greeks and remained so till the rise of the Roman Empire. The centre of Greek philosophy for some time was transferred from Miletus to Ephesus. In the meanwhile, Pythagoras, who was born at Samos, flourished about the middle of the 6th century B.C. and founded his famous school of thought at Croton in Magna Græcia.[10] He is considered to have travelled far in the east and to have derived his knowledge in theology, geometry and arithmetic from eastern sources. He is even reported to have been taken captive by Cambyses I in Egypt, who, it is said, took him to Syria, from whence he found his way to Babylon. But Cambyses, before reaching Babylon, died in Syria. Pythagoras is chiefly noted for his theory of numbers, which he and his followers had accepted as the elements of all things. Odd numbers were considered superior in quality to even numbers and number four (4) was considered to be the most perfect. In his conception of the dualistic nature of the universe, the

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[10] *Pythagoras* (540–500 B.C.): Travelled extensively and settled at Croton, in Magna Græcia, where he founded a fraternity, the members of which bound themselves in closest ties of friendship to purity of life and to achieve co-operation in disseminating and encouraging a kindred spirit in the community around them, the final of it being the establishment of a model social organization. He left no writings behind him, and we know of his philosophy chiefly from the philosophy of his disciples. The fundamental thought of this philosophy was that "of proportion and harmony, and this idea is to them as well the principle of practical life, as the supreme law of the universe". According to Schwegler, it was a kind of "arithmetical mysticism, and the leading thought was that law, order and agreement obtain in the affairs of Nature, and that these relations are capable of being expressed in number and in measure". The whole tendency of the Pythagoreans, in a practical aspect, was ascetic, and aimed only at a rigid castigation of the moral principle in order thereby to ensure the emancipation of the soul from its mortal prison-house and its transmigration into a nobler form. It is this doctrine that is so prominently associated with the Pythagorean philosophy which has led certain authorities to suggest that Pythagoras owed it to the Hindus. Cambyses, who took him captive, was King of Iran (*d.* 54 B.C.); succeeded his father Cyrus the Great; subdued Egypt; ended his life in dissipation and vindictive acts of cruelty.

teaching of Pythagoras is somewhat similar to the doctrine of Zoroaster. In other respects, he comes close to Hindu philosophy. For instance, he believed that not only animate creatures but also everything in this universe possesses a soul, and that every soul passes from one body to another according to its perfect or imperfect state. Music and astronomy were considered by him as sister sciences. His successors, and among them Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, were influenced by his or by the teaching of his followers. He is considered to be the father of early European science, religion and ethics. His name was held in high veneration by Muslim writers. Heraclitus, the greatest philosopher of the Ephesian school, fixed fire as the primary substance. He believed in a continuous motion or constant flux in the universe such as Buddha taught, the continuous chain of "Change". Like Zoroaster, Heraclitus admitted the dualistic nature of the physical world, but asserted that the apparent opposites are really the two aspects of the same truth. His ethical ideal also, like that of Zoroaster, is based on struggle and conflict. Parmenides, the great philosopher of the Eleatic school, on the other hand, denied motion and change and said that "being" is uniform, unchangeable and motionless. Thus the perpetual flux of Heraclitus became the unchangeable reality with Parmenides, who named the two apparent principles which cause diversity in the world fire and earth, or heat and cold. His pupil Empedocles, of Agrigentum in Sicily, advanced the theory that man before taking the human form has to pass through various stages of vegetable and animal life, which theory we find in Rumi's *Masnavi* also. Empedocles abstained from eating meat and considered animal life to be sacred. He did not, like Heraclitus, believe in strife alone, but conceived the universe as made up of two moving forces, the uniting one of love, and the disuniting one of strife. Leucippus originated and Democritus[11] elaborated the theory

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11 *Leucippus* and *Democritus*: Both these belonged to the 6th century B.C. Only fragments of Democritus's writings have come

of atoms, which was common to Greek and Indian philosophers, and later taken up by Muslims also. In India, the Jains, *Vaisesikas* and the followers of the *Nyaya* system together with the Northern Buddhists believed in the atomic theory. The Greek atomists thought that Being or non-being, a thing or nothing (in Arabic—*Shai* or *la-shai*) are the other names for extension and void or existence and non-existence. Existence as such consists of an unlimited number of invisible atoms placed in the infinite void. They are eternal and indestructible and therefore have no beginning for existence. They cannot be divided nor are they perceptible. They are of various sizes, all consisting of the same substance. Their different combinations are the cause of various forms and qualities. By their combinations, things come into existence, and they pass out of existence by their separation. Their combinations and separation cause motion which needs an empty space. Therefore, space and motion are necessary to each other and are real. Each substance has a peculiar atom for its formation. For instance, fire is made of the smallest round atoms, black colour of smooth atoms, white of rough, sour taste of small angular, sweet taste of large round atoms, and so forth. Even the soul is not anything beyond atoms. It is made up of fire atoms which work as thought in brain, as courage in heart, and as desire or passion in the liver. Sensation is caused when images leave an object and strike the sense organs. Size and weight are connected with bodies or forms. Thus the significance of Pythagorean numbers was given to continuous flux by Heraclitus, 'rest' by Parmenides, motion and atom by Democritus. According to Parmenides, motion and change are illusions of the senses, the real being unchangeable and motionless. This resembles the Vēdāntic and Sufistic theories concerning the one Supreme Reality.

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down to our times, though they appear to have been well-known in the time of Cicero, who compares them for splendour and music of eloquence to Plato's. He has been called the "Laughing Philosopher" from, it is alleged, his habit of laughing at the follies of mankind. (Born 460 B.C.)

Anaxagoras, who was born about 500 B.C., recognised the sun and the moon, which were worshipped as Gods by the Greeks, the former a red-hot mass of stone and the latter an earthly body and the *Nous*, or reason, was explained by him, as the cause of order in the confused universe. He considered matter as unchangeable in quality and quantity. According to Diogenes of Appollonia, *Nous* was the element air, which he considered the only intelligent cause in nature.

The Sophists.

The Sophists were a class of Grecian learned men seeking knowledge and learning for wealth and social development. They started reasoning by representing the object to be argued in different lights and from different points of view, sometimes by contradicting a fact and at other times by affirming an idea. Their chief instrument was the power of speech and cross-examination as to an object. With them like or dislike, pleasure or pain were the means of distinguishing between right and wrong. Each man must use his own judgment and what he thinks the best he should do. There is no standard for virtue or morals. Religion is the outcome of men claiming extraordinary heavenly powers for themselves. Law and justice are means to entrap the weak class. Traditions have no basis and true knowledge of objects is not possible. There is some resemblance between them and some Muslim scholastics. Their aim was not so much to know the truth as to gain their point in argument and earn livelihood by teaching. There were exceptions to this, as among them we find moralists and political and social reformers and deep thinkers also. In fact, the great moralist Socrates followed their method of argument not to silence his opponent, but to reach the true knowledge of an object or idea under discussion. He perfected this system of studying an object. Ibn-e-Hazm, the Spanish Muslim writer, says, that the Sophists are those who consider knowledge either as non-existent or relative. Among the noted Sophists were Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus, Gorgias and Hippias of

Elis. The subjects of their studies were grammar, eloquence of speech or rhetoric, etc. They considered that the truth for one is not necessarily the truth for another. What one thinks good and true for himself, is for him alone. Man is the measure of all things. Among the Sophists, Hippias advocated the idea that men of higher intellect, virtue and wisdom in all parts of the world have common features and tendencies and therefore must be classed as one particular body or a separate state by themselves. Like Darius the Great, he valued truth as a high virtue and thought that an element of truth or right is found in the laws of all nations, which must be counted as the basis of their culture. According to Gorgias, in each age and society a particular type of virtue exists which is suitable to that age and society.

Socrates.

The Sophist system ends or takes a new appearance by the rise of Socrates, the great moralist and the most respected philosopher of Greece, who flourished at the zenith of Achæminian power in Iran. He never wrote anything but his sayings were preserved by his disciples. He was born in 469 B.C. He was prosecuted on the charge of not recognising the gods acknowledged by the State and changing the ideas of young Greeks by his eloquence and power of argument. He was sentenced to death and with great courage and peace of mind drank a cup of hemlock and died in 399 B.C. at the age of seventy years. Thus, one of the greatest of Greek wisdom-seekers and if we believe in all that has been said about him, a self-sacrificing, just, honourable man, obedient to the laws of his country, a model of manly character, the most virtuous philosopher in the ancient world, whose parallel one can find only in Jesus and Buddha, died a victim of ignorance and tyranny. His method of reasoning was an improvement over the Sophist system. While the Sophistic point of view was often taken to prove a statement put forward, Socrates agreed provisionally with the object of coming to a right conclusion. With him, knowledge was



SOCRATES

virtue. He wanted to know what is just and what is unjust, and what is true and what is not true, by putting cross questions and by inductive reasoning. Like Aristotle, he was not a strict logician but his arguments and conclusions were logical. He was interested more in knowing humanity and the object of human existence. His chief subject of study was ethics. He desired not only to do good but to value the beauty of goodness. With him, virtue was knowledge and vice ignorance. Therefore he combined knowledge with virtuous action. He was brave and bold in the battle-field, sincere and true in friendship, patriotic and obedient to the country and its laws. For him, his conscience was the right measure of judging good and evil and distinguishing between the real and the unreal. Like Zoroaster, he loved virtue and fought against ignorance, and believed individual happiness to be bound up with human happiness.

PLATO.

Plato, whose true name was Aristocles, was the son of Ariston, a nobleman. He is known as *Aflatun* among Muslim writers. He was a pupil of Socrates. Among Western philosophers, he is the most respected in the East. He was born of a respectable family in 429 B.C. and died at the age of about 81. His first teacher in philosophy was Cratylus. He met Socrates at the age of twenty and remained under his training for eight years. When Socrates died, he left Athens and for some time travelled in Megara, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Magna Græcia. He returned to Athens, but after eight years, again left for Italy and Sicily and finally came to Athens and passed the remaining years of his life in teaching philosophy and mathematics. He was an ethical and speculative philosopher, a poet and a mystic and an idealist. His aim was human improvement and he was a lover of truth. He was a great mathematician, a beautiful writer and a deep thinker. He endeavoured to harmonise various concepts of past and contemporary thinkers with a great many additions of his own, which he has expressed in

language which is dramatic in character and dialectic in form. The chief speakers in his philosophical dialogues are his teacher Socrates, the elder thinker Parmenides, and a number of other wise men of Greece, real and imaginary. Included among these are Hipporites, Protagoras, Gorgias, Polus, Euthydemus and the like, who speak and agree on problems of metaphysics, logic, ethics and politics. In some cases, their discussion ends in a logical conclusion and in others the point at issue is left undecided.

To teaching and writing, Plato devoted fifty years of his lifetime. The number of his genuine works is not less than 35 *Dialogues,* besides thirteen *Letters,* and a collection of *Definitions.* Of his works, besides the *Republic* (*Kitaba*), the following *Dialogues* were known through translations made into Arabic by Muslim scholars: *The Laws; Timæus,* whose Arabic translation is considered by some to be not of the original but of a commentary on it by Galen; according to Muslim writers, it is a work on physical nature, while in truth it is a work on metaphysics; *Sophist; Phædo,* which is quoted by Masudi and Albiruni; *Apology; Gorgias; Protagoras; Cleitophre; Phædrus; Cratylus;*[12] *Charmides; Theætetes; Laches; Euthydemus; Euthyphro; Parmenides; Meno; Menexinus,* etc.

Plato's name was so great in the East that a number of other works bearing on different subjects are associated with his name, such as alchemy, physiognomy, magical force or numerical signs, etc. The object must have been to make these subjects weighty and authentic by ascribing their authorship to the great philosopher. Such was also the case with some traditions of the Prophet and certain of the sayings of his companions and Sufi saints, because the narrator thought by ascribing certain maxims and wise sayings to holy persons, he would be making them more authentic and better appreciated by his audience. In some cases, Plato is

12 This dialogue deals on the connection between language and thought.



PLATO

confused with Plotinus and ideas of the one have been assigned to the other. Among the personages in the dialogues, two unauthentic names of Hipparchus and Meno have been included.

His Metaphysics—The Doctrine of Ideas.

Plato's philosophy is poetic, mystical and idealistic. The doctrine of *ideas* is explained by him in various dialogues from different points of view, apparently dropping at one time one view and adopting another, though to a deep observer there is really no confusion as to the conclusion. In some dialogues, *ideas* are explained as archetype or sensible objects, somewhat resembling the *Fravashis* of the Avestan doctrine. In other places, they are conceived as separate from their manifested aspects but imminent and again in other places they are separate but not imminent. They are eternal realities of which objects of the sense are imperfect copies. They are thus classified:—1. Biological—such as the idea of man, animal, etc.; 2. Elemental; 3. Logical—similarity and dissimilarity; rest and motion, unity and multiplicity; 4. Material; 5. Ethical—the beautiful, the good, the just.

The essence of these in their non-sensuous state is unchangeable and is distinguished from the manifested form. They are self-existent and eternal. The objects may be many, but the ideas of each class are one. Therefore, each concept has its various infinite aspects. In other words, Platonic ideas are universal in a class of particulars, or single qualities appearing in various forms in concrete things. They are ends of various concepts and in turn ending into the single idea of good (*Republic*), the final course of all being knowledge and perfection. Thus, they resemble the Iranian *Asha* or *Arta,* to which great importance is attached by Zoroaster, and the celebrated *mantra* of *Ashem Vohu Vahishtem* (praising the same) has to be repeated several times every day by all Zoroastrians. The *Idea* of the good is co-eternal with divine reason. It is the *Idea* of all *ideas* unmoved but moves all things and all things move towards it. It manifests itself

in all ideas. In other words, all particulars are derived from their universal and universals from the single idea of the Good, which should be sought and known.

Idea is pure and imperishable, but things are transitory and between being and not being, knowledge and ignorance. They are partly derived from idea and partly from a certain principle which is ever changing, non-existent, and unknown. This Platonic principle is the so-called matter. It is formless but is the basis of all the changing forms of phenomena. It is also space. Ideas are patterns and things copies, but patterns are separate from copies. The intermediary link between pattern and copy, the unmoved and the Heraclitian ever-changing matter, is the soul which is the source of movement and life. It is also the cause of manifestation of reason in the universe. It stands midway between ideas and the corporeal world and unites both. It resembles the Iranian *Mithra*, and is incorporeal and ever the same, like Ideas. But as the sun spreads its light through the world and moves it by the force of its own original motion, it creates regularity, harmony, knowledge and reason by its own rationality and knowledge. The human soul in its nature resembles the soul of this universe, from which it springs. It is of simple and immaterial nature. Like the world soul, by power of self-movement it is the cause of motion in the body. It is connected with the idea of life having neither beginning nor end. It is descended from a higher world, and after death, if in pure condition, returns to its origin, but if impure it passes into other states till purified and made fit to join in its true whole.

His Ethics.

Virtue must be appreciated for its goodness and sought through education. One-sided exaggeration is not virtue. He reduces virtue to wisdom, courage, self-control, and justice, and these again are reduced into knowledge or insight, which tends to assimilation into the divine nature. In his politics, his constitution is first based on the aristocratic and absolute rule of a few philosophers with democratic

elements. Society is divided as in ancient Iran into three classes or castes, *viz.*, learned men, warriors, and agriculturists including artisans. The caste system both in Iran and Plato's State was not so rigid as it is at present in India. The three castes were compared to the three parts of the soul, which is divided as reason in the brain, as courage in the heart, and as desire in the lower body. The two higher classes had to receive education from the State Early training was given in music and gymnastics but in Iran the youths were trained in speaking the truth, riding the horse and shooting the arrow. Private property was allowed but, to a limited extent as fixed by law. Marriage was allowed, while domestic life was supervised by the State and boys as well as girls were educated in a common school. Relations with foreigners were controlled and limited by the State. Plato's deity is identical with the idea of the good. Divine worship is one with virtue and knowledge. The "Ideas" for him are eternal gods, and the cosmos and stars are also visible gods. The earth is an orb surrounded by a much greater and complete orb of heaven. The stars are fixed in sphere by the revolution of which they move in a spherical or round movement. When all of them return to their original position, one world year of ten thousand human years is completed. The stars are rational creatures.

Muslim Writers on Plato.

Among Muslim philosophers, Al-Kindi wrote small treatises on Plato's theory of numbers as described in the *Republic* and on intelligence; while Fārābi wrote on intentions (*aghrāz*), the laws (*jawame*) and also a brief review of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy. Abu Bakr Rāzi wrote a commentary on *Timæus* and Plato's metaphysics. Ibn-ur-Rushd (*Averroes*) wrote a commentary on the *Republic,* and Ali, son of Rizivan, wrote on the views of Plato and Aristotle concerning the immortality of the soul. Among other Muslim writers who have mentioned Plato in their works are:—Ibn-Ali Usaiba, Ibne-Kifti, An-Nadim and the Turkish biographer

Haji Khalifa. Ibne-Kifti's sources are from Diogenes of Lærtins and from Diodorus Siculus. Plato is called the sage and *Shaikh* (chief) of Greek philosophers. The Muslim school of philosophy known as Ishraqi is considered to be related to Plato's doctrines. Plato's teaching is studied by Muslims in the light of Neo-Platonism. He is more respected than actually followed. His idea of good has been made identical by the Sufis with the supreme beauty of God. The authors of *Ekhwan us-safa* borrowed the theory of numbers and identified the four numbers to the following four, composing the existence:—God to the unit number, intellect to number two, the soul to number three and matter to number four. The idea of the world of intelligence was interpreted as corresponding to the Quranic world of command and the senses to the Quranic world of creation. Plato's *Ideas* were taken as similar to the Muslim *ayan-e-Sabeta,* the *Intelligible* to *maqul* and *Example* to *mithal.* Some considered the *Ideas* as pure intelligence and the world as a reflection of the same. Masudi quotes Plato's theory of the soul causing motion of the body. Plato's description of love, number, relation of soul and body, the worlds of intelligence and corporeal things, etc., have been interpreted, as already remarked, in the light of Neo-Platonic teaching. In brief, Plato's influence on Muslim writers is largely indirect. He is followed more closely by mystics than by philosophers. He might have been known to contemporary Iranian learned men of the Achæmenian period.

Aristotle.

Aristotle, son of Nicomachus, was born at Stagria in Thrace, in 384 B.C. In his 17th year, he became a pupil of Plato and remained in Plato's academy studying and teaching for twenty years. When Plato died and was succeeded by his nephew, Aristotle left the academy and went to Hermias, chief of Atarmeus, with whom he remained for three years, and then moved to Mitylane. In 343 B.C., he became, at the request of Philip, King of Macedonia, tutor to



ARISTOTLE

(From Herculaneum: probably belongs to 4th century B.C.)

Alexander the Great, then only 13 years old. On Alexander's expedition into Asia, he returned to Athens and founded his school where he passed twelve years. When Alexander died in 323 B.C., the anti-Macedonian party in Athens became strong and Aristotle as teacher of Alexander was in danger of losing his life. He therefore left Athens and departed to his native place near Chalcis, in Eubœa, where he died in 322 B.C., at the age of 62. While at Athens, he taught in the Lyceum, where it was his habit to walk up and down as he thought, from which circumstance his school got the name of Peripatetic. In Arabic, his followers are accordingly called *Mashshāeen* (of those who walk). He is described as *Moallum-e-awwul* (or the first teacher) and to Muslims is chiefly known as logician and grammarian. His name and works were known to the learned men of the East, having been translated into Aramaic (Syrian), the *lingua franca* of West Asia and Pahlavi, the State language of Iran. Like the writings of Plato, his works reached the hands of Eastern scholars through the commentaries by Porphyry and other writers of the Roman period. The Syriac version of Aristotle's logic by Paul, the Iranian, who was a contemporary and a favourite of Khusroe Anushirwan, King of Iran, shows that the translation was made through Neo-Platonic works. It was rather a translation of a translation. The Arabic grammar is held to have been influenced by Aristotle's Hermeneutic in its doctrines of the three parts of speech, *viz., Ism* (noun), *Fel* (verb) and *Harf* (letters). If this opinion be correct, then Aristotle's work must have reached Arabia even during the life-time of the Prophet and known to some of his companions, because according to the traditions, it was Ali, the fourth Khalif, who explained to one Abu asud Doeli, the three fundamental principles of grammar, *viz., Ism, Fel* and *Harf*. The said Abu asud Doeli is considered to be the first known Arab grammarian.

Aristotle was encyclopædic in his learning. An original thinker and a great scholar, circumstances helped in making his pupil a world-conqueror. His pupil, in his turn, supplied

his teacher with all material required for research in the natural sciences. Unlike Plato, who was a beautiful prose-writer, Aristotle was technical and dry. His chief achievement was in Logic, Ethics, Politics and Metaphysics, which he systematized and made into a science. In Astronomy, however, his theories proved misleading to the future generation. A comprehensive account of his philosophy is beyond the scope of this work, but a brief account, throwing light on its influence in the development of Muslim philosophy, is all that will be attempted here.

Aristotle's writings represent his lectures to his pupils. They may be set down under the following heads:—

1. Metaphysics (Aristotle's *First Philosophy*)
2. Physics (including *Astronomy,* etc.).
3. Logic.
4. Ethics and Politics.
5. Arts or Science of Production.

In what he calls *First Philosophy,* Aristotle discusses the first principles of the following problems:—

1. The Supreme Being, the first cause, the unmoved mover of the universe.
2. Nature and the world.
3. Form and matter.
4. The individual and the universal.
5. Active and passive intelligence.
6. Man and free will.

The Supreme Being is the prime mover of the world and also its final end. In the *Quran,* this idea is expressed thus:—"We are Allah's and to Him we shall surely return." This Supreme Mover is himself unmoved. He is ever eternal, self-existent, good, immaterial, beyond space and time. Everything is moved by Him and also attracted towards Him. He excites a desire or, as the Sufis say, love, which causes universal motion. He himself remains unmoved, unaffected and is in need of nothing, as it is said in the *Quran*:—"Allah is self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds." He is "thought" and as such thinks upon himself and to think of

Him is to think of thought. The world movement or change is due to a cause or mover and the final cause or mover himself is unmoved, because he is immaterial and pure actual. It is the characteristic of matter to accept form, which is the same as to be moved. There are four kinds of causes, *viz.*, the material, the formal, the efficient and the final. The general law which governs existence is called nature, which, according to Aristotle, does not act aimlessly, but works towards the final cause. According to the *Quran*, God has not created this Universe in vain, but with an end in view. Nature's boundary is beyond the sphere of fixed stars; within, the world moves for eternity. In other words, nature is the world manifested and is composed of the potential and the actual or essence and matter.

Matter is the receptacle of all forms, the ground of all diversity. It has the capacity of accepting forms. In its pure condition, it is passive; moves towards the active, as iron does towards the magnet. It has not been created by the Supreme Being, but it received existence by being moved, which, in turn, is the cause of the diversity of existence we see in the manifested world. Hence, matter is eternal and the motion of the world is also as eternal as the world itself. This is one of the points in which Muslim theologians and philosophers have been unable to agree with Aristotle and have, therefore, denounced him and his philosophy, calling both heretical. The other points of difference are the resurrection of the body and a special providence. Matter, in its pure state, cannot be realized by the mind until it accepts a form. Thus, things till unperceived are possible and, when perceived, become actual. The formless material is the pure or the first matter, which is not limited, and is the common source of all bodies, and the universal soul (form) is the origin of individual souls (forms). Both matter and form are eternal and unchangeable. Thus, Aristotelian "forms" are Platonic "ideas" with this modification that Platonic "ideas" are distinct and separate from things and Aristotle's "forms" are the essence and power of things through which things

move and attain perfection. I am not taking into account some of the modern interpretations of Plato, according to which "ideas" were not meant by Plato to be separate from things. Such an interpretation was not envisaged by Muslim thinkers. In all movement, there is moving and the moved. The former is actual and the latter potential. But motion, according to Aristotle, has no beginning, and hence he does not believe in the creative power of the Supreme Being, which is against Islamic teaching. A further difference between Aristotle and Muslim teaching is in regard to the personality of God, on which Islam insists, while Aristotle is indifferent to it. Man is organic substance, made up of matter (as body) and soul (as essence). The activity of the soul is not uniform in all existing things. A plant possesses a nutritive soul; an animal, a nutritive, sensitive, appetitive and locomotive soul; while man, besides all this, possesses also the rational.

Intellect or reason thus distinguishes man from a mere animal. Reason is immortal or, in other words, unchangeable and divine, and enters from without. Its activity has no relation with the bodily activity. The animal possesses memory but man, besides memory, is gifted with the power of reminiscence. Reason is constructive and passive. The passive receives impressions of external things and is the seat of memory, and perishes with the body, but constructive or creative reason is eternal and immaterial, and, therefore has no memory. This theory contradicts the belief in resurrection, which is not acceptable to Muslims. Aristotle's commentators have identified his active intelligence as universal and same everywhere, and among Muslim philosophers Ibn-ur-Rushd believed that there is only one intelligence in the universe and all human thinking is really the thought of the Supreme Being.

Aristotle's *Physics,* which was speculative to some extent, proved misleading to younger generations of both the East and the West for a considerable time. It is partly experimental and partly scientific. In its speculative aspect, Aristotle

has imagined space as an unmoved limit of the universe or things in motion. The world moves in upper, lower, left, or right sides, and the earth is the lower half of it. Though the motion of the universe appears to be from left to right, really it is from right to left. The farthest end or the extreme outer circle is the most rapid in motion, which is the sphere of the planets. Aristotle gives between 47 and 52 spheres. Each planet possesses a soul which is its unmoved mover. The Earth is the centre of the universe and is stationary. Fire and earth, the two elements, represent heat and cold, and to these, moist and dry, water is added and wind considered as the fourth element. There is a fifth element, called ether, which has a circular motion. The other two motions tend towards the centre, as stone, or recede from the centre, as fire. The planets and stars have a revolving motion. Beyond space, there is no time. There is eternal and blessed life of peace in the region of the Divine, imperishable and unchangeable. The first heaven, the sphere of fixed stars, revolves from the left to the right and the planets revolve in the opposite direction. They are composed of ether. The human soul is also of the same composition. The whole of this theory now appears a fiction and, even long before Aristotle, Pythagoras thought the earth was moving. The central position of the earth, as given by Aristotle, does not place it in a higher position. It is in the centre, but its destiny is bound up with an all-embracing circumference. This theory was accepted by Muslim poets and most of the thinkers, and from some passages in the *Quran,* it might be inferred that the earth is stationary and that the sun and the moon are moving, but in other passages, it is said that though mountains appear as at rest, they move as swiftly as clouds, which gives the idea of a moving earth.

The essential state of life is the natural heat, seated in the heart, which is also the seat of intelligence. The brain is the coldest and wettest part of the body. Thus, of the five senses, sight, sound and smell are placed in the brain; the other two (touch and taste), including commonsense, are

connected with the heart. Aristotle's description of animals, of which a large number has been given by him, is, to a great extent, imaginary and mythical, in which he was followed by his Eastern successors. The scholastics of Europe converted the unmoved movers or intelligence of planetary spheres into angels.

Reasoning as a subject started with Socrates and, by Plato, made a dialectic, while it was organized and systematized as Logic by Aristotle. Aristotle, therefore, is called a great logician by Muslim thinkers. His logic was related to language, grammar and rhetoric, and based on concepts. It was further developed by Eudemus[13] and Theophrastus,[14] and became a subject of study by all subsequent Roman, Greek, Egyptian and Syrian scholars. It was called an introduction to the art of investigation and the science of correct thinking. Thinking consists in reasoning; in deriving the particular from the universal. Inferences are made up of judgments, which, when expressed in language, are called propositions. Judgments, again, are made up of concepts, which are expressed in terms. Concepts depend upon proof, which, according to Aristotle, fall under one of the following ten categories though, sometimes, he enumerates only eight:— Substance, quality, quantity, relation, place, time, position, condition, activity and passivity. Categories are translated into Arabic as *maqulat*. Propositions (Arabic *Qaz āyā*) are classified into universal and particular, affirmative or negative. When one asserts or denies of the whole, what the other denies or asserts of the part, we have contradictions,

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[13] *Eudemus*: Pupil of Aristotle; is known by his history of mathematics and astronomy.

[14] *Theophrastus*: A peripatetic philosopher, born in Zesbos; pupil, heir and successor of Aristotle, and the great interpreter and expounder of his philosophy; was widely famous in his day; his writings were numerous, but only a few are extant, on plants, stars and fire. Died 286 B.C. Among the other pupils of Aristotle were: Aristoxenus, known by his studies in the theory of music; and Dicærchurs, by his geography and politics. See Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, 94.

and when the universal affirmative stands against a universal negative, we have contraries. A syllogism is a speech in which something is presupposed and contains premises, the major (Arabic, *Kubra*), and the minor (Arabic, *Sughra*), and a middle term which enables us to compare them. The different relation of the middle term gives us the three figures of the syllogism. There are two forms of syllogism, the inductive and deductive. The inductive method is to proceed from a particular to a general conclusion, and the deductive from a general to a particular.[15] The first is concluded from part to whole and the last from whole to part. Induction proves the major and the middle premises by means of the minor and is based on assumptions obtained from experience. Aristotle, therefore, does not definitely assert that inductive proof leads to the final truth in all argumentation.

In India, Indrabhūti Gautama (about 607–515 B.C.) and Dignaga (500 A.D.) were the earliest writers on logic. But to the Indian, Logic (*Tarka* or *Nyāya Sāstra*) is not a separate formal subject. Any one of the six philosophical systems of schools of India may form its own logical theories. The Hindu categories (*Padārtha*) as enumerated by Kanāda, the founder of the Vaisēshika system, are:—*Dravya* (substance), *Guṇa* (quality), *Karma* (action), *Sāmānya* (community), *Visēsha* (difference) and *Samavāya* (permanent inherence). To these, *Abhāva* (negation) was added. These seven categories, further sub-divided into classes, lead to *Mōksha* or freedom.

In syllogism, we put two assertions together and out of them deduce a third. When two things are in the two extreme ends in the same genus, they are called contrary to each other, but when one is the negative of the other, it is termed contradictory. In Metaphysics, the universal is the first substance and the individual possesses a derivative

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[15] The ideal science in Aristotle's day was mathematics; hence, the important role deduction plays in his logic. His aim was to reach the certainty of mathematics. See Thilly, *History of Philosophy*, 80.

existence; in Logic (categories), the individual is the first substance. A proposition must affirm or deny something. Such, in brief, was the art of logic taught by Aristotle and developed by his successors into a science.

His Ethics and Politics.

Muslim Ethics in its character is Eastern and more indebted to India than to any other foreign country. It has, however, a close resemblance to Aristotle's when it asserts 'Means' or moderation of various human faculties as virtue. This is suggested in the *Quran* in the following lines:—"And do not make your hand to be a fetter to your neck nor stretch it forth to the utmost of its stretching."[16] This means that moderation should be adopted. Excess in anything becomes a vice. For example, cowardice, which is of the least use as a human defensive power, or rashness, its opposite, which is the overuse of the same; but courage is moderation and therefore a virtue. Muslim writers base their ethics on the authority of passages in the *Quran,* to which Iranian and Indian traditions are added, though they classify according to Aristotle and often quote Socrates, Plato, Galen and Hippocrates in support. Plato taught knowledge to be the highest good and justice the basis of all virtues, to which Aristotle agrees and says that 'Means' balances virtue and vice. Plato enumerates courage, justice, temperance, wisdom and purity or holiness which was adopted by Aristotle, with the exception of holiness. In *Quran,* humanity, patience, chastity, faith, devotion and self-sacrifice are among the best virtues but they are not mentioned by Aristotle. His virtues are:—Courage, temperance, liberality, magnificence, right ambition, self-respect, gentleness, truth, wit and friendliness. Each of these possesses two extreme sides converting the same into vice. The means of virtue are fluctuating and modified according to the intellectual development, knowledge and circumstances of the individual. In brief, Aristotle believed too

[16] *Quran,* Chap. XVII. 29.

much or too little of anything to be had and his virtues are more Western than Eastern. He aims at excellent physical and intellectual activity ending in perfect wisdom, by which man attains to true happiness.

In politics, Aristotle's conception of the ideal State is a gathering of not more than 100,000 citizens, who must possess slaves captured in wars or by other means from non-Greeks to cultivate the land and to do service in the house. His ideal family is composed of husband, wife, children and slaves. If we classify the inhabitants into different castes, the highest according to Aristotle are Greeks, who must have time and leisure to pursue knowledge and educate themselves in philosophy; the next are artisans, or those who work on wages; and the lowest are slaves. The State should not be situated too close to the sea though it should possess a harbour. He had no enthusiasm for commerce, but prefers cultivation of land, rearing of animals and working of mines as chief sources of wealth. He did not approve of usury, which he thought the most unnatural form of gaining riches. Islam also condemns usury as mentioned elsewhere in this work. Aristotle believed the Greeks had a right to fight with nations of lower civilization and to make them their slaves. The idea of slavery continued to be prevalent both in Europe and Asia, and even Christian theologians defended and approved it. Islam insists on kindness and good treatment of slaves but did not abolish slavery.

His Theory of Education.

Aristotle's system of education may be thus summarised:

First 5 years in healthy play.

Years 5 to 7.—Easy education.

Years 7 to 14.—Primary education in music and physical exercises.

Years 14 to 21.—Secondary education in gymnastics, letters, drawing and music and afterwards regular study of Arts and Sciences.

He thought by right training and education, good character is built up. The young mind must, according to him, be bent to all virtues. The youth should be trained to discipline and to obey the right rule. As is laid down in the *Quran*, rational capacity, if trained, develops into good, and if left to itself becomes corrupt and bad. "And the soul and its perfection. It has been given the capacity to deviate from the truth and to guard against evil. Therefore, if it guards against evil, it is successful and if it corrupts itself it is a failure." It is by constant doing of right acts that one can acquire good character. Moral goodness, according to Aristotle, is a condition of will and virtue a condition for the good intellect and right judgment.

His Political Ideals.

Aristotle's political ideal is a constitutional administration, somewhat resembling the present English constitution. The body of citizens in a State should obey the laws with the object of making their State good and perfect. He is inclined to submit to a constitutional king with heroic virtues. The greatest share of power should, in his view, be given to the middle class, saving the State on one side from tyranny and on the other hand from democracy. Thus, his government is a compromise between oligarchy and mob democracy. The highest happiness consists in the use of man's best powers either as an individual in his own welfare or as a citizen in the welfare of the State.

His Ideas on Arts and Sciences.

The beginning and development of art in the West and the East took place on different lines. In the East, the art of poetry and music took birth in religious sentiment and remains so with some nations, for example, the Hindus. The earliest Iranian and Hindu poetry is made up of hymns in praise of gods. Eastern poetry is a representation of abstract universal spiritual yearning, personal admiration and attachment, which not infrequently degenerated into praise of

unworthy tyrants or unexisting beloved. The author of *Charmaqala,* a work which, according to Mr. E. G. Browne, throws a good deal of light on the intimate life of the Iranians and Central Asiatics in the 12th century, gives the following definition of poetry:—A poet must be able to make small events appear great and great small, cause good to appear bad and bad to appear good, in such a language that his suggestions might excite his readers and affect their minds, either with depression or exaltation, as desired by the poet. Thus the poet must be the indirect cause of great deeds. Ib-e-Khalledun, the Arab Philosopher-historian, says that Arab poetry can only be produced by one who has got by heart an enormous quantity of classical Arab verses, and he must cast his thoughts in the mould of past great Arab poets. He suggests that originality in regard to form is a defect. The *Quran* condemns contemporary Arab poets for not being true to their convictions, misleading others and themselves men of no principle. Aristotle's conception of poetry exalts imitation of nature, which naturally must be true and exact to the original. The idea of Aristotle elevates European poetry and art far above Muslim conception. Nature itself is an imitation of something suprenatural and a poet's imagination may penetrate and perceive supernatural beauty. Like Plato, Aristotle believes in harmony and proportion as the essential features of beauty. He includes dancing, singing and painting, together with poetry as imitative arts. A poet not only must be true in the imitation of his mental or physical observations but also possess a creative tendency. He divides poetry into *Drama* (tragedy and comedy) and *Epic.* In a tragedy, the poet represents serious events, men possessed of higher ideals, and in comedy, of persons belonging to a lower class. In tragedy, he imitates noble action worth serious attention. As regards drama, Aristotle, after giving a historical description, concludes by saying that that art had degenerated in Greece in his time. He thinks poetry must be more philosophical and earnest than history, and drama, either historical or imaginary, should possess unity of action. Rhetoric is a mixture of

logic and moral philosophy and historical argument must be either deductive or inductive, and to these, he adds *enthymeme*[17] or suggestion without conclusion, somewhat like the Indian figure named *dhvani*.[18] An orator must draw the attention of his hearers either by appropriate illustration or *enthymemes*. The sources of persuasion are the personal character and integrity of the orator, which he must assure, exhibit and impress on his hearers and his mood and the method of his argument. In proposing a toast, the speaker must describe the present in flattering terms but on other occasions he can be critical. Drama was never appreciated or adopted as an art in Muslim Asia. We must accordingly conclude that this portion of Aristotle's work, *viz.*, poetry, never affected Muslim Arabia, Iran and other parts of the world.

His Works as Known to Muslims.

The following works of Aristotle were known to Muslim philosophers:—

Al-muqulat, categories.
Al-Ibara, Hermeneutic.
Al-qiyas, Analytics.
Al-burhan, apodeictic.
Al-jadal, topics.
Al-maghalit, Sophistici elenchi.
Al-Khatāba, Rhetoric.
As-sher, Poetics.
As-samul-kiyan, De coelo.
As-suma-wal-alam, De generatione.
Al-kaun-wal-fisad, meteorology.

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[17] *Enthymeme*: From Greek *enthymema, en,* and *thymos,* mind. In logic, an argument consisting of only two premises or propositions, a third proposition required to complete the syllogism being suppressed or kept in mind.

[18] *Dhvani*: In rhetoric, indicates the first and best of the three main divisions of *Kāvya* (or poetry), in which the implied or *suggested* sense of a passage is more striking than the *expressed* sense, or where the *expressed* sense is made subordinate to the *suggested* sense.

Al-atharul-alawiya, De anima.
An-nafs, De sensu.
Al-hasse-wul-mahsus, senses and sensibles.
Al-hayawan, Historia animalium.
Ma-bad-ut-tabi'a, Metaphysics.
Al-akhlaq, Ethics.

Among the Muslim admirers of Aristotle was Ibn-ur-Rushd (or Averroes), whose commentary on Aristotle's philosophy is a standard work of Mediæval Europe. There was no distinction made between the genuine works of Aristotle and Platonist commentators. The latter were studied and sometimes preferred. On the whole, Aristotle's views were modified according to Islamic teachings. His dualistic and pantheistic views not only proved unacceptable but also objectionable to Muslim theologians. According to Aristotle, man is composed of matter and an immaterial essence. Intellect is immortal and divine and a third kind of substance. These views had to be reconciled by Muslim thinkers with the views propounded in different passages occurring in the *Quran.*

A large number of Muslim thinkers and writers have written in refutation of Aristotlian philosophy. Among them are:—Abu Zakariya Razi and Ibn-e-Hazm, who wrote against Aristotle's logic; Nazzām, Abu Alī Jubbāi, Hebetullah, son of Alī Abu Baraktā, and Hasan, son of Musa Naubakhti on his other works.

Neo-Platonism.

After Alexander's death, his vast empire was broken up into a number of small and large states—Macedonian, Iranian and Greek. Greek literature and philosophy, however, pervaded the East as far as the Punjab. Amongst its important centres, Seleucia was one in the East, which was not far away from Ctesiphon, the capital in succession of the Parthian and the Sassanian Empires of Iran. Mithraism became the predominant mystic religion in Asia Minor and soon found followers all over the Roman Empire and North Africa. This

was the most important blending of the Eastern and Western sense in religion, which was displaced by a more complete fusion of the East and the West in Christianity. The history of pure Greek philosophy ended with the school of Aristotle but re-appeared blended with Oriental thought under the name of Neo-Platonism, in which several aspects peculiar to the East had mingled, such as the theory of emanation, ascetic life, contemplation, ecstasy, devotion, vanity of all earthly pleasures, etc. It was meant for and became agreeable to men of pure habits, possessed of a religious and speculative turn of mind, but it could not make itself understood by the masses. Later, it was modified and taken up by Christian and Muslim mystics. In India, it exerted no influence, as Buddhism, one of its constituents, was itself largely Upanishadic in its philosophical aspects.

The third century A.D. is noted for the decline and final disappearance and absorption of Mithraism into Christianity, and the appearance of great thinkers in the East, such as Bardesanes in Mesopotamia, Arask and Mani in Iran, Ammonius Sakkas and his disciple Plotinus in Egypt. The theory of emanation, belief in a sort of trinity or Pantheistic nature of existence, and strict morality or asceticism were common to all the new philosophical systems of thought or religious movements of this period.

Plotinus.

Plotinus, the propounder of Neo-Platonism, was an Egyptian Copt, born in Lykoplis, about 205 A.D.[19] He was

[19] *Plotinus* (207–270 A.D.): He advocated a system which was opposed to the reigning scepticism of the time at Rome. Very briefly put, it based itself on the intuitions of the soul elevated into a state of mystical union with God, who, in His single unity, sums up all and whence all emanate, all being regarded as an emanation from Him. Fundamentally, all existence is traced, not to two principles but to one! God is the simple unity that lies beyond all multiplicity. It has been suggested that his doctrine represents in its essence the Upanishadic theory of transcendentalism with which he became conversant at Alexandria, which was directly in touch with India at the time.

an elder contemporary of Matti and died three years before him in 270 A.D. At the age of about 27, he became a pupil of Ammonius Sakkas and remained under him for eleven years. When his master died, he enlisted himself in the army of the Roman Emperor Gordian, who was going on an expedition to Iran (which, by the way, ended in failure), to acquire knowledge from Oriental sources. In 245 A.D., he settled down at Rome and passed his life in teaching philosophy. Though a man of vast learning and original thought, he was of an ascetic temparament, of pure and simple habits, delicate in health, shy and modest in nature. His essays were collected and edited by his pupil, Malchus, a Syrian by birth, who adopted the Greek name of Porphyrius. His work is entitled *Enneads*.[20]

According to the Muslim writer Masudi, the centre of philosophy shifted from Athens to Rome during the reign of Emperor Augustus and Alexandria became another centre under Theodosius.[21] A good number of the so-called Roman

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[20] *Porphyry* (233–305 A.D.): Born at Tyre; he wrote a work against Christianity, known only from the replies. He accused Christians of appropriating and adulterating the teaching of his master.

[21] *Theodosius I*: Surnamed the Great; Roman Emperor; (346–395 A.D.); became Emperor of the East in 379 A.D. Defeated the Goths and conciliated them. Actively interfered in the West, became sole head of the Empire in 394 A.D. Was a zealous churchman, and stern suppressor of the Arian heresy; the close of his reign marks the beginning of the end of the Roman Empire, for his death opened the floodgates of barbarian invasion and from this date—about 395 A.D.—begins the formation of the new kingdoms of Europe.

Antioch: An ancient capital of Syria, on the Orontes, called the Queen of the East, lying on the high-road between the East and the West and accordingly a busy centre of trade; a city, at one time of great splendour and extent, and famous in the early history of the Christian church as the seat of several ecclesiastical councils and the birthplace of Chrysostom.

Cæsarea: A Syrian seaport, 30 miles north of Joffa; built in honour of Augustus Cæsar by Herod the Great; now in ruins, though a place of note in the days of the Crusades.

philosophers were originally from the East. Besides the two places mentioned above, other centres of learning were founded in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria and Iran. Among these were Antioch, Cæsarea, Seleucia, Harran, Nisibis, Edessa and Junde-Shahpur in Khuzistan (Iran).[22] During this period, *i.e.*, between the third and the sixth century A.D., philosophy became more and more theological and scholastic. At the same time, Christianity in the West and Zoroastrianism in the East became State religions supported by the great Roman and Iranian Empires respectively. In the sixth century, Neo-Platonism ceased to be an independent philosophy but soon, as already suggested, re-appeared modified in the form of Christian and Muslim mysticism.

Neo-Platonic Philosophy may be classified under the following headings:—

1. God or primeval Being.
2. The intelligible or invisible world.
3. The sensible or phenomenal world.
4. The soul.
5. Man's immortality; his descent and ascent, sin and emancipation.
6. Ethics.
7. Beauty and vision.

Seleucia: There were several ancient cities of this name in Syria, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria and Mesopotamia, founded under the Seleucid kings. The one referred to in the text was the one situated in Mesopotamia or the present Iraq.

Edessa: Called by travellers as Orfa; a very ancient city in the north of Mesopotamia; made a Roman military colony in 216 A.D.; conquered by Muslims in 638 A.D.; an early seat of Christianity and accordingly figures in church history; reputed to have contained at one time about 300 monasteries; has numerous mosques and churches; it is held sacred by Muslims and Jews, as they believe it to have been the residence of Abraham.

22 *Khuzistan*: Ancient Susiana; a province of Iran, having Fars in the East and the Iranian Gulf on the South.

God or Supreme Being is one, but Platonism like pre-Islamic Arabs believed in stars, nature, earth and demons as deserving respect and worship and the unity of a Supreme Being like Mithra and Christ was explained in terms of trinity through emanation. The difference between the Christian conception of trinity and Platonism is in attributes and persons. While Christians believed in their persons united into one, the Platonist held to an impersonal trinity which may be thus summed up:—The Supreme Being, formless, attributeless, above goodness, above life, above thought, motionless, neither increasing nor decreasing, yet the true source of all existence and even producing. As is said in the *Quran,* "Every moment He is in a state".[23] He shines everywhere and everything is His reflection, the distinction is caused by the successive stages of reflection and every lower state is comparatively a weak reflection turning to its higher for illumination. His centre is everywhere but circumference nowhere. He has no desire or will but superconscious, a state which may be figuratively explained as a state of wakefulness. As is described in the *Quran,* "Allah is He, besides Him there is no God, the ever living, the self-subsisting, slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep".[24]

His first emanation is the *Nous* or the Universal Intelligence, His perfect image and like Him self-existent, eternal, perfect, comprehending within Himself the whole of existence. The image or emanation of the *Nous* is psyche or the universal soul, the immaterial principle of life and intermediate between the Universal Intelligence and the world of phenomena. It is illumined by *Nous* and illumines nature. It has the capacity of uniting with matter and therefore the direct cause of life in the universe. Thus the Supreme Being, the Intelligence and Soul are the trinity forming a unity in the Platonic System.

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[23] *Quran,* Chap. LV. 29.

[24] *Quran,* Chap. II. 255.

The Intelligence and the Intelligible World.

Being immaterial and indivisible, the Intelligence is a unity but as arch type of the material world it may be apprehended through multiplicity. According to Plotinus, all material things have a counter immaterial type fuller and more perfect in life. Hence, we may consider the heavenly pleasures in the *Quran* spoken of as a counter form of earthly pleasures which can be described figuratively in the same words. It is life which causes vanity in matter. Pure intelligence is the fullness of thought, a unity in diversity like a sun whose rays shoot on all sides. As thought, the acts of thought and objects of thought are all in Him. While thoughts (or ideas) are many, the thinker is one. When the individual becomes conscious of His *I-ness,* a *not-I* is produced and diversity in the existence is formed. In other words, the different aspects of intelligence through individual self-assertion cause diversity and qualities. When the Universal Intelligence as unit becomes conscious of himself, the very act of consciousness is the cause of duality which carries with it life. The Universal Intelligence being an emanation of the Supreme Being does not depend on nor is in need of the Intelligence. The Universal Soul, in its turn, depends upon and looks to the Intelligence, as described in the *Quran* "the soul of the religious will look to their Lord". As the Intelligence is the image of the Supreme Being, in the same way the Soul is an image of the Intelligence. The lower yearns for its higher source, or the effect for its cause and can find rest and peace only in it. The Supreme Being by turning to Himself, without moving, sees Intelligence and the Intelligence, being conscious of itself, is filled with the world of ideas, resulting in an emanation of the soul and through the soul, of form, which is the cause of various types of quality and quantity in the sensible world. Each lower effect must look to its higher cause, till the union with the first cause is effected.

The sensible or material world is neither energy nor a creative power. It is a formless, shapeless, invisible receptacle

of the soul, which moves in it, as pictures move in a mirror, and is reflected as form or things. Matter itself cannot act and the forms moving in it, though they appear to act, really do not, because they are mere shadows of the original in the intelligible world. Thus, Matter while admitting reflection which it cannot resist, takes the false appearance of motion; the things reflected also are illusory and do not effect any real change in Matter. Thus, the whole sensible world as it is thought and as it appears is illusory, a reflected mirror in which passing shadows are reflected. The soul ', neither any particular state of Matter as it was considered by some nor attached to it. It passes or rides over it and leaves Matter as defective and powerless as it was. The elements also are lifeless but by a particular mixture become capable of receiving life without attaining a unity of consciousness which is the characteristic of the soul. Thus the material contact of the soul is not a gain but a loss, not an ascent, but a descent, not a rise but a fall. Matter has no capacity to move but appears to be moved by the soul. Therefore material objects retain their objective aspect through soul and form and abstracted from these two, Matter becomes impossible of comprehension. Space is the limitation of the bodies formed from within and time is caused by the contact of the soul with matter and remains within material existence. Matter needs God for life, but God does not need it. It is eternal in the state of nothingness and united as possessing illusory life. It is helpless, lifeless and hence it is called evil, the opposite of the good which is fullness of life. It is unknowable, neutral, unreal and dark, and an obstacle between the supreme good and the individual soul. The Divine intelligence possessing abstract thoughts or ideas may be considered an ocean full of waves,—all same, yet different, moving and melting into one another. They move, but the ocean as a whole is not moved, there is activity but no change. They appear in multiplicity, though really they neither increase nor decrease. The sensible world is a shadow and an imperfect image of the intelligible world and worldly virtue and

vice are stages in the development of the soul in attaining harmony entangled as it is in the world.

The Soul.

As all separate intelligences are within the Universal Intelligence, so all individual souls are embraced by the Universal Soul. They are all same because all are an offshoot of the same Universal Soul, yet distinct in individuals. Unity does not destroy their individuality. Bodies are formed by nature, the world spirit, which through words or energy is the direct cause of shape, bulk, quantity and quality of Matter. Nature is the sum total of all energies in the world and assumes various forms, made active by a shadow of the real soul. Every human being possesses a double soul, one of which is divine and high and is his true self. It is an image of the Divine Soul and possesses memory, imagination, reasoning and will. The other soul is called lower or animal and its functions are desire, pain and pleasure, love and anger and is joined with the body by natural instinct. But the Divine Soul remains separate from the body. These two being of different tendencies appear to be antagonistic to each other and are called by Zoroaster constructive and destructive spirits. The soul is not in the body but the body is in the soul. Man's real ego is pure, without emotion or consciousness of the worldly objects, never separated from its higher self and remains a faded form of the Universal Soul.

Man, Immortality, Descent and Ascent, Emancipation.

Among Western thinkers, Pythagoras thought of the soul as a harmony and Aristotle as a form of body, while the Stoics described it as an affection of matter and others as a kind of physical energy, but Plotinus asserted that an unintelligent thing, like matter, or any force connected with matter, cannot cause an intelligent soul. He, therefore, held that the soul is an offshoot of an intelligent abstract thing and independent of matter. It is life, and, therefore, unlike the body, imperishable and immortal. It is an image of the

Universal Soul, pure in its essence, but polluted by attachment or descent towards matter. Its ascent is reversion towards God, as is said in the *Quran*:—"O! Soul that art at rest! return to thy Lord well pleased with Him, and Him well pleased with thee."[25] Reversion towards God is the craving for the real Self. As the descent was gradual from the world of ideas to heavenly bodies, next to atmosphere and in the lowest stage to the earthly form, ascent also is gained by stages, appreciating the natural beauty and contemplating the multiplicity and harmony of natural phenomena and forces, the turning attention from external objects to the internal true Self by doing good, next contemplation of the *nous* or Universal Intelligence, the world of ideas and finally released from all worldly attachment and completely purified, beholding the Supreme Being, man is face to face with his Creator, the source of his existence. He thus enjoys perfect peace and highest bliss, which is called human emancipation.

Ethics.

Man possesses both the rational and animal soul. He is free on his rational side but entangled and bound with desires in his animal aspect. His evil side is his dependence upon material objects and his freedom lies in union with his inner self. He is weaned from his animal nature and converted to the intellectual or higher self by controlling desires. Platonic virtues are the same four cardinal virtues of Plato, to which *nous* or intelligence is added. This must guide and regulate man's action. Virtuous action must be combined with virtuous thoughts and abstention from sensual objects. When the heart is purified, man must wait until God's grace comes to him of itself. It is left to him either to incline towards his rational side by which he is elevated to the eternal bliss, or to fall in the world of lust, through which he is degraded in the darkness of the matter. The same idea is taught in the *Quran* in the following lines:—

[25] *Quran*, Chap. LXXXIX. 27–28.

"He has revealed (to Soul) its turning from truth and its guarding against evil. If it purifies itself it is emancipated and if it corrupts itself it fails." (Chap. XCI.)

According to Plotinus, virtue is the awakening and vice is the sleep of the soul which can be cured through moral virtues and right knowledge.

Men are classified into:—

1. Those who are sunk in the darkness of the material world;
2. Those who are above the material world and inclined towards spiritual purity and are called virtuous; and
3. Those who are divine and perfect.

The same division is found in the *Quran*:—

"And you shall be three sorts—(1) the foremost who are drawn near (to God) in the gardens of bliss; (2) the companions of good luck or right hand; and (3) the companions of ill-luck or left hand." (Chap. LVI.)

Virtue is likeness to God and classified into practical and intellectual. The aim is to turn from the world to God. By spiritual contemplation, man is elevated to the eternal bliss till he forgets his limited self and sees the ideal beauty in his higher self. It is communion with the Supreme Beauty and is eternal happiness. Practical virtue is good conduct and intellectual virtue is the source which leads man to God.

Beauty and Vision.

Beauty and good are the same, but good is prior to beauty, and hence the love of the good is higher than the love of beauty. But appreciation of beauty and harmony leads to the love of the good. Those who can appreciate beauty are (1) musicians, (2) lovers, and (3) philosophers. Among these, the first appreciate harmony in sound; the second, in shape and form; and the third, in reason and truth, and all these lead to one goal. Thus, beauty is manifested in the soul, in sight and in conscience which means virtue and truth. Things are beautiful in fullness of life and ugly when matter is left shapeless and not harmonised by life energy.

The most beautiful thing is the intelligence loved by the rational soul. There are two stages in spiritual attainment, which are extended into seven by Muslim Sufis. The first stage is gained by knowing God but distinguishing Him as a glorified higher image of ourselves, and the second stage is reached when we are full of God, in which we see God by direct vision. When we see phenomenal and physical beauty, we must appreciate it as an imitation, a shadow, an image of the real and then we must leave the shadow and turn towards the real. By seeing beauty reflected in water and mistaking the shadow in water to be real, one is sunk in water; but by looking above and turning towards the real, he possesses his true beloved. When we are fit to look at the Supreme Beauty, it comes unwarranted by a complete withdrawal of external consciousness to the extent that the Soul forgets its connection with the body. If we strive, we can perceive the Supreme Beauty more clearly than material objects, because our true self is immaterial and originated from Him. Plotinus believed in vision not as an indispensable condition, but as a possibility for a pure soul to enjoy the sight of the Supreme Soul. The Christian Church also believed in the beautific vision and the *Quran* declared in the following lines that the Prophet had a vision of the archangel Gabriel (the intermediate energy between world and God or the universal intelligence) :—

"And he was in the highest part of the (mental) horizon. Then he drew near, and became descending (till) he was (close) to the measure of two bows or closer still. (Then) He revealed to his servant (Muhammad) what he revealed. The heart does not (speak) lie to what it saw. Do you dispute with him (*i.e.*, Muhammad) as to what he saw? He saw Him in another descent at the farthest *lote* tree, near which was the garden, covered with what covers a *lote* tree. The eyes did not turn aside nor did it exceed the limit, certainly he saw the greatest signs of his Lord."[26]

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[26] *Quran*, Chap. LIII. 7. 18.

The Alexandrian School.

Plotinus was succeeded by his pupils, Porphyry and Amelius, who made some modifications in minor points in his doctrines. Porphyry is specially noted for editing and collecting his master's work, as an anti-Christian philosopher. He was opposed to the Manichæn theory of matter being the cause of evil and entanglement of the soul. He taught that evil is created from the desires of the soul and hence the salvation of the soul must be through the renunciation of the desires. Like Mani, he believed in strict ascetic life, abstaining from flesh, wine and sexual enjoyments. His criticism of Christianity was not against the teaching of Christ but against Christianity as it was practised. He did not believe in the Christian sacred books, which he considered had been written by ignorant and deceiving authors. Many of his works were destroyed during the Christian ascendency (about 448 A.D.). Porphyry was succeeded by his pupil Iamblichus, who converted Neo-Platonic philosophy into theology and its speculative aspect into a mythology. Proclus was the last great schoolman of Neo-Platonism who was born in 411 A.D. and died in 485 A.D. He re-organized and left Neo-Platonism in a form in which it was taken up by Christian theologians and afterwards by Muslim thinkers. Thus, Neo-Platonism has influenced both Muslim and Christian religions. Certain points suitable to Sūfis and others were adopted by philosophical thinkers.

Rise of Christianity in the East.

According to Christian tradition which, in this instance, appears to be lacking in foundation, Abgar, King of Osrhoene (a province in the extreme North-West of Mesopotamia, containing Edessa), who was a contemporary of Jesus, was suffering from rheumatism and learning that Jesus could cure diseases invited him to his city. In the meanwhile, Jesus was crucified but Thaddāeus, one of his disciples, went to Osrhoene, cured the king and baptized him. He afterwards despatched his assistants to Ctesiphon and other parts



CARACALLA: ROMAN EMPEROR, 211–217 A.D.

of Iran, who made a number of converts to Christianity. In the beginning of the third century A.D., there were about 360 churches in Iran. Gregorius, known as the Illuminator, whose father was a member of the famous Surena family of Seistan, became the founder of the Armenian Church in the fourth century A.D.[27] His son and grandson became famous as Bishops in the Armenian Church. While Christianity was making rapid progress in the East, its missionaries and new converts were savagely persecuted by the Roman Emperors, especially in Rome itself, the seat of the Empire. This terrible persecution of Christians lasted for nearly three hundred years,[28] the most severe being under Trajan, Nero,

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[27] *Armenian Church*: The Armenians are a people belonging to the Iranian group of the Aryan race, occupying Armenia, who were early converted to Christianity of the Eutychian type, which is so called after Eutyches, a Byzantine heresiarch, who, in combating Nestorianism, which teaches that the two natures, the divine and human, co-exist in Christ, but are not united, fell into the opposite extreme and maintained that in the incarnation, the human nature of Christ was absorbed in the divine, a doctrine which was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 448 A.D. Eutyches lived between 387–454 A.D. The Armenians occupy a country (named after them) in Western Asia, west of the Caspian Sea and north of the Kurdistan mountains, anciently independent, and later divided between Turkey, Russia and Iran, occupying a plateau interspersed with fertile valleys, which culminates in Mount Ararat, in which the Euphrates and the Tigris have their origin. The Armenians, like the Jews, are a widely scattered race and have emigrated into adjoining, and even remote, countries, and live like the Jews, again, engaged in commercial pursuits, the wealthier of them especially in banking and money-changing.

[28] On the causes of the persecution of the Christian religion by the Roman Government, see *Students' Gibbon*, edited by Smith, Chap. IX, 109–124. Among the causes which contributed to this persecution were principally three:—(1) The proselytising ardour of the Christians; (2) the union and assemblies of the Christians which were regarded with apprehension by the Roman government; and (3) the secrecy with which the Christians performed the offices of religion.

Marcus Aurelius Antonius, Caracalla, Decius, and Diocletian.[29] In 266 A.D., the orthodox Sassanian dynasty succeeded the liberal-minded Parthians, who were known for

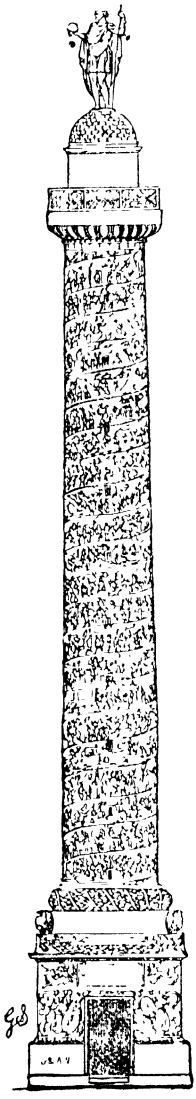
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[29] *Diocletian*: (245–313 A.D.); Roman Emperor from 284 to 308 A.D.; of obscure parentage, entered the Roman army and rose rapidly to the highest rank; invested by the troops with the imperial purple; in 286 A.D., became responsible for the division of the Roman world into two halves—with two Emperors in the East and two in the West; in 303 A.D., at the instance of Galerius, he commenced and carried a fierce persecution of the Christians, the tenth and the fiercest; in 305 A.D., weary of ruling, he abdicated and retired to Salona, his birth-place in Dalmatia, where he spent his remaining eight years in rustic simplicity of life, cultivating his garden.

Trajan, Marcus Ulpius: (56–117 A.D.); born in Spain; Roman Emperor 97 A.D.; joint Emperor with Nerva; sole Emperor, 98 A.D.; except for his persecution of the Christians, ruled the empire with wisdom and vigour; carried out various improvements; suppressed the Christians as politically dangerous, but with no fanatic extravagance; successfully conquered Dacia, in commemoration of which he is said to have erected the famous Column (125 ft. high), named after himself, which still stands at Rome, though a statue of St. Peter has taken his place, under the orders of Pope Sextus V. Trajan's rescript regarding the Christians, issued in reply to a reference from the younger Phuj, is well-known. (See *Students' Gibbon*, edited by W. Smith, p. 113.)

Nero: (37–68 A.D.); Roman Emperor from 54-68 A.D.; ascended the throne, superceding Britannicus, the rightful heir; his reign, barring the first five years, was marked by murders and profligacy; Britannicus, his mother and wife were his first victims; then, in 64 A.D., numbers of Christians suffered death, with every refinement of torture, on a trumped charge of having caused the great burning of Rome, suspicion of which rested on Nero himself; then fell Seneca, his adviser; next the poet Lucan was put to death for alleged conspiracy; thereafter, he kicked his wife, Poppæa, then *enciente*, to death, and offered his hand to Octavia, daughter of Claudius, and because she declined his suit, ordered her death; rebellion followed; Spain and Gaul rose in favour of Galba and the Prætorian Guards followed suit; Nero fled from Rome and sought refuge in suicide.

Antonius, Marcus Aurelius: (121–180 A.D.); Roman Emperor; famous for his virtue; belonged to the Stoic school and one of its most



THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

This Column still stands at Rome and is the finest monument of the kind in the world. The height of the column, including the pedestal, is 127½ feet. Round the column runs a spiral band of admirable reliefs representing the wars of Trajan against Decebalus, and containing no fewer than 2,500 human figures

their toleration of non-Iranian religions in Iran. The Sassanian period is noted for the revival of orthodox Zoroastrianism and persecution of non-Zoroastrian religions. On the other hand, Christianity, though persecuted for a long time by the Roman Emperors, finally became the state religion in the Roman Empire, which was the rival enemy power to Iran. Thus, two rival religions and two rival empires confronted each other. The Christians in Iran were persecuted for their sympathy with Rome and disloyalty to their own motherland. On the one hand, they were ill-treated by their own government, and, on the other, suspected by their co-religionists in Rome as spies from Iran. As the Iranian church was of Syrian origin, Antioch remained the centre of the Bishopric for about three hundred years and Syriac was employed as a common sacred language. Political rivalry and territorial ambition, combined with the religious bigotry of the Zoroastrian and Christian priests, created strong prejudice and hatred in both the Empires. Christians in Iran, so long as they remained loyal to their country, were left free, but, at any sign of disloyalty, they were severely persecuted, particularly during the war with the Roman Empire. In Eastern Iran, Merv and Herat became two centres of

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exemplary disciples; was surnamed the "Philosopher"; has left in his *Meditations* a record of his religious and moral principles. "It is a remarkable fact, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was more fatal to the Christians than the reigns of the greatest tyrants. The causes of this persecution are uncertain. Most writers have ascribed it to the latent bigotry of the character of Marcus Aurelius; others to the influence of the philosophic party; but the fact is admitted by all" (See *Students' Gibbon*, pp. 113–114.)

Caracalla: Roman Emperor, son of Septimus Severus, born at Lyons; his reign (211–217 A.D.) was a series of crimes, follies and extravagances; he put to death 20,000 persons, among others the jurist Papiniarus, and was assassinated himself by one of his guards.

Decius: Roman Emperor from 249 to 251 A.D.; was a cruel persecutor of the Christians; perished in a morass, fighting with the Goths, who were a constant thorn on his side all through his reign.

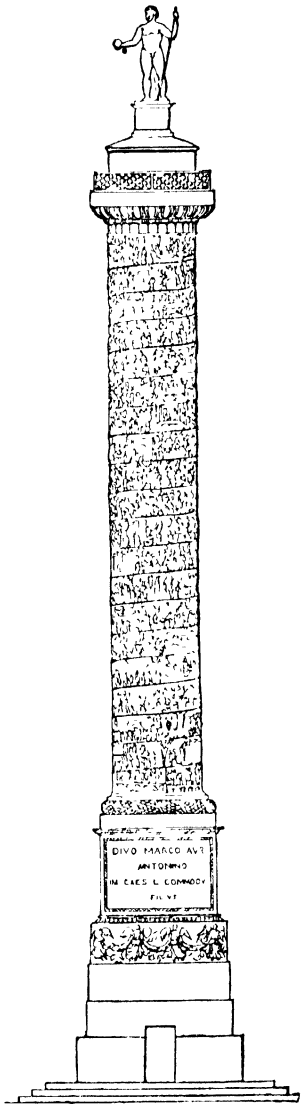
Christianity and from those centres,[30] Christian missionaries reached the interior of China and India. In the beginning of the fourth century A.D., Ctesiphon, the Iranian capital, took the place of Antioch as the seat of the Metropolitan in Iran and remained so till the rise of Islam. Christians used to name themselves in Iranian or Syrian and in some cases they called themselves partly in Iranian and partly in Syrian and, therefore, it is often difficult to ascertain their exact nationality. They were all called Christians but, among Christians, there were Iranians as well as Syrians, Mesopotamians, Kurds, Armenians and even Greeks and Romans. All these looked upon the Roman Emperor as their protector and deliverer, and the Roman Emperors also showed themselves as such, which was the reason why the Iranian Government looked upon the Christians with distrust and suspicion. Shapur, the Iranian king (241–272 A.D.), not trusting his Christian subjects, exempted them from joining the war waged by him and, in return, imposed an extra tax, which continued to be collected under the name of *Jazya* by Muslims from Christians and Jews. In 164 A.D., Seleucia, the stronghold of Greek learning in the East, was destroyed by the Romans under Cassius,[31] but soon other centres were established. The most

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[30] *Merv*: An oasis in Khorassan; taken by Russia in 1883; 60 miles long by 40 broad; produces cereals, cotton and silk; has a capital of the same name on the Trans-Caspian Railway.

Herat: Chief town of a province of same name in Afghanistan; 300 miles west of Kabul; great commercial and military centre; strongly fortified by a citadel and a garrison; long the royal seat of the descendants of Timur; in 1836, the Shah captured it; of equal importance to India and Iran; called the Key of Afghanistan and hence of Western India; Herat is spoken of as the pivot of the Central Asian question; the town was famous for its splendid buildings, now a heap of ruins; the citadel, the Jumma Masjid and parts of the Musallah are the only remnants of a bygone glory; the population is mostly made up of Iranians, Tajiks and Chihar Aimaks.

[31] *Cassius, Caius*: Chief conspirator against Cæsar; won over Brutus to join in the foul plot; soon after the deed was done, fled to Syria and made himself master of it; joined his forces with those of



THE ANTONINE COLUMN

Erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antonius, which is still to be seen at Rome. It is a repetition of the Column of Trajan. The bas-reliefs represent the conquests of the Marcomanni

important among these were:—Nisibis and Edessa in Mesopotamia, to which Mar Aba, a Zoroastrian Iranian convert to Christianity, added a college in Seleucia. These colleges were strongholds of Christian theology and Greek philosophy as interpreted and commented upon by Christian theologians.

Syria and Iran as Centres of Learning.

Harran, in West Syria, became a centre of secular learning from about the death of Alexander the Great and continued so till the rise of Islam. Its scholars took great pains to translate works from Syriac into Arabic. Junde-Shahpur, a town in South-West Iran, became the centre of Iranian learning under Khusroe I, known as Anushirwan. Learned men were invited to it from Syria and India and made professors in the subjects in which they excelled. Medicine, philosophy, Zoroastrian theology and other subjects of science and arts were taught at this place. The medium was the Syriac language but Pahlavi was also understood. Besides these important colleges, which took the place of modern universities, Christian monasteries also were places for imparting knowledge. Subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon, held in 448 A.D., a new sect of Christians known as the Jacobites (or Monophysites) was formed and were, much like the Nestorians, persecuted by the established Roman Church.[32] Their centre was Alexandria, in Egypt, noted for a college of medicine, in which, besides teaching, researches also were undertaken. The sixteen works of Galen, commented upon and abridged, were the texts read in connection with medicine. In the East, the Nestorian sect founded by Nestorius,

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Brutus at Philippi; repulsed on the right, thought all was lost; withdrew into his tent, and called his freedmen to call (?) him; Brutus, in his lamentation over him, called him the "last of the Romans". Died in 42 B.C.

[32] *Jacobites*: A name given to certain partisans of Eutychian sect in the fifth century, in the East, from the name of their leader.

Bishop of Constantinople,[33] alienated themselves from Rome and therefore found favour with the Iranian kings. They believed in two separate persons, Jesus, the son of God, and Jesus, the son of man, and that Mary was not the mother of God but of the man Jesus. With them Syriac took the place of Greek or Latin as the language of their sacred books, theology, philosophy, science and arts. Greek became unknown in the East and its place was taken up by Syriac as the language of culture and learning all over Syria, Mesopotamia and Western Iran. Khusroe Anushirwan,[34] the philosopher-king, became a patron of learning in the East. He used to hold meetings in which learned men were assembled. Among them were Zoroastrians, Christians and Hindus. Problems of philosophy and theology were discussed and the king himself joined in the discussion.

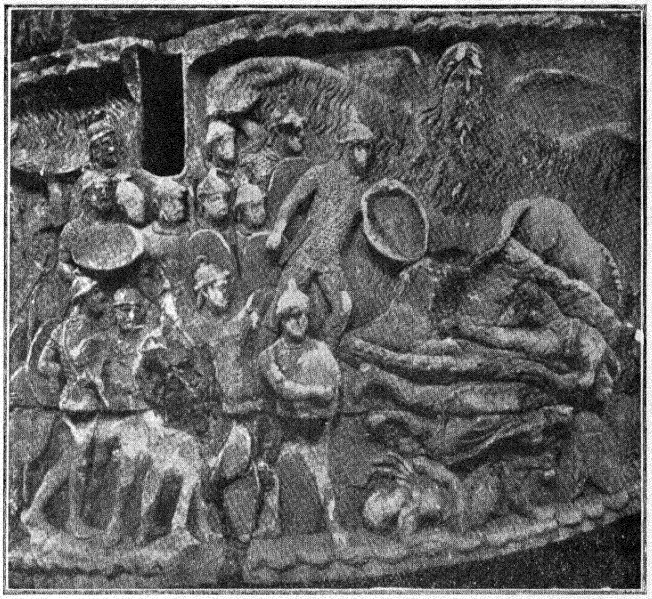
Translation of Philosophical Works.

Many useful works on different subjects were translated into Syriac (which was known to most of the educated Iranians) and also in Pahlavi. Among the learned men of Anushirwan's court were Mar Abas, the founder of a college in Seleucia, who had commented on several works in philosophy. Hymns composed by him were popular and are even now extant among the Nestorian Christians. Paul, an inhabitant of Dari-Shahr, was a learned Iranian and a convert to Christianity. He won fame as a scholar both in philosophy and in theology. He

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33 *Nestorius*: Described as a celebrated heresiarch, born in Syria; made Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 A.D.; deposed for alleged heresy by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., and banished to the Lybian desert, where he died; the heresy he is alleged to have taught was that the two natures—the divine and the human—co-exist in Christ, but not united; he would not also allow to the Virgin Mary the title that had been given to her as the "Mother of God"; the orthodoxy of the church as against the doctrine was championed by Cyril of Alexandria.

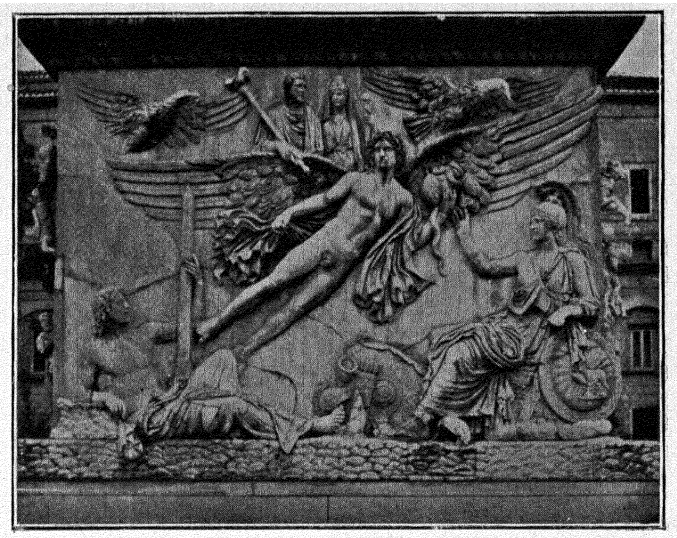
34 *Anushirwan*: Ruled from 531–579 A.D.



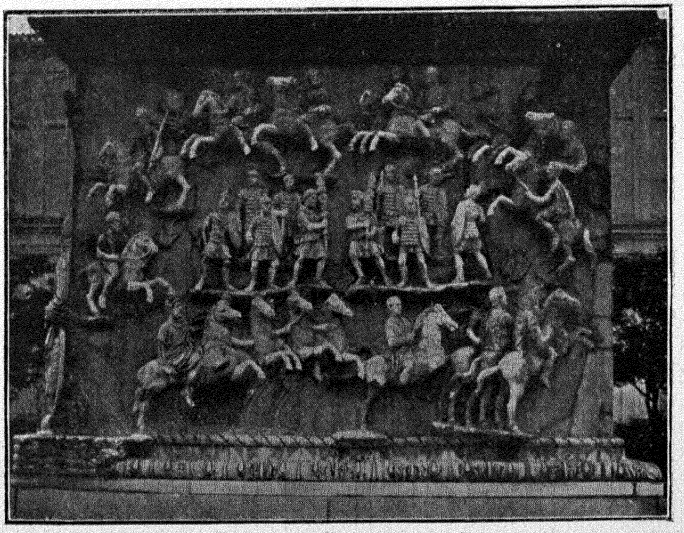
DETAIL OF THE COLUMN OF ANTONINUS

has written a commentary on Aristotle's logic. He was finally appointed Bishop of Iran and died in 535 A.D. He was in great favour with king Anushirwan and has left us a fair description of the many controversial theological problems that agitated the men of his time. He observes that there are some who believe in one God and others claim that He is not the only God; some teach that He possesses contrary qualities; others say that He does not possess them; some admit that He is omnipotent; others deny His power over every thing; some believe that the universe is created; others think that all things are not created; some say that God made the world from pre-existing matter and so forth. Among the heathen Arabs who were contemporaries of the Prophet, Haris, son of Kaldah, had studied medicine and philosophy in the college of Junde-Shahpur and his son Nazr also was a student of the same college and a great admirer of the Iranian. He knew a number of legendary Iranian stories, and told them to Quraish in Mecca. He was an enemy of the Prophet and used to persuade his hearers not to listen to Quranic passages in which they could find old stories of the tribes of *Ād* and *Samud* who were destroyed by God, but to hear from him the heroic deeds of Rustam, Isfandiyar and other Iranian kings and heroes. Thus in Mecca, at the advent of Islam, there were two parties, one pro-Iranian and pro-Zoroastrian and the other pro-Roman and pro-Christian. Nazr was put to death by Alī, the cousin of the Prophet, in the battle of Badr. Probably, the Prophet himself came into direct contact with Syrian Christian monks and indirectly with the scholars of Junde-Shahpur. Among his companions, Alī, the fourth Khalif, has given expression to some philosophical thoughts in his public sermons and addresses. For the first half century after the death of the Prophet, Muslims were either engaged in foreign conquests or in civil wars. Abdul Malik, the Umayyad Khalif, after defeating and subduing his rivals, pacified and organized the vast Empire and made Arabic the official language. His reign was the true beginning of Muslim learning, which reached its zenith during the rule

of the Abbasides. In the meanwhile, the intellectual activity of non-Muslims, though diminished, continued in the colleges of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Iran, and revived under the Abbaside rule. Thus Muslim learning was not a new movement but a continuation of past activities, which were revived with greater vigour and better support under the Arab Khalifs, than it had ever done even under the Romans or Iranians. The medium was changed from Pahlavi, Coptic and Syrian into Arabic, which remained the language of science and philosophy throughout the Muslim countries till the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it may be said that it still occupies a very prominent place in Iran and India. The early Abbaside period, beginning with the accession of Mansur, the second Khalif, up to the death of Mamun, passed in the work of translating important works in philosophy, medicine and science. There were several important centres of learning at this time and each took a share in the development of Muslim culture. Among them, as already stated, was Junde-Shahpur in Iran, which in spite of the loss of Iranian independence continued to flourish under Islam. Harran and Damascus in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Basrah and Kufa in Mesopotamia, Medina and Mecca in Arabia, became great centres of Muslim learning. Basrah and Kufa were noted for scholars in language, literature and theology, while Medina was famous for its traditionists. The important rôle in translation was played by the pagans (mostly Sabians) as well as the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia, whose mother-tongue was Syriac, in which already works on Greek philosophy were available. They knew Arabic also and therefore it was easy for them to make translations from the Syriac into Arabic. Next there were Iranian Christians as well as Manichæan and Zoroastrian converts to Islam. Among the earliest translators was Ibne-Muqaffa, a scholar both in Arabic and Pahlavi. Among the books he translated from Pahlavi into Arabic was *Kalila-Damana*, originally the *Panchatantra* of India, which was for the first time translated by Burzuya, a contemporary of Khusroe. The works of Galen,



ANOTHER BASE OF COLUMN OF ANTONINUS



FURTHER BASE OF COLUMN OF ANTONINUS

Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Archimedes, Apollonius,[35] and Neo-Platonist thinkers were translated not directly from Greek but mostly from Syriac versions and in some instances from Pahlavi.

First Muslim Thinkers.

Between the ninth and tenth centuries, the work of translation was completed and original writers began to appear among the Muslims. Among the chief philosophical problems discussed by them were the first cause, nature, reason or the intellect, the soul and position of man in the universe, movement, unity, eternity, immateriality and immovability of the first cause, whose existence is proved not by affirmation but by negation of certain qualities. God produced the world from nothing by His creative act. The Soul itself is not life but the cause of life in things. He is imperishable. The two

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[35] *Apollonius*: (*d.* 97 A.D.); called Apollonius of Tyana, a Pythagorean philosopher, who, having become acquainted with some sort of Brahmanism, professed to have a divine mission, and, it is said, a power to work miracles; was worshipped after his death, and has beeen compared to Christ.

Galen: (131–201 A.D.); famous Greek physician; born at Pergamus in Illyria; went to Rome; physician to Emperors Marcus Aurelius, Verus and Severus; 83 of his treatises are still extant, dealing with an array of subjects, philosophical as well as professional; for centuries after his death, his works were held as authoritative in the matter of medicine.

Hippocrates: The father of medicine; born at Cos, 460 B.C.; a contemporary of Socrates and Plato; no fewer than sixty writings are ascribed to him.

Archimedes: Of Syracuse; 287–212 B.C.; a man of superlative inventive power; skilled in all mechanical arts and sciences of his day; he is credited with the boast: "Give me a fulcrum, and I will move the world". He discovered how to determine the specific weight of bodies while he was taking a bath, and was so excited over the discovery that, it is said, he darted off stark naked on the instant, through the streets, shouting, "Eureka! Eureka!! I have found it! I have found it!" When Syracuse was taken by the Romans, he was unconscious of the fact, and slain, while busy on some problem, by a Roman soldier, notwithstanding the order of the Roman general that his life should be spared.

aspects of the soul, five external and five internal senses. Matter and form, substance and accident, etc. In physics, the chief problems were the corporeal movement or change of bodies. In logic, Aristotle was considered the greatest authority, but Psychology and ethics were modified according to Eastern traditions and experience. The majority of Muslim thinkers were either Iranians or Iranised Turks and Spanish. Muslim philosophy, therefore, is not a continuation, or a mere imitation of Greek philosophy but a blending of the Western and Eastern thought, modified by the doctrines inculcated by the *Quran,* which in some instances is interpreted as desired by the thinker. As the Scholasticism of Europe was guided by Church theology, Muslim philosophy also had to be reconciled to Islamic teachings. The Middle Ages produced, both in the West and the East, apart from philosophy, a theology known as scholasticism, beginning with a discussion on pre-destination, then human free will and the relation of man to God and then extending over many questions touching either pure philosophy or religion. Side by side with these two subjects, pure theology and Sufism (termed in Europe as Mysticism) were also developed. Thus, during the period commencing from the ninth century A.D. and ending about the sixteenth century A.D., both Europe and Asia produced great philosophers, scholastic theologians and mystics. These were inspired by Christianity in Europe, by Islam in West and Central Asia, North Africa and South Europe; and by Brahmanism in India. The great learned men of this period had in many instances combined in themselves a thorough knowledge of all the four subjects referred to above, or one or two of them. For instance, Ghazzali was a first class theologian, a philosopher, a deep Sūfi and an authority on *al-kalam* (scholastics). The East found a great patron of learning in Harun and the West in his contemporary Emperor Charlemagne. While the Hindu thinkers of this period took up the subjective aspects and the Europeans tended more towards the objective, the Muslims had adopted a middle path. Their aim was human salvation and a knowledge of the mystery of

life. They followed Islam, but studied the question of philosophy from what may be called a rational point of view, independently of pure theological explanations. They harmonized Islamic teachings with their own rational reasoning and experience. Muslim philosophy and the scholasticism of Europe may be classified into the following theoretical and practical branches:—

Theoretical.

1. Metaphysics;
2. Physics in a general sense; and
3. Mathematics.

Practical.

1. Logic;
2. Ethics; and
3. Politics.

To these, as supplementary subjects, were added the following:—Astronomy, Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, Physics (in the modern sense), Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and a few other minor subjects.

AL-KINDI.

Among the earliest Muslim philosophers and the only great representative of Arab race in philosophy, was Abu Yusuf Yaqub, son of Ishaq, of the Kinda tribe. He was born about the close of the eighth century A.D., and died in 873 A.D. He was a contemporary of John Scotus Erigena.[36] Besides Arabic, he knew Pahlavi also. He wrote as many as 263 works, small and large, on different subjects. Among

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[36] *Erigena, Johannus Scotus*: (*d.* 882 A.D.); a rationalist mystic and most distinguished thinker of his time; of Irish parentage; taught at the Court of Charles the Bold in France; summoned in 877 A.D. to Oxford; died as Abbot of Malmesbury; held that "damnation was simply the consciousness of having failed to fulfil the divine purpose"; he derived all authority from reason, and not reason from authority, maintaining that authority unfounded on reason was of no value.

these are: Commentaries on *Analytica, Posteriora, Sophistica Elenchi,* the *Categories,* the *Aprocryphal Apology of Aristotle, Almagestia of Ptolemy* and *The Elements of Euclid.* He also made an abridgement of Aristotle's *Poetica* and *Herneutica* and *Isagoge* of Porphyry, besides writing essays *On the Intellect* and *On the Five Essences.* He revised the Arabic translation of the *History of Aristotle,* which was an abridgement of the last three books of *Enneads* by Plotinus.

His philosophy was influenced by Aristotle's works as commented upon by Alexander of Aphrodisias. He follows the Neo-Platonic theory of cause and effect. The effect is inferior to its cause and depends upon it. God is the final cause, whose direct emanation is the universal intelligence, which is in turn the cause of the universal soul and the soul of nature. Soul is intermediate between the world of intelligence and the sensible. Though each effect may have a cause but the final unchangeable and the first cause is God, who is the creator of cause in itself. The worlds of intelligence and sense are compared to a rough and carved stone. The individual soul (*Nafs*) is a pure intellectual substance (*Jauhar-e-Aqli*), immaterial and imperishable, having its source in the world of intelligence, from where it descends into the world of sense. It has two aspects, one inclines towards matter and is the cause of material activitiy; and the other remains attached to its origin. Its material side conceives a desire to produce form, which becomes a cause of pain and entanglement in matter. Thus soul is pure intellect, partly in body and partly out of it. It is the instrument of intelligence, and manifests itself through the intermediary of soul in the world of sense, without forming any attachment. Besides the rational soul, according to Al-Kindi, there are the following faculties or degrees of intellect in the Soul:—

(1) Potential intelligence (*aql-e-Hayulani*), by which man understands the essense of corporeal things by abstracting mentally the substance or essence from the various accidents, which may be compared to Aristotle's common sense.

(2) Active intelligence (*Aqle-bil-fil*) which causes the knowledge gained to be put in practice.

(3) Agent intellect (*Aqle-fa'al*), which guides and directs the action. The third is related to the second as form to matter.

The body, which is merely the instrument of the soul, is disintegrated after death, while the soul, which is the reality of man, is imperishable and remains ever without corruption or dissolution, and in pure condition returns to its origin. But if it is defiled and becomes impure by unnatural attachment to material lusts, it remains entangled in the world of sense. After undergoing painful effort, it is finally emancipated, when it forgets all its corporeal experiences and desires. In fact, while yet attached to the body, if it turns its attention towards heaven, it becomes uninterested in all worldly enjoyments. Soul is eternal and not bound to time or space. The different faculties of the soul as thus described do not form an argument against its unity. Its different degrees of activity are manifested at particular times, as the body cannot receive its working direct and at one time. The rational soul or the intellect is the essence of the human being and when he sees his essence, he sees all, and comprehends all things. The five essences are:—(1) Matter which receives impressions of all forms but itself cannot impress or become quality. (2) Form which cannot remain without matter. It is of two kinds, *i.e.*, inseparable from matter and descriptive of a thing through which a thing (*shai*) is formed from formless matter. Matter in its pure state is abstract and real but by becoming a thing, it takes a form and becomes unreal. (3) Movement, which also cannot remain without matter. It is classified into six kinds:—generation, destruction, increase, decrease, variety in quality and change of position. (4) Time, which is connected with Movement but in one direction. And (5) Space or Place, which surrounds the body. All things in the universe are bound together through a natural universal law, so that each in itself, if perfectly and rightly conceived, is a mirror showing the reality of all other things or, in other words,

the universe. Al-Kindi did not believe in Alchemy, the object of which is to discover the means for changing materials into gold or silver. Besides philosophy, he was much interested in Mathematics, Astrology, Geography and Medicine. Among his pupils the following were the most noted:—

Ahamad Sarkhas.

Ahamad, son of Muhammad of Sarkhas, in East Iran (*d.* 899 A.D.), believed in the studying of the abstract reality through its objective side, and in meditation and knowing the wonders of the corporeal world.

Abu Nasar Muhammad of Fārāb.

Abu Nasar Muhammad, son of Muhammad of Fārāb, known in Europe as Alpharabius, was born towards the end of the ninth century. He died at the age of over 80 years, in 950 A.D. His native place was Utrar or Fārāb, situated in Sughd, in the extreme eastern confines of ancient Iran, but now a part of Uzbakestan Republic in Russian Turkestan. His father was a general, but the philosopher, while still at a tender age, left Fārāb and reached Baghdad, when he began to study the Arabic language and afterwards took logic under Abul-Bashar Matta, son of Yunus. To augment his knowledge of philosophy, he went to Harran, and became a pupil under Yuhanna, son of Khailan. He was so very fond of the subject that he read Aristotle's *De Anima* 200 times and the *Physics* 40 times. After travelling in Syria and Egypt, he settled down at Damascus, where he was in such poor circumstances that for sometime he served as a watchman and had to read by the light of the garden lantern. Saif-ud-doulah, the prince of Damascus, granted him a pension of four *Dirham* per day and the philosopher, content with this limited income, passed the remaining days of his long life in seclusion, studying and writing a series of books, numbering over a hundred, of which half are commentaries and criticism of the past thinkers and the other half are original. Like his predecessor Al-Kindi, the major portion of his work is

lost and the following have come down to us in an incomplete or a fragmentary condition:—

Introduction to Logic; Commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories*, the *Hermeneia*, the first and second *Analytics*, the *Topics*, *Sophistic Rhetoric* and *Poetics*; Commentary on the *Nicomachæan Ethics*; *A Short Treatise on the Ideal City; On the Intelligence and the Intelligible; On the Universe and the One; Space and Quantity, Substance, Dreams, Vacuum, Meteorology, Movement of Heavenly Spheres;* and *The Soul and its Faculties.* Besides these, he wrote a commentary on the work of Alexander of Aphrodisia's *De Anima*, on agreement between Plato and Aristotle; a commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the *Elements of Euclid*, *Alchemy*, *Geomancy*; also a work entitled *Gems of Wisdom*, etc. The *Gems of Wisdom*, which consists of 58 brief chapters, is used as a text-book in schools. He was a great philosopher, mystic, mathematician and musician. His work on the theory of music is well known and authentic. His style is not clear and this is one reason why he is not well known.

Quite otherwise was the case with Avicenna, his successor, whose style is easy, fluent and clear. He is called the second teacher, or the second Aristotle, for he was a master in all branches of philosophy known in his time.

His Philosophy.

Fārābi was first a devoted and pious Muslim and next a philosopher. He has reconciled the views of Plato and Aristotle with the teachings of Islam. He holds that the teachings of Plato and Aristotle though differing in details, are, in their essence, the same. He inclined towards mysticism. Aristotle's suggestion of co-eternity of the first cause and matter is, in his opinion, dualistic in character, though he throws out the hint that it is identical with the teaching of truth by the Prophet. The soul, according to him, has different degrees of activity or aspects as taught in the *Quran* and explained by past thinkers. Every effect has, he says, a cause, until all causes reach one final cause, which has no cause for

itself. The world is compound, but the first cause is single. The aim of philosophy is to know God through rational and logical argument and by leading a pure and perfect life. Logic leads to the formation of correct concepts and true judgment and discloses the hidden reality, resolves our doubts and gives us the right knowledge of things.

His Logic.

Fārābi is also considered a great logician among Muslim thinkers. This subject had already been taught in the colleges of Harran, Edessa, Nisibis and Junde-Shahpur. Translations, abridgements and explanations of Porphyry's *Introduction* and Aristotle's work on *Logic* were extant in the Syriac and the Pahlavi languages. Paul, the Iranian Bishop, had written treatises on logic which must have been studied at and after the advent of Islam and on the revival of learning under Muslim Khalifs. Logic was considered a subject leading to the knowledge of the unknown from the known, by which one could distinguish the real from the unreal and the good from the evil, a guide for the true happiness and perfection of the soul. Muslim thinkers and their immediate predecessors in Syria and Iran believed in the ten Aristotlean Categories having a double existence, one as manifested in the world and the other as images in the mind. The word "existence" also had two aspects, one objective and the other subjective. The Scholastics of mediæval Europe spoke of logic as an instrument of knowledge allied to metaphysics and psychology but Fārābi believed it to be a constituent part of philosophy and his view was accepted in Europe. According to Fārābi and other Muslim thinkers, logical argument distinguishes between truth and falsehood and thus guides us in keeping to gain knowledge of things unknown. Therefore, the object of studying logic is to distinguish between the real from the not-real, good from evil, and finally to perfect and purify the soul and obtain perfect happiness and satisfaction. It is through logic that one understands the processes of inference and proof and is able to distinguish between right and

wrong concept and the true from false judgment. Fārābi's explanation of metaphysical questions is based on his logical argumentation. Ideas as well as judgment and knowledge (or conclusion) are of two kinds. The first is in need of other more distinct conceptions to prove its existence and the second is distinct in itself. For instance, in the case of ideas (Arabic *Tassavur*), there are perfect (*Tām*) ideas which do not require any preceding idea or ideas to make their existence clear, such as being, necessity and possibility, and imperfect (*Naqis*) ideas, which need other distinct ideas to make their concept clear such as 'body', which requires the concept of length, breadth and thickness. In the same manner, a judgment is either probable or certain. The probable requires other judgments to prove its truth but 'certain' is so distinct to reason as not to stand in need of further proofs, such as a whole which is certain to be greater than its parts or two contradictories of which one can be true. Knowledge also is classified into necessary and possible. The former is clear to the intellect and does not depend on more distinct truth and the latter is based on the support of other conclusions. Things (Arabic, *Shai*) also are either necessary or possible and exist as one or the other, either in the outer world or in the mind. Universals too exist as an accident (*Araz*) in the individual and as substance (*Jauhar*) in the mind. Muslim philosophers as well as *Mutakallamin, i.e.*, Scholastics, took great interest in logic and on several points have modified the views of Greek thinkers. Among the subjects treated in Logic are concepts, predicates, being and not being, abstractions, substance and accidents, etc.

His Metaphysics.

Fārābi attempts to reconcile the teaching of the *Quran* with the prevalent philosophical notions. He quotes freely passages from the *Quran* and endeavours to prove that current philosophical views fully agree with its teachings. He defines possible being as a being dependent for its existence on a cause, in which it terminates. Its characteristics are

deterioration and change. The necessary being, on the other hand, is self-existent, unchangeable and perfect. All compounded things must have a cause or causes for their compositeness and the universe being evidently a composite, must have a cause or causes, which must end in a final cause, itself independent of any other cause. This cause or the first principle is necessary and perfect. He is the creator, who has created the universe, which existed through eternity as a created thing in Him, in an instant through the medium of the universal intelligence, which also caused the beginning of time. According to Fārābi, the first principle is not a prime mover as taught by Aristotle but as pointed out above the creator. His being, to our sense, is quite distinct and so much shining and dazzling to our imperfect and weak intellectual vision that our mental faculties cannot perceive Him. Thus He is both apparent and hidden, above our knowledge and also beneath it. He may be compared to a sun, which shines and yet our eyes cannot see it. In the same manner, God is self-evident and does not stand in need of any proof and yet none can identify and compare Him to anything as Rumi, the great Iranian mystic-poet, sings:—

"The sun alone can well explain the sun
Wilt see't expounded? Turn to him alone
That day orb still each eve sets, here below
The soul-sun, God shines, in eternal glow.
On heart unless the soul-sun cast a ray
No thought, no picture can its sheen portray.
Can mind his glorious essence comprehend?
His presence, then to image who 'ill pretend".

Fārābi's first principle is eternal, unchangeable without parallel, unique and one. His oneness is not of number but of meaning, beyond time and space, everywhere and nowhere. His existence is the same as His essence. We know Him through His attributes, by purifying our heart and by abstracting ourselves from all worldly tendencies. He is the knower, the knowledge and the known, the lover beloved as love, self-conscious, self-satisfied, most perfect, most good,

most powerful. We live to know Him, which is the ultimate aim of philosophy.

The universe, according to the following passages from the *Quran,* has been created by God with an object, which is known to Him only. It had a beginning and it will have an end:—

"Those who think of God, standing and sitting and lying on their side and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth, (say), O Lord! thou hast not created those in vain." Ch. III—190.

"We did not create the heavens and the earth and what is between them but with truth and for an appointed time." XLVI—3.

The above passages had to be interpreted in the light of philosophy and Fārābi's interpretation, which is accepted by Muslim thinkers generally, represents it as the divine munificence or *faiz.* The overflowing of divine knowledge is the cause of phenomenal existence. Thus, divine knowledge is the cause of creation, which is believed to have taken form in a series of intelligences, finally forming into the *Alam-e-amr,* or immaterial soul world, and *alam-e-khalaq,* or the sensible material existence. The universal intelligence, in which there is no multiplicity, is the notice of His knowledge by Himself and thus His first creation. It has the two aspects of one side, being and hence a necessary existence, and on reflecting upon itself and becoming cognized of its originator becomes possible existence. Thus, a series of further intelligences is started, ending in plurality, which is named the universe.

Human Being and His Psychological Aspect.

Ilmun-nafs or psychology was studied by Muslim scholars through Greek and Iranian sources. It is closely related to Ethics and Medicine. According to pre-Islamic Iranian thinkers, the spiritual activity of man is manifested through the following faculties, each having its individual characteristics:—

(1) *Fravashi* or *Frovaḥar*, the archetypes and anti-types of all good being. The evil spirits do not possess them. These are the essence of existent things. Somewhat resembling the Platonic ideas, they are for everything created by Ahura-mazda, including sky, water, earth, plants and animals, even Ahura-mazda himself. In the Pahlavi literature, they have lost their original significance and are considered as the purifying air in body, heat or the power of digestion.

(2) *Daena*, in modern Iranian *din*, possessed both by good and bad, is a faculty exercising a moral influence on the soul.

(3) *Urvan* or *Ravan*, the ego proper, parallel to Quranic *nafs*.

(4) *Baodah* or in Pahlavi *bōd*, self-consciousness.

(5) *Ahu* or Pahlavi *Akho* (in modern Iranian *Jān*) life energy which perishes with the body.

(6) *Vīr*, reason.

(7) *Hōsh*, memory associated with *vīr* and so forth.

According to Aristotle, the sources of human knowledge consist in sense, memory, experience, induction and the intellect which apprehend the principle.

The scholastics of Europe had the following numbers of senses:—

External:

Hearing, seeing, smelling, taste and touch.

Internal:

Common sense, imagination, memory and instinct (for animals).

The psychic faculties among Muslim scholars were arranged as follows:—

In Fore-brain:

Hissi-mushtarak, common sense leading to perception.

Khiyal, imagination, which is the shadow of forms.

In Mid-brain:

Mutassarrafa, controlling faculty.

Vahm, emotional faculty, seat of love, hate, fear, etc.

In Hind-brain:

Hāfeza, memory.

Nafs-e-natiqa was considered as conscience, real self, or intellect.

According to a very common theory current among Eastern scholars, the formation of a thing under the natural process, takes a certain time. Thus, a human being in his essence must pass through various conditions, till the essence becomes fit to take the human form, and for further development, must receive new experiences and reach its maximum degree of perfection. This theory of human evolution is briefly indicated in several passages of the *Quran,* for instance, in the following:—

"And certainly He (God) has created you through various grades."

The celebrated poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi[37] repeatedly alludes to this idea in his *Masnavi.* This theory is based upon the assumption that the real man is soul, occupying a body. The body is not capable of perfection; its apparent changes are due to the various activities of the soul, which, using elements in different conditions, evolves itself and experiences various grades of lives, such as mineral, plants, lower animals and so forth, till manifest in the form of a human being, and finally it must reach its maximum perfection. Fārābi and other Muslim philosophers as well as *Sufis,* in accordance with this theory, concluded that man is a compound of two substances, *viz.,* body and soul. One is his essence and the other is his support. His soul is unchangeable and imperishable, not in need of space nor affected by time, but causes changes in matter. It does not require sensible organs, but uses the same to make the functions of the body complete; therefore, it causes completeness of the body. Matter is the manifestative aspect of the soul. The soul, manifesting in different aspects, is distinguished by

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[37] *Rumi, Jalal-ud-din*: For a detailed account of his doctrines, see Chap. XI of this work.

various names. The higher stage becomes form for the lower. This process is quite visible from the time of birth to death, on man's development, on his practical side. It is started from the activity of the nutritive faculty; then cognitive, the awakening of external senses, and afterwards of internal senses; the appetitive faculty, the imagination, memory, recollection; and finally intellectual and rational aspect, which distinguishes man from other animals. Fārābi begins from the concrete and develops into the abstract, or from the objective to the subjective side, from bodies to essences, from words to their meanings, which is called knowledge. Human intellectual development is classified by him in the same grades as stated in the teachings of Al-Kindi. *Aqle-fa'al* or the agent intellect is the perception of the human intellect, which gives him the power to distinguish between good and bad and guides the human will. It is the constructive faculty in a human being, without which man is degraded to the rank of an animal. It is the *real* man. His ego descends from above. It is pure, abstract, immaterial, derived from the universal spirit. It unifies matter and spirit.

Fārābi as an Expounder of Sufism.

As a Sufi, Fārābi believed that beyond the material objects and their knowledge and intellectual experience, there is a particular faculty called love, through which everything in the universe, including man, reaches to its highest perfection. The following is a tradition common among *Sufis*: I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known. So I created the creatures, so that they may know me. God himself is love and the cause of the creation is love. Through the faculty of love, the parts in the universe are united to their whole, to be absorbed in the supreme fountain of love, which is also supreme beauty and supreme good. The imperfects are named lovers, who seek the help of perfects called beloved, the lower lifting the higher and finally reaching to the highest. The senses may disclose a few objects of sense, and the intellect may detect a few secrets of nature, but it is love which

guides a human being towards his original source. God is not far from man. He is very close. It is said in the *Quran* that "We (God) are nearer to him (Man) than his life vein".[38] But it is love which opens the mental eye of man and makes him see his God. Material love and attachment to bodily desires are foreign to the soul, and prevent his ascent. Worldly desires become veils between the soul and his beloved, the supreme good. A man with no attachment to the world, according to Fārābi, while living in the world is really out of it, and even in this body, he can see what ordinary man cannot see, and do extraordinary acts, which others cannot do. He sees signs of God, and is happy within himself; spiritual visions are at first momentary, but by attaining a continuously purified state of mind, become constant and permanent.

Fārābi's Politics.

Fārābi's politics is based upon the conception of collective efforts of mankind in attaining the supreme bliss, by individual purity of thought and action and by social co-operation, harmony and sympathy. It is in society that the individual perceives his defects and by rectifying and reforming them is perfected. Fārābi follows Plato in many points but imbibed as he was with the Iranian culture of his time, he believed that a wise prince with divine knowledge must rule the nation. His aim must be to train his subjects for the real happiness of the *other* life. The Prophet was one such prince. If such a ruler, who must be a divine agent, does not exist, the next choice should be for a selected number of wise men, each an expert in a particular subject. Their joint efforts may reform society and keep a good administration going.

Fārābi's Influence on European Logic.

According to M. Carra de Voux, Fārābi's logic produced a permanent effect on the logic of the Latin scholars, while

[38] *Quran*, Chap. L. 16.

his order and enumeration of the principles of being and his doctrine of the double aspect of intellect and perfect beatitude became the basis for his Muslim successors for building up their philosophy. Among his noted pupils were:—Abu-Zakariyya and Abu-Sulaiman Tāher, son of Muhammad, a native of Sarakhas in North-East Iran, who was a philosopher and a voluminous writer. Zaher had also studied under Al-Kindi and has written valuable treatises on music, logic, mathematics, medicine and other subjects. His son Muhammad was also a noted logician.

Ibn-e-Maske-waih.

Abu Ali Ahmad, son of Muhammad, known as Ibn-e-Maske-waih, the celebrated Iranian moralist, philosopher and physician, was born in the tenth century and died after enjoying a long age in 1030 A.D. Though he was mainly interested in ethics, his position as a philosopher is undoubted. Among his noted works are:—*Tajarubul-umam* (history); *Tahzibul-Akllaq* (ethics); *Javidan-e-Khirad*; *Fouzul-Asghar* (philosophy); and *Fouzul-Akbar*.

His Ethics.

His work on ethics is divided into the following chapters, his arrangement of the subject being, with little modification, followed by his successors:—

1. The soul is immortal and immaterial, taking delight in knowledge alone. The principal virtues are:—Temperance, courage, wisdom and justice.
2. Man's natural inclination and disposition, mental training and education.
3. The supreme happiness and good is attained by the closest possible similarity with the deity.
4. Justice.
5. Love and friendship, in which the aim must be universal love.
6. Health.
7. Sickness of the soul and remedies.

His Philosophy.

His philosophy as stated in *Fouzul-Asghar* is more scholasticism than pure philosophy. The following subjects, subdivided into several chapters, are treated by him:—

1. Existence and its originator.
2. Soul.
3. The Prophet.
4. Revelation, intellect, difference between the true Prophet and an imposter.

Motion, Mover and Movable.

Every movable must be moved by a mover, but the mover himself is immovable or, as Aristotle has said, that every body having the quality of motion is moved by a different source than itself. Motion cannot be attributed to a body because a living being can move but a dead part of him cannot move. If motion was inherent in a body, its parts should possess the same quality. Therefore, we conclude that the power of motion comes from a source other than the body. And if we believe in a series of motions, one causing the other to move, finally we must stop at a mover which itself does not move or which is the cause of all other movements. Thus, the immovability of the prime mover is necessary. We must stop somewhere or it would necessitate an infinite regress, which is impossible and absurd. The prime mover must be of a character different from that of all else moved. It must be immaterial, eternal, immovable, one and without parallel.

What we consider substance of a thing becomes in its turn accident to some other thing and accident of a thing is an effect moved by a cause and each effect must have a cause. But the final cause in its own nature possesses the quality of causing all causes. Therefore, the final cause or the prime mover has existence by his own nature and existence of all besides him is a gift from him and due to him. He is one and he has created the universe, not working or

forming in a thing, but out of nothing. Aristotle and his school of philosophy consider matter co-eternal with the primal cause, whose creative power is to form the matter but the matter has constant change of forms, and one form by succeeding the other becomes non-existent. By losing its existence, the question arises, whether it impresses itself on some other body or remains in the same body. Our experience does not admit that it has passed into some other body and the second idea contradicts itself. Therefore, we conclude that one form succeeding the other becomes absolute non-existence. Since form is co-eternal with matter and itself is created out of nothing, matter also is produced from nothing. Thus, God creates both matter and form by His creative activity from non-existence. He is one, and does not possess various independent powers, to produce various effects and cause the diversity as we find it in the universe. This diversity apparently cannot be the effect of the one cause. Therefore, we must presume that the primal cause has created one thing, which, in its turn, is the cause of other things. Ibn-e-Maske-waih reaching his arguments to this point follows the theory of emanation already stated in other parts of this Chapter. Each emanation becomes more material and less spiritual till it takes the form of elements and by their composition diversity is manifested in the universe, beginning from the inanimate object and evolving to higher states of vegetable, animal and human life and still higher, till all again is absorbed in their original source. That which perceives several objects, at the same time, is called the Soul. It is not matter because matter cannot receive several impressions at one time. Ibn-e-Maske-waih, after thoroughly arguing on this point, concludes that the Soul is immaterial and being immaterial is immortal. Sensation is the lowest form of knowledge, which changes into perception and knowledge of external objects and gradually imagination becomes active and ideas are formed in the mind, till the conception of the immaterial by mental and intellectual development becomes possible.

Ibn-e-Maske-waih's explanation of the revelation, angels and office of a Prophet is beyond the scope of this Chapter. It may be remarked that it is both interesting and logical.

IBN-E-SINA (AVICENNA).

Abu-Ali Husain, son of Abdulla, known as Ibn-e-Sina or Avicenna, was born at Af-shana in the vicinity of Bukhara in 980 A.D. His father was an Iranian native of Balkh. He studied logic, geometry and astronomy under Abu Abdullah Natali and surpassed his teacher in these subjects. In studying other subjects, he partly received help from teachers and partly learnt by himself. At the age of seventeen, he had completed his preliminary studies and had become so famous as a physician that he was called to treat King Noah of the Sāmānid dynasty and succeeded in curing him. At the age of twenty-one, he began to write his great works on medicine and philosophy. He successively served at the courts of Gurgān, Rae, Hamadān and Ispahān, suffering exile and ill-treatment at the hands of the despots he was forced to wait upon. This great Iranian philosopher, whose works were studied both in the East and the West, lived in constant danger of his life and loss of personal freedom and honour. He died at the age of 55 or 57 in the year 1037 A.D. He was a contemporary of Ibn-e-Maske-waih, Firdousi and Abu-Raihan Biruni and the predecessor of Anselm and Abelard[39] of the West.

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[39] *Abelard, Peter*: (1079–1142 A.D.); a theologian and scholastic philosopher of French birth, renowned for his dialectic ability, his learning, his passion for Héloise and his misfortunes; made conceivability the test of credibility; a great teacher in his day.

Anselm, St.: (1033–1109 A.D.); Archibishop of Canterbury; a native of Aosta in Piedmont; monk and abbot; visited England frequently; King Rufus appointed him to succeed Lanfranc; quarrelled with Rufus and left the country; recalled by Henry I; an able, high-principled, God-fearing man, and calmly resolute upholder of the teaching and authority of the Church.

His Works.

Although constantly moving and serving different and differing masters, sometimes free and at other times in prison or on journey, he has left a large number of authentic works on philosophy and medicine. He used to pass the day time in the work of administration and the nights in writing his works. Among them are the following:—

1. *Shafa* (in Arabic); a grand encyclopædia of philosophy in 18 volumes, considered as an authority on the subject in mediæval Europe and among Muslim scholars to this day. It was completed in about 20 months.
2. *Najat* (in Arabic); an abridgement of the above.
3. *Qānun* (Canon) on medicine (in Arabic) translated into Latin and used as a text-book on Arabian medicine in the Universities of Montpellier and Louvain[40] up to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is studied by all students of the Yūnāni system of medicine throughout the East.
4. *Sadidiyya* (also on medicine) in five volumes.
5. On Music.
6. On Logic dedicated to Abul Hasan Sahli.
7. An Arabic Lexicon in 5 volumes.
8. *Danesh Nameh* (in Iranian) on philosophy.

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[40] *Louvain*: A famous city in Belgian Brabant; it has a celebrated university (1426–1797), which had 6,000 students in the 16th century; reconstructed in 1817, the university is still a Catholic one, with about 1,600 students, and a library of 250,000 volumes.

Montpellier: Capital of Herault, France, on the Lez, 6 miles from the Gulf of Lyons, 30 miles south-west of Nimes; a picturesque town, containing a cathedral, a university, picture-gallery, libraries and other institutions; has been a centre of culture and learning since the 16th century; manufactures chemicals, corks and textiles, and has a large trade in wine and brandy. The oldest botanic garden in France was founded here in 1592, while De Candolle laid out the first botanic garden upon the natural system in 1810. The medical school here has had a notable history, it being located in the old Bishop's palace. The principal glory is its two great terraces, forming public promenades overlooking the undulating country away to the Mediterranean, Cevennes, Pyrenees and Alps.

9. *Uyun-ul-Hikmat* (in Arabic) on philosophy in 10 volumes.

10. *Mojez Kabir* and *Saghir* on logic.

He wrote besides a large number of smaller treatises on various subjects coming under the heads of Science and Natural History.

His Logic.

His logic, which has been adopted by Eastern philosophers generally and often quoted by the Westerners, such as Albertus Magnus,[41] is a system used in a negative way and is an improvement on Fārābi's and Rāzi's systems. The former had adopted the deductive method and the latter was inclined to induction but Ibn-e-Sina combined both and considered his logic an introduction to all other subjects of Science and Philosophy. He was very particular in the accuracy of definition which he held the foundation of correct argument. The definition must make clear the essence of a thing, its genus and other characteristics. Universals exist in the human mind, and the abstract idea of the genus is found by observation and comparison of individuals and knowing their resemblance to each other. The idea is purely subjective and as such has no objective existence. He classifies the different models of genuine existence, such as *Ante Res* in the mind of the deity, which means everything exists in his knowledge in a general form and therefore it must be universal. The universal, accompanied by accidents, is realised in matter. The generic, though it does not possess an objective existence, is admitted as real in Logic. Intentions are of two kinds:—

1. Objective, such as directing attention to a tree; and
2. Logical concepts of an object in relation to abstract universal conceptions, by which one proceeds from the known to the unknown.

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41 *Albertus Magnus*: (1190–1280 A.D.); one of the greatest of the scholastic philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages; teacher of Thomas Aquinas; supreme in the knowledge of the arts and sciences of the time, and regarded by his contemporaries as a sorcerer.

His Psychology.

His views on psychology are similar to those of Aristotle with some modification. He held that bodies are composed of the elements. They are either natural or artificial, moving or not moving. Some possess and others do not possess sense perception. Movement is either *Tabi'i* (*i.e.*, natural and voluntary) and *Qasri* (*i.e.*, coercive). Mind is the perfection of the body. It is neither the result of fusion (*Imtizaj*) nor of combination (*Ikhtilat*) but extraneous to the fusion of the elements. It is classified into:—Vegetable mind, animal mind and human mind. All animate bodies are similar in possessing the power of nutrition but the extent of growth and power of generation is not similar. The natural process in bringing a body into its perfect stage is gradual and slow. The power of growth is the means of its perfection, and generation prevents the extinction of a species. The generative power is the first creative process though last in external development; growth is the second; and the nutrition the last. The animal mind possesses all the faculties of the vegetable and is distinguished by enjoying the power of movement, cognition and motive. The human mind is the perfected state of animal development. Man possesses in common with other animals the faculty of cognition, which is classified into external and inner senses, and he is further distinguished by the possession of the rational mind. The rational is thus classified:—(1) Material intelligence, *aql-e-māddi;* (2) Possible intelligence; (3) Active intelligence; (4) The acquired intelligence; and (5) The Holy Spirit or intuition, which is found in rare cases and restricted to men of purified minds and virtuous character. As psychologist, he succeeded in diagnosing several mental diseases.

His Metaphysics.

His metaphysics is conceived of under the following headings:—

1. Knowledge and its origin; (2) Experimentation; (3) Induction; (4) Deduction; (5) Matter; (6) Force;

(7) Cause and Effect, and relation between them; (8) The Primary and Accidental; (9) Universals and Particulars; (10) Primal cause; (11) Unity of Cosmos; (12) The relation of human soul to the Primal cause; (13) Immortality of the individual Soul; (14) Future existence; (15) Prophet, etc., etc.

Being.

God is the necessary Being, He is beyond space, time and motion. If the universe is taken in a collective sense and called a being, its existence is not inherent in it but received from the necessary being, which is the source of all existence and from which the stream of existence flows. It is like the water of a river gushing out of a spring and if drops are withheld for a moment the river becomes dry. In the same manner, the existence of all beings is momentary, appearing as continuous by the constant flow of existence from the source. Ibn-e-Sina has laid down the principle that the One originates One only. Therefore, both matter and form do not proceed from him. The characteristics of matter are shapelessness, diversity and change, which are not in the Supreme Being. Therefore, matter is something which may be called not-Being. The first Being caused pure intelligence, which is necessary because it is directly connected with, and possible since it has been caused by, the Supreme Being. Thus, the pure unity of the first cause became duality in the pure intelligence, by which the first cause itself is not affected. The duality by the process of other emanation is changed into multiplicity till reaching to the sphere of the moon, which is directly connected with life on earth. The last idea of connecting the moon with life on earth is an Indo-Iranian belief. Matter as stated is not-Being and shapeless, but it was made to receive form and this material disposition was caused by the motion of the spheres in such a way that form occupied the matter. To make this idea more clear, we may give the following grades of emanation:—

FIRST CAUSE.

1. The first intelligence, knowing its essence and origin.

2. (*a*) The second intelligence knowing itself as necessary and as possible.

(*b*) The soul and body of the ninth sphere.

3. The third intelligence and the soul and body of the sphere of Saturn.

4. The third intelligence and the soul and body of the other spheres also animated by the soul.

5. „ „ „

The sphere of the moon.

The active intelligence.

Four Elements, human soul—the evolution of the human being from stone to plant, to animal life, to human life, with still other lives in future.

THE THEORY OF LOVE.

Ibn-e-Sina elaborates the idea of evolution through the appreciation of beauty, which means perfection and good. Things have either reached their maximum perfection or are yet imperfect strivings after perfection. The imperfect naturally seek the help of the perfect to become perfect. This striving is named love. The whole universe is moved by the same power of love towards the one Supreme Beauty, the most perfect, the most good. Non-existence is hated by all and all strive after perfect unbreakable existence. Shapeless matter is indeterminate and dead in itself, but it serves the purpose of love, which utilizes it by assuming various forms, the later, more perfect, moves the previous. Thus, the process of evolution begins first in stone, then in plant, animal and human life and further in other higher and more perfect lives of which we know nothing.

SOUL.

The soul's activity is manifested according to the planes of being. The simplest manifestation is that of minerals and

then of vegetable life, in which its activity is limited to assimilation, growth and generation. Next is animal life, in which perception and motive powers are increased. Finally, the human, in whom the rational soul, an immaterial substance, has descended from the divine source. The faculties active in human beings are divided into:—

1. Powers of perception and action.

The perceptive faculties are:—

External (8):—Sight; taste; smell; perception of heat, cold; dry, moist; hard, soft; rough; and smooth.

Internal (5): (i) Whim or fancy. It differentiates between certain objects and helps animals to avoid possible danger or to seek objects beneficial to them. (ii) *Mutakhayyala* or imagination, by which animals can perceive objects absent from their external senses. (iii) *Hafiza* or memory, by which animals preserve the images of the objects acquired through the outer senses. (iv) *Mussavarah* or formative, by which through common sense the shapes of objects are identified and preserved. (v) *Hisse-mushtarak* or commonsense, which gives definite meaning to objects perceived from the five external senses. To these, the rational soul or human mind is added. It is also called reason or intellect. *Nafse-Natiqa* or rational soul, conceives of its faculties by its own power, independent of the body. It is, however, dependent on the senses for knowing objects. It was descended from the agent intellect, at the time when the body was prepared to receive it. The rational soul when fully developed in a human being elevates him to the higher grades of prophets and angels. It possesses the will power and it does not conceive through the body, but is self-conscious and in essence is independent of body and senses. Its immortality is its re-absorption in the primal source.

His Conception of Physics.

Ibn-e-Sina's Physics is similar to Aristotlean tradition to which his own experience and speculation are added. He did not believe in astrology but admitted the fact that the light of

the stars influences life on earth. Bodies are composed of matter with form, which possesses three dimensions by stretching itself in three directions and cutting at right angles. Matter itself is shapeless, but is disposed to receive forms. Besides material bodies, there are those which are related to categories. Bodies are either composite or simple. The last possesses no parts but can be divided in imagination. Ideas connected with bodies are:—movement, rest, time, place, vacuity, finity, infinity, contact, adherence, continuity or succession. Simple bodies are the four elements. Bodies have a beginning and end on their destruction with the exception of the celestial bodies, which are not corrupted. Matter receives form, but under a natural law it cannot be changed, for example, a stone cannot become a lion. Perfect movement is circular which is found in the stars.

His Pupils.

Ibn-e-Sina left a number of pupils who became celebrated and followed his system of philosophy and medicine. Among them the most noted were Bahman Yar, Abul Mamun Ispahani, Masūmi Abul Abbas, Ibn-e-Taher.

The Encyclopædists of the Akbwan-us-Safa.

The *Akbwan-us-safa* is an encyclopædia of science and philosophy in 51 parts. Its authors were a number of Iranian scholars, some of whom are known and others are not known. The known scholars are:—(1) Zayd, son of Rifa; (2) Abu Sulaiman Muhammad of Bust; (3) Ali of Zangan; (4) Abu Ahmad Mehregani; and (5) Awfi.

There is nothing original in this important work, but it fairly represents the views of contemporary Muslim scholars on various subjects of science and philosophy. Their metaphysics, theology and psychology have a close resemblance to the Neo-Platonic views, but their ethics is a mixture of Indo-Iranian and Arabian virtues, but worked out as a systematized parallel to that obtaining with Greek philosophers. The Universe is not a direct emanation from the deity, whose

first creation is reason or the active intelligence. The Universal Soul (*Nafse-kul*) proceeds from the latter and *Hayulu* (*hyle-materia*) proceeds from the *Nafse-kul*. When it becomes capable of receiving dimension, it is called secondary matter, from which the universe is formed. *Nafse-kul* permeates all things retaining its unity. The Soul has different degrees of intellectual capacity. Its union with matter is temporary and the aim of human life is to emancipate one's soul from the prison of matter. The genealogy of metaphysical speculation might be thus represented:—

God:—Unknowable to human intellect.

Aqle-kul:—Or the universal intellect or other planes than human soul.

Nafse-kul:—Or the universal soul permeating all things.

Primal matter.

Secondary matter.

Universe.

Hayula or pure matter is that which possibly can exist but has no form. It becomes something through the adoption of form an opposed determination. The individual souls are part of the world soul to which they will return, as it is said in the *Quran*: "We are of God and we return towards Him", after being purified, and the universal soul will return to God on the day of resurrection. Thus the individual's death is a minor return and of the universal soul is the major return towards the creator.

Ethics.

Purification of human thought leads to the removal of all material imperfections. Moral purity is higher than intellectual capacity. The soul becomes perfect by self-discipline, self-control, faith with action, justice, mercy, truth, self-sacrifice, and by the renunciation of deceit, hypocrisy, envy, pride, tyranny, falsehood and other vices.

The Golden Age of Muslim Philosophy.

The golden age of Muslim philosophy was between the tenth and fourteenth century A.D. The eleventh and twelfth

centuries are noteworthy for the production of great thinkers among Muslims, such as Ibn-e-Sina and Abu Raihan, Albiruni, and after them Ibn-e-Malika, Zamakshari, Umar-e-Khayyam, Imam Ghazzali, Nasir Khusroe, Sharastāni, Ibn-e-Bajja, Ibn-e-Tufail, Shahab-ud-din Suhrawardi, and Ibnur-Rushd. Among these, the last four will be mentioned here in greater detail and Ghazzali will be dealt with under the head of scholastic thinkers of Islam.

Abu Bakr Ibn-e-Bajja.

Abu Bakr Ibn-e-Bajja, known in Europe as Avempace, who died in 1138 A.D., was one of the great Muslim thinkers of Spain. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* and did original work in mathematics, also a work entitled *The Hermit's Guide,* in which he has distinguished between human and animal society. Among the scholastics of Europe, he is known as the originator of the theory of *Separate Substances,* by which he meant that the human being can attain to the knowledge of abstract substances, deduced from concrete bodies. The idea of a separate spiritual substance was adopted from him by the scholastics of Europe. His mystic doctrine, unlike that of Fārābi, who believed in ecstacy, is based on renunciation of worldly enjoyments. Thus among Muslims there were different methods of gaining *Ittisal* or union with the deity. Among these are *Ishq* (or *Bhakti*), *Zuhd* (*Sanyas*) or ascetic life, *Tafakkur* (*Jnāna*) or philosophical wisdom and *Khairat* (*Karma*) or the doing of virtuous deeds. While Fārābi was inclined to *Bhakti* and believed in ecstacy and contemplation as the best means of reaching the spiritual goal, Ibn-e-Bajja preferred *Zuhd* or the ascetic life. Abu Bakr Muhammad, known as Ibn-e-Tufail, born at Wadish, near Granada, in 1100 A.D., and died at Morocco in 1185 A.D., was a philosopher, mathematician, physician and a poet. He is chiefly known for his celebrated work entitled *Hayy Yaqzān* in which he endeavours to explain philosophical and mystical ideas in the form of a story. The object of the author is to prove that a man gifted with sound reasoning and

the power of observation of natural objects can attain to a perfect human life, without the aid of sacred books or a spiritual teacher. Such a person can be a philosopher by his own reflection and self-abnegation. The story begins thus:—

A boy, left alone on an island, is sucked and brought up by a gazelle.[42] When he grew up, he had an intense desire to know and investigate everything not understood by him. He feels that animals possess natural covering and defensive instruments while he is naked and unarmed. Therefore he covers himself first with leaves and then with skins of dead animals and uses sticks for defence. Gradually, he becomes acquainted with the other necessities of life, discovers the use of fire, the benefit of wool, weaving, and constructs a hut as a dwelling for himself. In the meantime, his nurse, the gazelle, is old and weak and finally it dies. The curious human mind is anxious to know the cause of the great change. He opens a side of the animal, minutely examines the internal parts of body and comes to the conclusion that the heart is the centre of bodily organs. Next, he studies the minerals, plants and animals found in his island, learns their different sounds and imitates them. Next, he observes the atmospheric phenomena and attracted by the multiplicity present in nature endeavours to find unity in all. At length, he decides that behind all diversity, there is a unity, and this hidden power is unique, pure and invisible. He calls him the first cause or the creator of the world. Then he reflects upon his own self and the medium through which he obtained the knowledge. His objective research is changed into subjective meditation. He discovers simple elements or substances, their composition, matter, form and finally soul and its immortality. By observing a stream, and tracing its origin to a spring of water gushing out and out-flowing as a river, he is led to think that mankind also must have a common origin. He further reflects on

[42] *Gazelle*: From Arabic *Ghazal*; a small, swift, elegantly-formed species of antelope, of North Africa, Syria, Arabia, and Iran; celebrated for the lustre and soft expression of its eyes.

heaven, the movement of stars, the sphere of the moon and its influence over the earth. He draws a line of conduct for himself, abstains from killing animals and is content to eat ripe fruits and vegetables and only in case of extreme necessity resorts to animal flesh. He is changed from a mere physical observer into a seeker of the Divine Spirit and instead of seeking knowledge through logical argument and conclusion or objective experiment, is lost in spiritual meditation. He regards the whole universe a reflection of the one deity and enjoys the raptures of ecstacy. There was an island close to the one inhabited by him and a learned man named Asal incidentally visits the island of Hayy, meets him and teaches him language. When they compare their thoughts, one a student of nature and the other a philosopher and follower of religion, they find that both have reached the same conclusion. Thus, the author proves that man by nature is progressive and may attain to salvation by self-discipline and the inner light, even without the aid of revealed religions. Also, that the sum total of philosophy, religion and revelation is human experience and longing after knowledge which is obtained by observation of nature and by leading a pure life. The Prophet also, according to a tradition narrated by Abu-Huraira, has said that every baby is born a Muslim but that his parents bring him up as a follower of the religion followed by them and in support, he is said to have recited the following verse from the *Quran*:—

"Then turn your face to the religion in truth, truth (which the) nature made by Allah (and) in which He has made man and there is no altering of God's creation".[43]

The idea in these lines is to say that the teaching of Islam helps a man who is gifted with sound intellect, by which he may distinguish between good and bad, carve out the right path of life for himself, the path which will lead him to emancipation. Ibn-e-Tufail has also proved in this story that there

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[43] *Quran*, Chap. XXX. 30.

is no antagonism between philosophy, religion and science. All are the same and harmonious with each other.

Shahab-ūd-dīn, an expert physician, an original thinker and a bold theologian, was born in 1153 A.D. He studied under one Ahmad at Maragha.[44] He was much respected by Malak-uz-zāher, son of the famous Salah-ud-dīn (Saladin)[45] and lived at his court. His bold criticism and the freedom of thought and speech he indulged in, encouraged a strong opposing party of theologians ranged against him. This party pronounced a *fatwa* (permission) for his execution and he was accordingly put to death in 1191 A.D., in the 38th year of his age. Thus died one of the most celebrated thinkers of Iran.

His works are:—

1. *Kitabun-naqihāt,* which falls under Jurisprudence.
2. *Hikmatul ishraq* (Philosophy of Light), which falls under Philosophy.
3. *Haykal.*
4. *Kitabut-talwihāt.*
5. *Balaghat-Nama,* etc.

His philosophy is based upon the theory of light, an old Iranian conception, coloured by Neo-Platonic methodology and harmonized with the doctrine of Islam. Instead of using the common term first or primal cause, he begins with that principle as the absolute light, whose very essence is illumination by which he is manifested. No argument is required to prove the existence of Light, for as the author of *Masnavi* says:— "Sunshine is the proof of Sun's existence." The not-Light is taken in the sense of Aristotlean matter. The spirit has no independent existence. That which is

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[44] *Maragha*: A town in Western Iran, 35 miles south of Tabriz.

[45] *Saladin*: (1137–1193 A.D.); Sultan of Egypt and Syria; the hero of the Third Crusade on the Muslim side; a man of noble and chivalrous character; rose from the position of a soldier to sovereignty (in 1174); captured Damascus, Aleppo, etc., and entered the Holy Land, defeating the Christians at Tiberias, took Jerusalem and laid siege to Tyre; found, in Richard Coeur de Leon, a foeman worthy of his steel; concluded a truce in 1192 and died the year after.

illuminated is not illuminaiton, which for light is dependent upon illumination. The universe is not the whole but a partial manifestation of the light, which is also the cause of motion, affecting all without being moved itself. The numberless rays of the light are life and vary in the degree of illumination. The stronger illumination affects the weaker illumination by illuminating it. The illumination in its grosser aspect is of two kinds, the one abstract possessing no form and remaining always a substance self-conscious and the source of all forms differing in the stronger and weaker quantity of light owing to distance from the source. The human intellect is a distant reflection of this abstract light and the other possessing a form is named accident The relation between the substance light and accident light is as of a cause and its effect. This does not mean that they are two separate things but the same in two aspects; one the shadow of the other. All the Categories as asserted by the Greek philosophers cannot be known to the human mind, because the manifestation of light in the universe is partial and therefore human knowledge which can grasp very little of this partial manifestation must be limited too.

SUHRAWARDI.

Not-Light is substituted by Suhrawardi for *hayula* or pure matter. He does not agree with his predecessors that it is a separate and co-eternal being with a first cause but a shadow of the absolute light, partly in space and partly beyond space. The diversity apparent in it is not its quality but is due to the degree of illumination reflected on it. All bodies, though they appear different in their essence, are the same. Manifested light and apparent darkness both exist from the absolute light. The universe is composed of numberless circles, illuminated more or less by the absolute light, through the medium-lights, one affecting the other. All things, as rays of the sun, move towards the source. The not-Light is classified into permanent and momentary. The former are souls of heavenly bodies, intellect, simple elements, time and

motion. The latter are all composite things. Heavens do not move in one direction. Each has its own movement. Motion is related to time and both are eternal.

Iranian Fravashi or Platonic Ideas.

Suhrawardi conceives a world of ideas in which the archetype of things exists. He says that the ancient Iranian sages believed in this theory and possessed ideas of certain objects in the world, such as water with its archetype named *hvartat* (*Khōrdad*), plants *amertat* (*Mardad*), fire or heat, *Asha vahista* (*urdi-behesht*). Each species possesses its guardian archetype. The idea or archetype of human being is the "holy spirit" or the "universal intellect".

Soul.

The Soul is pure light which illuminates the body through the medium of the animal soul and descends upon the formation of the body. It makes the animal soul act through the five external and five internal senses. Knowledge, memory, imagination, vision are illuminative acts of the soul.

Virtue and Vice.

Every soul longs to move towards the source of light. Its advance towards the light is wisdom and virtue and inclination towards not-Light is vice. Evil is a negation of light and depends upon darkness.

Elements.

The elements, according to Suhrawardi, are three in number, *i.e.*, water, wind and earth. Fire is the burning wind. The various combinations of elements cause variety in forms. Atmospheric phenomena such as rain, etc., are the various effects of motion. The universe in the sense of being partial manifestation of the light is contingent, but eternal in the sense of the eternity of its source. There is no such thing as cause and effect. All things move towards the source of the light and in doing so, one is affected and assisted by the other. All including human beings aspire to reach the source and remain internally in full illumination.

Zoug.

Zoug is a mysterious faculty in humanity through which man strives for nearness to the source of Light as a lover seeks his beloved. He may gain his object by gradual freedom from not-Light. He follows the *Sufis* in fixing stations or stages of such development. In the first and lowest stage, he is entangled with *khudi* (*ahankāra*) or love of self. In the second, he loves others but retains self-consciousness. In the third, he lives for doing service to others. In the fourth, denying himself is absorbed in Him. In the fifth, the first and second feeling of self-consciousness are lost in constant contemplation of the Universal Consciousness. Each move towards the source of light is an ascent and the opposite movement is descent.

Death is the movement towards the goal but the movement is not necessarily forward It may be backward also and depends upon a tendency which is manifested in thought and action. When our body is exhausted, another is taken to renew the journey. If it is a forward journey, each death takes to closer station towards the beloved; if it is backward, one may return back to the world of darkness and continue to entangle himself in that chain, till awakened from his miserable condition.

God is the sum total of all existence, whether material or immaterial. He has no opposite, neither a parallel. World is real and each human soul possesses an independent existence, and, therefore, human beings are not completely similar to each other. Man's essence is light and man must return to his origin.

Ethics.

Man possesses five external and five internal senses and powers of assimilation, digestion and reproduction. His spiritual faculties, manifested through the animal soul, are:— Ambition, courage and self-defence or anger. When these harmonize and act properly, they lead to purity of conduct, knowledge, chastity and bravery. The use and misuse of a faculty makes it a virtue or a vice. Knowledge guides a man

towards the light and the more he becomes wise the more he is attracted to the light.

Suhrawardi's views were adopted by the later generation, particularly those thinkers who were inclined to mysticism, and many have written commentaries on his *Hikmatul Ishraq* or philosophy of illumination. Among them are:—

Shahrazuri (1250), Shirazi (1311), N. Harwari (1300), Ibn-e-kammuna (1277), Dawwani (1501), and S. Shirazi (1640).

Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes).

Abu Walid Muhammad, son of Ahmad, known as Ibn-ur-Rushd, or Averroes, was the last great Western Muslim philosopher. He was born at Cordova in 1126 A.D, and died in 1198 A.D. Among his works are the following:—

1. *Mabadi-ul-Filsafa,* or the Beginning of Philosophy, in 12 parts. Besides this, there are by him over 25 other works on different subjects in philosophy.
2. *Kulliyat,* a work on medicine.
3. Commentary on *Urjuza* of Ibn-e-Sina, a work on medicine and 18 other works on the same subject.
4. *Tasl-ul.* On *Kalam*, or
5. *Kashful-adellah.* Scholastic
6. *Destruction of Destruction.* Philosophy.
7. *On the Agreement of Religion and Philosophy.*
8. *On the Demonstration of Religious Dogma.*

He also wrote several other works bearing on theology, astronomy and grammar. He is known as the "Commentator" among European Scholastics. His philosophy is a commentary on Aristotle. He aimed at reconciling Aristotle's teaching with the doctrine of Islam. He is considered the last and greatest Muslim philosopher in the West. With his writings, Spinoza appears to have been well acquainted.

His Philosophy.

Ibn-ur agrees with Aristotle's belief in the eternity of the world. Both pure matter and form are, to him, uncreated. God transfers to matter a pure potentiality which

brings it into existence by motion, not as the other Eastern philosophers believed by gradual emanation but all at once. All the intelligences emanated at one time are not equal in perfection or simplicity. Matter, as universal potency, contains in itself the capacity of taking form. Both matter and form are eternal and necessary to each other. The highest sphere is immaterial and permanent. It does not revolve as considered by other scholars but the apparent motion is connected with the stars fixed in it. The heaven of the planets, on the other hand, has two motions; one particular to each planet and the other its daily movement. Sun and the stars contribute to life on earth by their warmth. In these theories, Ibn-ur-Rushd differs from Ibn-e-Sina, who believed in the first principle not only as the mover of the whole universe but also as the maker of forms. He differs from Suhrawardi, who taught that sun and the stars affect the earth not by their warmth but by their light.

Each heavenly body possesses its intelligence or soul which is its form. Their intelligence is never tired. Like mankind, they do not see, hear or touch but possess the knowledge of their own self and of the external world.

The Intellect and the Soul.

Human intelligence is immaterial, immortal, abstract and separate from the individual. It is an emanation of the universal soul, which is temporarily individualized by connection with an individual body.[46] After death, it is re-absorbed in the Universal Soul and therefore its individuality is terminated by the death of an individual. It grasps the idea coming from the Universal Soul. It has two aspects: one is called *Feli* and the other *Infa'ale,* or active and passive. The active called *Nafse-Nateqa,* illumines the mind and is related to the universals but the passive aspect tends more towards sensible objects. One is considered as a sun and

[46] *Spinoza* (1632–1677) seems to have been deeply impressed by this idea; he owed his doctrine of extension, at least in part, to Ibn-ur-Rushd (Averroes).

the other as vision. The last acts on sensible images as form acts on matter but does not get corrupted by such contact. It is the source of direct connection between human beings and the Universal Soul and the aim of the Sūfis as well as of Muslim philosophers is the identification through *Nafse-Natiqa* with the Universal Intellect, which is attained by knowledge and ascetic life.

His Psychology.

Soul is an energy which gives life to matter. It is different from the intellect. It is the form of bodies. We may summarise the psychology of Ibn-ur-Rushd as follows:—

1. There is an Universal Intellect, independent of matter and *directly* affecting the world, and not as has been put forth by other Eastern philosophers by gradation after reaching its sphere of moon.

2. It moves the whole universe.

3. Human beings possess a ray of this intellect, which is manifested in two aspects; one remaining in its pure abstract condition with a tendency towards its original sources, impersonal and immaterial, and illuminating the other aspect which is tending more towards matter. The former is re-absorbed after death into the Universal Intellect. It is the same for all mankind, but the other materializing itself, comes to an end with the death of the body. The activity of the brain and the nerves are due to the presence of this external force.

4. The abstract intellect, even in its individual capacity, can contemplate abstract forms and ideas in the general sense. It is the source by which man can attain to higher life.

Ibn-ur-Rushd believed that the recompense after death is spiritual, not physical, as thought by the majority of orthodox Muslims.

Divine Knowledge.

The Supreme Being loves Himself and has knowledge of His own existence. In His essence, He knows all things

and perceives them in Himself. His knowledge embraces the whole universe.

Quranic Teaching.

Ibn-ur-Rushd holds that the teachings of the *Quran* must be understood in two senses:—One literal translation, restricted to illiterates; and the other, allegorical, which may be known to learned men, to whom Quranic doctrine would be in perfect harmony with philosophical realities. Ibn-ur-Rushd differs with Ibn-e-Sina on several important metaphysical and psychological points and criticises him for expounding his own theories in the name of Aristotle. He often quotes passages from the *Quran* in support of his views, like St. Thomas Aquinas, who has done the same with the Biblical teaching.[47] The thirteenth century produced a very large number of thinkers, the majority of whom were in the East, such as Imam Rāzi, whose system was experimental and inductive in character and concerned more with the concrete than the abstract. He was more a naturalist, logician and physician than a pure philosopher. He founded his philosophy on the eternity of the Creator, the Universal Soul, pure matter, space in abstract and time in abstract. Numbered time is distinct from time eternal which is called duration. The above five things are the necessary potentialities causing material existence. Matter has the capacity of acquiring form and occupying space. Imam Rāzi fixes the variety of creation, some earlier and others later; in other words, it is the measure of the various material combinations and separations. Human intelligence and man's power of making, progressing and striving for perfection makes us believe that a

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[47] *Aquinas, Thomas*: Came exactly a century after Ibn-ur-Rushd. He lived between 1226–1274 A.D., whereas Ibn-ur-Rushd lived between 1126–1198 A.D. Aquinas was born at Naples, of noble Italian parents; became a Dominican Monk; a student of Albertus Magnus; his *Summa Theologiæ*, the greatest of his many works, is a masterly production and to this day considered a study of standard authority in the Roman Catholic Church.

perfect maker and artist exists, who inspires his created things or creatures with the same force on a much smaller scale. The human aspiration is perfection and liberation.

Other Writers in Philosophy.

Zarniji, Khavanji, Abhari, Katibi, Nasafi, Urmavi, Samarqandi, Āmedi, and Sharzori were other scholars in philosophy. Mohy-ud-din Arabi was a great author on Sūfism and so was Abdul Hay, son of Sabin. Both the last-named were from the West. Musa, son of Maimun, known as Maimunid, and a number of other Jewish scholars were transmitters of Muslim thought in Western languages. Nasir-ud-din-Tusi, born at Tus in 1200 A.D., is known as the author of *Akhlaq-e-Nasiri,* an important work on ethics and of *Tajridul-aqaed* on *Kalam* or scholastic philosophy. His other works are on Euclid, astronomy, prosody, etc. His extant works are enumerated by W. Brockelmann, and they number some 56, most of them being in Arabic.

Later Muslim Philosophy.

The subject of Muslim Ethics will be treated under the name of Jalal-ud-din Dawwani, the great classical writer on the subject. Muslim thinkers and writers of the 14th century were:—Hilli, Ispahani, Qutb-ud-din Rāzi, Shustery, Mahbuby, Bukhāri Idji, Harawi and Shirāzi; and of the 15th century, Jurjani, Taftazani, Abhari, Fanari. The most notable name in the 16th century is that of Ghias-ud-din Shirāz Sharāni. Towards the end of that century, lived and died the great writer on ethics, known as Dawwani, the author of the celebrated work *Akhlaq-e-Jalāli.* He flourished in the reign of Abu Said, the Timurid king of Iran. He died in 1592. The more important of his other works are:—*Sharh-e-Haikkal,* a commentary on the work of Suhrawardi; *Isbati-wājeb,* or the proof of necessary being; and *Risala-e-Zaura,* a work on Sūfism.

Muslim Ethics.

Muslim philosophers have defined Ethics as part of *Hikimat-e-Amali,* or practical philosophy. Works on morals

among Muslim writers are divided into:—(1) Scientific and methodical study of virtues, with the aim of effecting refinement in individual character and building up a healthy society; and (2) A study based on passages found in the *Quran*, the tradition, pre-Islamic sacred books of Iran, books on Morals in Indian languages such as the *Panchatantra*, pre-Islamic Arab tradition, etc.

The pre-Islamic morals of the Arabs consisted in:—Endurance of hardship, loyalty to the chief, self-respect, hospitality, generosity, faithfulness, protection of women and courage. Islam taught moderation as a virtue. It is said in the *Quran*:

Moderation: "Do not let your hand be shackled to your neck nor stretch it forth to the utmost limit." (Chap. XVII–29.) "Be maintainers of justice and bearers of witness even if it be against yourselves, your parents or your relatives." (Chap. IV–135.)

Humility: "Do not go about in the land exaltingly." (Chap. XVIII–37.)

Chastity: "Say to the believing men that they must cast down their looks. Say to the believing women that they must cast down their looks and guard their chastity." (Chap. XXIV–30.)

Charity: "By no means shall you attain to righteousness until you give (willingly) that which you love." (Chap. III–91.)

Forgiveness and Restraining Anger: "Those who spend (when) in good circumstances as well as in straitness and those who restrain anger and pardon men, God loves the doers of good (to others)." (Chap. III–133.) "Whose hearts are set at rest by the remembrance of God and surely by remembrance of God are the hearts set at rest." (Chap. XIII–28.)

Respect and Love of Parents: "Goodness to your parents. If one or both of them reach old age, say not to them even 'uf' nor chide them but speak generous words and make yourself humble and submissive to them with compassion." (Chap. XVIII–34-24.)

Besides these, other virtues, such as repentance, good-heartedness, self-denial, toleration towards others, religious conceptions, good-will, etc., are recommended.

Next to passages in the *Quran*, there are a large number of traditions, partly genuine and partly attributed to the Prophet. Ethics was the only subject in which the East did not imitate the West. Nor could the West attain to the ideals of the East, which has produced perhaps the greatest law-givers, reformers and moralists the world has known, such as Zoroastor, Buddha, Jesus, Muhammad, apart from quite a number of other sages and heroes whose standard of morals was very high. The only influence which the West could bring to bear on the East in connection with this subject is the method of scientific treatment, which has been followed by a few and understood by a limited number of learned men. Besides the sermons and addresses of the early Khalifs, particularly Alī, from whose sayings a fair number of moral maxims has been collected, the sayings of other sages is considerable.

IBN-E-MUQAFFA.

The earliest known writer on Ethics was Abdullah, known as Ibn-e-Muqaffa, an Iranian Zoroastrian convert to Islam. He wrote a book entitled *Durra-al-yatima*, in which he has eulogized the following virtues:—Temperance, courage, liberality, proficiency, etc. He also re-translated the Indian *Panchatantra* from Pahlavi into Arabic. Hunain, or his son Ishaq, translated Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The "Brethren of Purity" have included a chapter on Ethics in their encyclopædia. In their system, the moral nature of man is determined by the four causal agencies:—(1) The bodily formation; (2) climate; (3) education, and (4) the influence of the stars.

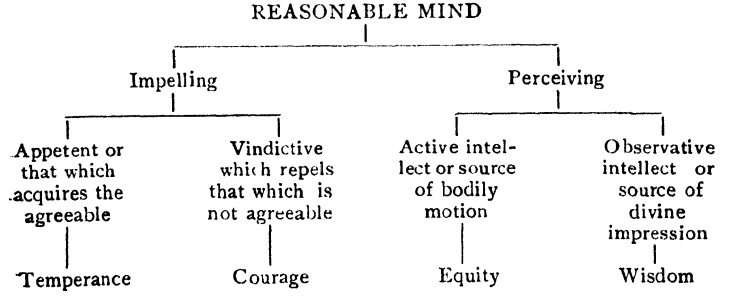
The next famous work on the subject was composed by Ibn-e-Maske-waih, already described under his name. Ibn-e-Sina, Ibn-ur-Rushd and other philosophers have added Ethics to their works on philosophy.

Nasir-ud-din Tusi and Dawwani.

But Nasir-ud-din Tusi specialized himself in that subject and wrote a book in the style of the Greek writers, while Jalal-ud-din Dawwani improved on it in his celebrated work *Akhlaq-e-Jalāli*. It is divided into the following parts:—(1) The individual state—subdivided into sources of action, genuine virtues, vices, mental diseases and their remedies, reason, human interest, etc.; (2) the domestic state—sources of income, object of marriage, choice of wife, children, their education, choice of profession, parental rights, servants and the treatment of subordinates, etc.; and (3) the political state—law, the executive, duties, good and bad civilization, sovereignty, government, its abuse, behaviour of citizens towards the authorities in intercourse, friendship, enmity, etc.

The principle of "means" emphasised in the *Quran* became the basis of Muslim ethics, both with the orthodox and the philosophic schools. The same view had been taken by the ancient sages of Greece, Iran and India.

Dawwani, after arguing the possibility of a change in human character, concludes by saying that Aristotle had long ago affirmed that bad character may become good by means of discipline, training and correction, and quotes the following saying of the Prophet to buttress his position:—"Strive ye; for every one may attain to that for which he was constituted." Next, he explains the kinds of human intellect there are, and their various powers, which may be thus exhibited:—



The other classification of soul power is:—

1. Reasonable mind, paramount power, to which the other faculties must be subordinate. It is the source of thought, judgment and the desire for knowledge and knowing things as they are.

2. Vindictive power—Animal spirit, source of self-defence appearing as anger, bravery, desire for predominance.

3. Appetent faculty—source of passion, sexual enjoyment, hunger, etc.; each of these faculties, if properly worked, tends to a virtue, such as:—

Reasonable power	Vindictive	Appetent
Wisdom	Courage	Temperance and Liberality.

The harmonious work of these faculties results in justice and equity of human thought and action. By wisdom, Dawwani and other philosophers mean the knowledge of objects in their reality to the extent of human understanding; and courage means the power to act under the direction of reason under all conditions.

Temperance is the submission of the faculty of lower desire to reason and the harmonious work of the three faculties mentioned is justice. Each of these faculties, if properly worked, manifests a number of virtues, such as:—

Wisdom: Penetration; Clear understanding; Shrewdness; Right discrimination; Memory; Recollection, etc.

Courage: Self-respect, endurance; Right ambition, zeal; Dignity; Firmness; Compassion; Coolness; Humility; Boldness, etc.; Calmness.

Temperance: Good humour; Chastity; Righteousness; Patience; Contentment; Steadiness; Piety; Freedom; Generosity; Regularity; and Harmony.

Justice: Faithfulness, Keeping promise; Tenderness; Fraternity; Gratitude; Good partnership; Cordiality; Obedience; Resignation in things beyond human power; Devotion; Confession (of one's own defects).

Against each virtue, if the respective faculty is not properly worked, its misuse becomes a vice, such as:—Ignorance

against wisdom, false temperance or disguised lustfulness, cowardice and tyranny against temperance, courage and equity. To make this idea more clear, we must know the ancient Iranian teaching of Zoroaster, who believed in two forces pervading the whole existence; one is called *Spenta-mainyu* and the other *Angra-mainyu,* one being constructive, good and just and the other destructive, bad and unjust. This dual phenomenon is apparent everywhere in the universe, even in human thought, intention and action. Each constructive aspect has a destructive opposite. Zoroastrian thinkers went to the extent of even dividing human speech into godly and devilish. For instance, the divine word for the ear was *gaosa,* but in Satanic language it was *karena* (*kān* in Hindi) ; *puthra* is the divine word for son, but *hono* in the Satanic language; and so on. Later scholars concluded that an equilibrium between destruction and construction is the basis of material existence and harmony. Thus, the theory of "means" formed and received universal acceptance. The difference between the writers on ethics is in the methods of arrangement and expression. The fixing of true "means" is very difficult and, therefore, in theological language it is said that the bridge leading to heaven, which is suspended over hell, is sharper than a sword and thinner than a hair. It is left for man's reasoning power to find and keep the "mean" or rectitude in his character and action. For instance, equity is a force fixed in the centre of a circumference and each point to any small distance on either side cannot be in the centre. The nearer to the centre the closer to the truth. Therefore, exact justice, temperance, courage or wisdom in all intentions and action is nearly impossible, but an approach to exactness is possible and depends upon the striving and will power of an individual. The true near or the central point, keeping the true distance to both extremities is something as four between two and six. The inclination on either side takes away the doer from the centre either to excess or deficiency. Hence, each virtue has two vices at each extreme end. For instance, if we place

"courage" in the centre, its two extremities would be rashness and cowardice, which means more or less use of the same. In the same manner, temperance has consciousness and indifference and justice, tyranny and servility and so on. Dawwani after describing at length the virtue of equity in the fifth chapter of his work, devotes in the sixth the order to be observed in acquiring the virtues. The seventh chapter is on the maintenance of mental health, and the eighth on the cure of mental diseases, which is a very long and interesting one. In section two of his book, he treats the subject of managing property and leading a family life. His views are, as may be expected, Asiatic and as prevalent in his time. With regard to women, he approves their seclusion and treats the use of the veil as not only necessary but also as a compliment and honour paid to them. He says that the husband must be careful to seclude his wife and keep her in veil so that she may be kept off from persons who are permitted by law to have sexual intercourse with her. He does not believe in polygamy except in the case of kings and in other such rare cases. He says that husband and wife must live as heart and body together and as one heart cannot bear two bodies, one man cannot please two wives. The wife should be provided with all provisions at home, endowed with all the ability and wealth of her husband. She should also be treated with love and kindness by her husband. Three things, however, must be avoided by the husband, *viz.*:—(1) excess in affection; (2) consulting her on the most important matters; and (3) informing her of the amount of his wealth and other secrets. A good wife is one who loves her husband, is content, attentive, sincere and friendly. A man who cannot manage a home and a wife had better continue, he says, in celibacy. With regard to children, it is recommended that at the age of seven they should join a school and receive their training, they should be made just in character, next in eating and dressing and then in moving in society; and when grown-up, competent in science. Each man is qualified for a particular profession. He must study

his own ability and power and accordingly select a work and live for it. Dawwani's caste system is free and selective. He makes a division of various professions, each class being allowed to follow its own. With regard to girl training, he follows the custom of the East. He says a girl should be trained for domestic needs. Rigid seclusion, chastity, modesty and other qualities are, in his view, necessary for a good wife, mother or sister. A girl need not read or write and when grown-up must be married to a suitable husband. He does not fix the age for marriage. It may range from puberty to any time possible for her parents, who have the duty cast on them to find a husband for her. In Iran, as well as in India, early marriage was appreciated and girls used to become mothers at the tender age of fourteen or fifteen. Parents must be highly respected—as much as teachers and elders. Servants are classified into three, the menial by nature and the menial by conduct, *i.e.,* by their not restraining their passions and appetite. The first should be kindly treated; the second must be kept under control, like beasts of burden; and the third as occasion may require.

Dawwani's System of Politics.

In his third section, Dawwani treats of politics and government. The ideal state for him is a monarchy. The king is a shadow of God upon earth, in whom all his subjects must take refuge and be protected. The Government is divided into righteous, of which the best example is the rule of the Prophet himself, in whom all four virtues are perfected; the next is illustrated by the rule of the first four successors of the Prophet; the third is that of a Prince who follows the *Sunnah*; and the fourth, if such a single person is not found, is the rule of a number of wise and pious men in co-operation and harmony. A tyrannical government tries to subjugate a country for its own pleasure or the pleasure of those constituting it, oppressing the people and appropriating the land. A government may be kept in order by concord and unity among citizens and dissension among its enemies. In

order to maintain such harmony, equilibrium should be maintained among the different classes of people. Dawwani divides the citizens of a State into:—

(1) Wise men corresponding to the Brahman caste in India; (2) Men of the sword, corresponding to the Kshatriyas; (3) Men of business, artisans, etc., to Vaisyas; (4) Husbandmen; and (5) Other inferior classes, corresponding to the Sudras.

These last are helpers and co-operate in the work of production by the higher classes. As between these different classes there should be a mutual forbearance, the position of each being fixed according to its merits and rights. The king is bound to see that (1) his treasury is in a flourishing state; (2) he extends kindness and protection to his subjects; and (3) he is not overtaxing the poorer people.

Writing of the mutual duties of kings and subjects, Dawwanni observes that affection is of several kinds:—(1) Affection for good depends upon His knowledge. The more man knows God, the more can he feel affection for him; (2) Affection for parents, which is divided according to the following tradition of the Prophet:—"You have three fathers, he that begot you, he that instructed you and he that gave you a wife. All these must be loved and respected." Affection for a teacher must be very high as the Prophet has said:—"He that loveth the learned loveth me." (3) Affection of subjects for their kings and of the kings for their subjects. (4) Affection between friends. There are, according to Dawwani, other kinds of affection also, all these being based on mutual enjoyment, interest and need. Some of these quickly arise and quickly depart; while some are affected for a long time and continued for a long time, others are produced in intercourse extending over a long time but depart quickly, or are quickly produced but continued for a long time. In some instances, affection is a duty, as affection towards fellow-creatures, fellow-citizens and the Creator.

The other chapters of this valuable work of Dawwani are on offices and departments of administration, on the duties of

friendship, etc., but they cannot be gone into here in any further detail. Suffice it to say that Dawwani as an ethical teacher stands high. While he did not always rise superior to his times in the social sphere, in other matters he was not only highly philosophical but also strictly practical.

Hussain Wāez.

The last classical writer on the subject of ethics was Hussain Wāe (*d.* 1505), the author of *Akhlaq-Mohsani,* in which there is nothing either original or elaborate.

Philosophy After the Fall of Muslims in Spain.

When the magnificent empire of the Muslims in Spain vanished and the centre of Muslim culture shifted altogether to the East, the three great rival empires of Usman in Turkey, Saffavid in Iran and Timurid in India displayed their own characteristics and pursued their own policies and interests. The Turkish Sultans, calling themselves "Khalifa", claimed suzerainty over all Muslim territory. They were patrons of learning but too busy in their offensive or defensive wars against the European powers. Among Turkish philosophers, Tash Koprizādeh (*d.* 1554) is worth mentioning. He was a comprehensive writer on philosophical subjects. In Iran, the Saffavid Shahs by professing the Shiah religion, not only refused to acknowledge the Turkish Sultan as the head of Islam but also intensified the belief of the Shiahs that all Khalifas from the beginning with the exception of Alī and his son Hassan were usurpers. They were openly cursed and even abused. Thus, a definite schism was effected in Islam. They not only discouraged Sūfis, majority of whom were followers of the Sunnat-Jumat sect but even persecuted and deported them, and at the same time encouraged Shiah theologians and did not oppose philosophy. Therefore Iran during the Saffavid period is noted for a considerable number of Shiah theologians and philosophers. The last named, however, had to adjust their views to the religion of the State. In India, the

Timurids paid respect to the Sūfis but were indifferent to philosophy. Among Indians worth mentioning are Abul Fazal, the Minister of Akbar, Sialkoti and Hasan Behari. In Iran and Central Asia, the more notable thinkers were Manavi (*d.* 1622), Harowi (*d.* 1605), Ghias-ud-din Shirāzi (*d.* 1542), and Mir Damad (*d.* 1610), who was a philosopher, philologist, physician and mathematician and the author of several works on philosophy and other subjects. Among others are Mir Abul Qasem Findaraski, philosopher and poet, Mulla Mohsin Faiz Kashi, Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji and his teacher Mulla Sadr-ud-dīn Shirāzi, the greatest philosopher of this period. Of these, the last two may be considered here.

Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji.

Mulla Abdur Razzack Lahiji, a pupil of Mulla Sadr-ud-dīn Shirāzi, was the author of the following among other works:—(1) A commentary on the Sūfi work, named *Fasus-ul-Hikam*, of the famous Mohy-ud-din Arabi; (2) *Goher-e-Murad*, a work on scholastic philosophy in Iranian. He was also a poet. His theory of emanation does not differ from that of his predecessors. According to him the Supreme Being emanates the *Aql-e-kul* (the universal intellect); from it the *Nafs-e-qul* or the universal soul and the substance of the world of *aql-e-kul* are produced and this process of emanation continues till the material elements and the universe in all its diversity are framed. The *aql-e-kul* contains ideas of all existing things. These are named ***áyān*** or the types of all things as universals. God's almighty power *Qahiriyya* is manifested through the intelligences, which are called *angels* in theology. The world of these intelligences is called *Ālum-ul-Qudrat* (*Jabarut*) or the world of powers, and it is not bound with time and is unchangeable. The world of the universal soul is called *Malakut*, which is comparatively closer to the material world. The types or *áyān* become general conceptions in the universal intellect and after being specialised and limited descend into the world of *nafs-e-kul*, (*i.e.*, the universal soul). Here they are distinguished from

each other and become individuals and further descend into the material world. This stage is called *Sama-ud-dunya,* or the heaven of the earth, from which beings are manifested in the sensible world called *Alumus-Shahāda.* The heavenly bodies possess a reasonable soul as other creatures.

Qaza and *Qadar* are the divine decree and divine measuring. According to Lahiji, *Qaza* means the existence of the universal types of all things in the world of the universal intellect, and *Qadar,* descent of the types in the world of the universal soul after being individualised. Providence is the divine knowledge, which means presence of Himself before himself. Man in his body is material, but in essence has an element of the divine power. Therefore man as divine emanation is free by his nature but bound by the material tendency. Matter is of two kinds: pure and impure or fine and gross. It has the capacity to join with a corresponding soul and therefore individual souls are different in character. The human aim must be to overcome this material tendency.

Sadr-ud-dīn Shirāzi.

Sadr-ud-dīn Shirāzi was known also as Mulla Sadra, (*d.* 1640). The chief among his several works are:—(1) *Asfar-e-Arba'a* in four volumes, an important work on philosophy; (2) *Kitabul-Hidaya*; and (3) Commentary on *Hikmatul-Isharaq* of Suhra-wardi.

Sadr-ud-dīn built his own philosophy in which some original and independent thoughts can be traced. Being and existence are two different aspects of the same reality. Individual things are monistic. Individual beings gradually develop into perfect beings. These emanate from the Supreme Being like rays from the sun. Entity is the separation of rays and existence is the presence of light. The human soul is perfected by likeness to God, the first principle and the centre of values. The reflections of these values are things created. When we find the various reflections of truth, goodness and beauty, we must know that these are from one common source, shining upon us and attracting us towards God,

the Supreme Beauty. Thus the philosophy of Mulla Sadr-ud-dīn aims at:—(1) The identity of the subject and the object by which the object is known; (2) *Khial*, imagination is independent of the known and belongs to the world of soul, and (3) the element of real being is in all things, yet is none of them.

Decline of Muslim Philosophy.

The 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries are the dark ages of Asia and are noted for the general decline of culture and power among Asiatic nations and the rise of European civilization. There was not only a general decline of political power, but suspension of intellectual activity in all Muslim countries. Ignorance, anarchy, civil wars, despondency, tyranny, confusion and inertia were predominant and worse than all a deep feeling of inferiority was pressing hard and preventing higher ambitions. The Timurid Empire became a victim to internal strife and rebellions and the impotency of the ruling Emperors added to the decline. The great Turkish Empire, with her internal unrest and misrule, had to face the united efforts of European powers for her disintegration and final destruction. Instead of being aggressive, the great Sultan remained on the defensive, losing province after province. In Iran, Nadir was the last able ruler. The succeeding dynasty converted the country into a third class power and lived at the mercy of the two rival European Empires of Russia and Britain. The torch of civilization and refinement thus passed from Muslim hands to the European nations, who within two centuries made tremendous strides in all branches of science and arts and completely hypnotised the Asiatic mind with their intellectual superiority. Asiatics felt and still feel their intellectual inferiority, which is the worst disease that the mind of man could be affected by, causing despondency, sapping the foundations of all manliness, courage, ambition and political effort. Asia has become dormant to a degree. If she is apparently lost, the future may yet show that all is not so dark as at

present it seems to be. As the *Quran* says:—"If a wound has afflicted you, a wound like it has also afflicted other people and we bring these days to men by turns."[48]

Muslim Philosophy in the XIX Century.

The nineteenth century has produced very few eminent scholars in the East when compared with the great original thinkers of Europe. Among these are:—Syed Jamal-ud-dīn, known as Afghāni, Shah Vali-yullah, Haji Mulla Hadi Sabzāwāri, Mirza Abdul Hassan Jilwah, Raza Tawfiq and the last living poet and thinker Sir Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore. We may close this chapter, summarizing the thoughts of some of these more prominent writers.

Haji Mulla Hadi Sabzāwāri.

Sabzawāri, who was born in 1797 and died in 1878, is considered to be the greatest Iranian philosopher of the 19th century. He wrote a small treatise at the tender age of about 12. He devoted his life to lecturing on Jurisprudence and Philosophy. Among his works are:—*Israr-ul-Hikam* on Philosophy; a commentary on *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi; *Manzuma,* a work on Logic and Philosophy; and *Shawahadur-Rububiyya.*

His Philosophical Views.

His philosophy is a mixture of Sūfism and pure philosophy and ends in a religious conception which is the general tendency of Iranian and Indian Aryans. In proving his arguments, he cites from the *Hikmatual-Ishraq* of Suhrawardi, and Ibn-e-Sina, besides passages from the *Quran.* The unity of the Supreme Being is explained from the views of past thinkers and the Sūfis. Being is a simple reality, absolute, necessary. The Universe is a mirror in which He sees Himself. The co-eternity of matter with the Supreme Being is a philosophical conception but Sabzāwāri adds that

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[48] *Quran,* Chap. III. 139.

they may be co-eternal but never co-equal, because one is dependent upon the other. The one is illumination in its essence, the other is lighted, if illumined. The theory of emanation is explained in comparing with a light which becomes less luminous according to its distance from the source. The real is immovable but causes all things to move. It is a pure unity appearing in diversity from various standpoints. In its essence, it is life, power and love. These are not separate qualities, but are itself. The visible many is a different manifestation of the same One illuminating and actualizing the unreal. Its unity is found in three original principles of the essence or light, its shadow or reflection (the universal intellect) and darkness (the corporeal world).

His Psychology.

Sabzāwāri has systematized the views of Ibn-e-Sina and Suhrawardi in classifying the soul faculties. The first division is the abstract Material soul. This possesses the faculties of preservation, regeneration and reproduction, assisted by ten external and internal senses. Among the external senses, sight is the most complicated, delicate and important. The internal senses are centralized in *Hisse-Mushtarak* or common sense, which is assisted by *Khiyal, Wahm, Hafiza* and *Mutasarrafa* or the faculties of imagination, emotion, memory and the faculty which combines or extends the ideas in memory or contracts or expands the same into something new. The abstract, or, as Sabzāwāri says, the human soul, in having a beginning, is related to matter but, as immortal, is connected with the Divine Being; it has the power of perceiving universal ideas without the aid of the senses. It is a reflection, a shadow of the universal intellect and as such does not stand in need of the body. It is the seat of all abstract ideas. Sabzāwāri explains in detail in several chapters the immortality and other characteristics of the human soul, quoting from Suhrawardi and Ibn-e-Sina for illustrating and proving his argument. He

groups them under the heads of *Nazari,* or theoretical, and *Amali,* or practical intellect. The theoretical intellect develops into:—(1) *Bil-Quvvat,* or potential; (2) *Bil-Málaka,* or perceptive; (3) *Bil-fi'l,* or actual; and (4) *Mustafad,* perceptive of the universal concepts. The practical intellect is graded into:—(1) *Tajlya,* by which man follows the laws of religion and laws of nature; (2) *Takhlya,* which means purification of mind from the vices; (3) *Tazkiya,* the retention of virtuous habits; and (4) *Fana,* separation from one's lower self and unity with his higher self. Man by his nature possesses both virtue and vice but can purify himself from vice by discipline and piety. Sabzāwāri refutes the Motazala doctrine that good is from God and evil is man's own creation. He gives the following grades of descent and ascent of the soul, each descent being opposite to an ascent:—

Qaus Nuzul or the bow of the descent	*Qaus saud* or the bow of the ascent
1. *Ikhfa,* or the Most Hidden	1. *Hahut,* absolute existence.
2. *Khifa,* or the Subtle	2. *Lahut,* world of divinity.
3. *Sirr,* or the Secret	3. *Jabarut,* „ intelligence.
4. *Qalab,* or the Heart	4. *Malakut,* „ Angels.
5. *Ruh,* or the Spirit	5. *Mána* „ Ideas.
6. *Nafs,* or the Soul	6. *Sūrat* „ forms.
7. *Taba,* or the Nature	7. *Tabīat* „ material world.

Mirza Abdul Hassan Jilwah.

Jilawah's father was a native of Ardastan, near Ispahan. He migrated to Haiderbad in Sindh and eventually settled at Ahmadabad (in Gujrat) and here his son Abul Hassan was born about 1820 (or 1822). At the age of seven, he returned to Iran with his father, where he devoted his life to the study and the teaching of philosophy. He did not leave any independent work but has written commentaries on *Asfār* of Mulla Sadra and *Shefa* of Ibn-e-Sina (the portion dealing with logic, metaphysic and natural physic). He was also a poet and had the pen-name of Jilwah.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's ancestor was a Pandit of Kashmir who embraced Islam over two hundred years ago. He was born in 1876 at Sialkot. After receiving the M.A. degree, he proceeded to Europe and wrote a thesis on Metaphysics in the Iranian language, for which he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His works are in poetry and most of them, such as *Rumuz-be-Khudi, Zabur-e-ajam, Payam-e-mashraq, Javid Nama* and *Israr-e-Khudi* are in Iranian. The last has been translated with an introduction into English by Professor Nicholson of the Cambridge University. This compliment to his talents made Sir Muhammad Iqbal's name well-known in the East and the West. He is to-day recognized as the expounder of a new doctrine. He has made Iranian the vehicle of his thought, a language well understood in Kashmir and the Punjab.

His Basic Philosophical Idea.

He has founded his doctrine upon the present political, social, economic and moral condition of the Muslims in India and the surrounding countries, chiefly Afghanistan. He considers his co-religionists hopelessly devoid of courage, manliness, activity, education, self-respect, refinement and culture. Being attached to Sūfis and interested in Sūfism, he feels the doctrine of annihilation of self as understood by the majority of the Sūfis to be somewhat like the *Nirvana* of Buddhism. In this sense, annihilation means selflessness or absorption of the individual self in the universal self, which he believes to be against the true teaching of Islam and a great obstacle in his opinion to material progress.

His Theory of the Preserving Self.

In order to remedy this misunderstanding and remove this defect, he has expounded the theory of the "preserving self". He does not believe, as some Sūfis believe, in self-negation, but teaches self-affirmation. The imperfect self is not perfected by self-negation but by self-perfection, which means strengthening the idea of self in himself. The Prophet

says, "make your disposition (character) resembling the attributes of God", and God's chief attributes are power, knowledge, will, love and life, and not powerlessness, ignorance, hatred, etc. Therefore, Sir Muhammad Iqbal considers the theory of self-negation is poisonous and causes inertia, weakness, indifference, lethargy in society, etc. The Sūfistic term *Khudi* (from Avestan *Hva,* same as Sanskrit *Sva*) means "ego". It may be interpreted in two senses, one corresponding to Sanskrit *Ahankara,* or self-conceit, and the other meaning *I-ness.* Sir Muhammad Iqbal takes the meaning of *Khudi* in the latter sense, while the great Sūfis who condemned it took it in the former sense. The Sūfism of Iran was not based upon non-wordliness or renunciation of physical activity, which was against the spirit and the nature of the Iranians as a nation. In Sūfism as understood in Iran, the world does not become unsubstantial and never sinks into nothingness in the sense as understood elsewhere. The Sūfims of Iran is, indeed, neither *self-negation,* nor *does it seek to abolish all relation between God and man,* and point to absorption in the Universal Ego in the sense of losing the individual ego. Sūfism, on the other hand, is *positive.* It affirms the world and life in the world and seeks its ideal in *Ittisal,* or union with God in forgetting one's material aspect and contemplation of nearness with God. Sir Muhammad Iqbal admits that the greater the distance from God the less the individuality or individual perfection of man, and this is the exact theory of Iranian Sūfism. He who comes nearer to God is the completest person, because he is absorbing the light of God into himself, or, as Suhrawardi opines, he is more and more illumined by the Divine Illumination. Professor Nicholson, in his introduction to *Israr-e-Khudi,* explains the teaching of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and says that man is not absorbed into God but absorbs God into himself, while an Iranian Sūfi will say, "Man does not illumine God but is illuminated by God". Further, as Professor Nicholson says, "The true person not only absorbs the world of matter but by mastering it, he absorbs God himself into his ego. Life

is a forward, assimilative movement. It removes all obstructions in its march by assimilating them. The greatest obstacle in the way of life is matter or nature. But nature is not an evil, since it enables the inner powers of life to unfold themselves. Life is a struggle for freedom 'and the ultimate end of human activity is life'." All the above-mentioned ideas can be traced to Muslim Sūfism as it was taught by great Sūfis, such as Shebisteri, Suhrawardi, Rumi, etc. They said that the material existence is the source of spiritual development. The world is not bad but the misuse or overuse of natural desires is bad. The renunciation of the world does not mean committing suicide or vanishing in the darkness of self-annihilation, but it means self-control, self-illumination through self-purification and knowledge. It might have been practised or misunderstood by some Pīrs or Fakīrs or poets in Iran or India. But this is against the teaching of true Sūfism and undoubtedly of Islam. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's philosophy is not anything new but at the present age it is most necessary for awakening Muslims as a race from the torpidity which has conquered them. Sir Muhammad defines love as the desire to assimilate, to absorb, which Iranian Sūfis define as the feeling of one's imperfection and a sincere and earnest desire for perfection.

In his six lectures, delivered at Madras and elsewhere, and published in the form of a book, Sir Muhammad Iqbal explains the true spirit of the Islamic doctrine. It is worth while for the student of Islam to read this work. The first chapter is on knowledge and religious experience. Beginning from a brief description of Greek thought, Sir Muhammad says that the main purpose of the *Quran* is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe. The affirmation of spirit sought by Christianity would come not by the renunciation of external forces, which are already permeated by the illumination of the Spirit, but by a proper adjustment of man's relation to these forces in view of the light received from the world within. The second chapter

contains a list of the revelations of religious experience. With regard to *Taqdir,* or destiny, Sir Muhammad explains that destiny is time regarded as prior to the discloser of its possibilities. It is time as felt and not as thought or calculated. The third chapter is on the conception of God and the meaning of prayer. After discussing at length the Islamic conception of God, Sir Muhammad explains the object of prayer, either individual or congregational, as "an expression of man's inner yearning for a response in the awful silence of the universe". It must not become the cause of strife, hatred or disputes. As the *Quran* says:—"To every people have we pointed ways of worship which they observe. Therefore, let them not dispute this matter with thee."[49] The choice of standing towards the *Ka'aba* is to secure uniformity in the congregation and the different postures of the body are factors in determining the attitude of mind. His fourth lecture is on the human ego, its freedom and immortality. It is in this subject that the author is particularly interested and argues from different points of view, and concludes that according to the teaching of the *Quran,* there is no complete freedom for man from his finitude. His heavenly reward is his growth in self-possession, and intensity of his activity as an ego. "Heaven and Hell are states, not localities." There is not eternal damnation for man, eternity in connection with punishment is a period of time. The fifth and the sixth chapters are on Muslim culture and the principle of movement in the structure of Islam. Both these are more connected with the social and political aspects of Islam than with its philosophical implications. This apart, Sir Muhammad Iqbal's lectures are unquestionably a valuable exposition of Islamic doctrine studied from a philosophical standpoint. The general tendency of modern Muslim students of philosophy is to reconcile the classical philosophical views they have inherited and cherished for ages with the present tendencies of European thought.

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[49] *Quran,* Chap. XXII. 66.

CHAPTER XI.

SŪFIS AND SŪFISM.

Early Sūfis and Their Sayings—Iranian Sūfis—Hallaj—His Doctrine —Sūfi Philosophy—Stages of Training—Sūfi Orders—Classes of Sūfi Orders— Sūfi Ethics—Sūfis and Orthodox Muslims—Sūfism and Vedāntism—Differences between Sūfism and Vēdāntism—Works on Sūfism—Kitabul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf—Ecstasy or Wajd —Miracles—The Shariat—Fana—Spirit or Soul—Kashful-Mahjub — Fususul-Hikam — Ibnul-Arabi — Mantaqut Tair — Masnavi — Gulshan-e-Raz—Insan-e-Kamil—Nafahatul-uns—Sūfism in India —Decline of Sūfism—Possibilities of Its Revival.

Early Sūfis and Their Sayings.

In the human breast, there is love; the love of one Supreme Beauty. It is in this aspect of human aspiration that the thought of India and Iran, of the East and the West meet on common ground, as if the human mind, in longing to reach its original source, works on the one fundamental and common principle of love. The peculiar features of the East and the West, of Muslim and non-Muslim, vanish in the admiration and love of one Supreme Beauty. All mystics, whether in Iran or in India, Arabia or China, Europe or Asia, sing the same song of longing for the beloved. There may be differences in detail, in language, in expression, in description, but in the main principle, all are united as drops of one ocean. All are seekers of God and the ways leading to Him are many, but He is one. Therefore, according to Rumi, if one is sincere in his intention, he will find Him. As Sri Krishna says in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Yē 'pyanyadēvatā bhaktā yajantē śraddhayā 'nvitāh |
Te 'pi māmēva Kauntēya yajantyavidhipūrvakam ||

i.e., "He who worships other Devas (besides Me), if he does with full faith, he (really) worships Me, O son of Kunti, although (he may be acting) contrary to ancient rule." (Chap. IX–23.)

Patram pushpam phalam tōyam yō mē bhaktyā
prayacchati |
Tad aham bhaktyupahṛtam aśnāmi prayatāt manah ||

i.e., "He who with devotion offers to Me a leaf, a flower, a fruit, water, that I accept from striving self, offered as it is with devotion." (Chap. IX–26.)

Yē yathā mām prapadyantē tāmstathaiva bhajāmi
aham |
Mama vartmānu vartantē manushyāh Pārtha sarvaśah ||

i.e., "In whatever way men approach Me, so I welcome them; for whichever path men take, it is Mine, O Partha!" (Chap. IV-11.)

What Rumi said in Iran, Śankara expounded in India, and the same was reflected in the European mind. It was the influence of the age that worked on the same basis everywhere. Each cycle, according to the sages of India, has its own peculiarity, not restricted to one country or one Continent, but, like the cloud raining without distinction on all places, benefits all sides. It is the same all over the world. The difference in quantity is due to the quality of the soil or the capacity of the people. The human mind under the influence of each cycle, works in similar directions, which indicates the inner relationship that exists between all human beings. The cause is unknown but the effect is seen. There may be minor differences in detail, expression and force, but the spirit is the same. The variation is due to each nation's social, religious, political and moral development and the standard of their intellectual progress.

The Sūfis of Islam, the great Vēdāntists of India and the Mystics of Europe lived between the 8th and the 15th centuries, which period covers the beginning and decline of Mysticism everywhere. The history of Muslim Sūfism may be divided into the following periods:—

(1) Ascetic life.
(2) Theoretical development.
(3) Organised orders.
(4) Decline.

The first period approximately begins from the time of the Prophet and ends with the rise of the Abbaside dynasty. The early companions of the Prophet, for example, the first four Khalifs, the Iranian Salman, the Socialist Abuzar, Miqdad, Ammār, Maaz and some others were noted for their intense zeal and enthusiasm for the cause of Islam, for piety and the ascetic life they led. Besides these, a number of other companions, whose extreme poverty had made them homeless, lived in the mosque built by the Prophet and were known as men of the *suffa,* or the terrace, over which they slept. They were devoted to Islam and passed their time in reading the *Quran* and discussing questions of religion. They were liked by the Prophet and respected by other Muslims. Alī, the fourth Khalif, who was a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and since his tender age was attached to and had been trained by the Prophet himself, was celebrated for his philosophic trend of mind and for his piety. He ruled for a short time but during that short period, found a number of admirers in Kufa and the surrounding countries. Almost all Sūfi orders consider him as their second (the first being the Prophet himself) spiritual teacher and guide, though none of them has any direct connection with him. Among his admirers was one Ovais Qarani, respected and loved by the great companions of the Prophet, such as Umar the second Khalif and Alī himself. He was so much devoted to the Prophet that he removed two of his front teeth, because he had heard that the Prophet had lost two of his in the battle of Uhad. He was extremely pious and simple in life. When he heard that Alī was going on an expedition, he at once joined the army, and was killed in battle. Ammar Yasur, an old pious man of ninety, was killed fighting for the cause of Alī. Abuzar, an extreme Socialist, was bold enough not only to rebuke Moaviya, the Governor of Syria, for misusing the money in the treasury and living in high style, but even criticised the reigning Khalif himself, for which, he was deported. He died in exile. He was also a great admirer of Alī. In Kufa, to which Alī had shifted his capital from Medina, there were

a number of men devoted to his cause. They were noted admirers of his learning and piety. Among these were Mālik, son of Hares; Kumail, son of Ziad and others. He found admirers even in distant Egypt, the birth place of Sūfism. During his life, he was deified by some and acknowledged as an *avatar,* or manifestation of God. After his death, his name accordingly became sacred. His close relationship to the Prophet and his wise sayings, whether actually uttered by him or not, made him the right person for the spiritual leadership of the seekers after Truth. The majority of the early Sūfis were Iranians and next to them in number were Syrians and Egyptians. They remained recluses and lived an ascetic life; they visited Mecca as many times as they could; some of them had *Khanqahs,* or hermitages, outside the town and each had a small circle of followers. They either did not write or their writings have not come down to us; but their symbolical utterances and sayings are found in works composed by their biographers, who lived long after them. Therefore, the authenticity of these sayings is not certain. But admitting that a major portion of these is correctly ascribed, we may say that their ascetic life was based on Islamic doctrine and the traditions of the Prophet. They were also influenced by the life led by Christian monks and Buddhist hermits who lived in scattered groups in the extreme North and South-East Iran, *i.e.*, in what are now Russian and Afghan Turkestan.

Iranian Sūfis.

A large number of early Iranian Sūfis were from that part of the country.

Among these were the following:—

Habib Ajami (*d.* 738 A.D.), a money-lender, who turned into an ascetic and built a monastery on the banks of the Eupharates. He was a friend and disciple of Hasan Basri[50]

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[50] *Hasan Basri*: Or Hasan of Basra. His devotion was well-known. His trust in God (*tawakkul*) was, as Nicholson puts it, as intensely real as the terrors which inspired it. Hearing mention made

known for his learning and piety. The latter is considered to have been taught directly or through another medium by Alī, the fourth Khalif. One of his sayings is:—"I devote my time in purifying my heart, while others are busy in lecturing and blackening papers."

Ibrahim Adham (*d.* 875 A.D.), a nobleman of Balkh (once the centre of the Zoroastrian and afterwards of the Buddhist religion) gave up, like Buddha, his worldly comfort and adopted an ascetic life. He says:—Two loves cannot exist in one heart, God and the World. Once when a stranger requested him to take him to the nearest dwelling, he pointed out the cemetry. He held that to control one's self is better than to rule over a nation.

Fuzail, son of Ayāz (*d.* 803 A.D.), was a native of Merv, another old centre of Buddhism, Manichæism and Nestorian Christianity. He says:—I love God and hence I worship Him. There is safety in solitude. All things fear him who fears God.

Ahmad, son of Khazruvaih, a native of Balkh (*d.* 854 A.D.), was another who belonged to this period. He says:—Kill thy soul so that you may give it life. God is clearly visible but if you fail to see Him, you are blind.

Abu Alī Saqiq, a native of Balkh (*d.* 812 A.D.), was even a more noted figure. The following is his dialogue with Ibrahim Adham:—

Abu Alī.—How do you earn your livelihood?

Ibrahim.—I do my best and when I obtain anything, I thank God; if I fail, I remain patient and hope.

Abu Alī.—This is done by dogs in our country.

Ibrahim.—What would you do?

Abu Alī.—If I earn anything, I spend and help those who need; if I fail, I thank God.

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of the man who shall only be saved after having passed a thousand years in Hell-fire, he burst with tears and exclaimed, "Oh, would that I were like that man!" *Qutu't Qutub*, I. 101. (See R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sūfism*, 8.)

Hātam Asam also belonged to Balkh (*d.* 871 A.D.). He says:—A Sūfi must accept four kinds of death, *viz.*,

(*i*) White death which means hunger.
(*ii*) Black death, *i.e.*, patience in distress.
(*iii*) Red death, *i.e.*, controlling passions.
(*iv*) Green death, *i.e.*, using rough garments.

Maruf-Karkhi of Khorassan, was a disciple of Imam Reza, the eighth Shiah Imam (*d.* 821 A.D.). He says:—A Sūfi is a guest of God in this world and he must behave as is becoming to a guest. He has a right to be served but no right to demand. Love is a gift from God. Sūfism means striving to know the real and neglecting the non-real.

Abul Husain Nuri of Khorassan (*d.* 907 A.D.) says:—You will know God through God Himself. Intellect is a guide but helpless in guiding man towards the truth. I looked on His light and kept on looking till I became light myself. Sūfis are those whose souls have been purified of all human impurities. A Sūfi is neither a master of worldly riches nor its slave, neither attached to anything nor is anything attaching to him. Sūfism is neither performing religious rituals, nor is it knowledge of science and philosophy. It means moral perfection and purification. It means freedom, manliness, non-attachment (to worldly desires) and generosity (self-sacrifice). Sūfism means enmity to world and friendship of God.

Bashar-e-Hafi, also from Khorassan (*d.* 841 A.D.), whose great-grandfather had been converted to Islam by Alī, the fourth Khalif, says:—It is a terrible calamity for him who does not know God. A Sūfi is one whose heart is clear with his God.

Yahya, son of Ma'az of Balkh, (*d.* 867 A.D.), says:—A sincere lover does what is desired by the beloved. Ascetics renounce the pleasure of this world but a Sūfi renounces those of next life also. Ascetics are strangers to the pleasures of this life, expecting as reward the pleasures of paradise, but a Sūfi is a stranger even to paradise. Whoever sees anything

besides his Beloved cannot see his Beloved.[51] True love cannot be increased or decreased by the Beloved's kindness or cruelty.

Bâyāzid of Bistām, in Khorassan (*d.* 874 A.D.), was among the earliest Sūfi authors.[52] His works were used by Imam Ghazzali but they are not at present extant. He was a theologian, philosopher, poet and a Sūfi. His famous saying is:—"Beneath my cloak there is nothing but God. I am the cup bearer, the wine and the wine drinker. I went from God to God till I heard from within "O thou I". Pride of self, Virtue is the worst vice. Sūfism means neglecting comfort and accepting suffering. Lovers of God are generous, loving and humble.

Sari-al-Saqati (*d.* 867 A.D.) says[53]:—True wisdom is non-attachment to the self and devotion to the truth. When you say God is one, you mean your soul is one with God. The Sūfi's light of knowledge does not extinguish the lights of his piety.

Sahl, son of Abdulla of Shushtar (*d.* 896 A.D.), says:—You may not appreciate Sūfism in the beginning but once you know it, you will appreciate it to the end of your life.

[51] *Cf.* this with what Sri Krishna says in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Yō mām pasyati sarvatra sarvam cha mayi pasyati |
Tasyāham na pranasyāmi sa cha mē na pranaśyati ||

i.e., "He who sees Me everywhere and sees everything in Me, of him I will never get lost nor he shall get lost of Me." (Chap. VI. 30).

[52] *Bāyāzid of Bistām*: One of the more famous Iranian Sūfis. He taught the negative doctrine of *fanā, i.e.*, the passing away of consciousness in mystical union. He influenced Sūfism from the Shiah side. In the *Masnavi*, we have a picture of how Bāyāzid was, on his way to Mecca, met by the head of the saintly hierarchy who asked him to go no further, saying that God was not distinct from himself (*i.e.*, the head-priest) and that as he had seen him, he may take it he had seen God. (See Nicholson, *loc. cit.*, 57.)

[53] *Sari-al-Saqati*: Was the teacher of the famous Junaid, who refused to discourse on Sūfism as long as his teacher was alive. But the Prophet bade him, in a dream, to speak, as his words would prove the means of saving a multitude of mankind. Saqati inwardly knowing this, directs Junaid to "obey" the Prophet's command. (See Nicholson, *loc. cit.*, 64–65.)

Junaid of Nehawand (*d.* 910 A.D.), a theologian and philosopher, was one among the early Sūfis, who began lecturing and discussing Sūfism. He says:—Sinking ecstacy in wisdom is better than sinking wisdom in ecstacy. The highest bliss is to meditate on His unity. For thirty years, God spoke with mankind by the tongue of Junaid, though Junaid was no longer and men knew it not. Sūfism holds that one must die in God and live by Him.[54] A Sūfi must be like the trodden ground or like a raining cloud. Sūfism means detachment from non-God.[55] A Sūfi's internal side is God and external humanity.

Abu Bakr Shibli of Khorassan, a class-mate of the celebrated Munsur-e-Hallaj (*d.* 946 A.D.), says that true freedom is the freedom of the heart from everything but God. Sūfis are children of the truth. Sūfism is to guard against seeing the corporeal world as real. A Sūfi must live in this world as not born. Sūfism means control of the faculties and the observance of the breath.[56] A Sūfi looks on all creatures as his own family.

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[54] A similar devotion is taught in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Manmanā bhava madbhakto madyājī mām namaskuru |
Māmēvaishyasi satyam tē pratijāne priyōS'si mē ||

i.e., "Merge thy mind in Me, be My *bhakta* (lover), sacrifice to Me, pray to Me, thou shalt come to Me. Verily, to thee I promise, thou will be dear to Me." (Chap. XVIII. 65.)

[55] *Cf. Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Devāndēvayajō yānti madbhaktā yānti māmapi |

i.e., "To the Dēvas go the worshippers of Dēvas, but My devotees come unto Me." (Chap. VII. 23.)

Of Junaid, see note 53 above. His disciple was the celebrated Hallaj.

[56] *Cf.* the following line of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Sparsān kritvā bahirbāhyānschakshusschaivāntarē bhruvōh |
Prānāpānau samau kritvā nāsābhyantara chārinau ||

i.e., "Having removed external contacts, gazing and fixing (the attention) between the eye-brows and having made equal (harmonious) the outgoing and incoming breaths moving within the nostrils."

Yatēndriya mano budhir munir mōksha parāyanah |
Vigatēcchā bhayakrodhō yah sadā mukta eva sah ||

From the above sayings, we may conclude (1) that the views of the early Sūfis had not been so far quite systematized; (2) that the predominant ideas were unworldliness, virtuous habits, fear of and submission to and love of God, attachment to the Prophet and yearning for peace and a quiet life. Such was early Sūfism, to which metaphysical speculations and psychological theories and moral precepts were later added. The tenth and eleventh centuries are noted for philosophical, scholastic, theological and scientific activities all over the Muslim world and the Sūfis could not have remained unaffected, passive spectators to them. They naturally interpreted current philosophical and theological questions in their own light, which developed into a new thought. That thought was elaborated and systematized in the 12th, 13th and the 14th centuries. Later, however, it became mixed up with miracles and myths, more or less fictitious.

HALLAJ.

Among the early Sūfis who had studied philosophy and who had definite views on Sūfism, was Husain, son of Mansur, known as Hallaj, or the carder. He was born in 858 A.D. at Tur in South Iran and studied philosophy and travelled for some time in East Iran, Gujrat (India) and Central Asia. Finally, he went over to Baghdad. His views and sayings such as *an-al-Haq, i.e.,* I am the truth, were not appreciated by the orthodox class, to which political suspicion and the personal enmity of certain men of influence at the Court were added, with the result that he was executed, after much suffering, at the age of sixty-four, in 922 A.D.[57]

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i.e., "With senses (*indriyas*), mind and reason controlled and having cast desires (such as) fear and anger, the *muni* (seeker of the truth) always seeks liberation and is liberated." (Chap. V. *27*, 28.)

[57] The story of the trial and condemnation of Hallaj, as narrated by Miskawaihi, may be read by the English reader in the latter's work edited by Amedros and Margoliouth, I. 76–82. Hallaj must be read by every one interested in Sūfism.

His Doctrine.

His doctrines may be thus summed up:—

(1) The immaterial and immortal divine spirit becomes limited when associated with the animal soul.

(2) The Supreme Being can in no way be expressed and thought of and compared with whatever human intellect may imagine or argue.

(3) The union with the divine will is possible through submission to suffering.

(4) Prayer may be replaced by other virtuous works.

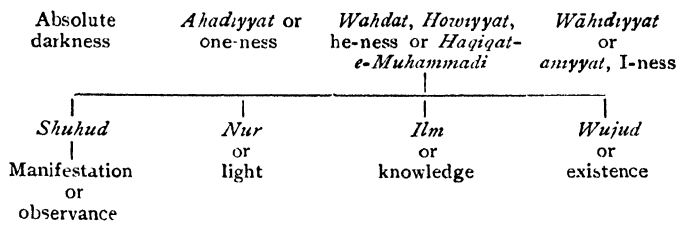
The last of these was considered the most objectionable by the orthodox class. Hallaj has left several fragments on Sūfi principles and a work called *Tawasin*.

Among non-Iranian early Sūfis was Zun-nun Ibrahim, noted as the father of the Sūfi movement (860 A.D.). He was a Nubian and lived in Egypt. He says an *Aref* (gnostic) becomes more humble when he approaches nearer to his God. *Ma'refat*, or knowledge, is the communication which God makes, in the form of spiritual light, in the depths of our conscience (mind).

Sūfi Philosophy.

According to Sūfi philosophy, Reality is the universal will, the true knowledge, eternal light and supreme beauty, whose nature is self-manifestation, reflected in the mirror of the universe. The world in comparison with the reality is a mere illusion, or non-reality or not-being. Among Sūfis, as well as in the Indian schools of philosophy, some believed in the one-ness of the existence. To them, multiplicity indicated a mode of unity. The phenomenal world is an outward manifestation of the one-real. The Real's essence is above human knowledge. From the point of view of its attributes, it is a substance with two accidents, one as creator and the other as creature; one visible and the other invisible. In its essence, it is attributeless, nameless, indescribable, incomprehensible, but when covered with *avidya* or descent from its absoluteness, names and attributes are formed. The sum of these names

and attributes is the phenomenal world, which represents reality under the form of externality. The *dvaitist* Sūfi considers that the world is not a mere illusion or ignorance but exists as the self-revelation or the other self of the reality. The circle of divine descent is imagined as follows:—



Man is the microcism in whom divine attributes are manifested in most imperfect diminutive form. God is eternal beauty and the nature of beauty is self-manifestation and desire to be loved. Thus, the Sūfis base their doctrine on the principles of love and prefer the course of love or the Indian *Bhakti* to other means of reaching God. They consider love to be the essence of all religions and the cause of creation and its continuation. God is unknowable, but may be thought through some concrete comparison. Phenomenal diversity is the reflection of the supreme beauty. The attributes are identical with him in fact, though distinct in our thought. In His absolute beauty, He is called *Jamal* and in His phenomenal *Husn.*

Man possesses three natures, *viz.*, sensual, which corresponds to the Indian *tamas*; intellectual, somewhat like the Indian *rajas*; and spiritual or the Indian *sat.* He becomes virtuous or wicked acording to the predominance of one of the three said qualities. His mind must receive gradual training, for which a guide is absolutely necessary. The selection and following of a spiritual guide is the most important duty of a Sūfi. A bad or imperfect guide may lead him to evil or leave him imperfect and bewildered. He must use all his intellectual ability and human endeavour to find out the true guide and once obtained, he must obey his direction.

STAGES OF TRAINING.

The stages of spiritual training are classified into:—

(1) *Shariat.* The *Quran* says:—"Obey God and obey the Prophet and obey those amongst you who hold the command." Therefore, the Sūfi must discipline his mind first by living according to orthodox law and he must observe all religious rituals, such as, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, charity, etc. When in this way, his mind is fully trained to obey and to serve, he passes to the second stage named, *Tariqat,* the path in which in addition to religious observances, he must seek a spiritual guide called *Pīr* in Iranian and *Shaikh* in Arabic and receive instruction from him on conduct, control over passion and inner purity. He must love his *Pir* more than anything else in this world. When he is admitted by his *Pīr* into a *Sūfi* order, he must observe its rules, such as, service, humility, vigils in vacations, occasional fasts as directed by his *Pīr,* collection of alms for the maintenance of *Khanaqah* and Sūfi assemblies, *Zikr,* or recitation of the sacred formula, meditation, periodic retreats, etc. As a novice, he must obey all the directions of his *Pīr* without any argument, doubt or hesitation, to the extent of annihilating his will and judgment by merging it in the will of his *Pīr.* This is called *fana-fi-shaikh* or, "annihilation in the Shaikh". As the Sūfi poet Hafiz[58] says:—"Stain thy prayer carpet with wine if *Pir-e-Mughan* (spiritual guide) bids thee. For the *Salik* (guide) will not be ignorant of the ways and laws of the stages." When the novice has observed all the rules of *Tariqat* to the satisfaction of his *Pīr,* he is given *Khirqa,* or the Sūfi garments.

The next stage is:—

(2) *Marifat,* (corresponding to Sanskrit *Jnāna*) wisdom

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[58] *Hafiz*: The great lyric poet of Iran, who lived between 1320–1391 A.D. His real name was Shums-ud-dīn Muhammad; born in Shiraz, where he spent his life; has been called the Anacreon of Iran. His poetry apparently is of a sensuous character, but the images he employs must be interpreted in a supersensuous or mystical sense. Gœthe composed a series of lyrics in imitation of him.

or mental illumination. The purified mind is illuminated with the divine knowledge.

(3) *Haqiqat* is the next higher stage. In this the novitiate sees the truth. The aim of the Sūfi is self-purification and union with the beloved, which cannot be gained by self-endeavour. It is a divine gift and granted to whomsoever God is pleased with. It entirely depends upon His mercy. As is said in the opening chapter of the *Quran*:—"Thee do we serve and thee do we beseech for help". Man's duty is to serve his Lord, till mercy is shown to him. God's mercy is to illumine man's heart with His divine knowledge. A Sūfi believes that it is by purifying one's heart and not by observance of religious rituals, or prayer and fast, one can realise the truth. True prayer and adoration is self-abnegation. Human action must be harmonious with the will of the divine being. Intellectual research, mental experience and philosophical enlightenment, according to Sūfis, are not adequate means of knowing the truth. It is through self-discipline, devotion, virtue and intention that one can know his God. This stage is called *fana-fil-lah* or annihilation in God, which is a new and eternal existence. As Hafiz says:—"He whose heart is moved by love, never dies."

Sūfi Orders.

Sūfi orders were started to systematize spiritual training from about the tenth century A.D. Gradually each order was divided into a number of branches, each having its own founder and tracing connection with other orders of the more celebrated early Sūfis and, finally tracing up a connection to the Prophet through Alī, the fourth Khalif, and in one order (*Naqshbandiya*) through Abu Bakr, the first Khalif. Both men and women were admitted into the order, and *Khirqa*, or a certificate of passing Sūfi trials, was granted to ladies also. Celibacy was permitted by a few orders, but the majority of them did not approve of it. The married (novice) was admitted into the order after receiving *Bai's* (vow), in the presence of other *murids* from the Shaikh. He had to make a

vow that he would undergo spiritual training by serving God and obeying the order of his Shaikh. He had to live in a monastery for a number of years observing the rules of the order. Sūfi monasteries were numerous. They were distributed all over the Muslim world, extending once from Morocco to the islands in the Pacific. The *murid* had to get up early in the morning, sweep the monastery, carry water and help co-*murids* as directed by the Shaikh. Among the Sūfi exercises were:—retreat, silence, recollection, meditation, recitation of the sacred words, etc. In the following fundamental principles, there was no difference of opinion between the different orders, though in certain matters of detail, each had its own method of training:—

(1) *Unity and attributes of God.*—In theology unity meant the oneness of God. The creator and creatures are different from each other, but Sūfis modified this idea by saying that there is nothing real but God. In other words, creator and creature are both the same, one the real and the other the shadow or reflection of the same. Imam Ghazzali, an orthodox Sūfi, says that God is will. He is everywhere and in everything. He is the source of existence. The material world proceeds from Him, like the flowing of a river. In his absolute unity, all His attributes are dissolved and becomes one. Those who believed in *Wah-dat-ul-Wajud,* or oneness of existence, regarded every existence as an immediate gift of God. Things emanate from the Supreme Being in whom they exist as *ayān.* The majority of Sūfis, however, base their doctrines on beauty and love. God is the Supreme Beauty and the only deserving object of love, which means, attachment to a thing, which gives a certain kind of benefit or pleasure. According to some Sūfis, love is the inclination of the soul to, or its liking for, something that suits or is agreeable to it. Love is, again, the natural inclination to one's self-perfection, which is possible by freeing the self from its defects. The strong bent for self-perfection and freedom from all needs is inherent in everything, and it is the inner yearning of all human beings. Both good and evil are

done to the same end. Beauty is harmony and perfection and therefore it is that all endeavour is to become beautiful or perfect. The Supreme Beauty is God and therefore He is the Perfect Being, and one who wishes to become perfect, must imitate Him and endeavour to become like Him. Each can reach to perfection according to the capacity and ability in his constitution. Such endeavour is called love. Beauty takes various forms; is observed in all creatures; in some, it is less and in others it is perfect, but the most perfect beauty is one. Beauty is classified as under: (*i*) Physical beauty; (*ii*) Mental and intellectual; and (*iii*) Spiritual. All these are different reflections of the one supreme beauty, and, therefore, appreciated by lovers of beauty. *Marefat,* or knowledge, is the chief course of appreciating beauty, which is obtained by hardship and perseverance. Therefore, love needs endeavour and patience till the object is gained. There would be suffering, disappointments, trials, and all these must be met and borne by the seeker after the Truth. The world is a place of trials and only those who face them will succeed in pleasing God. The *Quran* emphasises this:—"We must certainly try you with fear (from dangers), hunger, loss of property, lives and fruits (of your action) and give good news to (those who are) patient". Those who, when misfortune befalls them, say: "Surely we are for God and to Him we return. These are they on whom are blessings and mercy from their Lord and they are the followers of the right course. Among men, (the right terms) is he who sells his soul, to seek the pleasure of God."[59] Thus, if a Sūfi succeeds in worldly trials and has full trust in God, he is drawn towards Him. Seeing that beauty has two aspects, one, the abstract, perfect and real; and the other concrete, imperfect and a shadow of the real, if a Sūfi does not possess the capacity for appreciating the abstract beauty, he must train his mind to appreciate physical beauty. He may even start from appreciating individual beauty in man, or beautiful objects in nature and when it

[59] *Quran,* Chap. II. 155, 207.

becomes a habit, he must change from the admiration of the unreal to the real.

The following are stages in attaining to Supreme Beauty: (1) When one takes delight in his thought and higher life; (2) when one takes delight in repeating His name; (3) when one takes delight in doing good; (4) when one takes delight in submission to all happenings of the life, whether they bring pain or pleasure;[60] (5) when one takes delight in leading a natural life; and (6) when one takes delight in admiring the Supreme Being and concentrating his attention on Him only.

2. *Qalb*, or hearts, are three, one physical on the left side; another called the animal soul, on the right side; and a third between the other two, praised by Sūfis, as a spiritual faculty—a kind of mirror in which the Supreme Will is reflected. It is by keeping this heart pure from worldly attachment that human beings can approach the creator. The real knowledge is God's illumination of this heart. The divine revelation to the Prophet is impressed on this heart. As is said in the *Quran*: "The faithful spirit (*i.e.*, the divine messenger) has descended with it (revelation), upon your heart that you may be of warners." (Chap. XXVI–193–94.)

3. *The Human Being* is, in his essence, good, and, therefore he can rise to higher stages of perfection. His soul is different from his body. It is a spiritual substance created but not shaped. It is not bound by space and time but is akin to the universal soul and just as the latter is a macrocosm, it is a microcosm of the universe. It may be compared with the Universal Soul as rays are to the sun. It is not in the body, but affects the body with its illuminative attribute.

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[60] *Cf. Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Duhkhēshvanudvignamanāḥ sukhēshu vigatasprihaḥ |
Vītarāgabhayakrōdhaḥ sthita dhīrmuni ruchyatē ||

i.e., "One whose mind is not agitated in *dukh* (pain) and is indifferent in *sukh* (pleasure), free from *rāga* (desire), *bhaya* (fear), *krōdha* (anger) and steady-minded, is called *muni* (sage). (Chap. II 56.)

It is restless because of its unnatural relation with matter and seeks union with its origin. Its restlessness is manifested in diverse human activities. As Jalal-ud-din-Rumi says: "Listen to the reed (soul) how it tells a tale, complaining of separation." "Ever since I was parted from the reed-bed, my lament caused men and women to moan." "Every one who is far away from his origin wishes that he were again one with it."[61]

Thus, the human soul is potentially good and pure. Its weakness is in its being tempted by the wrong notion of its being a material, but its immaterial nature helps it to join its true source.

4. *Eschatology*: If a man's deeds are good, his death is a birth to a life closer to God, but if they are bad, the distance becomes greater. Therefore, a seeker of the truth and lover of God, who has passed his life preparing himself for a higher spiritual stage, does not fear death but rejoices in approaching closer to God. Heaven and Hell indicate closeness or distance from the beloved. One brings happiness and the other misery.

5. *Revelation and Miracles*: Revelation is a state in which a Prophet passes from human to super-human condition, when he is able to hear the Divine Speech or perceive the abstract ideas hidden and unknown to ordinary individuals. Miracles can be performed not only by Prophets and sages, but even by one who, though a follower of a wrong religion, worships the deity with sincerity. Bodies in themselves are inanimate. God gives them life which is manifested in a certain form. These are momentary and are at the will of the Supreme Being. According to Rumi, the chain of causes and effects are of two kinds, *viz.*, the seen, and known through the senses; and the unknown, invisible to ordinary individuals but known to men of higher intellectual or spiritual powers. Accordingly, the latter is natural while the former is supernatural. To the Sūfi sages are attributed

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61 *Masnavi*, translated by Nicholson.

the power of performing miracles and the possession of the knowledge of telepathy, thought-reading and healing diseases by mental suggestion and by the use of talismans.

Classes of Sūfi Orders.

Sūfi Orders are numerous, reaching the large number of over 175, but the most important among them are the following:—

(1) *Qāderiyya*: Developed from the school of Junaid and founded by Abdul Qāder of Gilan, North Iran. Its followers are found all over the world. Abdul Qāder was born in Gilan in 1078 A.D., and died at the age of 91, in 1166 A.D. He left Iran at the age of 18, studied at Baghdad, and was principal of a Hambelite School of law. He is particularly well known for converting a considerable number of Jews and Christians into Islam. He is respected for his piety, toleration, learning and powers of speech.

(2) *Naqshbandiyya*: Founded by Khaja Baha-ud-dīn Muhammad, who died in 1388 A.D. Its followers are in India, China, Turkestan, Java and Turkey. It claims descent from Taifuriyya School. It is based on the following eight principles:—

Iranian.		*English.*
(i) *Hush dar dam*	..	Consciousness in breathing.
(ii) *Nazar bar Qadam*	..	Glance on feet.
(iii) *Safar dar watan*	..	Journey at home.
(iv) *Khilwat dar anjaman*		Seclusion in assembly.
(v) *Yad kard*	..	Recollection (of God).
(vi) *Bāz gasht*	..	Retirement (towards God).
(vii) *Nigah dāsht*	..	Retention (or concentration of the mind in God).
(viii) *Yad dāsht* or *Khud guzasht*		Self-abnegation or remembrance.

There are three stations, which should be watched by a Naqshbandi Sūfi:—

(i) The Station of watching numbers (of various desires).

(ii) The Station of watching the time (to world or to God).

(iii) The Station of watching the heart.

(3) *Shādhiliyya*: Founded by Abu Madyan (1197 A.D.) and developed by Ali Shādhili of Tunis, North Africa. Its followers are in North Africa, Turkey and Roumania. Mendicancy is not permitted in this Order, and Sūfis belonging to this Order have to live on their own earnings.

(4) *Nematullahia*: Descended from Qaderiyya and Yafaiyya. Its followers are in Iran.

(5) *Shattāriyya*: Founded by Abdulla Shattār in 1415 A.D. Its chief centres are in Sumatra, Java and India. Its chief features are:—

(i) One should not believe in self-negation but adhere to self-affirmation.

(ii) Contemplation is waste of time.

(iii) Self-effacement is a wrong idea. Man must say nothing except "I am I". Unity is to undersand one, see one, say one and to hear one. A Sūfi of this order must say "I am one" and there is no partner with me.

(iv) There is no necessity of opposition to *Nafs* nor *Mujaheda* (*tapas*).

(v) There is no such state as annihilation (*fana*), for, that requires two personalities; one wishing annihilation and the annihilated, and the other is one in whom annihilation takes place, which is dualism and not unity.

(vi) One should not abstain from eating certain food. He must consider his ego and its attributes and actions as identical with those of the Universal Ego. These do not believe that the animal soul is an obstacle for reaching God. These follow the literal doctrine of Islam that man's soul must serve God and God is the ruler over the universe. Sir Iqbal's philosophy is closely related to this school of the Sūfi order.

(vii) *Tijaniyya*: A North African order, founded by Ahmad Tijani of *Ain Madi* (*Algeria*).

(viii) *Sanusiyya*: Founded in 1837 by Shaik Muhammad, son of Alī-us-Sanusi. It is a branch of the *Qāderiyya*. Its followers are found in North-East Africa. It is a semi-military order, with ethical and political aims. It is a compromise between Wahabism and Sūfism.

(ix) *Refāi*: Founded by Ahmad Refai, in 1175.

(x) *Moulvi*: Founded by Jalal-ud-dīn-Rumi, noted for its whirling darwishes. Its followers are in Turkey.

(xi) *Chishti*: Founded by Moin-ud-dīn Chishti. Its followers are mostly in India.

Sūfi Ethics.

Among the cardinal tenets of Sūfism, may be mentioned the following:—

(1) Submission or Resignation: A Sūfi novice must treat his spiritual teacher with great respect and obey him like the corpse in the hands of corpse-bearers. In the same manner and more completely, he must submit himself to the will of God and live in perfect harmony with the Divine Will.

(2) *Ikhlās*, or sincerity and devotion: This indicates the effort of moving towards the Divine Being and keeping this ideal of movement above all other desires. It is opposite to *riya*, which means hypocrisy or pretended love without the putting forth of any effort to gain the beloved.[62] *Ikhlas* demands self-sacrifice and indifference to all other ideas. When *Ikhlās* becomes perfect, self-consciousness also is lost.

(3) *Tauba*, or Repentance: This indicates the return

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62 *Cf. Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Karmēndriyāṇi samyamya ya āstē manasā smaran |
Indriyārthān vimūdhātmā mithyā chāraḥ sa uchyate ||

i.e., "One who controls *karmēndryāni* (senses of action) but sits with his mind (concentrated) on the objects of senses, such (man) is *vimūdhātma* (of confused mind) and is called a hypocrite." (Chap. III. 6.)

or conversion from the world to God. It is not only renunciation of the evil but a change from a tendency towards the world to a tendency towards God. The human soul being pure in its essence, when polluted, becomes restless and asserts its true nature by feeling repentance for its unnatural tendency.

(4) The Fear of God is repeatedly praised in the *Quran*. For example, in one place, it declares:—"And those who give what they give (find) in alms and their hearts are full of fear that to their lord they must return. These hasten to virtues and they are foremost in attaining them." (Chap. XXIII-60, 61.) The fear of God is the deep consciousness of His sublimity and grandeur—a man in the presence of a king may not fear him, but the feeling of respect is so deep that the balance of mind is lost.

(5) Broad-mindedness: A Sindhi Sūfi, named Latīf, says: "When the truth is one and the beloved is the same, why should men fight over the means?"

When one of his disciples asked him what religion he followed, he replied: "Between the two", by which he meant, all or none.

(6) *Tavukkul,* or Trust: A Sūfi must trust in God. Some extremists went to the extent of neither working, nor even begging, and of expecting that their daily necessities would reach them without labouring to obtain them. The idea led to quietism and degenerated into laziness and inertia.

(7) Music: As a Sūfi must train his mind to appreciate beauty and by some means to stir up his inner spiritual feeling and music is considered to be beauty and harmony in sound, a large number of Sūfi leaders, particularly Chishtis and Moulvis, approve of the hearing of songs and the playing on musical instruments on condition that the purpose must be to stimulate spiritual emotion. There is a common saying among Sūfis that earthly beauty, with its appreciation, is a bridge to the universal beauty. Music is called *sama,* or spiritual concerts, in which, one or several singers, with or without musical instrument, sing and play. The verses are

erotic, and interpreted in an allegorical sense. While *Qavval*, or the musician, sings a verse and plays on the instrument, the hearers sit in silence and listen with great attention. Each man interprets the verse according to the standard of his learning and taste, till one or some are affected deeply with its meaning. They repeat those verses that appeal to them, or ask the singer to sing them over again, and feel pleasure; while some show signs of appreciation, others who get more affected, weep, dance and even become unconscious. The musicians finding a hearer appreciating their songs, repeat again and again addressing the admirer. Some Sūfi sages and poets were themselves good singers and masters in music. Shah Latīt of Sindh was gifted with a melodious voice and used to play on the *Tambura*, and Amir Khusroe, the great poet who lived during the reign of the Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties of North India, was likewise a great musician. Sūfis believe that the state of ecstacy may be attained through music. Music which stirs animal passion is prohibited.

(8) *Kashf*, or Unveiling of the Spiritual Mysteries. This is classified into:—(*a*) *Mahāzerah*, in which intellect is the means of reaching to a conclusion; and (*b*) *Mushāheda*, in which personal knowledge is a proof of ecstacy (*wajd*) and the condition attained (*hal*). By ecstacy, Sūfis mean the true state of yearning or momentary absorption in the Divine Beloved. The state of ecstacy is higher than prayer when the Divine Will is revealed. A constant state of ecstacy leads to complete submission to the Divine Will.

(9) Spiritual Knowledge: This is of three kinds:—(*a*) Normal (*Ilmul-yaqin*), reaching to a proof by intellectual reasoning; (*b*) Abnormal (*ainul-yaqin*), loss of worldly consciousness in a state of ecstacy, or knowing a spiritual secret by perceiving it; and (*c*) Super-normal (*Haqul-yaqin*), union with the truth or seeing and feeling the quality of a thing. These three stages of knowledge are illustrated by saying that a fruit may be known by its correct description, and better known by seeing it and perfectly known by seeing and tasting it.

(10) *Hāl,* or condition, is a mental state gifted momentarily by divine grace. In this state, one is either in the form of *bast,* or expansion of heart, or by *Qabz,* or depression of the same. The *Quran* says: "Allah contracts and expands the (spiritual) food." When it is gifted continuously, it is called *milk,* or possession, and when it becomes permanent, it is named *maqām, or* station.

(11) Renunciation is of two kinds—External and Internal. It stands for detachment from worldly pleasures. A Sūfi must minimise his worldly needs and thus become harmless to other creatures. Next, he should try to free the soul from attachment to sensible objects. A Sūfi values this life as a source of training himself for a true life.

(12) Evil is imperfection and the objects which lead towards evil are the causes of making the soul imperfect. Good is perfect and Perfection proceeds from God. Evil, in other words, is a limitation of human nature.

(13) *Zikr,* or Recitation, *Murāqeba,* or Meditation: Each order has its own method of reciting a sacred word or formula. In a general sense, it is divided into:—(i) *Jali,* or loud muttering, adopted by the Chishti and Qāderi orders; and (ii) *Khafi,* or mental muttering, preferred by the Naqshbandi order. Both are based on texts of the *Quran.*

There are different methods of performing *Zikr* and *Murāqeba.* For instance, (i) Some sit and repeat the word *Allah* by inhaling breath from left side; (ii) Others fold the legs and repeat the word mentally from right and then from left; (iii) Some inhale, meditating on *la* (not) from navel and draw the breath up to the left shoulder, then think on *Allah* (God) in memory (brain) and exhale saying *il-al-lah* "but God" from the left side; (iv) Some close the eye and the lips and mentally repeat *Allah,* the hearer, *Allah,* the seer, *Allah,* the knower; (v) First, from the navel to the breast; then upward; then imagine it in an abstract sense beyond the body; (vi) *Allah,* from the right side, then from the left; (vii) *La ilaha,* exhaling, and *Il-lal-lah,* inhaling; and (viii) By counting a number of times on a rosary, while meditating or

repeating a sacred word. The attention must be fixed on that word till it is so much impressed on the mind that all other thoughts and sensible images disappear. Among the words selected for recitation are *la ilaha il-lal-lah. There is no God but Allah, and hu-he.* Each order observes a particular formula for *Zikr* and keeps a particular posture or corresponding to Sanskrit *Āsana* or peculiar inclination of the body and limbs.[63]

Among some Sūfi orders, while meditating on the sacred words, the tongue is made to touch the roof of the throat. Others close the teeth, each row against the other. The Egyptian *Sufis* sit on a mat in a circle. Next, they stand and recite verses incessantly. Their Shaikh sits at one end. The musicians with flutes sit behind. The ceremony is started by reciting the opening chapter of the *Quran* and by slowly chanting the sacred formula. Then they stand and recite incessantly, till one or more are overpowered by emotion and become unconscious. Musicians join them. In India, the word *Om* is adopted by a certain class of Sūfis in Sindh, for example, the followers of Shah Latīf.

(14) *Fana* (annihilation) and *Baqa* (affirmation) are the two highest stages of spiritual development. By *Fana* or annihilation, the Sūfi means self-negation, or negation of earthly tendency; and *Baqa,* retention of spiritual existence,

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[63] *Cf. Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Śuchau dēsē pratishtāpya sthiramāsanam ātmanaḥ |
Nātyucchritam nātinīcham chēlājinakushōttaram ||

i.e., " In a pure place, having seated on a firm seat of his own (which must be) neither very high nor very low, covered with a cloth, skin and grass, one over the other." (Chap. VI. 11.)

Samam kāyaśirōgrīvam dhārayannachalam sthiraḥ |
Samprēkshya nāsikāgram svam diśaśchānavalōkayan ||

i.e., "Holding the body, head and neck straight, steady and immovable, looking fixedly at the tip of the nose, with unseeing gaze." (Chap. VI. 13.)

or extraction of evil qualities and retention of virtue or permanency of mind from sensible objects to spiritual reality, the extinction of material desires and the loss of selfish consciousness. *Fana* of *fana* is the highest stage when individual consciousness gives place to universal contemplation and the Sūfi's heart becomes a passive medium for the divine will. He lives, acts and does everything as a second person without selfish interest. According to Fārābi, God cannot be realised unless a man passes from multiplicity to oneness.

Sūfis and Orthodox Muslims.

The differences between the Sūfi and the orthodox Muslim views may be briefly set down here:—

(*a*) The Orthodox depend upon external conduct while the Sūfis seek inner purity;

(*b*) The Orthodox believe in blind obedience to or observance of religious rituals while the Sūfis think love to be the only means of reaching God; and

(*c*) The Orthodox say that good deeds are a sign of inner goodness but the Sūfis assert, that without a pure heart, the apparent good deeds have no value.

Sūfism and Vēdāntism.

The following points of similarity between Sūfism and Vēdāntism may be mentioned:—

(i) Both observe the restraining of breath;

(ii) Both observe meditation;

(iii) Both observe service and submission to a *Pīr* or *Guru*;

(iv) Both observe fast and penance;

(v) Both observe *zikr* or recitation of sacred word;

(vi) Both adopt the use of the rosary;

(vii) Both believe in union with the Supreme Being;

(viii) Both believe in the toleration of other religions;

(ix) Both believe in universal love and *bhakti*; and

(x) Both believe in the two aspects of the Supreme Being.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SŪFISM AND VĒDĀNTISM.

(*a*) Yōgis and Sūfis both believe in ascetic life but Sūfi ascetics, with few exceptions, do not live in celibacy; (*b*) Sūfism is based on Islamic teaching and its prinicples are supported by passages from the *Quran*, while Vēdāntism is connected with earlier Indian thought and teaching of the great Rishis of India; (*c*) In Islam there cannot be a descent of the Deity in the sense of an *avatar* but there is an ascent of man towards God; (*d*) In SūfismGod's attributes and names cannot be materialised into statues, portraits, etc., but they may meditate on the form of the *Pir;* (*e*) The knowable and unknowable aspects of Deity are divided in India into *Mūrta* and *Amūrta* or *Saguna* and *Nirguna*; among the Sūfis, it is called the *Utter darkness* and *Tayyunat,* limitation or emanation, the manifested aspect of the Supreme Being; (*f*) though both Sūfis and Yōgis have recourse to devotional exercise and *Āsan* or postures, the postures are different in form and practice; (*g*) Sūfis go through experiences of fear, weeping and longing, but Vēdāntins seek peace of mind and complete separation from the world. The former prefer attachment to God and the latter detachment from sensible objects; (*h*) Sūfism is a mixture of Aryan-Semitic spiritual ideals, while the Vēdāntism is purely Aryan.

WORKS ON SŪFISM.

Sūfism has been explained both in prose and poetry. Among the more important works in prose are:—

(*i*) *Kitabul-Luma fit-Tasaawuf* by Abu Nasr. Sarraj.
(*ii*) *Resala-e-qushairiyya* by Abul Qasem Qushairi.
(*iii*) *Kashful Mahjub* by Alī, son of Usman, Hujviri.
(*iv*) *Ihyaul-ulum* by Imam Ghazzali.
(*v*) *Futuhat-e-Makkiya* by Ibnul Arabi.
(*vi*) *Fususul-Hikam* by Ibnul Arabi.
(*vii*) *Awarif-ul-maarif* by S. Suharawardi.
(*viii*) *The Perfect Man* by Abdul Karim Jili.
(*ix*) *Dictionary of Technical Terms* by Abdul-Razzack.

(*x*) *Ilmul-Kitab* by Mir Dard.
(*xi*) *Lawaih* by Jami.
(*xii*) *Iniftahul-Ghaib* by Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi, with its commentary entitled *mibta-nul-uns* by Ibn-e-Fanari.

Almost all these works have been translated into one or more European languages.

In verse form, there are numerous books, particularly in Iranian, including quatrains, odes of celebrated philosophers and saints. Among the most important are the following:—

(*i*) The *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi, the most authentic poetical composition on Sūfism in Iranian.
(*ii*) The *Mantaqut-tair* of Farid-ud-dīn Attar (Iranian).
(*iii*) The *Hadiqa* of Sanai (Iranian).
(*iv*) The *Gulshan-e-Raz* of Shebshteri (Iranian).
(*v*) Five celebrated *Masnavis* of Nizami, and their imitation of Jami, Amir Khusroe and other poets are saturated with Sūfistic thoughts, philosophic meditations and stories illustrative of the maxims. Ethical poems of Nasir Khusroe and other Iranian poets also contain Sūfistic ideas.

Of the above, a few will be described in more detail below:—

KITABUL-LUMA-FIT-TASAAWUF.

First among these comes *Kitabul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf*, by Abu-Nasr, known as Sarraj or Saddler, a native of Tus in Khorassan and a pupil of Abu Muhammad Murtaish of Nishapur, a great traveller and an enthusiastic Sūfi, who died in 988 A.D. He was the author of several works on Sūfism; among them, the above mentioned is the most important in which among other subjects in connection with Sūfism, the following topics have also been explained:—(*i*) The relation of the Sūfis to Islam. The author divides the Muslim learned men into: (*a*) The Traditionists, who devote their life in collecting

the tradition from the Prophet. They take pains to investigate and select the genuine and correct tradition. (*b*) The Theologians, who base their knowledge in religion on the *Quran*; *sunna* (tradition), analogy, on which a majority of the companions of the Prophet agree and have acted. They explain the law of Islam as deduced from known sources. (*c*) The Sūfis, who accept the tradition as verified and given by the traditionists and the code of Islam, as explained by the theologians and in addition to these practise devotion and self-culture, renounce worldly objects of enjoyment and confine themselves to self-purification and search of the knowledge of the Supreme Being. They are particularly attached to the ethical teachings of the *Quran* and extract from its passages what are called mystical ideas. They strive to attain certain spiritual states and aim at self-training. Their fundamental principles are derived from the *Quran* and the sayings of the Prophet. They imitate his life, which is the best and most perfect. They appreciate and strive to possess the qualities of abstinence, patience, repentance, fear of God and hope in Him. While the activity of the traditionist and theologians is confined to a limited subject, the Sūfistic science is unlimited.

The term "Sūfi" is derived from the woollen garment worn by the Sūfis.[64] As a system, it was not evolved by Sūfis but has been long prevalent among ascetics, even in the pre-Islamic period.

The main topics of description in *Tasaawuf* can only be briefly referred to here. Among these are the following:—

Unity.—Its definition as given by a number of prominent Sūfis is noted and commented on by the author. Zun-Nun says that the Supreme Being creates everything from nothing. No cause can be given for creation. There is no other ruler in heaven or earth but He. Junaid says that a man who believes in unity must investigate the perfection of

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[64] Some derive the word from *Safavi* and others from *Safa*, which means purity.

the idea of unity in one which neither begets nor is begotten, which is without parallel or opposite and he must serve Him, as one which has none similar in quality to Him. He is one without equal, peculiar to Himself, and there is nothing like Him. He is the hearer and is sure of everything. Shibli says that he who knows not an atom of the science of "unity" (considers himself so insignificant) cannot bear the weight even of a *baqqa* or gnat. Again, he says that he who possesses one atom of the knowledge of "unity" can bear the weight of all heavens and earths on his eyelash. By this statement he meant to suggest that to a person whose heart is illumined with the knowledge of "unity", the whole universe becomes very insignificant.

None can know His essence, as it is said in the *Quran*:— "And they cannot comprehend anything out of His knowledge except what He pleases"—(Ch. II—255.) But one must contemplate on His name and his attributes as manifested in creation. A wise Sūfi aspires for steadfastness in his virtuous activities, which makes him a perfect human being. The evil things become evil by His veiling Himself and good things become good through His illumination.

Wisdom is of three kinds:—(*a*) Wisdom in acknowledging Him; (*b*) Wisdom in realising Him; and (*c*) Wisdom in seeing or contemplating Him. The Sūfis believe in *Maqām*, spiritualisation and *hal*, spiritual state. Each of these stations is gained by means of ascetic practice but the *state* itself is felt by devotion. There are the following *stations*:— *Tauba*, or repentance, is classified thus:—(i) In the case of disciples, one must not forget one's shortcomings; (ii) In the case of Elected men, they must repent forgetting God. *Vara*, or abstinence, is of three kinds:—(*a*) Abstaining from acts doubtful as being good or bad; (*b*) abstaining from whatever one's conscience does not permit; and (*c*) abstaining from anything which diverts attention from God.

Zuhud, or renunciation, is virtue and vice is attachment to the world. It means voluntary renunciation of those things which give physical enjoyment. The highest form is that in

which one does not possess, nor does one wish to possess any worldly thing. The second is that in which one investigates what ought to be and what ought not to be given up while the lowest is that in which one renounces something expecting name and fame. There are also those seekers of the truth who have understood the vanity of worldly enjoyment and look on them with contempt.

Faqr, or poverty, is classified into:—(*a*) The poverty of one who neither possesses nor seeks it. (*b*) The poverty of one who does not possess but if anything is offered does not decline; (*c*) The poverty of one who does not possess and in extreme need seeks the help of his friends.

Sabr, or patience in distress and in trials from God, is classified into:—(*i*) Patience in God, *i.e.*, of one who can endure distress at some time and at another time lose patience; (*ii*) Patience in and for God, *i.e.*, of one who is not moved and who does not complain of his hard circumstances; and (*iii*) Patience in, for, and with God, *i.e.*, His equilibrium of mind is not lost in any adversity.

Tawakkul, or trust in God, is divided into:—(*i*) The Trust of the faithful; (*ii*) The Trust of the elect; and (*iii*) The Trust of the elect of the elects.

Raza, or tranquillity, is of three kinds:—(*i*) Equanimity of heart in all conditions; (*ii*) Of those whose only care is to please God; and (*iii*) Of those who surrender themselves eternally to His will.

Muraqaba, or the state of Contemplation, and *Ahwâl*, it is said that God knows man's innermost hidden ideas and one who believes in this fact guards his thought from being polluted. Contemplation is of two kinds:—(*i*) Of beginners; and (*ii*) Of those that see God and seek His help, and fix their attention only upon Him.

Of the state of *Qurb*, or nearness, it is said in the *Quran* that God is nearer to man than his life vein. (Chap. L–16.) Persons that seek his nearness are of three kinds:—(i) those who approach Him by devotion, *i.e.*, by doing virtuous acts; (ii) those who feel Him so close as to feel they are one.

Abdul Qais has said that such men see God nearer to them than anything else; and (iii) those who are absorbed in feeling His nearness so much that they are not conscious of nearness itself.

Under *Mohabbat,* or Love, we see that lovers are classified under the heads of (i) those who love Him for His mercy and kindness, which is selfish; and (ii) those who are more sincere, because they possess the knowledge of His greatness and omnipotence and omniscience.

Under *Khauf,* or fear, we see that there are men who fear God because of His punishment and those who are in fear of Him because of His separation and distance. His nearness produces joy and awe.

Of *Rija,* or hope in God, in His mercy and in His recompense, *Shauq,* or longing, we note that there are (i) those who long for his blessing; (ii) those who long for Him because they love Him; and (iii) those who contemplate Him and remain unconscious of longing for Him.

Uns, or intimacy, is to rely upon and seek His help. *Mushāhedah* is a state explained according to a tradition from the Prophet, who said:—"When you pray to God you must consider that you are in His presence and that you see Him." *Yaqin,* or certainty, is a state of revelation or knowledge. *Adab,* or good manners, is considered one of the essential means of nearness to God. There are men of external good manners, who, by their firmness of speech, refined manners and high bearing, attract people. Others are an orthodox religious class who abstain from possession and try to please people by their piety and good deeds, but Sūfis endeavour chiefly after refinement and purity of heart, and to keep their promise.

The author has, under this chapter (*i.e., Adab*) discussed at length the Sūfi manners in regard to prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, giving of alms, mutual intercourse, food and dress; also while listening to music and dancing, travelling, begging and collecting funds, receiving gifts from wealthy people, earning a livelihood, conversation, married life, in sickness,

hunger, etc. As to reading the *Quran*, the author gives illustrations from Abu Sulaiman, who said that once he passed five nights in pondering over one verse in it, while he says that another Sūfi became unconscious when he heard a passage from it. The Sūfis have their own way of interpreting the *Quran* and the tradition and deducing Sūfistic ideas from them. They appreciate sweet melodious voice, particularly when combined with verses from the *Quran* or with deep and beautiful Sūfistic poetry. They even permit adepts to listen to music, so that their ears may be trained to harmony and beauty, but in the higher states they are not attached to music or singing. If it is not listened to in the proper sense and with a self-purifying attitude, it may mislead a beginner and it may, instead of benefiting him, become a source of sensual pleasure and a distraction. Accordingly, they hold that it must be listened to under strict discipline and with a spiritual object in view.

Ecstasy or Wajd.

Ecstasy or *Wajd*, according to Junaid, is a state of revelation from God. In some people, it causes a strong emotion and in others calmness. It may be interrupted owing to worldly inclinations, but it remains undisturbed in those who lose their worldly consciousness.

Miracles.

Miracles are attributed by theologians only to prophets. But the Sūfis believe that any virtuous man may perform them. The difference between the miracle of a Prophet and that of a saint is that the former performs it to convince others while the latter to convince himself, so that, he may strengthen his faith and trust in God. The greatest miracle is the expulsion of evil and the substitution of good in one's own self.

The Shariat.

The *Shariat*, or the science of religion, consists in the study of tradition, jurisprudence, scholasticism and Sūfism.

By specializing, each class of student becomes independent of the other but the highest is the Sūfi, who must be well informed in the three other subjects, of which the first three may not be known to Sūfis.

FANA.

Fana, or annihilation, does not mean the loss of the ego. The Prophet has declared that "those who seek God by good deeds, God draws them towards Himself". He also has said: "When I love you, I am the eye by which you see and I am the ear by which you hear." When sensual love can produce the feeling of oneness and harmony with the object of love, spiritual love must produce the same effect to a much greater extent. Hell, according to the celebrated Sūfi Shibli, is separation from God and heaven nearness to Him. The Prophet says that four things within the natural limit are not considered worldly. These are food, garment, house and wife and children. Anything beyond these is declared a luxury and is termed worldly and becomes an obstacle between man and God. A seeker of the truth must regard the plenitude and littleness of the things of this world with equal satisfaction. As luxury is bad, so is extreme asceticism, which must be practised as a means of self-discipline and not as an end in itself. Man must only seek a livelihood, absolutely trusting in God. Those who do not earn their livelihood but believe that God will grant their needs are mistaken. Some imagine that hunger is the best means of animal mortification. But they are also wrong, as human weakness cannot be destroyed by abstaining from food. On the other hand, hunger may produce physical inability and thus make impossible the performance of sacred duties of greater value. Some believe that seclusion may illuminate their heart, but in this also there is no truth, as evil arises from within (and what is within is not excluded from him even in his solitude) and, therefore, it cannot be cured by any external remedy. Some condemn Sūfis for listening to music and practising dancing but music is not enjoyed by Sūfis for the sake of passion or by way of

material enjoyment. It is considered a means of ecstasy. No one can seek God unless his heart is free from all that which is not of, or God. There are some among the Sūfis who believe in the idea of incarnation, but God is *distinctly separate* in all respects from *everything*. Therefore, His true essence or attributes can be manifested in things of a nature different from Himself. The universe is a manifestation or an index of his creative power. Power itself is different from the acts of power, which are its manifestation. Human beings do not possess divine attributes but they may gain knowledge and true faith in Him. The possessing of human nature does not mean change in his essence, but illumination under the light of the Supreme Truth. Therefore, *Fana* does not mean self-destruction and self-absorption, but self-illumination. The vision of God attributed to Sūfism is not seeing God but contemplation of Him and real faith in Him. A man may become free from evil but his nature, in its essence, may remain subject to occasional weakness or worldly tendency. Therefore, in any stage of his perfection, he is dependent upon God and must pray for His forgiveness. The Prophet himself used to ask pardon of God many a time every day. The Divine Light, which illuminates every pious heart, is considered by some Sūfis as an uncreated light, which is wrong, because the Divine Light cannot be explained or made known to the human mind. Therefore, illumination of mind means right knowledge gifted by God, so that the possessor may distinguish between good and bad, true and false. A Sūfi, while recognising that all things proceed from God and subsist in God, must not forget his moral and religious obligations. It argues a wrong conception of Christianity to say that man, as in the case of Jesus, can pass away from human nature. He may pass away from his individual will and enter into the universal will, when he may not regard his individual wish but remain entirely devoted to God. Some Sūfis consider that in ecstasy one loses his senses but even the feeling of such loss is a sense perception; hence, sensation is never lost, but temporarily overpowered by other experiences,

such as disappearance of the light of the star and the stars themselves when there is sunshine, in which the light of the stars is not really lost but is outshone by sunlight.

Spirit or Soul.

With regard to the "spirit" or the "soul", there are various views, for instance:—

(i) The spirit is a part of the Universal Light.
(ii) The spirit is a part of the Divine Existence.
(iii) All spirits are created.
(iv) Some spirits are created, while others are not created.
(v) The spirit is eternal and immortal.
(vi) Some say that non-believers possess one soul, Muslims three and Prophets five.
(vii) Some believe in two spirits, one divine and the other human.

The author's opinion is that all souls are created. He also holds that there is no connection between souls and God, and that souls are not immortal.

Such, in brief, are the contents of the book *Kitab-ul-Luma-fit-Tasaawuf,* by Abu Nasr Sarraj. It has been partly translated by Reynold A. Nicholson of the Cambridge University.

Kashful-Mahjub.

Abul Hassan Ali, son of Usman Hujviri, was the author of *Kashful-Mahjub.* The centre of Muslim learning in the East during the eleventh century was in the courts of Samānian, Khvarasmian, Buvaihid and Ghaznavid rulers. Ghazna had, in particular, become a great centre for Iranian poets, writers and mystics. Among the last-named were such poets as Sanai and his predecessor, the writer Hujviri, who was a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and his sons Masud and Muhammad. His native place was Ghazna, and the locality where he lived was Hujver in Ghazna. Hence, he was called Hujviri. His tutor in Sūfism was Muhammad, son of Hasan, who is known as *Ganj-Baksh,* or distributor of

(spiritual) wealth. He belongs to the school of Junaid. He died at Lahore in 1072 A.D. He wrote several works on Sūfism, but the most important is entitled *Kashful-Mahjub*, which was, perhaps, his last work. Though composed on the plan and arrangement of *Al-Luma*, above mentioned, it is an improvement on it.

Kashful-Mahjub is divided into twenty-five chapters, each supported by a section or more in which some detailed explanation of the subject is given. To refer, by way of example, to one of these, under Chapter XXII which is on "Alms", a section on the Sūfistic conception of liberality and generosity together with the views and sayings of prominent Sūfis on it is added. Topics which have already been dealt with in connection with what we have detailed about the contents of *Al-Luma*, will not be repeated here, excepting where new theories or more striking explanations of some of them are made available by Hujviri.

The first Chapter is devoted to "Spiritual Knowledge", by which Hujviri means the knowledge of God. His unity, attributes, His creative activity, wisdom and knowledge of religion as taught in the *Quran*, Tradition and the united opinions of the companions of the Prophet and the early theologians and traditionists, are dealt with in it. The second is on Poverty in the spiritual sense; the third, on Sūfism; the fourth on *Khirqah*, or Sūfi garments; the fifth on various opinions concerning *Safvat* (purity) and *Faqr* (poverty); and chapters six to thirteen deal with the *Imams*, or spiritual leaders, companions known as *Ashab-e Suffa*, and early and contemporary Sūfis, more or less celebrated. Chapter fourteen gives a description of different schools of Sūfism. They agree in their fundamental principles, though they might differ in matters of detail, particularly in the interpretation of certain Sūfi technical terms. Of the schools mentioned by him are:—

(1) *Muhasibi school*, founded by Haris, son of Asad Muhasibi, who believed in *Raza* (satisfaction), a word which can be used as meaning *Maqām* (station) as well as *Ahwal*

state). According to Hujviri, *Raza* is understood in two senses:—

(i) *Raza* of God with human beings, which means the divine reward for man's endeavour in doing good.

(ii) The *Raza* of human beings with God which consists of their submission and service to God. Man's *Raza* depends upon God's satisfaction with Him. It is a divine gift and is associated with the attribute of patience. Its possessor regards favourable and adverse events in his life as two divine manifestations of *Jamal,* or beauty, and *Jalal,* or majesty, and, therefore, he takes both pain and pleasure with patience and balance of mind. *Raza* is considered higher to *Zuhd* or renunciation, as the former is the result of love to God and the latter indifference to worldly enjoyments. Concerning *station* and *state,* the two Sūfi terms, Hujviri says that the former means stationing on the way leading towards God, and fufilling the duties connected with that station until the seeker is able and is fit to proceed to the next station. Among such stations are the qualities of repentance, conversion towards God, renunciation, trust in God and so forth. These are the stages of human perfection in virtue and must be accomplished regularly, one after the other. State, or *Hāl,* is not attained by self-discipline, but is a gift from God. The former is connected with human action and the latter with divine mercy. Among the different degrees of *state* are the feeling of sincere longing for God, spiritual contraction or depression, and expansion or delight. When these feelings are constant and genuine, they become an attribute of man. Muhasibi includes satisfaction in this category.

(2) The *Qassari school,* founded by Hamdun, son of Ahmad, who based his teaching on keeping secret one's virtues and apparently leading a life subject to public objection and criticism, so that one may not feel proud of his virtuous deeds and acquire the bad trait of self-conceit. Such men were also called *Malamatiyya,* or the blameworthy. The Qassaris believe that man's goodness is known to God and need not be known to his fellow-beings. Hamdun's followers

were indifferent to public opinion and apparently also to the laws of religion and to social customs. Though they were rejected by the public, they did not quarrel with any one. They believed this method as the most effective for subduing and curbing the lower self.

(3) The *Taifuri school,* founded by Abu Ziyad Taifur, of Bistam in Khorassan. He laid emphasis on spiritual rapture and exalted the state of intoxication, by which, he meant selflessness. His school became popular for poetical expression. As the intoxicated man is bold, indifferent and even careless in respect of his affairs, so a Sūfi intoxicated with divine love, becomes heedless of and indifferent to the world. The opposite term for intoxication is sobriety and Sūfis differ in preferring either of these—intoxication or sobriety—as their ideal. Taifur believed intoxication as higher than the sobriety, because it destroys human qualities and is the nearest state to self-annihilation, as the Prophet himself was often affected by it and the following passage from the *Quran* was revealed to him when he was in that state:—"You did not slay but God slew them, and you did not throw pebbles or smite but God threw." (Chap. VIII–17.) In such a state, man becomes an instrument of the Supreme Will. He acts and yet he does not act.

Some Sūfis like Junaid gave preference to sobriety on the ground that intoxication is an abnormal state of mind and a temporary cession of senses. The state of intoxication is classified into:—(i) *Movaddut,* or intoxication with affection; and (ii) *Mohabbat,* or intoxication with love. Sobriety is also of two kinds:—(i) Sobriety in ignorance or indifference; and (ii) Sobriety in love. The former is bad but the latter is praiseworthy.

(4) The *Junaid school,* founded by Junaid, which emphasises the state of sobriety. According to Junaid, sobriety is the normal spiritual condition, whereas intoxication is abnormal.

(5) The *Nuri school,* established by Hasan Ahmad Nuri, whose fundamental principle was self-sacrifice. He preferred

the welfare of others to his own. Thus, it is declared in the *Quran*:—"And they prefer them (others) to themselves, although they may be afflicted with poverty." (Chap. LIX–9.) Nuri believes that Sūfistic training is superior to the ordinary status of *Faqr,* which involves only renunciation of worldly enjoyment and possession of spiritual wealth. The idea of preference or service to others is common among Sūfis.

(6) The *Sahli school,* founded by Sahl, son of Abdullah of Shushter, has for its basis *Mujahida* (*tapas*) or ascetic discipline. His followers insisted on self-discipline by austerities, while the school of Hamduni paid more attention to service and that of Junaid to self-purification by contemplation. The doctrine of the Sahlis aims at resisting the desire caused by the animal soul and controlling it.

Hujviri has given the various views of Sūfis concerning the human soul and its different aspects. He says that *Nafs* or spirit, is interpreted by some in the sense of virility, source of blind desires (evil); to some it is in the body; while to some others, again, it is one with the body. A few also hold that it is the evil tendency in human beings, as is declared in the following passage of the *Quran*: "Most surely (man's) *Nafs-e-Ammarah* commands him to do evil." (Chap. VII–53.) *Nafs* can be controlled and brought under discipline by *Mujāhedah* and repentance, which means one's knowledge of one's own weakness and faults. It is called animal, or lower, soul and considered by some a subtle substance existing in all creatures. Besides this, there is a higher soul, by possessing which human beings are distinguished from other animals. *Riyazat* is the resistance to desires caused by the lower self.

The essence of reality in man is considered by many as a divine mystery. Man is composed of (*a*) 'spirit', with the attribute of intelligence; (*b*) 'soul', with the attribute of passion; and (*c*) 'body', with the attribute of sensation. All Sūfis are united in the opinion that the animal soul can be brought under control by discipline, though its nature is never destroyed. When this soul's activity is modified and regulated, it leads to right contemplation, as service leads to *Taufiq*

or divine blessing. *Hawa,* or passion, is the characteristic of animal souls, and it is metaphorically called the devil or *Satan.* One must free himself from passion by renouncing this world and leading an ascetic life or resist the same and live in society. The latter is superior to the former.

(7) The *Hakimi* school, founded by Muhammad of Tirmiz, whose chief teaching is centred in the belief that man should be guided by a *wali,* or saint, and receive spiritual training from him. *Wilayat* means friendship and a *wali* is a friend. A *wali* can perform marvels by his spiritual power, such as praying for rainfall or healing a disease without prescribing medicine. He is free from sensual affections. There are many saints unknown to the public, and among them, the selected are called (*a*) *Akhyār,* whose number is not more than 300; (*b*) *Abdāl,* of the higher grade, who number 40; (*c*) *Abrār,* still higher, who are 7 in number; (*d*) *Autad,* or *Nuqoba,* who are 4; and (*e*) *Qutob,* or *Ghous,* who stands by himself.

According to Juzjani, the saint remains absorbed in his own state and in the contemplation of the truth. He is *Ibnul-waqt,* or son of his time. He has neither hope for anything nor fear of anything and remains in the state of *mawafiqat,* or equanimity.[65] He is not sinless by nature as Prophets are, but God protects him from evil. Miracles are worked by Sūfi saints belonging to these classes, sometimes in the state of sobriety and at others when intoxicated with the love of God.

(8) The *Kharrāzi school,* founded by Abu Sayid Kharraz, is based on the theory of annihilation and

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[65] *Cf. Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Sama duhkha sukhassvasthaḥ sama lostāhśma kānchanaḥ |
Tulya priyā apriyo dhīrastulyanindātma samstutiḥ ||

i.e., "Balanced in *duhkha* (pain), and *sukha* (pleasure), is self-confident, same (to him) a *losta* (lump of earth), a *asma* (stone) and *kānchana* (gold) (his treatment) is same to (his) *priya* (loved) and *apriya* (not loved), he is *dhīra* (firm) (his soul afflicted in the) same (manner) by *ninda* (criticism) and *stuti* (praise)." (Chap. XIV. 24.)

subsistence. The latter is classified into (i) those having a beginning and an end, such as the universe (matter); (ii) those having a beginning but no end, life being continued in the next world; and (iii) those having neither beginning nor end, which is the divine existence. Subsistence and annihilation are two Sūfi terms which mean annihilation of ignorance and subsistence in the state of knowledge. The following other interpretations of the same are given by Hujviri:—(*a*) Annihilation from individual will and subsistence in the will of God; and (*b*) A human being in any state of spiritual development is not changed in his real nature. His change will be somewhat like that of the iron, which, being placed in the fire, till it becomes red-hot, appears like fire and even possesses the quality of fire but all the time it is only iron and not pure heat.

(9) The *Khafifi school,* established by Muhammad, son of Khaif, of Shiraz, who expounded the doctrine of absence and presence, or *Ghiflat* and *Huzur,* which means, absence of heart from all things including one's individuality and presence with God. As is declared by Hafiz, "Man's concentration of attention on his individual self is the greatest of all veils between him and God".[66]

(10) The *Sayyari school,* founded by Sayyari of Merv, is based on the Sūfi ideas of *Jamá* (union) and *Tafriqa* (separation). The former means divine mercy, gift or contemplation, and the latter is the virtue gained through self-discipline. Muzayyin says that *Jamá* is the state of *Khususiyyat,* or privilege and closeness, and separation is a state of *Ubudiyyat,* or service. One leads to the other. Union is classified into:—(i) *Jamá salamat,* or sound union, produced in the state of ecstasy; and (ii) *Jamá Taksir,* or broken union, in which one is bewildered. Union is neither a state, nor a station, but a concentration of thought upon a certain point. The Prophet was in a state of union, as is testified to by the following passage from the *Quran*:—

[66] *Huzuri gar hami khvahi az u. ghâeh ma shan,*
i.e., If you wish presence never be absent from Him.

"His gaze swerved not, nor exceeded the limit." (Chap. LIII-17.)

Ibn-e-Arabi refutes the theory of the eternity of the soul or the co-eternity of the soul and matter.

Chapter XV is devoted to the knowledge of God, *marefat,* which, according to the theologians, is the right knowledge of God and the law of Islam. The Sūfis, however, insist on right feeling towards God. Some imagine that by reasoning knowledge is obtained, while others think that logical arguments and conclusion are the true means of gaining knowledge. Sūfis, however, consider that both of these views are not satisfactory. They are not, in their view, adequate means to right understanding. God's knowledge must come from God, as the fourth Khalif, Alī, said, "I know God through God". As the body is dependent upon the spirit which animates it, so man's *dil* (heart) or real self is dependent upon God alone.

The body is illuminated by the animal soul and the real self by God. Therefore, God alone can guide the way leading to Him. Philosophical reasonings and logical arguments are dependent upon man's intellectual powers and cause him to turn away from dependence on divine illumination. They are useful in investigating concrete things but God is beyond all senses, and, therefore, His knowledge is supernatural and super-sensible. It may be gained not by reasoning, but by the admission of one's bewilderment, and it must come as a gift from God. To infer the existence of God by making him resemble a certain idea is called *tashbih,* or assimilation, and to deny his existence by such means is *Tálil,* or nullification, and both are absurd. Some believe that knowledge may be attained by *Ilhām,* or inspiration. If that was the case, the conclusion of all such men would have been similar. Some say that intuition is the sure basis of knowledge, but even this must be common to all, which, in its practical aspect, is just the reverse. Some deny God, others believe in His existence and give various explanations. Suluki says that divine knowledge may be obtained in the start by intellectual pursuit and

gradually by self-purification and intuition. In brief, such knowledge is dependent on divine guidance.

Shibli says that true knowledge (*márefat*) is continuous amazement (*Hairat*), which is of two kinds:—(*a*) *Hairat* at the essence; and (*b*) *Hairat* at the attributes of God. The former is bad and fruitless, because none should doubt His existence (and none can know Him in His essense). The attributes of God, as manifested in things in this universe, must be the object of human search and admiration.

Unity, or *Tawhid,* is classified into:—(*a*) Unity, or His one-ness as known to Him; and (*b*) His decree as to how creatures may know His unity, *i.e.,* Unity as known to man's understanding.

There are five means of acquiring knowledge of concrete things, *viz.,* hearing, seeing, testing, smelling and touching. Of these, some are more useful than the others for animals, such as the senses of touch and smell. But for men, who are gifted with the intellect, hearing is the most important, by possessing which they attain to knowledge. A deaf man cannot enjoy the recitation of the *Quran,* nor can he appreciate the subtle points raised by the learned. One who possesses ears can hear and enjoy the beauty of the *Quran* in words and in meaning. Next to hearing is the power of sight. It is said that every tree in paradise produces melodious music. Animals are affected by good sounds. In Khorassan, the deer is captured by beating brass basins, which attracts them and they stand and listen. In India, snakes are charmed by playing on certain kinds of flutes. Children, whose actions are innocent and natural, are attracted by music and those among them who are more fond of hearing good sounds are considered healthy and intelligent by physicians. There are traditions in favour of and against music. It is said that once the Prophet, in company with his wife Aisha, was listening to the songs of a slave girl. When Umar entered the house, the girl ran away. The Prophet smiled, which caused Umar to ask the reason why he did so. The Prophet explained, and Umar requested that she may be

called back, so that he may join with them in listening to her singing. The appreciation of musical voice among the Sūfis existed from the time when the *Quran* was recited and heard by others. They believe that the *Quran,* and mystic songs, when recited or sung in a melodious voice, produces ecstasy and, therefore, singing is permitted. According to Zun-nun, good sound stirs the heart to seek God and becomes a means of penetration into reality. For those who are not gifted with spiritual inclination, music becomes a source of sensual enjoyment. It is dangerous and of bad effect to those who are vulgar, but permissible to the elect. Hujviri quotes the sayings and opinions of different Sūfi authorities on this subject.

In Chapter XVIII, repentance is classified into (*a*) Repentance leading from wrong to right; (*b*) Repentance leading from right to something more right; and (*c*) Repentance leading from self to God.

In Chapter XIX, the object of prayer is explained. It is said that it is essential to purify the heart from lust. Before going to prayer, one must keep his body, dress and place of worship clean. He must stand for prayer with physical strength and consider himself standing in the presence of God and remain in a state of awe and humbleness. There are two terms connected with prayer, *i.e.*, presence and absence. The former means attaining nearness to God and the latter absence of the individual self while in prayer. Love must be the cause of prayer. According to Hujviri, love is defined by theologians as restlessness to obtain the desired object. Sūfis are restless to see and to know Him, and in remembering Him, he says *Zikr.* When love is for a like thing, it is sensual; but when it is for a thing which is unlike, it is admiration of that thing. It brings rapture and longing.

In the Chapter on *Zakat* or alms, generosity and liberality are explained and liberality is given preference over generosity. The Chapter on Pilgrimage contains an explanation of contemplation as the spiritual vision of God, both in society

and in seclusion. Shibli[67] says: "I never see anything but God." With regard to companionship, Hujviri follows Sarraj and mentions the varieties of companionship known. For instance, he speaks of companionship with woman, which means, marriage, and quotes the following, a tradition associated with the Prophet:—Four qualities must be sought in a woman, *i.e.*, beauty, nobility, wealth and religion. There are weak points in celibacy, such as possibility of yielding to temptation and of neglect of any custom approved by the Prophet. There are also weak points in married life, such as occupation of mind with things other than God and the unhealthy effects of sexual connections on body and mind. Marriage is good for those who wish to move in society and celibacy is preferable to those who seek seclusion.

All seekers after the truth can attain their goal by degrees which are termed stations (*maqām*), or states (*hāl*). The great Prophets were noted for particular stations, such as, Adam for repentance, Noah for renunciation, Abraham for resignation, Moses for conversion to faith in God, Jesus for hope, and Muhammad for *Zikr* or praise. The highest spiritual stage reached after passing all stations and states, is *tamkin* (*śānti*) or rest and repose. The seeker in all stations must have one object in view and move towards it. In this chapter, Hujviri gives the meaning of various Sūfi terms, such as:—

Mahv	..	Effacement from self.
Sahv	..	Sobriety or consciousness of one's spiritual progress.
Lahq	..	Attainment.
Sukr	..	Intoxication with divine love.
Mahq	..	Destruction (of inner vices).
Fana	..	Annihilation (of lower self).
Baqa	..	Subsistence (of virtue).
Wujud	..	Existence.

[67] Shibli, the Sūfi sage, should not be confused with Shibli, the Indian author.

Ádam	..	Non-existence.
Qabz	..	Spiritual contraction.
Bast	..	Spiritual expansion.
Hijāb	..	Veil (unexposed to material sight, both physical and intellectual).
Kashf	..	Revelation.
Uns	..	Intimacy.
Haybat	..	Awe.
Qahr	..	Divine violence.
Lutf	..	Divine kindness.
Istiqāmat	..	Divine steadfastness.
Karāmat	..	Miracle or divine grace.
Nafy	..	Negation (of individual self).
Isbāt	..	Affirmation (of higher self).
Istighrāq	..	Absorption.
Kulliyat	..	Universals.
Lawam 'e	..	Spiritual light.
Mohdith	..	Non-eternal—created.
Qadim	..	Ancient—eternal.
Azal	..	Beginningless.
Abad	..	Endless.
Zāt	..	Essence.
Sifāt	..	Attributes.
Jauhar	..	Substance.
Araz	..	Accident.
Ikhityār	..	To choose that which is chosen by God.
Balā	..	Affliction from worldly trials.
Tajalli	..	Divine manifestation and illumination of the heart.
Shurb	..	Drink or delight in virtue.
Zauq	..	The state of longing in which both pain and pleasure are enjoyed.

Fususul-Hikam.

Muhammad, son of Alī, known as Ibnul-Arabi and called Shaikh-ul-Akbar, or the Great Shaik, was a native of Spain, to which his fore-fathers had migrated from Arabia. His

father lived in Seville. But Ibnul-Arabi was, however, born at Murcia in 560 A.H., or 1165 A.D., and so he was a contemporary of Farid-ud-dīn Attar, Shahb-ud-dīn Suhrawardi, Najm-ud-dīn Rāzi, Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi and other great Sūfis in the East. He lived in what may be called the golden age of Sūfism when it was at its zenith. His writings are usually stated to be as many as 300. Of these, 150 are said to exist. Among his more important works are:—(1) *Futuhat-ul-makkiyya,* in 566 Chapters, of which Chapter 559 is an abridgement of the whole. This book is an encyclopædia of Sūfism; and (2) *Fususul-hikam,* in 27 Chapters. This work is also on Sūfism. It has been commented upon by Abdul Razzak of Kashan, and translated into English, Urdu and other languages.

IBNUL-ARABI.

In theology, Ibnul-Arabi followed the Zāhiri school, but as a Sūfi, claimed discipleship of Khizar, an imaginary saint who is mentioned in more detail elsewhere in this work. He also claims to have carried on imaginary conversations with all the past Prophets, and to be gifted with inner light. Ibnul-Arabi died in 1240 A.D., and lies buried near Mount Qusur, now called Sāliha, in Syria.

His views are based upon the common Sūfi principles, which are much elaborated and treated of in a speculative manner. His *Fususul-hikam* is divided into twenty-seven Chapters, each Chapter being named after a Prophet, somewhat like Hujviri's Chapters which bear the names of prayer, fasting, etc. In each Chapter, an appropriate aspect of Sūfism is discussed. The method is somewhat rather artificial and not a little confusing and even difficult to follow for a man not well acquainted with the subject. Many ideas are also repeated by him, which makes the work a little prolix. The First Chapter is named the Wisdom of Ādam and, in consideration of Ādam being called the Vicegerant of God on earth, the position of a human being as such is explained in it. Man is the microcosm of all divine attributes and in this

respect unique among the creatures of the world. Divine manifestation is called cosmos and man is an epitome of the universe. God is the first in reference to creation and so He is the last. He is the beginning and also the end. Man is a perfection of world-creation and a perfect man is the cause of world's safety and peace. Angels are powers, each representing the name of God and possessing the attributes and knowledge of that name alone. The cosmos cannot be self-conscious but it is known to God. In its external aspect, it is created; and in its inner reality, it is in the knowledge of God. The multiplicity of bodies does not mean diversity in their essence. Humanity is one in its origin, as the following passage from the *Quran* declares it:—"O men! fear your Lord who created you from a single (*nafs*) essence and (from that) created its mate, and spread from those two, many men and women." (Chap. IV. 1.)

The Third Chapter is named after Noah. The subject treated in it is the theory of *Tashbih* (similitude) in which the existence of God is explained by comparing it to something concrete or by saying that His attributes are other than His essence and *Tanzih* (purity or attributelessness) in which He is explained as other than the Universe. According to the author, Noah had expounded one aspect of the Deity, which is His separateness from the Universe, but the Prophet (Muhammad) explained the aspect of His one-ness also. Thus, the middle and right path is between *Tanzih* and *Tashbih*. God cannot be separated from the Universe, nor can be identified with it. He is related and yet not related. The Universe is appearance and God is its reality; as in man, the body is his external aspect and the soul is his inner real self. The Creator and the created are not two different beings. They are one, yet separate. Thus, in separation, there is one-ness and in one-ness there is separation.

The Fourth Chapter is called the Wisdom of Idris (Enoch). The subject treated of in it is spiritual elevation of man. In it, man is elevated to higher perfection, though he does not become one in nature with God. His reality

remains human. God is the essence of things. His name as manifested appears in multiplicity, but in the total reality all this multiplicity is one. Abu Sayid Khurāz says:—"God is known by contrary aspects, but this does not mean loss of His one-ness." The *Quran* declares:—"He is Zāher (manifested), *Bātin* (hidden), *Avvul* (the first), and *Ākhar* (the last)." He sees Himself in the mirror of the Universe, but the Universe cannot see Him. He cannot be compared with anything in the Universe. He is one and the cause of many, as the one when repeated and counted becomes the many. Reality is one reflected in various mirrors. Man becomes perfect by his deeds but God is perfect by His nature and by His essence.

The Fifth Chapter is related to Abraham, known for his hospitality and capacity for feeding. God is accordingly explained in this Chapter as nourisher of the Universe. He is the beloved and he is the lover; he is the hidden and he is the manifested. If man can possess knowledge of himself, he may know God also. By reflecting on oneself and on creation, one may have an idea of creation and the Creator. God is true existence and the existence of the Universe is in God and from God. Man is for God in manifesting His names, and God is for man in manifesting His benevolence. This idea has been illustrated by Abraham, who manifested his love to others by feeding them, and they by receiving his hospitality. Abraham saw God in everything, as it is declared in the *Quran*:—"Surely, I turn myself wholly to Him, who originated the heavens and the earth." (Chap. VI. 80.)

The Sixth Chapter is the Wisdom of Ishāq (Isaac), in which the subject dealt with is the *Ālam-e-Mithāl,* or intermediary world of similitude or thoughts. In dreams, the human faculty of imagination is active. In some dreams, the forms are actual; in others confusing and unknown; while in some others, they are imaginary. The actuals cannot be interpreted by other meanings, as seeing the Prophet, or as it happened in the case of Abraham who dreamt that he was sacrificing his son and next day he actually wanted to sacrifice

him. Man's creations are imaginary forms but God's are actual.

The Seventh Chapter is the Wisdom of Ismail, in which the author deals with the divine names. Each name is an aspect of the Divine Being and represents that name in its meaning, and is potential in its meaning. There is nothing in the universe that does not manifest the numerous names of God; all bad and good, even Satan is included in this list. The reality is hidden in Him.

The Eighth Chapter is the Wisdom of Yaqub (Jacob) and the subject dealt with is religion, taught by all great teachers and called *Islām*, which means submission to His will. It comes from God but abides in man, and is proved by human action. If man obeys religious commands, he attains self-discipline. There are religions fabricated by human misconception, as, for instance, ascetic life. The reward for a virtuous life is the illumination of the heart by the Divine Being. As a physician studies the physical condition of man and the nature of the disease to which the patient is subject, and treats him so as to reconcile the law of nature with the patient's physical defect, in the best manner possible, a religious teacher guides humanity according to the will of God and the condition of the age in which he lives.

The Ninth Chapter is entitled the Wisdom of Yusuph (Joseph) and the subject treated of in it is the unreality of universal existence. The author says life is but a dream (*Māya*) and the dreams are dreams within dreams. A dream may be actualised at the time of awakening, but even that is a dream, such as the one dreamt by Joseph who saw the stars, sun and the moon bowing before him and the interpretation of it was his elevation to the rank of minister in Egypt, when his parents and brothers prostrated before him. The Prophet (Muhammad) called this world a dream, and in the *Quran* it is said that life in this world is a play. Human awakening from this dream-life will be in the next life. The universe, in comparison with reality, is a shadow or its reflection. The *avan* or reality of a thing exists in

God's knowledge, or in the darkness of non-existence and, so long as it is not manifested and illumined, it remains in nothingness. As it is said in the *Quran*:—"Do you not perceive, your Lord's working, how he extends the shade: and if he willed, he would make it stationary; then we have made the sun an indication of it. (XXV. 45.) Shadow is not the substance reflected, but it cannot be separate from it. Thus, the universe is a reflection of the Deity and as such, it may be called a separate thing, though really it is not; as shadow, it has no real existence. Life is *māya*, a dream."

The Tenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Hud, and the subject treated of in it is the unity of names in their diversity, and the Almighty divine power over all things existing. As the following passage occurring in the *Quran* says:—"There is no creature except that its forelock is not in His hand, surely my Lord is on the right path." (XI. 56.) All things are in His power (which corresponds to *Shakti* in Indian Philosophy). Sin by which man makes himself deserving of God's displeasure is not permanent. His mercy will finally pervade over all beings and everything will reach its perfection which is salvation. Hell is remoteness from God, but even there, a human being is within His power and as such, is near to Him and will finally hear Him. As the *Quran* says:—"And the East and the West are of God, (therefore) wherever you turn there is the face of the Lord and God is extended and knowing." (XI. 115.) Sin is bewilderment in a wrong action for which the doer must naturally suffer till his ignorance is removed, or is a disease. As in disease, though one must suffer, yet he will recover his health, there is recovery from sin. Good and bad, both must pass the stage of suffering (hell) and both are emancipated, one earlier and the other later. In the latter case, time is required for self-enlightenment. The Divine names (called by the ancient nations as Gods), have powers over things manifesting them or as the *Quran* says, "They are grasped by their forelock and are in the complete power of the Divine Being".

The Eleventh Chapter is the Wisdom of Saleh and the subject dealt with in it is the unity in Trinity. The Divine Being possesses the true aspects of the being, will and command. And creatures also possess the three qualities of not-being, hearing or submission, and devotion (worship).

The Twelfth Chapter is the Wisdom of Shuaib and the subject treated of in it is the gnostic's heart which contains God. It is said to be more extensive than Divine Grace. Having God in heart, it is undeserving for man to give room to anything besides Him. Ba-Yazid of Bastam says that a Sūfi's heart is so extensive that the *Arsh* (Throne of God) and all beneath it can find a place in a corner of it. As the Divine manifestations are numerous, so the heart of a gnostic passes according to the quality of forms into the states of contraction and expansion. It is like a bezel of the ring in which the jewel is set and the bezel must be of the same size and shape as the jewel which must be set in it, which means, the heart is illuminated by Divine Light according to its capacity to receive the illumination. Divine illumination is of two kinds, *i.e.*, the external or *shahādat*, and internal or *ghaib*. The latter is also called *Faiz-e-Aqdas*, which frames and prepares the heart and gets it ready for receiving the Divine Light and the attainment of Divine knowledge according to one's frame of mind and spiritual development. A man possessing such a heart is a man of thought and contemplation. The essence is a condensing of extension into a mass. The Divine manifestation (flow of life) is continuous. *Fana*, or annihilation, means disappearance of one manifestation to be succeeded by a fresh *Baqa*, permanence or existence. The universe, which appears permanent, is due to such continuous appearance and disappearance of Divine manifestation. The heart is intermediate between the higher and the lower, or the external and the internal worlds.

The Thirteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Lut and the subject treated in it is the *Himmat* or will power. Man has three stages in life, *i.e.*, weakness, strength, and again weakness. In the process of spiritual perfection, three stages are

manifested by ignorance, self-assertion by gaining knowledge, and humility and meekness by knowing oneself as an insignificant part of the Supreme Whole. Human will power in the last stage is surrendered to the Divine Will and subsists in Him. As the *Quran* says:—"The Lord of the East and the West—there is no God but He—therefore make Him your guardian." (LXXXIII. 9.) In another passage, it is said:—"(Say Muhammad) that I just follow what has been revealed to me." (XLVI. 9.) The Prophet's mission is to convey the Divine message to his creatures and leave its working to them. Those whose heart is framed and is ready to receive the light, receive it immediately (without argument or demanding miracles), as God says in *Quran*:—"You cannot guide whom you desire, but God guides whom He pleases." (XXVIII. 56.) The human being, in his nature, is weak and the strength is gifted to him from God.

The Fourteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Ezra and the subject dealt with in it is knowledge and the meaning of *Qazā*, or Divine decree, and *Qadar*, or measuring. Knowledge is classified into what is acquired by (*a*) intellectual reasoning or human experience, and (*b*) by Divine illumination. The second is attained by *Zauq*, or aptitude towards virtue. According to Ibn-e-Arabi, *Qazā* is the command of God affecting the creatures; *Qadar* is the time for its taking effect. Ezra is considered a Prophet who wanted to reason the idea of resurrection and so he prayed to God for its explanation. But the subject was to be felt and not argued. In reply, God made him die and after 100 years granted him a new life. Thus, God showed him in action the meaning of death and resurrection. The author's object in furnishing the above illustration is to demonstrate that spiritual realities cannot be known by reasoning. They must be felt and such feeling is a gift from the Divine Being to sages in a state of ecstasy, and revelation to the Prophets, when their minds are blank from all worldly tendencies and in a condition to receive the Divine reflection. There are two stages of such perfection, one is called *Wilayat*, or friendship of God, and the other *Risālat*,

or prophethood. Every Prophet is a *wali,* but every *wali* need not be a Prophet.

The Fifteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Jesus, and the subject considered is the Trinity of matter, spirit and divinity. The author explains this by illustrating the birth of, and the human and Divine aspects of Jesus. He says that the quality of the spirit is to make an object alive when it has the capacity of receiving it. The natural process of making matter capable of receiving life is slow and gradual, but in the case of Jesus, it was immediate and supernatural. Gabriel appeared to Mary in the form of a young man and breathed into her heart the word of God. Jesus was born. The *Quran* says that Jesus was the word of God and also His spirit. Thus, Jesus was material in his being born of Mary, and thought immaterial, being breathed by Gabriel and being the spirit of God. As the son of a human being, he was humble and, therefore, taught the ideal of extreme forbearance, when he said, "turn your left cheek when slapped on the right". His other aspect was the breath from Gabriel by which he could also breath and give life to the dead. He was Divine, being the word of God. The word is not restricted to Jesus. Each thing in the universe is a word of God, because the *Quran* says that God commands "be" and things "become". The whole cosmos in this way is a breath of God and exists by His word.

The Sixteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Solomon and the subject dealt with consists of the two kinds of Divine benevolence—one general, by which the whole creation receives existence; and the other, special, through which man is gifted by spiritual perfection and knowledge.

The Seventeenth Chapter is the Wisdom of David and the subject considered is Prophethood, which is gifted to those with whom God is pleased. Such persons are detached from the world and attached to God. Among the Prophets, David was gifted by such a melodious voice that, while singing sacred hymns, Nature as a whole joined him.

The Eighteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Yunus and

the subject dealt with is teaching man how to respect life in all creatures. Man is composed of soul, body and spirit. His real self is an image of God and must be respected. Those who destroy life are wicked, because they destroy that which the Divine Being desires to live. God's creatures must be treated with leniency and kindness; even when teaching what is held to be true religion, care should be taken to see that it is not enforced upon an unwilling individual nor severity used in such a connection.

When David (who had fought with the enemies of the truth and had killed a number of them) wanted to erect a temple, it collapsed again and again. David complained to God and the revelation came to him that God's temple cannot be created by one who has taken the lives of His creatures. When David prayed *that it was done in His way,* for the destruction of evil, the answer came forth that nevertheless those who were killed had received life from God. The temple, therefore, was built by David's son Solomon. Leniency must be shown to creatures in all conditions, even in enforcing the Divine Law, as God, while permitting the killing of a murderer, says:—"And there is life for you in retaliation that you guard yourselves" (*Quran*), which means that even in such a case, the taking of life is evil and therefore God rewards the kinsmen of the murdered person, if they pardon the murderer and receive ransom from him.

The Nineteenth Chapter is the Wisdom of Ayyub and the subject dealt with in it is patience in calamities. One must refer the trials in this world to God and seek His assistance. Worldly calamities are signs of human helplessness and, when they occur, one must pray to God alone.

The Twentieth Chapter is the Wisdom of Yahya or John the Baptist, whose name is selected for illustrating the following virtues:—(*a*) Renunciation of worldly pleasures; (*b*) Fear of God; and (*c*) *Ilme-Zauqi,* which means ecstasy or knowledge gained through intuition or natural inclination and purity of nature.

The Twenty-first Chapter relates to Zacharyya, in which

the mercy of God is explained as pervading over His displeasure. His grace penetrates everything in the universe. Thus, it is said in the *Quran*:—"My grace embraces all things." (VII. 156.) It is increased when man faces God and seeks His divine help.

The Twenty-second Chapter is the Wisdom of Ilyas (Elijah) and the subject to which it is devoted is the realisation of God in all forms. In the Chapter dedicated to the Wisdom of Noah, the author discusses *Tashbih*, or similitude of God. In this Chapter, he takes the other extreme view of *Tanzih*, or the Divine Being, in His atributeless essence. Both of these aspects are mentioned in the *Quran*, as may be seen from the following passages:—(*a*) Attributelessness—Nothing is like Him; and (*b*) Similitude—He is the hearing and the seeing, etc. Those, who follow the first idea, do not admit the explanation of the words used in the *Quran* with reference to the attributes of the Divine Being even in metaphorical language. Nothing can be compared to Him. He is above human conception. The author emphasises that dissimilarity in similarity and similarity in dissimilarity must be the belief of a Sūfi. This conception was clear to such minds as that of Ilyas, who realises God in all forms. The Prophet says: "I love courage even if it may be in killing a serpent". The serpent is human passion, which must be curbed, if not killed, and when it is curbed and controlled, man attains spiritual ascent as Elijah was lifted up to heaven, and again sent down to guide humanity. Man's first ascent is his self-purification, by which he attains the rank of pure intelligence and his descent from that state is voluntary to guide humanity. Knowledge, as already mentioned, is of two kinds, *i.e.*, the one gained by study and the other attained by natural delight in spiritual purity, which is gifted by God. Concerning this, Ibn-e-Arabi says that he was gifted and in that state he could not utter a word. He was satisfied in the Self.

The Twenty-third Chapter is devoted to Luqman and the subject is Wisdom, which has been mentioned in the

following passage occurring in the *Quran*:—"He grants wisdom to whom He pleases and whoever is gifted with wisdom, indeed, he is given a great blessing, and none but men of understanding appreciate it." (II. 269.) Wisdom is classified into:—(*a*) Wisdom in speech or the one which is expressed; and (*b*) Wisdom in silence. The second is higher than the first. Polytheism is to believe in two existences. Existence is one and indivisible.

The Twenty-fourth Chapter is devoted to the Wisdom of Harun (Aaron) and the subject dealt with is idolatry, which means, seeing God in one or several of His attributes. The author says that two similar things may not hold similar ranks but may be necessary for each other, such as, the king and his subjects, the Prophet and his followers, etc. Both serve each other in different capacities. Even God works for His creatures in bestowing existence to them and they work for Him in glorifying Him by their prayers and worship. The *Quran* says:—"Every moment He is in a state." (LV. 27.) Every worshipped object may be an attribute or a manifestation of God. It may be in the form of a stone, a tree, or anything else. Such a form of worship is to limit Him to one of His particular aspects, but He must be worshipped in His totality and oneness. The heathen Arabs were worshipping Him in His various attributes and when the Prophet of Islam invited them to convert their many gods into one, it was a surprise to them, as the following passage from the *Quran* shows:—"What! does he make (many) gods a single God? This is a strange thing." (XXXVIII. 5.)

The Twenty-fifth Chapter is the Wisdom of Moses and the subjects to which it is devoted are:—(*a*) Smaller virtues or souls are absorbed or sacrificed for a higher soul, such as, the death of many infants for the sake of Moses; (*b*) Pharoah, the King of Egypt, who claimed Divinity for himself, was saved at the last moment by submission to God. (This idea is peculiar to Ibn-e-Arabi and some other Sūfis. The orthodox believe that his repentance was too late and fruitless); (*c*) Salvation is obtained through action and no soul can

work up the body through the body alone. The soul of Moses was placed in the ark (body) and left in the water (of knowledge) and nourished by Pharoah (self-assertion) and his wife; and (*d*) Destruction of the bodily desires is the salvation of the soul.

The Twenty-sixth Chapter is the Wisdom of Khaled, son of Sinan, a pre-Islamic sage of Yeman. The subject to which it is devoted is that good intention is not equal to the realisation of the truth.

The Twenty-seventh Chapter is the Wisdom of Muhammad and the subjects to which it is dedicated are woman, fragrance and prayer which were dear to the heart of the Prophet. The author says that as man is created in the image of God, so woman is created in the image of man. Therefore, man loves God and woman. Her relation to man is the same as God's relation with Nature, and if woman is loved in this sense, such love is divine. God has breathed into Nature and God's breath must be deemed the most fragrant, and woman being created out of man, woman is man's best fragrance. Man should, therefore, take delight in the Divine fragrance in Nature, in the same manner as he is delighted with his own purest fragrance, woman. The prayer, beloved of the Prophet, is communion between God and man, such communion marking the best moment of man's life. There cannot be any better enjoyment than to speak with and hear from God. Prayer is the vision of the Supreme Being and the highest stage of spiritual elevation for a human being. Prayer among Muslims is offered in three postures, resembling the movement of the plant, the animal and the human being. The first is *qiyām* or standing, a human posture; the second is *ruku*, or horizontal, resembling animals; and the third is *sujud*, or prostration, which resembles plants.

This is a brief but inadequate summary of *Fususul-hikam*. Though not literal, as a free rendering of the essential topics discussed in it, it may prove useful. I have taken care to give a correct exposition of the author.

MANTAQUT TAIR.

Ibn-ul-Arabi's elder contemporary was Farid-ud-dīn Attar, the great Sūfi and poet of Iran.[68] He was born in a village named Kadkan, near Nishapur, in the year 512 A.H., or about 1118 A.D. He was killed during the Mongol invasion that occurred in 1229 A.D. He was a disciple of Shaik Majd-ud-dīn. He was a voluminous writer. All his works, numbering about thirty, are in verse, but the most important is entitled *Mantaqut Tair,* or speech of the birds, an allegorical poem of about 4,600 couplets, in which the author symbolises the Sūfi seekers of the truth as birds seeking *Si-murgh* (Sanskrit *Cœna*), the known but unseen bird (the reality). This work has been translated into the chief European languages and much appreciated by all Sūfis. It comprises of 45 discourses and a conclusion.

Farid-ud-dīn Attar begins with the assembly of all birds who wanted a king for themselves. Hoopoe was selected to conduct the meeting and the assembled birds started discussion on the selection of a king. The Chairman (Hoopoe) explained that there was already a great king of birds, named *Si-murgh,* who lives in the mountain of *Qaf* which surrounds the world. They must pass through seven most tedious and impregnable valleys to enjoy his presence. After much questioning upon the usefulness and necessity of such an extremely difficult task and receiving explanations from Hoopoe, they decide to make the hard journey and enter the first valley, known as the *Quest,* in which one has to devote himself to searching the right path, for which determination and patience are essential conditions. Many fail in persevering through and renouncing attachment to all objects left behind and others proceed and enter the second station, or valley of love, a place much more difficult to pass than the first, because here one has to exist not for himself but for his beloved. One has also to suffer and bear all the hardships and trials coming to a lover. Human reason could not guide

[68] He was the biographer of Abu Hamza Bhaghdadi.

or help, because love is indifferent to it. Where there is love, there can be no reason. Many cannot endure the hardship and therefore collapse. But those who were true lovers and sincere in their heart become intoxicated with the wine of love and lighted with the fire of devotion, enter into the third station, called Knowledge, which is not one that can be acquired by intellectual argument and experience but obtained as a gift from the beloved. It is beginningless and, at the same time, endless, illuminating the heart of its possessor, according to his or her capacity and expansion. Those, whose heart is illumined by it, see the Supreme Beauty manifesting in every atom. Many cannot bear the illumination, but those illumined advance to the fourth station of detachment from worldly tendencies. They become independent of physical needs, neither desire any possession nor feel sorry for losing anything, and passing the difficult examination of complete renunciation, they enter into the fifth station entitled Unity. Here they see all plurality absorbed in oneness. Distinction between quantity and quality, white and black, high and low, is lost. Many are squeezed into oneness, as a honeycomb possessing various shapes when pressed becomes a mass of wax. Passing this valley, some advance to the sixth station of Amazement, where one could not distinguish between *I* and *Thou*, one and many. They did not even know what they are, whom they love, and why they love, nor could they say what religion they follow. Their heart is full and yet empty of all attachment and love. Passing from this wonderful station, the place of utter confusion and bewilderment, a few enter the seventh station of Annihilation. Here, what remains of self-consciousness is lost. They become dumb, deaf, and completely detached from everything except the beloved. They were and they were not, reduced in physical body and purified from all material impurities. Their mortal aspect becomes extinct and only the immortal aspect is left, and stands before the great light of the Eternal Sun. They are only thirty such out of hundreds of thousands who are blessed by the presence of the King and

these few find, to their amazement, that the much sought-after King is no other than themselves. They are transformed into the great bird, the unknown *Si-murgh*. More than this, looking again, they see that they are not thirty but one. Then, they hear that "I am the Mirror and whoever looks into Me sees himself. Even your good deeds, since acted under My will, are Mine. You see yourself as *Si-murgh*, but I am the essence of the *Si-murgh*. If you annihilate yourself in Me, you remain in Me. The shadow is vanished in the Sun." They find themselves and also the *Si-murgh*. The great enigma of existence and the vexed question of *I* and *Thou* is solved.

MASNAVI.

Sanai, the great mystic Iranian poet, was Farid-ud-dīn Attar's predecessor, and Jalal-ud-dīn, known as Rumi, was his great successor. Jalal-ud-dīn, son of Baha-ud-dīn, was born at Balkh in 1207 A.D. He was the younger contemporary of Ibn-ul-Arabi. The jealousy and suspicion of the reigning King was the cause of Baha-ud-dīn's move towards West Iran and the Mongol invasion forced him to continue his journey till the family reached Syria. After visiting Mecca, he returned once again to Syria. Finally, the family settled down at Qunia in Asia Minor. Jalal-ud-dīn was a great scholar in theology and philosophy and, at the suggestion of his friend and disciple Husam-ud-dīn, he composed his celebrated work, the *Masnavi*, in six volumes, and a seventh volume as a supplement, whose authorship is, however, somewhat doubtful. This work is one of the greatest mystic poems in the literature known to the world. In Oriental philosophy, it stands high. It contains about 47,000 verses, in which a complete teaching of Sūfism is given and illustrated by means of apologues, anecdotes, fables, legends, etc., quoted from tradition and from passages taken from the *Quran*. Jalal-ud-dīn is more logical in his treatment of the more important tenets of the Sūfis. His arguments are illustrative, which makes the subject very clear and helps to convince the reader of the truth underlying it. His style is

peculiar to himself and difficult to follow for a reader of ordinary abilities, if he aims at reaching the real depth of his teaching. Rumi, while explaining a subject, uses so many other philosophical, psychological and Sūfistic points of view, that the main subject is often left far behind, with the result that the reader is hardly able to trace the links between them. Rumi's mind is quick in converting the meaning of an ordinary word, which happens to have been used in a verse, into a philosophical or theological fact. Such words occur again and again and they are never left without being expanded allegorically into a Sūfi sense. Among the very large number of subjects treated of in the *Masnavi* are the following:— (1) The soul; (2) The heart; (3) Intellect; (4) Passions; (5) Animal soul; (6) Senses; (7) Supplication; (8) Sympathy and confession; (9) Generosity; (10) Justice and Tyranny; (11) Obedience, Contentment; (12) Speech; (13) What is a Sūfi; (14) A Sūfi guide; (15) Annihilation and permanence; (16) Observance and contemplation; (17) *Uns* or familiarity; (18) Nearness; (19) Patience; (20) Submission; (21) Destiny; (22) Trust in God; (23) Sincerity, gratitude and forbearance; (24) Hope and fear; (25) Meditation; (26) Seclusion, remembrance and self-mortification; (27) Poverty and renunciation; (28) Repentance and sincerity; (29) Love; (30) Faith; (31) Unity; (32) Knowledge, etc.

According to Jalal-ud-dīn, the greatest virtue is love, by which spiritual sentiment is purified and the vision of the Supreme object of love attained. Religious rituals and prayers are good, but the dwelling of the beloved is not in the mosque, temple or church; it is in a pure heart. The essential object is self-purification through faith and prayer. Evil is in creatures and not in the Creator. Man's chief idol is his animal soul. He sees his own evil reflected in others and without looking at the evil in himself is ready to criticise the evil in others. He admits that man in a way is free-willed, though his will is subordinate to the Divine Will. If human action was not his, he would not have felt repentance

and shame. Perfect love is perfect freedom, causing the union of human will to the Divine Will. Jalal-ud-dīn is at his best while describing love or unity of the Divine Being, and appears as inspired by higher sources. No reader can doubt the sincerity of his attachment not only to the Creator but even to his friends and disciples. Many commentaries have been written on the *Masnavi* in various languages, but his ideas are so numerous and interwoven into each other that many more can be easily written. Among English translations and commentaries are the following:—(1) Translation of certain selected anecdotes by James W. Redhouse; (2) translation of the second book with a separate commentary by C. E. Wilson; and (3) translation of Books I, II, III and IV by R. A. Nicholson. The last of these is perhaps the best.

It is beyond the scope of this work even to attempt a brief summary of even the more important topics of Sūfism, discussed and illustrated by Jalal-ud-dīn but a few will be indicated to particularize its importance in any study of Sūfism.

The *Masnavi* begins with the lamentation of the reed (soul) for its separation from the reed-bed (origin). All see its manifestation through body, but none understands its real nature. Its activity is longing for union. A man without such longing or love is like a bird without wings. The union is attained when the mirror of the heart is purified from the rust of the passions. The training of the animal soul is illustrated by the story of a king (the true-self) falling in love with a slave girl (animal soul), who, in turn, was secretly in love with a youth (object of desire). She could not be cured with any medicine (intellectual reasoning). At last, the king seeks Divine help, by which the author means to say that spiritual knowledge is a Divine gift. The king meets a holy physician (guide), who cures the girl by asking the king to permit her to live with her lover (the object of desire). They live together for six months and, in the meanwhile, the physician gives the young man a draught by which

he becomes sick and loses his physical beauty and attraction. The girl, who was in love for his beauty, becomes indifferent and, when finally he dies, she forgets her lover. Thus, the author's view is not to kill the animal soul or the creative faculty of desires, but to regulate the same by constant contemplation on the futility of the material objects. He classifies love into:—(*a*) Love of the dead, *i.e.*, material objects; and (*b*) Love of the living, *i.e.*, spiritual realities. Man must choose one which is eternal, true and perfect. Human action also is classified into (*a*) those that take effect under the Divine Will; and (*b*) those which take effect under the individual will. The first of these, even if they appear unlawful, are right and the second may or may not be right.

To attain the truth, a guide is necessary who must be selected with extreme care; for, though there be many, there are but few real guides to the truth. A true guide works for the common welfare of the creatures and a false guide for his own gain and vanity. The true guide brings union and harmony, while a false guide discord and hatred. The idea is illustrated by the story of a Jewish king, whose minister was apparently a Christian, but really a Jew, and an enemy of Christians. By false piety, he produced the impression upon them of being a holy man. When he satisfied the people and they fully believed in his piety, he caused discord and hatred among them. Many important lessons are taught in this story. The next subject is trust in God, explained by the story of the lion and the hare. The ideal is that after self-exertion, one must trust in God, *i.e.*, after doing his best, he must leave the fruit of his action to God.[69] When wrong

[69] *Cf.* the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Yuktaḥ karmaphalam tyaktvā śāntim āpnoti naiṣṭi kim |
Ayuktaḥ kāmakārēṇa phalē saktō nibaddhyatē ||

i.e., "The united one abandons the fruits of action and attains to *śānti* (peace), (but) not-united (with reality) is impelled by *kāma* (desire) and so is attached to *phala* (fruits of his action) and is bound." (Chap. V. 12.)

is done, one must confess his guilt and should not refer it to providence, as *Satan* did when he exclaimed, "Oh God! thou had seduced me". The stage of annihilation is described by the story of a pet Indian parrot kept in a cage by an Iranian merchant. When the merchant wanted to make a journey to India, he asked his parrot what present it desired. The parrot requested him to carry a message to the parrots in India, that a parrot is confined in a cage and longed to meet them. The merchant agreed. While in India, he came across a number of parrots enjoying themselves in a forest and recollecting his promise, halted there and delivered the message. Hearing him, one among the parrots trembled and fell dead. The merchant returned home and related that wonderful accident to his pet bird. The parrot in the cage at once trembled and died. The merchant was extremely sorry, but, finding no remedy that could bring about its recovery, he took it out of the cage and cast it outside. Thereupon, the parrot flew out and sat on a high branch of a tree and obtained her freedom.

Like other Sūfis, Jalal believed that human will is subordinate to the Supreme Will. He illustrates this idea by the story of Moses and Pharoah, in which he says that though opposite to each other in their views, both of them were subject to the Divine Will. Though under the Supreme Will, man is not free from responsibility for his deeds. He is rewarded or punished within his limits of responsibility. The Sūfi accepts poverty, which means that, in his essence, man does not possess existence and therefore he is in need of receiving the same from God. The virtue of selflessness is illustrated by another story. A man knocked at his friend's door and, when asked who he was, replied, "It is *I*". His friend did not open the door and so he was forced to go. After some time, he again knocked the door and on enquiry replied that "It is *Thou*", and the door was opened for him. Those who oppose a holy cause or a holy person, really oppose their God. A true friend is like a mirror, in whom one finds himself exactly as he is. Man's action must be for God and

not for selfish objects, for hatred or pleasure. The idea is illustrated by a story which carries its own moral:—Alī, the fourth Khalif, vanquished an infidel and, while lifting his sword to slay, the infidel spat on him. Alī, instead of hastening the infidel's death, did not advance. The infidel was surprised by this unexpected effect, and asked the reason. Alī said, "I am opposing you in the way of God, and when you spat, the thought of revenge became mixed with the idea of duty and I could not act with unselfish motive."

Jalal, like other Sūfis, believed in the importance of the heart, an immaterial luminous essence, lower than the real self and higher than the carnal soul. It is faced in its inner aspect towards the real self and towards the carnal soul in its outer aspect. It is illuminated by one and in turn illumines the other. Jalal illustrates its position from the following passage occurring in the *Quran*:—"God is the light of heavens and the earth: for illustration, His light is like a niche on which is a lamp, the lamp is in a glass and the glass is, as it were, a bright shining star lit from a blessed live-tree, neither Eastern nor Western, the oil gives light (as if lit) though fire touch it not, it is light upon light." (XXIV. 35.) The real self is compared to the bright star of the light in the lamp, the heart to the glass through which the light shines, the carnal soul to the oil, being the principles of life, sensation and voluntary movement and the body to the niche. As the sea remains one, though appears agitated and multiplied by the rise and fall of waves, so the true existence is one, though it seems to be various by being individualised in forms.

The vexed question of *Tashbih* (similitude or likening God to sensible objects), and *Tanzih* (exempting Him from the universe) is discussed in the beginning of the second part of the *Masnavi*. The Supreme Being is above human imagination, therefore, those who believe in *Tashbih* and assert His immanence in form, as well as those who deny this and assert His transcendence are wrong. He is formless in external appearance and yet is manifested in all forms. Those who have attained freedom from sense perception, whose

heart is pure and is like clean mirror, for Divine reflection, see the Divine Reality with their spiritual eyes. God is beauty and loves beauty. Those who love His beauty, stand firm in all trials coming from the beloved and are delighted with whatever is received from Him. True love and sense of gratitude are illustrated by the story of Luqman and his master. The former was a slave loved and respected by his master. It happened that once a melon was presented to his master and he, out of kindness, cut a slice and gave it to Luqman, who ate it with pleasure. His master perceiving his delight over the fruit, gave him another slice, and, finding him much pleased, continued to cut and offer, till one slice was left and, out of amazement for its taste, he ate it himself, but, to his great disappointment, found it extremely bitter. He asked Luqman the reason for showing so much delight over the bitter fruit. Luqman said, "I have eaten so many sweet things from your hand and I felt ashamed not to eat one which was bitter". Following up the anecdote, Jalal praises love and says that through love, the nature of things is changed. He says it is love which makes bitter taste sweet, turns copper into gold, transforms the king into a slave (of his beloved), converts the lion into a mouse, and the devil into a fairy and so forth. Love is the result of knowledge. God is pleased with love and sincerity rather than with the performance of religious ceremonies and rituals. Once Moses passed by the side of a shepherd boy on his way towards the mountain where he used to pray and speak with God. He heard the shepherd who was addressing God as follows:—"Oh! God, where art thou, so that I may serve you, sew thy shoes, comb and kill lice in thy hair, wash thy clothes and bring thee milk, kiss thy hands, rub thy feet and sweep thy room. May all my goats be sacrificed for thee" and so forth. He continued to address in this manner, and though an illiterate and ignorant, he was a sincere lover and devotee of God. When Moses asked him whom he was addressing in such manner, the shepherd replied that he was speaking to one who created man and yonder heavens. Moses

became angry and said, "Thou art an infidel", and, after rebuking him, proceeded to the place of worship. A revelation came from God to Moses saying, "You have parted My servant from Me. You have been sent (as messenger) to unite and not to separate (My lovers) from Me. Do not sever My creatures from Me, because the most hated deed is to cause divorce (separation). I have granted each man a certain way of action and each has a particular form (of prayer). That which you think is the best way to address Me may be worthy of blame in other's views. You take it as honey and the other man thinks it to be poison. I am beyond purity and impurity, praise and criticism. I do not see (external) language, but look to the inward state (of the mind). My object (by creating this universe) is not profit but generosity and kindness. Hindus (pray to Me) in their own selected way and so do the Sindhis. Each follows his own method and I am above their praises. I see their heart (while you attend to their words), because, heart is the substance and speech is accident. I want a burning heart, burnt with (the fire of) My love. When love is perfect, forms are insignificant. O Moses! those who care for external formalities are different from those whose soul and heart burn for Me. Inside the Ka'aba, there is no (particular side to turn for prayer) *qibla,* which means that a lover, absorbed in God, is indifferent to religious forms, because religion is a means of attaining union, which a true lover has already attained. If you see a lover (of mine) impious, call him not guilty, because a fighter when killed in battle is buried along with his bloody garment. His blood is more clean than water." When Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, asked him why he prays everywhere, without minding the impurity of the place, the Prophet replied, "God makes the place of my worship pure and clean for me".

Every one seeks the same goal and yet quarrels with others. This idea is illustrated by the story of four persons, a Turk, an Arab, an Iranian and a Roman, who got a *dirham* from a man, but did not know each other's language. So,

they quarrelled with each other in spending that money. The Iranian said, 'I desire *Angur*', and the Arab that he wanted *Inab*; the Turk pressed that he wanted *Uzum*, while the Roman said that he loved *Istifal*. They were quarrelling and striking each other, when a man passing from their side happened to be acquainted with their different languages, offered himself as arbitrator, took the money and bought grapes and showed to them. All came to know that the quarrel was due to ignorance of each other's language. Jalal-ud-dīn agrees with other Sūfis in believing that intellectual experience and philosophical argument are insufficient means for knowing God. It is by spiritual discipline, contemplation, purification of the heart and devotion that knowledge of God is obtained. Life or forms are gifts from the Supreme Reality and are impressed upon matter corresponding to each other and in each the life activity is peculiar. A human being undergoes a number of intermediary stages or forms until he develops perfection necessary to appear in human form, and continues further development till he reaches his maximum development. This theory of human evolution is explained in several places in the *Masnavi*. Jalal says that man experiences the different states of the mineral, plant and animal lives, passing from the lower to the higher grades till he reaches the highest summit of material development, in which he is distinguished from other creatures by his powers of judgment and foresight. He proceeds still further to higher and unknown states. According to him, man first came into the world of inorganic things and ceasing to be there, reappeared as a plant and lived for many years in that state and forgot all about his previous life, and then was raised to the animal world. He did not remember his experience in plant life, excepting an inclination towards it, especially at the time of spring, like the inclination of children towards their mothers or of a novice towards his guide. Passing from the animal state, he appears as a man. Thus, he advances successively from one state of being to another, till he becomes intelligent, strong and perfect. He does not remember his

former life at each translation. In another context, Jalal adds that after death a man comes to life again as an angel and, transcending even that stage, becomes something which no man has seen or can conceive in this life; and at last, he returns to the source from which he originated. It is to that stage the following words apply:—"I shall be the mote in the sunbeam, the glow of the morning, the breath of the evening," etc.

GULSHAN-E-RAZ.

Sad-ud-dīn Muhammad Shahbistari was born at Shahbistar, a village near Tabriz, in northwest Iran, in 1250 A.D. and died at the same place in 1320 A.D., at the age of about 70 years. He was a younger contemporary of Jalal-ud-dīn. His chief work is *Gulshan-e-Raz,* which contains 1,000 couplets. Next to the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-dīn, this work is the most authentic work on Sūfism in the Iranian language. It has been translated into Urdu, German and English (by E. A. Whinfield). It consists of fifteen questions and answers, with illustrations to each answer. Shaikh Muhammad, son of Shums-ud-dīn, has written a commentary in the Iranian language, which has also been translated into Urdu. The following is a brief summary of each question and answer:—

Question I.—What is *Tafukkur* (thinking or contemplation)?

Answer.—*Tafukkur* means to pass from unreality and to see in particulars the universal truth.

Question II.—What are the right and wrong thoughts? And how do they become lawful and unlawful?

Answer.—Right thought is to meditate on His names and attributes and wrong thinking is an attempt to know His essence. This idea is further illustrated by gazing on the sun, which is beyond the power of sight; but one may form an idea of it, in seeing its reflection in water, which diminishes the intensity of its light. In the same manner, the universe is a mirror of the Absolute Being in which unity appears in

diversity, as by counting one becomes many. One who attempts to know Him through the universe, the same becomes the book of the most high truth, in which consonants are substances and vowels are accidents. The first or opening line (emanation) is the universal reason; the second line is the Universal Soul; the third, the highest heaven; the fourth "the throne"; then the seven heavenly spheres; next the three kingdoms of nature; and last is man. He is the soul or kernel of the world.

Question III.—What is "I" and what does it mean?

Answer.—Man expresses "I" to indicate absolute existence. "I" and "you" are accidents of that existence. When we say "I", we mean our reasoning soul, when we must mean the reality which is the essence of all realities and of which both body and soul are manifestations. "I" is higher than the body and soul. Necessary being is paradise and the contingent world is hell and "I" and "you" are between them. When there is no "I" and "you", mosque, synagogue and temple are all alike.

Question IV.—Who must be a traveller (*i.e.*, a seeker of the truth, the perfect man)?

Answer.—A traveller is one who passes in haste and purifies himself like fire from smoke. His progress in journey is to pass from contingent to the necessary. In the beginning, he was an inanimate thing; then, by the addition of the soul, became sensible; in the next move, he became possessor of a will, developed in particulars and felt the universals from a knowledge of compounds; then, there appeared in him the faculties of anger and passion; and from them were produced greed, self-conceit and avarice. Thus, his evil disposition appeared in full. This was the extreme limit of his descent, directly opposite to his origin. If he remains in that state, he is equal to animals; but if he is saved by being illumined from the world of soul, retraces his steps towards ascent and gradually being purified, once again becomes one with his origin.

Question V.—Who attains the Mystery of Unity?

Answer.—One who does not halt at stations (of spiritual perfection) till he attains the secret of unity. A knower is one who sees real existence in His manifestation. He recognises only being and knows no other besides Him. When your low individuality leaves you, the reality displays His beauty in you.

Purification must be (*a*) from non-eternal and unclean objects; and (*b*) from bad dispositions. And it signifies (i) a purified *sir*, *i.e.*, heart; and (ii) non-attachment from everything other (than God).

Question VI.—If the knower and known are one, then what does this handful of dust (man) aspire to?

Answer.—Besides Him, there is no knower or known, but this dust (man) must also draw light from the sun. There is no wonder if a mote hopes and desires for the sun's light. If you can see his attributes on this day (life), you may also see his essence to-morrow (in the next life). In addition to intellect, man possesses a faculty by which he can perceive spiritual mysteries.

Question VII.—What point speaks *Anul-Huq* (I am the truth), and how do you say that so and so was a liar?

Answer.—*Anul-Huq* is a revelation of the Supreme Truth and besides Him, none can say *Anul-Huq*. You may take all atoms, like Mansur (who said *Anul-Huq*), intoxicated (in the love of God), pray and praise Him in those words; and in that sense, even a tree says "I am God"; and when a tree can say that it is a God, why not a virtuous man? "I", "We", "Thou" and "He" are all one thing, because in Unity, there is no distinction of persons.

Question VIII.—Why do you call a creature (man) *wāsel* (united)? How can he achieve the path (to the truth) and journey on it?

Answer.—Non-attachment with the world is union with God and strangeness from self is friendship with Him. When possible existence loses its contingency, nothing but the necessary is left. The existence of both the worlds is like imagination, which, even in its performance, has no real existence.

The heavens and stars at an appointed time are lost in the *not-being,* and none or nothing but the truth remains. Man attains His nearness when he is without himself. The union is the passing of the (worldly) dream, but this does not mean, that the contingent becomes the necessary, or the necessary the contingent.

Question IX.—What is *Wisāl* (union) and what is the meaning of distance and nearness?

Answer.—Near is he on whom the Divine Light is poured and distant is that *not-being* which is in distance from (the light of) God. The body is like a horse and the soul like a rider, and the reins of the body are in the hands of the soul. If a man does not possess real existence, he is neither good nor bad in his own essence. The ignorant man says "I" or "He" and attributes action to himself or to the other, which is imagination. Man has nothing of himself; his deliverance is in the power of "The All" and his richness is in the truth.

Question X.—What is the ocean, of which the shore is speech, and what is the pearl in its depth?

Answer.—Being is the ocean, speech is its shore, letters are the shells and pearl is the knowledge. The (possessor of) true knowledge has no love of the world, the tablet of his heart is clean so that you may read the book of truth in it and yourself be adorned with all virtues. Knowledge, longing, virtue, physical and heavenly beauty, all descend from the unseen world.

Question XI.—What is the part which is greater than its whole and how can one find it?

Answer.—Absolute Being is the part, greater than its whole, which is actual being. The actual being, by multiplicity, contains the Absolute Unity. The existence of the whole is plural as well as singular. The universe becomes continuously non-existence and receives existence. There is a new heaven and a new earth every moment. They perish continuously and so they are continuously re-born. Every object contains form and reality. The first is temporary and the second endures for ever in God.

Question XII.—How do the eternal and created become separated, and how did the one become God and the other the world?

Answer.—They are not separate from one another, but God is all in all and the world is like *Anqa* (an imaginary bird having a name but no existence). Duality is a pure delusion and plurality is a production from attributes (of the being in its various aspects) but the being in all of them is one.

Question XIII.—What do you mean by eye, lip, cheek, curl, mole? What are stations and states?

Answer.—Cheeks and curls are similes of those (two aspects) of a truth, *i.e., Jamāl* and *Jalāl,* or mercy and majesty, light and darkness, beauty and Almightiness, etc.

Everything in its place is good (and for the purpose it was created beautiful).

The world's beauties are likened to curl, mole and brow.

The states are:—Burning of love, intoxication and annihilation. They are not illusions (but facts) which are known by revelation and faith. Eye is languishing and intoxication; lip, the essence of being; mole represents a single centre in the circle of the two worlds.

A question regarding wine, torch, beauty and haunter and taverns is thus answered:—Wine and torch are light of the knower. Beauty is His greatest sign. In the *Quran,* we read:—"Certainly he (Muhammad) saw the greatest signs of his Lord." (LIII. 18.) A drunkard (in love of God) is better than the self-righteous. The (various) forms are like bubbles (on the ocean of being). The whole universe is a tavern and the heart of every atom is His wine-cup. Angels, reason, souls, earth and heaven are all drunken, and drink wine from the cup of the "face that endures". We read in the *Quran*:—"Every one on it passes away and there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour." (IV. 26–27.) When the heart drinks up existence at one draught, it becomes free from affirmation and negation, devotion and empty rites. The tavern-haunters

live in it, neither infidel nor Muslim, renouncing evil and good alike; sometimes, hearing the song of longing for the beloved, become like heavens. For, every time which they hear from (*Mutrab*) singer, they in ecstasy reach the other world. Are they not songs in praise of beloved, composed of words and sounds? In each tune, there is a Mystery. By drinking a cup of pure wine, Sūfis become pure in character. Then hold to the skirts of a drunkard and hate teachership and discipleship. Devotion and piety mean bondage. If you face all—low and high—idols and girdles are better for you.

Idol worship is proof of love and unity, girdle is binding one's self to divine obedience, Christianity is purification from self and freedom from the yoke of *taqlid* or blind imitation. Idols, girdles, Christianity and Church bells (are Sūfi metaphors and) indicate the renouncing of name and fame.

These questions, it will be seen, are devoted to developing ideas about contemplation; the meaning of contemplation; the reality of "I-ness" on the searcher after the truth, called the traveller; on unity; on investigation in the endeavour towards unity; on the investigation of the perfect man; on *states*; on the union of the contingent with the necessary; on the ocean (Being); on the part (Absolute Being); on the existence of things; on the investigation of the realities, etc.

INSAN-E-KAMIL.

Abdul Karim, son of Ibrahim Jili (a contraction of Jilani or Gilani, name of a province in North Iran), was born in 1365 A.D. and died sometime between 1406 A.D. and 1417 A.D. At the age of about 23, he states, he was in India. He had also been in Yemen and probably in other parts of Arabia as well. Twenty of his works on Sūfism are known and extant, among them being one entitled *Insan-e-Kamil*, or the Perfect Man. It has been translated into English by R. A. Nicholson. An Urdu translation of it is also available. A brief summary of the same is all that is possible here.

Being, according to Jili, is one in pure thought. Its external aspect is world. In its dual aspects, it is God and creatures, hidden and manifested. In His various aspects, He is called by different names, such as:—(1) *Wujud-e-Mutlaq,* or pure existence, divided into (*a*) His inner aspect called *Ama,* utter darkness beyond any description; (*b*) His outward aspect called *Ahdiyyat,* or abstract oneness; (2) *Wahdat,* or unity, divided into (*a*) attributelessness; and (*b*) reality of multiplicity. (3) *Wāhidiyyat,* or oneness, in which one is many and manifested through His names and attributes, and the result is the appearance of the universe. Thus, universe is the union of being and *not-being* and must be the subject of human study and source of his perfection. Attributes are realities objectified into the universe. Each divine *Ism* (name) and *Sifat* (attribute) has its own peculiar manifestation and one who is fully illuminated by it, attains its true knowledge, and as the effects of human qualities are seen but the qualities in themselves are not visible, so the *Musamma* (named) is hidden but known through the *Ism* (name). Below the aspect of *Wāhidiyyat,* there are two other descents, *i.e.,* (4) *Rahmāniyyat,* or mercy, which is the direct course of creation; and (5) *Rububiyyat* (Sanskrit, *Īśvara*), rule or providence which upholds existence. Being and *not-being,* God and universe, are not two independent existences, but one and the same, as water and ice, one the make-up of the other. The universe is a collective manifestation of His names and attributes, represented in the most diminutive form in the human being. It may be called accident, if God can be considered a *hayula* or substance. He is beyond any limitation, even in attributes and names excepting in the external aspect, in which He appears limited and in diverse forms. There was no beginning of creation as considered separate from the creator. Time is born when the reality is considered in its two aspects of (*a*) beyond human conception; and (*b*) manifested aspect. Everything is God in the sense that it exists by Him. One may explain Him in *Tashbih* or as revealing in the forms of the universe, or *Tanzih,* as considered

above any likeness, but He cannot be separated from His creatures. He manifests Himself upon Himself. His chief attributes, as seen from different standpoints, are:—(i) *Jamāl*, beauty—by which everything in the universe is beautiful; (ii) *Jalāl*—power, majesty; (iii) *Kamāl*—perfection; (iv) *Hayāt*—life; (v) *Ilm*—knowledge; (vi) *Irādah*—will, divided into nine manifestations, the last being *Isq*, the purest love in which lover and beloved become one; (vii) *Qudrat*—power; (viii) *Kalām*—speech; (ix) *Sami*—most hearing; (x) *Basir*—most seeing.

Each divine name gives a certain illumination to the human heart, by which that aspect of the human being is purified and changed into the effect of the divine name. In the higher stage, attributes affect the heart, and illumine it according to its capacity and purity. Some are affected by the attributes of life and become one with life in the universe, others with knowledge, and so forth.

The perfect man is present at all times under different names; in him, all divine attributes are manifested. He is illumined by divine names and in his turn illumines the world with life and virtue. He is the divine copy, or image, a mirror in which divine attributes are fully attributed. He is intermediate between the Creator and creatures. The divine attributes reflected in man are called *trust* and are thus mentioned in the *Quran*:—"We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they declined to bear it, and were afraid of it, but man (accepted) and bore it and he was cruel (to himself) and ignorant (of its great value)." The perfect man, in brief, is the life and soul of the world. He need not make himself known to the people of the world but his very existence brings virtue and harmony in the world. He is the pole round which revolves the universe. In his essence, he is *ruh* (soul), called by various epithets, such as *Haqiqat-e-Muhammadi* (the essence of Muhammad), *Alqalam* (the pen), *Aql-e-awwul* (the first intelligence), *Ruh-ul-Quds* (the pure soul), etc.

Man is composed of (*a*) Body or form, as his outer self;

(*b*) Spirit, or soul, as his inner life; (*c*) Consciousness (*Sirr*); and (*d*) *Ruh-ul-Quds*, the divine aspect, which is thus referred to in the *Quran*: "I breathed of my *ruh* in him." The consciousness of self with *Ruh-ul-Quds* is the spiritual perfection of man, and the meaning of *Know Thyself*. The Divine Throne (*Arsh*) is considered to be borne by eight angels, and so are the eight human faculties. *Aql* (intelligence) is divided into:—(1) *Aql-e-awwul*, or the first intelligence, or *Aql-e-Kulli*, or the universal intellect; (2) *Aql* or ordinary intelligence, which is possessed by man; (3) *Wahm*, emotional faculty or judgment; (4) *Fikr*, reflection; (5) *Khiyal*, imagination or retention of forms perceived; (6) *Mussaverah*, form perception; (7) *Hafizah*, memory; (8) *Zākerah* recollection; and (9) *Nafs*, soul.

Heart is the throne of God in man. It is the temple or Ka'aba, the receptable of His reflection, the faculty by which the human being is distinguished from other creatures. It is like a mirror, one side facing the Divine Being and reflected by His illumination, and the other, its unillumined portion, is called its back. Man's highest spiritual perfection is attained when the face and the back of his heart become illumined. It is the only faculty which is capable of attaining the knowledge of God. Jili's classification of the human soul in its various aspects is the same as stated by other Sūfis, *viz.*, (*a*) *Nafs-e-Haivani*, animal soul; (*b*) *Nafs-e-Ammārah*, commanding soul (the cause of passions); (*c*) *Nafs-e-Mulhama*, inspired soul; (*d*) *Nafs-e-Lawwamah*, self-reproaching soul; and (*e*) *Nafs-e-Mutma-innah*, tranquil soul.

An astrological comparison of the human faculties is given in detail by Jili, but it is more a fiction than anything like logical truth. Thus, according to him, Mercury corresponds to *Fikr* or reflection; Venus is *Khiyal* or imagination; the Sun is heart; Mars corresponds to *Wahm* or emotion; Jupiter is *Himma* or meditation; while Saturn is created from the light of the first intelligence. Besides these, there are heavens of *Hayula* (matter), *Haba* (atoms), *Anasir* (elements), and *Tabia* (Nature).

Jili mentions the following religions or schools of intellectual and spiritual development:—Idol worship, element worship; philosophical belief; Dualists; Magians (fire worship); Naturalists, Brahmins, Jews, Christians and Muslims. All these believe in God in some aspect. Even those who say that they do not believe in God, really believe Him in some other name. Idol worshippers worship Him in all His forms and believe that He pervades everything. Each is satisfied in his own way. The following passage from the *Quran* bears testimony to this fact:—"Each party rejoices in that which is with them." (XXIII. 53.) Thus, all in reality worship Him alone and, therefore, they will finally be saved. One sooner, perhaps, than another, who is misled and succeeds after a period of suffering.

NAFAHATUL-UNS.

Nur-ud-din Jami (1414–1492), was one of the greatest poets, theologians and Sūfi scholars of his time. His ancestors migrated from Dasht (near Ispahan) and settled at Jam in Khorassan. He was a voluminous writer and has written on various subjects both in prose and poetry. Among his numerous works are the following:—

(1) *Nafahatul-uns,* a biography of Sūfi saints, often quoted by European and Eastern authors.

(2) *Ashatul-Lama'at,* a commentary on Iraqi's *Lama'at* (on Sūfism).

(3) A book on Music.

(4) *Baharistān,* a work in imitation of Sadi's *Gulistān.*

(5) *Silsalutaz-Zahab,* a work in imitation of Sanai's *Hadiqa.* This is a work on Sūfism and morals.

(6) *Lawain'e,* a commentary on *Fususul-Hikam* of Ibn-e-Arabi. This is another work on Sūfism.

(7) *Naqdun-nusus,* a commentary on *Nusus* of Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi—another work on Sūfism.

(8) *Lawāch* which has been translated into other languages, of which an English translation has been issued by E. H. Whinfield and Mirza Mohammad Kazvini. It is

devoted to Sūfism, in which Jami was most interested. It is divided into thirty *Lawāeh* or flashes.

Muslim philosophy is divided into *Ishraqi,* or those who emphasise intuitive reason as the chief source of knowledge, and *Mashshai,* or those who depend more on the senses and intellectual reasoning. In the same manner, the Sūfis are divided into the school of *Hama-ust* (All He is) and *Hamaaz-ust* (All is from Him). The methods of expounding the Sūfi doctrine are as indicated below:—

(1) Through parables, anecdotes and illustrative stories, in which the most celebrated authors are Sanai, Farid-ud-dīn Attar, Jalal-ud-dīn Rumi, etc.;

(2) Through long lyrics such as *Nizami*; and

(3) In a systematic, philosophical and speculative manner in which Ibn-e-Arabi, Shabishtari (the author of *Gulshan-e-Raz*), Jami and Qunavi excel.

Jami's *Lawāeh* is based on passages taken from the *Quran* but treated in harmony with philosophy. Muslim Sūfism is distinguished from the mysticism current in Europe and India, by indicating its close relation to the *Quran* and the tradition from the Prophet. Its ascetic teaching is shown as resembling exactly neither Christianity nor with the Vēdānta of India, both of which believed in celebacy. Muslim ascetics, though they lived in seclusion, yet had families and children. Among the most celebrated Sūfis was Abdul Qāder Gilani, who is known to have been the father of a very large number of children.

The following is a summary of the *Lawāeh*:—

Lāyeha I (or flash I).

God has given man a single heart so that he may love one God alone.

Lāyeha II.

Tafriqa (distraction) means attachment to the objects of the world, and *Jam'ayyat* (collection) is non-attachment from all and contemplation of Him alone.

Ḷāyeha III.

Do not turn your eyes from Him and fix on other than Him.

Lāyeha IV.

Everything besides Him must decay and come to an end. Passions and desires are vain. Detach your heart from them and attach yourself to Him, because He alone is eternal.

Lāyeha V.

God is the absolute beauty and every beauty and perfection visible in any form is a ray of His beauty and perfection.

Lāyeha VI.

Although man as possessing body is most material, but having a soul is most pure and, therefore, to whatever aspect he turns, he becomes one like it (either most material or immaterial and spiritual). The philosophers say that when *Nafs-e-Nātiqa* (human real self) is illumined with realities, it becomes one like Him, and Jalal-ud-dīn says in his *Masnavi*:

> "O brother! thou art thought, if thine thought is a rose, thou art a rose bouquet, and if a thorn, thou art (fit to be) fuel for fire."

Therefore, you must strive to hide yourself from your own sight and turn to an existence to which the whole existence is nothing but a reflection of His beauty and mirrors His perfection. You must face Him till you are lost in Him and your *Auul-Haq* (I am the truth) becomes *Hu-vul-Haq* (He is the truth).

Lāyeha VII.

Your heart never be empty of His thought. Think of Him in going, coming, eating, speaking, hearing and sleeping.

Lāyeha VIII.

Not only in action you must remain one with Him but also in spirit by detachment from the world, till your self-consciousness is lost and nothing but He alone remains in your heart.

Lāyeha IX.

Annihilation is the complete passing of your inner self under the light of the true existence, so that the consciousness

of other than Him is lost and annihilation of annihilation is the loss of the consciousness of annihilation.

Lāyeha X.

Unification is the purifying of your heart from all things other than truth. It does not mean believing in one God. It means identifying yourself as one with Him.

Lāyeha XI.

So long as you are attached to the objects of the world, the communion with Him cannot be attained. When you give up (passions), you will enjoy contemplation.

Lāyeha XII.

When the true seeker begins to feel pleasure in meditation of the Supreme Being, he must endeavour to strengthen such feeling in him (so that it may become his nature in course of time).

Lāyeha XIII.

The essence of *Haq* (the truth) is being, unaffected by manifested plurality, unknowable, beyond human perception, even the eyes of the heart cannot contemplate on His perfection.

Lāyeha XIV.

Existence means:—

(i) The state of being, or existing in thought.

(ii) The real being, the truth, and in this sense, the life substance, is His accident, because existence is due to Him, and if not renewed unceasingly, universe becomes nothing.

Lāyeha XV.

The divine attributes are separate from Him in thought but one with Him in reality, in the sense that they do not form a separate existence or, in other words, His names and attributes are His various aspects.

Lāyeha XVI.

The real being is pure unity. In His first manifestation, when He revealed Himself to Himself, the attributes of *Ilm* (knowledge), *Nur* (light), *Wujud* (existence) and *Huzur* (presence) were realized. In the second and third descent,

they were multiplied. Their multiplicity caused perfection of the manifestation and concealment of the essence, which is more concealed when manifestation becomes more diverse and visible.

Lāyeha XVII.

The first *tayyun* (descent), named *Ahdiyyat,* is simple potentiality. When considered as conditioned by modes and qualities, it is called *Wāhidiyyat* or singleness, in which the attributes of *Ilahiyat* (divinity) and *Rububiyyat* (sovereignty) are predominant and the forms in which the real being is conceived with these names are *Haqāyaq-e-Ilāhiyya,* or divine realities. The apparent covering of the reality by them does not cause multiplicity of existence. Substances are parts of the whole *Wāhidiyyat* (unity), whether manifested in *Ālam-e-arwāh* (the world of spirit), or *Mithāl* (ideas), or *Ghaib* and *Aql* (or unseen and abstract), or *Hiss* and *Shahadat* (sense and observed), in the past, present and future. The sum of all qualities manifested in any form, spiritual or material, is contained in His unity.

Lāyeha XVIII.

When we subtract the various individual characteristics, the individuals are distinguished in their particular species, these, if further subtracted, are grouped into the genus *animals,* and they into bodies having the capacity of growth, and they again into a substance, and substances including accidents into contingent, and the same together with "necessary" into one absolute, existed by itself. All the said distinction becomes His aspects and modes, as ideas in His knowledge and as forms in the sensible world. There is one real being; when clothed in the attributes, it is manifested in diverse forms (such is the realistic view of Jami).

Lāyeha XIX.

What we see in multiplicity does not indicate parts of one whole, but the qualities inherent in it, which do not affect its oneness. The Supreme Truth possesses knowledge of all beings as cause must know its effect.

Lāyeha XX.

Manifestation or concealment does not affect its essence, (just as the sun illumines both the clean and unclean objects, without being itself affected).

Lāycha XXI.

The Absolute does not stand in need of the relative, except for its manifestation, but the relative needs it for its existence.

Lāyeha XXII.

Existing things are either emanations of the Being in relation to external colouring or the very Being Himself with the same relation in a way that realities are always hidden in the inner depth of the Being and their sensible qualities are manifested to the outward sense. Thus, everything is either Being itself or Its accidents manifested. In the case of the latter, it must be the quality of the manifested Being and, though it may look different from the thing qualified, really both are same.

Lāyeha XXIII.

The Supreme Being affects the whole existence, though His names may be different and His attributes may exist in different degrees, just as the sun shines in different degrees of heat and light. Some rays are more intense while others are weak, and in each degree, a name may be given for distinguishing them. Among His great names, if one uses the (sacred) names *Allah, Rahman* or *Rahim* (merciful) to any other than Him, which must remain special to the Supreme Being, he would be committing a sin. In the same manner, the names applied in grades of creatures must not be applied to God, which is delusion.

Lāyeha XXIV.

The true Being is one, but considered in His various degrees, is distinguished by different names such as the following:—

First, He remains unmanifested, pure and abstracted from all relation. He is in the dark and cannot be explained in any way in this stage.

Second, called the first *Taayun,* or emanation, or *Aql-e-kul,* or the Universal Reason, possessing in Himself the active and necessary manifestation.

Third, called *Ahdiyyat, Nafs-e-kul* (the Universal Soul) contains the active manifestation which is called *Ilahiyyat* or divinity (corresponding to the Vēdāntic *Īśvara*).

Fourth, manifestation in detail, called *Wujub,* necessary, when names are manifested.

Fifth, passive manifestation, called *Marateb-e-Kauniya-e-Imkāniyya,* in which impressions (or forms) are received and is called the degree of contingency.

Sixth is the detail of the above and is called *Ālam,* or the world.

The last two are the exterior aspects, in which the Supreme Being is revealed in form of substances.

Lāyeha XXV.

The different aspects, when viewed as beyond limitation and multiplicity, is the one Truth, but if considered in different views, appear diverse and in variety. Thus, the world is the exterior manifested aspect of the Truth, while He Himself is unseen in the reality of the universe. The Truth is identified with the Universe after its manifestation and the world is identified with the Truth before its appearance.

Lāyeha XXVI.

The Shaikh (Ibn-e-Arabi) says that the world is composed of accidents related to a single substance. Everything in the universe is continuously changed and renewed (though the true substance remains unchanged). The *Ashari* school (of scholastic philosophy) agrees that nothing is permanent in the universe, while the *Hasbaniya* school considers that the true substance is present in everything; it may be a substance or an accident. The views of both these schools are not correct. The *Asharis* are wrong in holding the independent existence of numerous substances, on which accidents depend, while the *Hasbaniyas* are not correct in denying divine manifestation in forms and accidents. The truth lies in His continuous revelation, which is fresh at every moment (and

gives a new life to the world). The first revelation is not the second and so on with the others. Every revelation is new under the guise of His names of *Jamāl* (beauty) and *Jalāl* (glory or terribleness). These names are manifested without cessation and on the whole appear as formed in one continuous link. Thus, every moment the universe is born, annihilated and re-born again. It is a continuation of accidents (manifesting from a single essence). Everything appearing as substance to an accident, finally becomes accident to the single Truth. Hence, there is only one real substance which is the Supreme Beauty, concealed in the thick veils of various emanations, with the qualities of *ayān-e-thabetah*, or fixed ideas, dwelling in His knowledge. The exterior objects are reflections of these fixed ideas, and always remain a *not-being*. Real existence and its manifestation is the One Truth, clothed with the qualities and effects of *ayān-e-thabetah*, and it remains unaffected in His essence which is Perfect Unity.

Lāyeha XXVII.

All apparent qualities, states and actions must be assigned to the Being manifested in those aspects. If any imperfection (evil) perceived in them is due to deficiency of good or something which ought to have existed in it. The philosopher believes evil to be a relative term, as in the case of a murder, the murderer deprives a man of his life, which means he prevents the perfection of his life.

Lāyeha XXVIII.

According to Shaik Sadr-ud-dīn Qunavi, the difference in the degrees of knowledge is due to the difference in quantity received by a substance, *i.e.*, a substance which receives existence in a perfect degree, can possess the knowledge in the same degree of perfection. It depends upon the strong or weak influence of necessity or contingency. If the influence of necessity is stronger, existence and knowledge of that substance become better manifested and the same is the effect of the influence of contingency. Some Sūfis believe that all existent things possess the quality of knowledge, which is

classified into:—(*a*) *Ordinary*, found in natural objects, for example, water, which flows always in descent (from the higher level to lower) and finds its way out by flow; and (*b*) *Higher knowledge*, gifted to human beings. Thus, all existent things possess knowledge in some form.

Lāyeha XXIX.

The truth is within the substance of all existent things and so the substance remains in truth. In like manner, His attributes are inherent in the qualities of substances, for example, knowledge is known to the knower. The *Wijdani* (ecstatic) and *Zauqi* (mystic) knowledge are identified with the same kind of knowledge. The essence, in this way, pervades all entities.

Lāyeha XXX.

The divine mystery is revealed in:— (*a*) Inward and subjective revelation called *Faiz-e-Aqdas* or *Aql-e-kul* (the Universal Intelligence); and (*b*) Outward or objective revelation, called by Sūfis as *Faiz-e-moqaddus* or *Nafs-kul*. The second revelation is the emanation of Being into the substances and is His manifested aspect.

Such, in brief, is a general view of *Lawāeh-e-Jami*, which, in its summarised form, may not be quite clear to the reader, though it is to be hoped that enough has been said to create an interest in it.

SŪFISM IN INDIA.

India is one of the five great centres of Sūfism, the other four being Iran (including Central Asia), Mesopotamia, Syria and North Africa. Among the earliest Sūfi saints of India was Moin-ud-dīn Chishti, who, born at Chisht in Seistan (East Iran), lived for a long time in Khorassan. He was a great traveller and had met a large number of Sūfi saints, such as Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani and others. He followed the army of Shahab-ud-dīn Ghouri in 1192 A.D. and settled at Ajmer, where he founded the famous Chishti order. Among his famous successors were Bakhtyar-e-kaki, (who died at Delhi), Shaik Farid-ud-dīn Shakar Gung (who

died at Pakpatan), Nizam-ud-dīn Aulia, the Pir of Amir Khusroe, Ala-ud-dīn Ali Ahmad Saber, and Shaik Salim, the contemporary and most respected Pir of Emperor Akbar who died in 1572 A.D. and whose name was bestowed on Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahangir. The order declined for sometime, but was revived under the leadership of Nur Muhammad (who was originally a Rajput) towards the end of the eighteenth century. Other popular orders of Sūfis in India, as already stated, were:—Qaderi, Suhrawardi, Shattāri, Naqshbandi, with their numerous branches, and the so-called *Be-sharā* order, whose peculiar features are indifference to religious rituals and a low type of ascetic exercise. Among the Princes of the Timurid family, several were interested in the Sūfi movement, for instance, Prince Dara Shukoh, son of Emperor Shah Jahan (who was executed in 1659). He was a devoted husband, a sincere friend, an earnest seeker of the truth and a lover of his motherland (India). He studied Sūfism and Indian Vēdāntism and endeavoured to show the similarities existing between them. He caused translations to be made of the *Rāmāyana,* the *Bhagavad-Gītā,* the *Upanishads* (under the title of *Sirr-ul-Israr* or Secret of the Secrets) and the *Yōgavasishta.* He declared the difference between Sūfism and Vēdāntism as verbal and that in their highest aspects, they were practically identical. He compared both the systems in his work entitled *Majmaul-Bahrain* (The Meeting of the Two Oceans). He considered the *Vēdas* as sacred, and as a divine work, and engraved the word *Prabhu* on his ring. After his execution, his friend and guide, named Sarmad of Kashan (Iran), was also executed by order of Emperor Aurangzeb. The next Sūfi was Princess Zibun-Nisa Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, who was followed by the last of the Moghal Emperors known to history, Abuz-zafar Bahadurshah, who has left several volumes of Urdu verses, most of them enumerating, or giving expression to beautiful and high Sūfi principles. His views are melancholy and pessimistic. Indian Sufism is a mixture of Muslim-Hindu thinking and, sad to state, it has, in the last two

centuries, degenerated largely into superstition. The spirit has been lost; only the shell remains.

Decline of Sūfism.

The Sūfi movement started with ascetic and pious life; developed into a system of philosophy in which ethics was greatly stressed; and it gradually degenerated into speculation, semi-religious ceremonies, a kind of brotherhood, a source of inactive and easy life, a means of begging, a cause of revolution, a way of deceiving gullible, illiterate and simple-minded people. Of course, this description is subject to large exceptions. Sūfism reached the zenith of its influence—organization and systematisation of thought—between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. Among the causes of its decline are:—(1) It could not go beyond a certain limit of thinking, which reached its highest stage under Ibn-e-Arabi, Rumi, Shibashtri and other Sūfis, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D. Their successors had to elaborate or repeat the same ideas in their own language. (2) Later speculation, in which imagination had large play, made the subject far too difficult and confusing for ordinary students to follow. (3) The rise and spread of Western civilization over the East, which encouraged scientific research and correspondingly discouraged speculative thinking, and theorizing. (4) The rise of the Safavids and the social and religious revolution that occurred in Iran. (5) The advance of Russia into Central Asia and the break-up of the Muslim power in Bokhāra and Khiva, the two great centres of Sūfism on the Continent of Asia. (6) The march of European influence in North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, which had given scope for the spread of Sūfi thought. (7) The collapse of the Moghal Empire in India and the introduction of English education, which has had an adverse effect on the growth of the older types of learning.

Possibilities of Its Revival.

There are, however, possibilities of a revival of Sūfism

to-day. The extreme type of materialism is bound to end in a reaction towards spiritual and ethical life.[70] In Iran, the Bahai movement, in its true spirit, was a kind of Sūfism. But there are signs to-day of the revival of Sūfism in a purer form and in a more modern form. A few books on Neo-Sūfism have already been published, such as *Rahbar-e-Nizad-e-Nau* by Husain Kazimzadah, an Iranian scholar, who, since the Great World War of 1914, has been settled at Berlin. This type of Sūfism, based as it is on pure philosophical argument and moral purity, without attachment to any creed or religion, may become popular in the future. There is a small work by Zaka-ul-mulk (Mirza Husain Khan) entitled *Kulba-e-Hindi* (Hindu Home), in which the observation of an English traveller giving expression to Hindu thoughts is narrated in the form of a story. India may lead the whole of Western Asia, provided the vast moral and philosophical treasure lying hidden in Sanskrit, is translated, commented upon and explained in Iranian and Arabic and other more important Asiatic languages.

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[70] *Cf.* with what Sri Krishna says in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati Bhārata |
Abhyutthanam adharmasya tad ātmānam sṛjāmy aham ||

i.e., "Whenever there is decay of *dharma*, O Bhārata, and rising up of *adharma*, then I myself come forth." (Chap. IV. 7.)

CHAPTER XII.

MUSLIM SCHOLASTICISM.

Scholasticism in its First Stages—The Murjite School—Subdivisions among the Murjites—Later Progress of the Murjites—Subjects Treated by the Scholastics—Two Schools of Scholastics—The Motazala School—Some Other Motazala Schools—Still Other Motazala Schools—Their Vicissitudes and Final Disappearance—Motazala Theology—The Ashāera School—The Position of the Ashāera School—Their Doctrine—Their Fundamental Principles—Four Other Fundamental Principles—Exponents of the Ashāera School—Abul Hasan Alī—Abu Bakr Baqilani—Abu Ishaq Isferaini—Abdul-Malik Juvaini—Muhammad Sharastani—The Mataridiya School—Imam Fakr-ud-dīn Rāzi—Hujjatul-Islam Imam Muhammad Ghazzāli—His Differences with the Philosophers—His Views and Doctrines—His Conception of God and His Attributes—His Great Popularity—Abdul-Razzāk—Shah Valiyullah of Delhi—The Basis of Scholastic Teaching—The Service Rendered by the Scholastic Scholars to Islam—Subjects Dealt with by the Scholastics—Other Miscellaneous Scholastic Schools and Sects—A Review of Scholasticism.

Scholasticism in its First Stages.

The life of the Prophet, after the announcement of Islam, is divided into two periods:—(1) The Meccan period, in which he and his followers were oppressed by the Quraish; and (2) The Medinite period, when the Prophet was engaged in the double task of crushing the aggressive Quraish by the force of arms, and in subduing and pacifying the Jews and the anti-Muslim party of Medina, partly by the use of arms and partly by persuasion, kindness and argument. He used to discuss with them various subjects such as prayer, fasting, *Qublah,* or the direction to face in prayer, freedom of will, the soul, resurrection, certain Jewish and Christian legends, law of inheritance, punishment for fornication, etc. The mosque of the Prophet was both a place for offering prayer and for holding meetings. When Syria, Egypt and Iran were

conquered and a large number of Muslims settled there, they lost direct touch with the two great centres of Islam, *i.e.*, Mecca and Medina. The inhabitants of these two cities, particularly the companions of the Prophet, who had devoted their time to the study of religious questions in the light of the teaching inculcated in the *Quran*, became authorities on the subject. Muslims from distant countries accordingly came to them to solve their difficulties in problems relating to religion and religious practice. Gradually, a school of traditionists came to be formed in the two sacred cities. When later Baghdad, Basra and Damascus also became centres of learning, this school became bifurcated into:— (1) Pure theologians, who confined their studies to the *Quran* and the tradition. These interpreted the *Quran* with the help of tradition, generally in a literal sense. (2) Scholastics, who made their formal appearance, when Muslims came into contact with the non-Muslims of Syria, Egypt and Iran. They came to be grouped into different political parties, each condemning the other. With the rise of philosophical studies among Muslims, *Kalam* became what may be called philosophical theology.[71] Its beginning was due to different motives. It was meant to defend Islam against the criticism of non-Muslims and heretics, but it became a semi-philosophical study under the influences of the time. The subjects usually treated under this head became gradually more metaphysical than religious. Like Sūfism, the start was made from the good intention of knowing the truth, to which reconciliation of faith and reason was later added. The future Kharijites' earliest appearance took place, under the leadership of Musailama, as an anti-Muslim movement, or as a protest against the Quraish ascendency, just before the death of the Prophet. But it was put down by the first Khalif. It appeared, a second time, as a movement with the same motive, but apparently as a protest against the excesses and usurpation of authority by the Umayyads. The result

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[71] *Al-Kalam* may be translated as Scholasticism.

was the murder of the third Khalif. The third rising took place against the fourth Khalif. He defeated the ringleaders, but after a short time was himself assassinated in his mosque by a Khariji. The Kharijites continued to oppose all the Umayyad Khalifs but never succeeded in the attempt to overthrow them, as the Muslims in general were not inclined to support their views. The movement, which originated with a political aspiration, developed into a religious body with the following as its guiding principles:—

(1) The Khalif must be elected and be responsible to Muslims. He need not be of the Quraish descent. Any Muslim, even a slave, can be elected and remain Khalifa, so long as the people were satisfied with his rule; if not, he might be deposed or even killed. Some extremists among them did not like to have any common head and were content with a dictator whenever they needed.

(2) A Muslim who does not perform regularly his prayers and observe the fasts and other rituals is no better than a *Kafir* (infidel).

(3) A Muslim, if he has committed a sin and dies without repentance, deserves eternal punishment in Hell.

(4) All those Muslims who do not agree with Kharijites ought to be considered as infidels, whom the Kharijites must fight and destroy.

Against the Kharijite extremists, a new sect was formed under the name of Murjites, in Syria and Mesopotamia, and this sect attracted to itself a great number of followers. The original Kharijite movement gradually shrank to a corner of South-east Arabia, but re-appeared in the modified form of Zahirites, whose chief writers were Ibn-e-Hazam in the West and Ibn-e-Taimiyya in the East. Both these were celebrated scholars. The present Wahabis may also be said to belong to the Zahirite school. They may be termed the Puritans of Islam. Though, on certain points, the Murjites did not differ from the Kharijites, they held independent views and are therefore classed to-day as a separate sect and treated as opposed to the Kharijites.

The Murjite School.

The principal articles of faith of the Murjite sect may be stated briefly to be:—(1) Muslims must worship and serve God alone and must not associate any being with Him; (2) All Muslims are members of Islam; (3) All non-Muslims are equal in their wrong beliefs; (4) Doubtful questions such as disagreement between the early companions and the claims of several men for the office of Khilafat, etc., must be left to Divine judgment. Those companions, whom the Muslim public consider sinners, may be forgiven by God or in truth may not be guilty, though misunderstood by others; (5) A Muslim must not fight against a Muslim, except in self-defence; (6) Good intention, though followed by wrong action, will have its own reward; (7) God's will is above human will; (8) The first four Khalifs were all good. (This statement is against the Kharijite version, who condemned the third and the fourth Khalifas); (9) Man must be judged by God alone for punishment or reward; (10) The apparent submission to the laws of Islam with no faith in Islam, is of no use; (11) If there is faith, sins may be forgiven, except *Shirk* (infidelity).

Subdivisions among the Murjites.

The Murjites were divided into several subdivisions with minor differences between them. According to Abdul Kathir of Baghdad, they were divided into:—(1) Believers in faith and free-will such as Ghailan of Damascus, Abu-shāmvi and Muhammad, son of Abu-Shabib of Basra; (2) Believers in faith and *Jabr* (or compulsion), *i.e.*, those who hold that man does not possess freedom of will; (3) Believers in faith, who hold faith as most essential and above action, *i.e.*, faith is pre-eminent to action. Imam Abu Hanifa was inclined towards this last school. He rejects eternal punishment and holds that faith consists in expressing with the tongue and believing in the heart.

Later Progress of the Murjites.

Jahm, son of Sifwan, who was killed in 748 A.D., was among the noted leaders of Murjites. Murjite ideas were taken up by other schools of theology, and reached their greatest complexity during the Khilafat of Abbasides, when Muslims in general were divided into:—(1) Those who sought the truth through *Naql,* or tradition, and devoted their time to collecting traditions and studying the *Quran* in a literal manner, thus becoming orthodox theologians; (2) Those who combined *aql* and *naql* (reason and dogma) and endeavoured to reconcile these two. These became known as *Mutakallamim* (speakers) or scholastics. Some of them were deep scholars and original thinkers; (3) Those who followed *aql,* or reason, were called *Hukuma* or philosophers; (4) Those who were content with piety and ascetic life and devoted their time to self-purification and sought the truth through *Kashf* (revelation), *Jazba* (raptures) and *Wajd* (ecstasy). These became Sūfis. All these schools were affected by the characteristics of their age, *i.e.,* philosophy, which was studied by all educated classes. Each endeavoured to reconcile its views on the one hand with philosophy and on the other with Islamic teaching, and sought support from texts found from the *Quran,* which each interpreted according to his own standpoint. None of these movements, however, originated under any foreign influence. They were, each of them, the result of activity of the human mind, which is found in all countries, among all nations and followers of all religions.

Subjects Treated by the Scholastics.

According to Sharastani, the following subjects were dealt with by Muslim scholastics:—

1. The universe is not eternal.
2. Existing things have a beginning.
3. Unity of God.
4. Denial of anthropomorphism.
5. State of things.

6. Matter.
7. Divine attributes.
8. Divine will.
9. Divine knowledge.'
10. Divine speech.
11. Divine hearing.
12. Divine seeing.
13. Divine vision (by man).
14. Meaning of the terms, 'commendable' and 'culpable'.
15. Divine action.
16. Prophetic office.
17. Miracles.
18. Mission of the Prophet (of Islam).

Besides the above, they also wrote on the eternity of the *Quran*, the resurrection, Divine justice, inspiration or revelation, faith, predestination, repentance, promise and threats (in the *Quran*).

Two Schools of Scholastics.

On all these subjects, the scholastics were divided into two chief schools of thought and these two were again subdivided into a larger number, these mostly differing on minor points. The two chief schools were:—(1) Motazala; and (2) Ashāera.

The Motazala School.

The Motazala called themselves the party of unity (*Tauhid*) and justice (*Adl*), and based their doctrine on knowledge, discernment and reflection, supporting themselves on texts of the *Quran*.

The following are its fundamental principles:—

(1) God alone is eternal.

(2) His attributes are identical with His being.

(3) The words—face, hands and eyes of God and His sitting on the throne—must be taken in a metaphorical sense.

4. Divine speech (the *Quran*) is created and expressed in letters and sounds and revealed to the Prophet in time,

in place, and in the local language. The miracle of the *Quran* is in its teaching and not in its language.

5. Thing is a concept that could be known.

6. *Wujud* (existence) is a quality in matter. It may or may not be in it, but by its addition *madum* (nonentity) becomes *maujud* (entity). Thus, things are either entity or nonentity, state or relationship.

7. God must not be described by any concrete quality, in any form.

8. Man has free will and is the author of his action and, therefore, liable to punishment in hell, if he does evil, and is deserving of reward in paradise, if he acts virtuously.

9. Evil cannot be referred to God. It is human.

10. God is just and justice is indispensable with Him. Towards man, justice is His animating principle.

11. God does good alone.

12. There are no eternal laws for human action.

13. Knowledge is attained through reason, which is a power distinguishing between good and bad, between the real and the not-real. If reason judges an action to be good, it is good, and if evil, it is evil. Distinction between good and bad is within the power of human reasoning.

14. Knowledge of God is attainable through the intellect.

15. Excepting God, everything is subject to decay, change and destruction or death.

16. That which accords with reason and wisdom is justice.

17. God does not predestinate man's action.

18. A Muslim guilty of great sin and dying without repentance, will be eternally damned.

19. One must not obey the law of religion without reflecting and knowing its truth. Theology should be subject to investigation and based upon rationalistic foundations and logical conclusions.

20. They did not agree with orthodox Muslims in the exaltation of seven chief divine attributes of will, power, knowledge, life, hearing, seeing and speech, as separate

qualities, because they considered such differentiation a sort of polytheism.

21. They rejected the idea of the *wali* (sage), which involves belief in one Muslim enjoying special privilege by performing miracles and wonderful deeds, on the ground that if one Muslim can do this, the others must be able to do the same.

22. They deny the vision of God as believed in by orthodox Muslims.

23. They did not recognize the idea of intercession of the Prophet on behalf of guilty Muslims on the day of resurrection, and considered that man does not stand in need of a mediator to reconcile him with God and that each man will be judged according to his deeds.

24. They admit that Moaviya, the first Umayyed Khalif, including Talha and Zubair and other companions of the Prophet, who rebelled against the fourth Khalif, were wrong in their action.

25. The Muslims agree that a man who commits great sin deserves to be called *fājir, i.e.,* an unchaste man or adulterer, but differ on the significance of this word. The Kharijites considered a *fājir* equal to an infidel, while the Murjites admitted him to be a believer but a sinner. Wāsil, the leader of the Motazala school, said that a *fājir* is neither a believer nor an unbeliever. Such a man must be placed in a special category. *Etizal* (from which the word Motazala is derived) means seclusion, *i.e.,* those who differ and form a separate class from other schools of Muslim theology.

The Motazala school was divided into a large number of subdivisions, such as:—

1. *Wāsiliyya*—the followers of Wāsil, son of Ata (753 A.D.), of Iranian origin. He expounded the following doctrines:—(i) The attributes of God cannot be considered in any way as separate entities; (ii) The Prophet (and not God) was the author of the *Quran,* though he uttered it under Divine influence; (iii) Reason is higher than tradition;

(iv) Man possesses free-will. The position of a Muslim, who commits a grave sin, is between that of an infidel and a Muslim. Among Muslims who fought on the side of Alī and those who took the side of his opponents, one party must be on the right side and the other wrong. Both cannot be right as suggested by some theologians.

2. *Huzailiyya*—the disciple of Huzail-al-Allaf of Basra, who lived for about a hundred years and died in 857 A.D. He is considered the earliest among the Motazilite scholastics who has left a very large number of works bearing on the tenets of the school. Most of his works are lost. He was gifted with the power of speech and was a well-known dialectician. He could argue and convince a very large number of non-Muslims about the truth of Islam. He was receiving a pension of sixty thousand *dirham per annum*, which he used to distribute among scholars. In his views, he differs from other Motazala scholars, including his teacher Wāsil, in a number of disputed points, such as theodicy, free-will, morals, etc. The following, in brief, is his doctrine:—(i) God.—Against the common Motazala views, he recognises the Divine attributes, not as separate entities, but as identified with God's essence. He is known through knowledge and knowledge is His essence. His will to create is creation itself and distinct from the created objects. (ii) Divine speech, *i.e.*, the word *kun* (be) is the same with creation, but not limited to any place. (iii) Human free will is admitted only in this world, but not in the eternal life. (iv) Every being must have a beginning and an end. The world is a process of changes. Its end is unchangeableness, which means rest. It was at rest in God and again must end in eternal rest. All motions will cease and men reach a state of repose, which will be happy for some and painful for others, according to their deeds. (v) Man must die at a distinct hour. (vi) It is man's duty to reflect and know God and virtue is attained by rational argument. Those who fail in this deserve punishment. (vii) Knowledge, though imparted by a teacher, must be instilled into the mind of a pupil by God. (viii) The

power of action is granted to man by God, at the time of action. (ix) At all times there are men and women gifted by Divine mercy and protected from committing sin, and these may be trusted and followed. (x) Among his works, there is one entitled *Five Fundamentals, i.e.*, justice, unity of God, promise, the *vád* of the *Quran,* and warning or threat (*váeed*), and the intermediate state. Under these, freedom of will, the Divine speech (*Quran*), the Divine attributes, predestination, the state of a Muslim sinner, etc., are discussed.

3. *Nazzamiyya*—followers of Ibrahīm, son of Sayyar, known as Nazzām (died about 835 A.D. or 845 A.D.), a theologian, philosopher and a voluminous writer. He is considered a great authority on scholastic philosophy. He studied *istidlal-bil-aql min jihat-al-qiyas-wan-nazar* (*i.e.,* Speculative Theology) under Abu Huzail, and soon established his own school. He opposed alike Naturalists (*Dahri*) and Manichæists, but in doing so he himself had to agree with certain philosophical principles which were not acceptable to orthodox Islam. Therefore, he was accused of being a *Dahri.* His arguments on religious problems are intellectual. The *Dahris* or Naturalists taught the eternity of the world. According to An-nazzām, however, God is the creator and mover of matter, though He himself is immovable. God cannot be compared to anything. He is *Munazzah* and above everything. The office of the Prophet is not restricted to a nation. It is universal. He did not agree with the Hanafi school of theologians who based their opinion of theological problems on *qiyas* (analogy) and *rai* (opinion). Nazzamiyya's doctrine, in brief, is:—(i) Without seeking help of a revelation, man can recognise the Creator and distinguish between good and bad by reflection and self-study. (ii) The human spirit is a fine substance flowing in body, resembling the existence of oil in flower. (iii) God can do only good for His creatures, either in this or in the next world. He cannot do evil because He is not Himself evil. (iv) God's will is His knowledge. (v) Man lives

above Nature. (vi) God created things at once, but they are manifested in time. Therefore, things which appear in future exist hidden in Nature. (vii) The miracle of the *Quran* is in its precepts and in its description of the unseen world, and not in the beauty of its style, which could be imitated by others. (viii) The successor of the Prophet (Muhammad) must be appointed by God. (ix) Certain accidents may be considered as substances, such as, light in a body or fragrance in a flower. These, when separated, extend beyond the body to which they are attached. (x) He denied the existence of *Juze-la-yatajazza,* or indivisible things (atoms) and believed in the unlimited divisibility of matter. (xi) Substance is a compound of several accidents. (xii) Existence is a quality bestowed by God on lifeless atoms.

Some Other Motazala Schools.

Mámar, son of Abbad (*d.* 842 A.D.), was also a great Motazala scholar. He holds that human conception cannot be true in defining or explaining God's attributes. What we may think is not necessarily true. The universe is created as a whole by God, which means God has created substances, and accidents spring naturally from them and are permanent in the several species of things to which they belong. His followers are called *Ashab-e-maani,* or idealists. Thumameh, son of Ashras, considered matter as eternal. God, according to him, created the world by His nature, which means, the Divine Being, by His nature, is compelled to produce the world as the light of sun shines by its nature and not by intention.

Bishr, son of Mutamir (*d.* 848 A.D.), says that infants are not liable to punishment in hell, because they could not act on free-will. He was the first known Muslim scholastic who expounded the theory of *Tawallud, i.e.,* action through an agent, or interaction of bodies, such as, the movement of the key in the hands, which is the result of the possessor's will. Thus, in effecting a result, there may be one agent or a number of agents. He also believed that people who

could not meet a Prophet and had no knowledge of revelation could guide themselves by the light of nature.

Ahmad, son of Haet, a pupil of Nazzām, admitted that Jesus would judge men on the Day of Judgment. He divides men into those who are virtuous, who will be rewarded with Paradise; and those who are wicked, who will be punished in Hell; and those whose deeds are a mixture of good and bad, such people being made to return to this world either as men or as some animals till they are purified. This is the Muslim theory of transmigration which some other schools of Motazalas accepted with certain modifications. He thus divided life into:—(1) The world of senses; (2) The first Paradise or the state in which souls exist before taking the form; (3) The world of punishment; (4) The Paradise in which the virtuous enjoy physical pleasures; and (5) The Paradise in which the virtuous enjoy spiritual happiness.

Abu Alī Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahhāb known as Jubbai, a native of Khuzistan (South-west Iran), studied under Yusuf Shahham of Basra and died in 916 A.D. He composed a work on *Usul* (Fundamentals) of the Motazala doctrine and wrote polemical treatises against Rāwendi and Nazzām. He also wrote a commentary on the *Quran* in the Khuzistani dialect. He and his son Abu Hashim differed on several points with the other Motazala scholars. Jubbai believed that God creates His speech whenever and wherever He pleases, that speech means independent sounds called letters, and the speaker is one who causes such sounds, without sounds being a part of his nature. Like other Motazalas, he regarded the attributes of God as identified with His essence. His son Abu Hashim (*d.* 933 A.D.) was the founder of a school known as *Bahashmiyya* and among his followers was the celebrated minister Ibn-e-Abbād. He is noted for his theory of the condition and moods through which he wanted to reconcile his father's views with those of the orthodox by saying that Divine attributes are neither separate nor one with His essence, but are conditions (*Ahwāl*) of phenomena.

Amir, son of Bahr, known as Jahiz, the great theologian,

author, philosopher and literary man, died in or about 877 A.D. His arguments on scholastic subjects are based upon experience and historical facts. He did not believe in speculative deductions. He says that bodies possess certain qualities and the destruction of a substance is impossible. As God does not possess a form, His knowledge is impossible for man. He is just and therefore cannot be the cause of evil. A Muslim, not intellectually perfect enough to reflect and know his God, and yet believes in Him as his Creator and Lord through religious teaching and follows Muhammad as His Prophet, is blameless. Good and evil are connected with a human being, for which he alone is responsible. Jahiz believed in the eternity of matter and was regarded by orthodox Muslims as a free thinker.

Abul Hasan Khayyat considered *not being* as a kind of being and all substances as present in the state of being and *not being.*

Hisham, son of Amir, was the founder of Hishamiyya school. He emphasised, more than other Motazala scholars, the doctrine of free will, to the extent of saying that faith is not granted by God, as stated in the *Quran,*[72] but gained by human endeavour and understanding. He also rejected the idea that God seals the heart (of unbelievers) and asserted that evil is due to human defect and tendency towards evil, on the plea that if evil and good are held to originate from God, man would become irresponsible for his deeds. He says that the proof of God's creative power may be inferred and understood from bodies (substances) and not accidents.

Still Other Motazala Schools.

There were a number of other Motazala schools. Unfortunately their ideas are not systematised into separate schools of thought by Muslim writers, as philosophical writers in Europe or India have done in analogous matters. Most of

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[72] "And He made faith dear and ornamented the heart with it."

their writings are lost and the remaining left in a confused condition.

Their Vicissitudes and Final Disappearance.

In brief, Motazalas believed and endeavoured to solve the doctrine of Islam by reason and reconcile it with rationalistic views, but could not satisfy the masses, who were unable to follow philosophic arguments. They had two great centres, *i.e.*, Basra, where Ibrahim, son of Sayyar, known as Nazzām, Muammar and Hisham, son of Umar, lived; and the Baghdad school which was founded by Bishar, son of Muammar. Bishar was persecuted by Khalif Harun, but protected by his son Mamun. Mutawakkil, the tenth Abbaside Khalif, was an orthodox and so, under him, Motazala learned men suffered. A revival, however, took place at the hands of Ibn-e-Rāvendi, who was more inclined towards Shiahism, but once again the revolt of Ashāera became a serious obstacle to the growth of Motazala doctrine. The Baghdad school gradually disappeared and the Motazala doctrine was merged in the Zaidiyya. The last great Motazala writer was Zamakhshari (*d.* 1160 A.D.), and finally, after the invasion of the Moghals, the Motazala school of thought disappeared.

Motazala Theology.

In short, Motazala theology may be said to centre round five fundamental principles, *i.e.*,

(1) Strict monotheism or unity of God. There cannot be any kind of resemblance between the Creator and His creatures.

(2) His attributes are one and the same with His essence.

(3) He is omnipresence but cannot be perceived by the senses. His *mahiyya*, reality, is hidden and may be perceived by a sixth sense, which must be granted by God.

(4) The bodies in the universe are composed of atoms, as considered by the majority of Motazala thinkers. They are indivisible in entities. The real man is a substance

possessing the attributes of life, knowledge, power and will. The body is his instrument. Creation is divided into that which moves or acts through *Zarurat* (necessity), and that which enjoys free will, for example, a human being. The physical world is divided into substance and accidents or atoms and bodies.

(5) There is nothing to prevent God from doing injustice, but He does not, because He is just by His nature.

With regard to the controversial question of the Khilafat, some Motazalas considered the accession of the first Khalif legitimate, but they did not base that view on any Divine revelation. He was superior in merit to the second Khalif and the second to the third, and the third to the fourth, but some gave preference to the fourth over the other three and some said that the fourth was superior to the third but not to the other two. Sins were classified into *kabir* (grave), and *saghir* (petty). God may forgive *saghir.*

The Ashāera School.

Intellectual argument was at the very root of the Motazala system. They followed one aspect of the teachings of the *Quran* and could not explain the other apparently contradictory texts. Their method of argument was highly objectionable to the orthodox theologians and, therefore, a new school of scholastics under the lead of one Abul Hasan Ashari was formed and became known as Ashāera, whose object was to satisfy the masses. They selected a middle path between philosophy and orthodoxy, and thus Muslim orthodox scholasticism succeeded the rational one, influenced by the Ashāera doctrine. Both the Motazala and Ashāera schools quote passages from the *Quran* in support of their views. The following passages are held to be in support of the Motazala school:—

1. "Whatever good comes to you, it is from God, and whatever evil befalls you, it is from yourself." (Ch. IV. 79.)

2. "And whoever commits a sin, he commits against his own soul." (Ch. V. 3.)

3. "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends (all) vision." (Ch. VI. 104.)

4. "When their doom is come, they shall not delay or go in advance (even) for a moment (hour)." (Ch. VI. 34.)

5. "We did not do them injustice, but they were unjust to themselves." (Ch. XI. 101.)

6. "The day shall come when every soul will plead for itself and every soul shall be paid for what it has done and they shall not be treated unjustly." (Ch. XVI. 3.)

7. "Whoever goes aright, he goes aright for his own soul, and he who goes astray, he goes astray for himself, nor can the bearer of a burden (sin) bear the burden (sin) of another." (Ch. XVII 15)

8. "Everyman's action clings to his neck." (Ch. XVII. 13.)

9. "This (the *Quran*) is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds. The faithful spirit has descended with it, upon your heart (O! Muhammad) that you may be of the warners" (reference to the creation of Divine speech, *i.e*, *Quran*).

10. "Whoever strives, he strives only for his own soul." (Ch. XXIX. 6.)

11. "Whoever disbelieves, he shall be responsible for his disbelief and whoever does good, they made (good) for their own souls." (Ch. XXX. 44.)

12. "And in your souls, will you not see (reflect) that man shall have nothing but what he strives for, and his striving shall soon be seen (by him)?" (Ch. LIII. 39.)

13. "Have We not given him (man) two eyes, and a tongue and two lips, and pointed out to him the two conspicuous ways (of good and bad)?" (XC. 8–10.)

14. "(God) does not lay on any soul except to the extent to which He has granted (wisdom to) it. He who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it (reward) and he who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it (punishment)." (XCIX. 7–8.)

While the *Ahle-naql,* or the traditionists, were content with translating the texts of the *Quran* in a literal sense, the *Ahle-Tanzih* considered God different from all human conception and could not tolerate His relation in any form with His creatures and believed Him to be something different from *not-God* who must remain always a mystery to man. As Hafiz, the Sūfi poet, says: "Neither has anyone solved nor will solve this mystery through philosophy."

While the Motazala school created a rational theology and interpreted the *Quran* in the light of philosophy, the Ashāera took up the new standpoint of:—(1) refuting the Greek and Oriental philosophies on their own ground, *i.e.,* by philosophical argument; (2) asserting and proving the Islamic doctrine by the dialectic method; and (3) refuting the older religions, *viz.,* Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Manism, and the newly founded and developed sects of Kharijites, Shiahs, Ismailiyyas, etc. The task was, no doubt, difficult and grand, but the Ashāera leaders proved themselves equal to the task and made a good stand. On many points, they succeeded in defeating their rivals and originating several new and independent theories unknown, perhaps, both to the Greek and Eastern philosophers. Both looked upon the Greek and Iranian philosophies with contempt and wrote books in defending Islamic theology and refuting Greek thought. Among such writers were:—(1) Ibn-e-taimiyya, who wrote a work in four volumes; (2) Nazzām, a Motazala scholar, wrote a refutation of Aristotle; (3) Jubbai, also a Motazala, wrote against Aristotle; (4) Abul-Barakat; (5) Imam Rāzi; and (6) Imam Ghazzāli.

The Position of the Ashāera School.

The Ashāera were the true defenders of orthodox Islam. Their views in the beginning were a modification of Sifatiyya, or Mushabbiha, who believed in the Divine attribute as eternally inherent in His essence without separation or change, and interpreted such words as face, hand, etc., mentioned in the *Quran* in their literal sense, but gradually drifted to

moderation and stood between the rationalist doctrine and orthodox theology. Their object was to stop excesses on both sides. They refuted the Motazala views, while modifying the orthodox doctrine. Like the Motazalas, they based their views on the *Quran* and quoted its texts in support of their own views.

Their Doctrine.

Their doctrine, in brief, is:—

(1) God does whatever He pleases. His existence and essence are identical; (2) He is sovereign and Lord of existence; (3) Whatever He wishes and commands, is just; (4) What is obligatory is to be distinguished from what is necessary; (5) Secular knowledge may be gained by reason, but reason cannot point out the real good; (6) God's attributes are distinct from His essence, in a way that a similar comparison cannot be instituted between God and His creatures; (7) From His eternal will, both good and evil proceed; (8) When man desires to do a certain thing, the power corresponding to his desire is granted by God. Thus, though apparently it is done by man, it really is subject to God's will. This action is called *Kasb* or acquiring, because, it is acquired by a special creative act of God. The great Ashari scholar, Abu Bakr Baqilani, says that the substance of action is the effect of the power of God, but its qualities or accidents proceed from ceatures. Actions are created by God, but man may acquire the various forms of activity; (9) God's vision is possible but not with physical eyes; (10) God is not in need of space or place; (11) Things are neither good nor bad in their essence, but become bad or good, when fixed so by the law of religion; (12) God can command impossibilities; (13) God's justice is not in the sense adopted by man. He may punish man for good action and reward for bad deeds; (14) God may do whatever He pleases with His creatures. No law, including justice, can limit His action; (15) He must be known through religion and not by reflection or rational argument.

THEIR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

The following are the fundamental principles of the Ashāeras, as stated in their short creed:—(16) God has settled upon His throne as He says in the *Quran*:—"The Beneficent God is firm upon His throne." (Ch. XX. 5.); (17) He has face as in the *Quran*:—"And will endure the face of your Lord." (Ch. LV. 2.); (18) He has two hands as in the *Quran*:—"What prevented you that you should do obeisance to him whom I created with my two hands." (Ch. XXXVIII. 75.); (19) He has knowledge; (20) He has power; (21) He has seeing and hearing; (22) His speech is uncreated; (23) He created the universe by the word *Kun* (*Be*); (24) All good and bad come from God; (25) He guides some towards right belief and leads astray others to be misguided; (26) Good and evil, fortune and misfortune happen according to *Qaza* and *Qadar, i.e.,* destiny and decree; (27) The *Quran* is the God's speech, uncreated and eternal; (28) God will be seen on the day of judgment by the believers, but not by the unbelievers, as in the *Quran*; (29) Those who believe in the unity of God and call themselves Muslims, but commit sins and are indifferent to the laws of Islam, are not counted as unbelievers; (30) Through the intercession of the Prophet, God will release some from the punishment of hell; (31) The Muslim faith consists in the uttering of the words:— "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet and action (prayer, fast, etc.)"; (32) Paradise and Hell are created; (33) Man dies at the appointed hour as stated in the *Quran*:—"And no one, whose life is lengthened has his life lengthened, nor is aught diminished of one's life, but it is all in a book." (Ch. XXX. 5–11); (34) Men are tempted by *Satan* as declared in the *Quran*:—"But Satan made them both fall from it and caused them to depart from that in which they were." (Ch. II. 36.)

FOUR OTHER FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

In brief, besides the principles above mentioned, the Ashāeras follow four other fundamental principles:—(1) God

and His attributes.—One, ancient, not a substance, not a body, not an accident, not in space or time, visible, eternal; (2) His other attributes:—Life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, seeing, speaking, not affected by anything. His work is eternal, His knowledge and will are eternal. (3) His works.—(*a*) He creates the action of creatures; (*b*) Creatures' deeds are (*Muktaseb*) acquired from Him; (*c*) He wills all that is done by His creatures; (*d*) He creates and originates; (*e*) All are indebted to Him; (*f*) He may command men to do the impossibilities; (*g*) He may punish the innocent; (*h*) He is not bound by anything as good (for creatures); (*i*) A Muslim is bound by Islamic doctrine which permits or forbids an act to be or not to be done; and (*j*) Muhammad is the messenger of God, whose claim is proved by the miracles performed by him. (4) *Samiyyat*, or hearing, is thus described:—(*a*) Day of resurrection; (*b*) Munkar and Nakir, the two angels, will appear to the dead man or woman after his or her burial, and question on the terms of Islamic creed; (*c*) The punishment in the grave; (*d*) Balance, in which virtue and vice will be weighed on the day of judgment; (*e*) The bridge (*sirāt*), over which all mankind must pass on the day of judgment; (*f*) Existence of Paradise and Hell; (*g*) The companions of the Prophet hold rank according to the service they have done to Islam. Thus, Abu Bakr, the first Khalif, is the highest after the Prophet; next is Umar; then Usman and Ali; (*h*) *Imamat*, or succession, must be accepted under the specified terms; and (*i*) If there is no "Imam" with the required condition, the *de facto* ruler must be obeyed.

Exponents of the Ashāera School.

The Ashāera school produced a very large number of learned scholars, such as, Abul Hasan Asha'ri, Abu Bakr Baqilani, Abu Jafar Simāni, Imam-ul-Harmain Abul Māli, Fakhr-ud-dīn Rāzi, Sharestani, Isfaraini, Idji, Jurjani and so forth. It is beyond the scope of this work to give detailed accounts of the lives and doctrines of all these teachers, but

a few words may perhaps be included about some at least of them.

ABUL HASAN ALĪ.

Abul Hasan Alī, son of Ismaīl, known as Asha'ri, being a descendant of Abu Musa Asha'ri, was born at Basra, and died at Baghdad in about 936 A.M. (or 558 A.D.), at the age of 63. He was a pupil of Abdul Wahhab Jubbai, the Motazilite scholar. However, not satisfied with the Motazala doctrine, he established a new school of thought, which was a compromise between the extreme orthodox views and Motazala rationalism, which was called, after his surname, as Ashariyya. He was a voluminous writer and wrote, it is said, about a hundred books on theology, tradition, commentary on the *Quran* and Muslim scholasticism (*kalām*). Out of these, only five books have survived. His contemporaries and co-thinkers in Egypt were Rahāvi and in Central Asia, Mātardi, but both were eclipsed by Ashāeri's followers. Among his anti-Motazala views are:— (1) God and His attributes, which Motazalas rejected as separate from His essence, because they affect His unity, Ash'ari modified by saying that His attributes exist, but cannot be compared with the corresponding human qualities. (2) Man's freedom of will, insisted upon by Motazala, was rejected by him and he asserted that God is the only Creator. He creates everything, including the actions of His creatures. Things in themselves possess no power, such as fire, of burning an object; the power is granted by God. He introduced the word *Kasb* (acquisition) which became common among Ashāera scholars, by which, he meant that man acquires power of action by a creative act of God or his power of action is previously created by God and also choice of action. Without affecting the action itself, man is only the subject of action. Thus, a compromise is made by asserting God's complete creative power and man's limited responsibility. (3) *Wajud* (existence) was thought a quality of *Maujud* (existed), but Asha'ri said *Wajud* and *Maujud* are one, which means *Wajud* is *ayn, i.e.,* the reality, or the self of the entity.

(4) The word of God is eternal and the words used in the *Quran* are the manifestation or concrete form of the same. Hence, the *Quran* in origin is eternal, but when descended upon the Prophet it became created. (5) Man cannot attain the knowledge of God through reason, and so, he must follow the Revelation.

Abu Bakr Baqilani.

Abu Bakr Baqilani (*d.* 1025 A.D.) was the pupil of Asha'ri and a great authority on Asha'ri's doctrine. Among the ten categories, he accepted *Jauhar* (substance) and *Kaifiyyat* (quality); as to the others, such as *Makan* (place), *Zaman* (time), *Kamiyyat* (quantity), etc., these were called *e'tabar*, or relationship, and so were held by him to have no real existence. He rejected the Aristotelian idea of matter and its receiving forms, and established the theory of *khila* or existence of perfect vacuum and *Jauhar-e-ferd* (atoms), which is in everything including time and space. These atoms are continuously created and annihilated by God. He said that substance is a unit in itself, and accident cannot exist in accident, *i.e.*, quality cannot subsist except in a substance.

Abu Ishaq Isferaini.

Abu Ishaq Isferaini, a well-known scholar of theology, who became famous during his life-time in Central and East Iran, has written many works. Among these is one on the refutation of the Naturalist position (*Mulhadin*). He died in 418 A.H. (or 1040 A.D.), and was buried at Isferain. As an Ash'ari scholastic, he made the following observations: (1) Action is a compound of God's will and man's doing; (2) God's word is eternal, but the language of the *Quran* is created. (3) Man cannot gain knowledge of good and bad through his reason alone, and hence he must follow all revealed commands. (4) Moral laws affecting man cannot be applied to God. (5) Man cannot prove that the virtuous will be rewarded and the wicked punished in the next life. (6) Man must approach God as a slave, having no knowledge to judge His decrees.

ABDUL-MALIK JUVAINI.

Abdul-Malik Juvaini, born in the year 419 A.H. (1041 A.D.), died at Tishnigan, a village near Nishapur, in 478 A.H. (1100 A.D.). He studied under his father and then went to Abul-Qasem Iskāfi and by living between Mecca and Medina, became known as Imam-ul-Harmain. Then he returned to Nishapur, where he was appointed as a director of the Nizamiyya College, in which post he continued for about thirty years. At his death, he left four hundred distinguished scholars as his pupils. He was included among Ashāera theologians, though he had some independent views also. In the following view he agreed with the Ashāeras:— Man has no power to produce his actions but can acquire them. In the following views, he sided with the orthodox, modifying their views:— (i) Intercession of the Prophet; (ii) The Prophet's ascent to heaven; (iii) His miracles; and (iv) The coming of the Anti-Christ, etc. He agreed with the Motazalas (Rationalists) in the following:—(i) Creation is coming into being through the Supreme Power; (ii) Every effect has a cause and God is the Supreme Cause or Cause of all Causes.

MUHAMMAD SHARASTANI.

Muhammad, son of Abdul Karim Sharastani, is chiefly noted for his work *Milal-van-Nahl,* often referred to and quoted by European authors. It is a work on the various schools of Greek and Muslim thought, and religions and sects known in his time. He was born in 467 A.H. (1089 A.D.) or 479 A.H. (1101 A.D.). He died in 548 A.H. (1190 A.D.). He is included among Ashāera scholars and the following is a summary of his views:—(1) God's attributes are eternal and subsistent in His essence, but not His essence. (2) His speech is eternal and so is His will, which, unlike what we can imagine, embraces all things. (3) He wills all things morally good, evil, beneficial and injurious. (4) His decrees and determinations are unchangeable. (5) Human

actions emanate from God. (6) Nothing can be obligatory upon Him by virtue of reason. (7) He does what He wills.

The Mataridiya School.

Among the other two schools, similar in some respects to the Ashāera, was the Mataridiya, originated by Abu Mansur of Matarid, a village near Samarqand. He did not agree with the Ashāeras on several points. Among them were the following:—(1) God cannot be unjust. (2) The quality of creating is not the thing created. (3) Man possesses *Ikhtiyar* (choice) over his action. (4) Good comes from God but evil is not by Him and therefore *taklif* (responsibility) has been imposed on man, for which he is punished or rewarded. (5) God never imposes a task which is impossible. (6) Faith (belief) neither decreases nor increases. (7) Repentance is accepted even when the guilty is sure of his death. (8) Conception of a thing through the senses is not knowledge itself but means of knowledge. (9) *Iman* (faith) must be the result of man's investigation and conclusion so that he may be sure and say *I believe*, and not *I believe if God wills.* (10) The happy may become miserable, and the miserable happy; and change from happiness to misery does not make one happy or miserable.

Mataridi's other important points, as given in the articles of belief of Najm-ud-din abu Hafs, known as *Un-nasafi*, are:

1. Sources of knowledge are:—(i) *Havās* (senses). (ii) *Akhbār* (news), through tradition and revealed books. (iii) *Aql* (reason); *Iktesabi* (by inference); *Badāha* (intuition).

2. The World. It is created and composed of:—(i) *Ayns* (substances) classified into: (*a*) *Basit* (Simple) essence (or *Jauhar*); (*b*) *Murakkab* (compound), such as body. (ii) *Araz* (accidents or attributes) dependent on bodies or essences.

3. God—the Originator and Creator of the world—is the one, the eternal, the knowing, the hearing, the seeing,

the willing, the decreeing, etc. His *sifat* (attributes) are *Azali* (eternal), existing in His essence, such as, knowledge, power, life, hearing, seeing, doing, strength, creating, speech.

4. The *Quran*. It is the uncreated word of God.

5. God and Man. There is vision of God for man.

6. Human action. Human action is created by God, whether good or bad; so also, belief or unbelief, vice or virtue.

7. God's actions. It is not necessary for God to do that which man thinks *aslah* (best) for himself.

8. *Iman* (faith). *Iman* means *tasdiq* (confession or assent) to whatever comes from God.

Imam Fakr-ud-din Razi.

The other two great writers on the Ashaeri doctrines are Imam Fakhr-ud-din Razi and Imam Ghazzali. The former was a follower of the Shafai school of theology and one of the most celebrated scholastics and theologians. He was born in 544 A.H. (1166 A.D.) and died in 606 A.H. (1222 A.D.) at the age of 62 years. He is chiefly noted for his opposition to pure philosophy, on which he wrote several books. His predecessors had modified the idea of human free will into the theory of *Kasb* or acquisition, though they asserted that all actions are created by God. Razi, however, openly declared that man does not possess any free will. Likewise, he said that God's action need not be according to the human standard of justice and wisdom. The body is not necessary for existence and for vision colour, sides for the body are not needed and likewise qualities for things, cause for effects, etc. He rejected several most important points in philosophy.

Hujjatul-Islam Imam Muhammad Ghazzali.

Hujjatul-Islam Imam Muhammad, known as Ghazzali, was born in 450 A.H. (1072 A.D.) and died at the age of about 55 in the year 1127 A.D. At the age of 34, he became so famous for his ability and learning that Nizam-ul-mulk, the Seljukid minister, appointed him Professor at the Nizamiyya College of Baghdad. Though he did not live long and

a part of his life passed in wandering and seclusion, he proved a voluminous writer. His works, as enumerated, are some seventy in number, among which some are standard works on Ethics, Theology, Philosophy, Logic and other subjects. Among these are:—(1) *Al-manqaz-min-az-zalal* (Saviour from error) translated into the French; (2) *Tahafatul-filsafa* (Destruction of Philosophers), a refutation of philosophy commented upon by Mun in French; (3) *Mizan-ul-amal,* a treatise on logic translated by M. Goldenthal; (4) *Ahyaul-ulum* (Revivification of the Science of Religion), which treats of ethics, etc., on which M. Hitzig has written notes; (5) *Wajiz,* bearing on theology; (6) *Mahkun-nazar,* on logic; (7) *Meyarul-ilm,* also on logic; and (8) *Maqasadul-filisafa,* a treatise on logic, natural science, metaphysics, etc. (translated into German).

His Differences with the Philosophers.

As Ghazzāli himself observes, he sought the truth through various means. He started with Theology and Scholastic philosophy and, not fully satisfied with the result, he turned his attention to the Ismailiyya or Batiniyya doctrine, according to which man can know the truth through a spiritual and sinless teacher alone. After sometime, he was disgusted with their theories and turned his attention towards pure philosophy. He could not agree with the philosophers on the following points: (1) Their assertion that the world is beginningless. (2) Their assertion that the world is endless. (3) Their insincerity in admitting that God is the maker of the Universe. (4) They cannot prove the existence of God. (5) They cannot prove the existence of His unity. (6) They do not recognise His attributes. (7) They cannot prove that He has no body. (8) They cannot disown the fact that they may be, according to his views, considered atheists. (9) They cannot prove that He has cognition of His essence. (10) They are wrong in their assertion that God is not aware of details in creation. (11) They are wrong in asserting that spheres move with intention and will. (12) Their

explanation of the cause of heavenly movement is wrong. (13) Their rejection of miracles cannot be substantiated. (14) They cannot prove that the soul is a substance, which is neither a body nor an accident. (15) They cannot prove that the soul is eternal. (16) They are wrong in denying the resurrection of the dead, etc. He asserted that the world is an instrument in the power of God and moves by His will. He considered that philosophers have derived their ethics from Sūfism. On many other points, he did not agree with the philosophers and at last sought the truth through Sūfism, which, as he admits, satisfied his inner yearnings. He based his doctrine, as other Muslim scholastics had done, on God as Supreme Will, the Supreme Thought, who created man a compound of matter and soul, which has been breathed into man by God. As the *Quran* declares it: "He began the creation of man from dust. Then He made his progeny from an extract of water held in light estimation; then He made (his body) complete and He breathed into him of His spirit." (Chap. XXXII. 7. 9.)

His Views and Doctrines.

Thus the human soul is spiritual and abstract. It is neither in nor out of the body. It is a shadow of the Universal Soul, bearing likeness to God Himself. He believed that the earth is a globe situated in the centre of the solar system. On many points, he agreed with the Ashāeras and therefore he is included as one among them, but on certain other points he differed from them and was inclined either towards philosophical views or Sūfism. For instance, he believed that means or causes are indispensable in existence, though finally God is the true means or cause of every effect. He did not agree that the good or bad of a thing cannot be known through reason and argued that in such a case, a true religion or a right view cannot be distinguished and preferred to one which is considered wrong or inferior, because in itself it is neither good nor bad. Ashāeras believed that the creation of the world has no reason nor any good in it. It was

created because God willed so, but Ghazzāli believed that the creation of the Universe was with a certain object and end. He explained the existence of a thing in five ways:— (1) Existence in essence, *i.e.*, real and external; (2) Existence in senses, as in dreams or imagination; (3) Existence in thought, as a man after seeing a thing closes his eyes and sees it (while his eyes are still closed); (4) Mental existence; and (5) Similar existence, *i.e.*, we imagine a thing to have possible existence similar to the one which we see.

His Conception of God and His Attributes.

With regard to *Tashbih*, or comparing God's attributes with corresponding things in Nature, Ghazzāli believed that God does not resemble bodies. He is not a substance, nor are substances in Him. He does not resemble anything nor anything can resemble Him. The words occurring in the *Quran*, such as God's hand, eyes, etc., should not be interpreted in a literal sense. God is "nearer to man than the artery of his neck", yet above and exalted over everything. His nearness is not similar to the nearest of bodies. In explaining the position of a Prophet, Ghazzāli starts with the evolution of human beings and says that man is born ignorant but gradually develops intellectually and reaches his maximum of perfection. At first, the faculty of touch is manifested; next, sight, hearing, taste and smell; and finally, the power of distinction between things. There is yet another faculty which is extraordinary and gifted to a few, by which they perceive things, which an ordinary mind cannot perceive. Therefore, their speech and actions are extraordinary and followed by others. All bodies are similar in essence but differ in development. The Prophets understand certain secrets in Nature, which is not possible for ordinary men, and hence their actions in some cases appear supernatural. That the same is impossible to others is due to their ignorance and incapacity. The soul perceives things and perception is a quality or accident which must exist in a substance. It cannot exist by itself. Its substance is soul. As soul is not

body, it cannot be described and, therefore, it is named in the *Quran* as "the command of God". The punishment or enjoyment in the next life is mental. Each man must see the result of his own actions. When we say, man will be punished for his sins, we mean he will see the result of his actions. He is not punished by God but by himself. If a man is bitten by a snake, he dies. It would be absurd to say why poison has affected him. The Prophets are spiritual physicians and they guide and cure us from our mental and spiritual diseases. The resurrection of the dead need not be in the same body but in any body. Ghazzāli believed that man retains his thinking power after his death and so, he writes in his work *Maznun,* that a man after death will enjoy or think himself miserable, in a manner similar to his experience in the world. His system of ethics is based on the teaching of Islam. He begins with the story of human nature, the activity of the mind and the senses. The real self is connected with the body through the spirit, which is a subtle vapour-like substance spreading all over the body. There are two hearts, one the centre of the body, which keeps up the circulation of the blood, and the other, the centre and the source of spiritual activity. Both are called *Qalb.* The spiritual *Qalb* possesses the qualities of will, power and knowledge, and these are manifested by the faculty of *Idrāk* or apprehension. The five mental faculties, according to Ghazzāli, are:—*takhayyul* or imagination, *tafakkur* or reflection, *tazakkur* or recollection, *hāfiza* or memory, and *hisse-mush-tarik* or a common sense. Animals, though they possess some of these faculties, have no reasoning power, which is called *aql,* or the intellect. It is man who possesses intellect and thus he is distinguished from animals. The intellect is the cause of human progress. If a man enjoys this gift of Nature in its perfection, he realizes the ultimate realities and rises to the rank of angels. But if his soul is overcome by passion and lust, his intellectual activity is weakened and gradually he sinks to the level of animals. Ghazzāli's *aql* is not the intellect in its ordinary sense. It is a divine entity by itself.

His Great Popularity.

Ghazzāli was the last great Iranian scholastic. Although the Mongolian and Saffarid periods produced many scholastic writers in Iran, Turkey, Egypt and India, none attained to his popularity. Ghazzāli wrote twenty theses bearing on the views of philosophers, theories on the eternity of the world, God's knowledge, God as prime cause operating through necessity, the law of causation, etc. He rejected the belief in the senses and the undisputed accuracy of intellectual conclusions. The result of his writings was the triumph of theology over philosophy in Islam.

Abdul-Razzāk.

During the Saffarid period, Mulla Abdul-Razzāk Lahiji, a pupil of Sadr-ud-dīn, known as Mulla Sadra, wrote a work entitled *Gauher-e-Murad,* on scholastic philosophy as viewed by Shia doctrine. It is divided into several discourses and subdivided into a number of chapters. Among the subjects treated are:—

First Discourse.—(1) On knowledge and perception. (2) Forms and bodies. (3) Heavenly bodies, elements, etc.

Second Discourse.—(1) Soul and its various aspects. (2) God, His essence and attributes, action, cause and effects, predestination, angles, *jin,* etc. (3) Goodness and evil in deeds. (4) Inspiration. (5) The Prophet. (6) *Miraj* or ascent of the Prophet. (7) *Imām* and his position. (8) Miracles by saints.

Third Discourse.—(1) The different views concerning soul. (2) The world of similitude. (3) Punishment and reward in the next life, etc.

Shah Valiyullah of Delhi.

In India, according to Shibli Nomani, Shah Valiyullah of Delhi was the most authentic writer on theology, in which *Kalām* was also included. He was born at Delhi in the year 1214 A.H. or 1836 A.D. Among his more important works

is *Ḥujjatullah-e-bāligha,* in which he writes on:— (1) Human responsibility (for good and bad actions); (2) The uniformity and unchangeability of the divine law; (3) The reality of the soul; (4) Reward and punishment; (5) Day of Judgment; (6) The world of similitude; (7) The office of the Prophet; (8) The origin and unity of all religions; (9) The cause for apparent differences in religions; and (10) The necessity of a religion which must be most perfect. The world of similitude (*Misāl*) is a world in which beings are not material but move, ascend and descend, and are not visible to our eyes. The miracle of the *Quran* is not in its literary beauty and perfection, but in its teaching.

The Basis of Scholastic Teaching.

Like Motazala, all Ashāera scholars have based most of their argument on passages of the *Quran.* Among these are the following:—

God's Pleasure.

1. "And if God had pleased, those after them would not have fought one with another." (Ch. II. 253.)

2. "Thou (God) givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest, and takest away the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest." (Ch. III. 25.)

3. "And if a benefit comes to them, they say: 'This is from God'; and if a misfortune befalls on them they say: 'This is from you'. All is from God." (Ch. IV. 78.)

"He forgives whom He pleases and punishes whom He pleases." (Ch. V. 18.)

"And if God had pleased, they would not have done it." (Ch. VI. 138.)

God controls all things.

On Destiny.

"God enlarges bounty to whom He wills." (Ch. XIII. 20.)

"Nor is there anything not provided beforehand by us, of which we send down according to a fore-known decree.

Surely we have created everything according to a measure." (Ch. LIV. 49.)

"No evil befalls on the earth nor in your souls, but it is in the book before we bring into existence." (Ch. LVII. 22.)

God is Omnipotent.

"God is the king of the heavens and the earth. He forgives whom He pleases and chastises whom He pleases and God is forgiving, merciful." (Ch. XLVIII. 14.)

"Thy Lord does whatever He pleases."

Good and evil come from God.

"And God guides into the right path whomsoever He will."

"If He had so willed, He would have directed all of you (towards virtue)."

"Thou lead astray whom Thou wilt and dost direct whom Thou wilt."

"Those who are polytheists say, if God had willed, they would not have been idolaters (associated other Gods with Him)." (Ch. VI. 149.)

Resurrection of the dead in bodies.

"Is not He able to give life to the dead?" (Ch. LXXV. 40.)

"And forgets his own creation. Says he: Who will give life to the bones when they are rotten? Say: He will give life to them who brought them into existence at first." (Ch. XXXVI. 78. 9.)

"Does man suppose that we shall not bring together his bones? Yea! We have power to make complete his very fingers." (Ch. LXXV. 3-4.)

The Service Rendered by the Scholastic Scholars to Islam.

The scholastic scholars, both Motazala and Ashāera, have rendered great service to Islam by defending its teaching against atheists and admirers of Iranian and Greek thought.

Their criticisms on some points were directed against Greek philosophy but in other respects, they formed a refutation of theories originated by Muslims themselves, such as Abu Ali Sina, who has attributed his own thoughts to Greek philosophers. Among the controversial points refuted are:—

Philosophers.	*Ashāeras*
1. Existence is common among all beings.	Each being has an independent existence.
2. Necessity, possibility and impossibility are all real.	They are relative terms.
3. Accident can remain with another accident.	Cannot.
4. Void is impossible.	Possible.
5. Atoms have no existence.	Everything is a composite of atoms.
6. Body is a compound of matter and form.	There is no such thing as *Hayula* (matter).
7. Philosophers were realistic.	Scholastics like Ghazzâli were nominalistic.
8. Philosophy is the knowledge of realities based on the power of human reason.	Scholastics is a scientific systematization of Islamic doctrine.

Subjects Dealt with by the Scholastics.

The following were the most important subjects treated by the scholastics:—

1. Unity of God.
2. Doctrine of *Mabda'* (Origin) and *Ma'ad* (return).
3. Moral responsibility.
4. The continuation of human life after death.

Other Miscellaneous Scholastic Schools and Sects.

Besides the two great schools of Motazala and Ashāera, there was the older form of Motazala, named *Qadriyyah,* which held that man has the power to create his own action.

Similarly, an older form of the Ashāera school, called *Jabriyyah,* also existed. This school denied the freedom of will in man. There were a number of other sects. Among them the following are worth mentioning:—

I. Dahriyya.—The Dahriyya were those who believed in the eternity of matter and said that the world has neither beginning nor end. They denied the day of resurrection and judgment. They are thus referred to in the *Quran*: "And they say: there is no other than our present life: we die and we live and nothing but the course of time (*Dahr*) destroyeth us." Among the Quraish, Abu Sufyan, son of Harb, a distant cousin of the Prophet and father of the first Umayyad Khalif, was considered to have been a Dahri, before he embraced Islam. The idea underlying this sect was most probably imported into Arabia from Syria or from the Zarvanists of Iran. Imam Ghazzāli, in his work *Almanqaz-minaz-zalal,* writes that the Dahris are divided into:—(1) Those who denied the existence of a Creator and considered the world eternal. (2) Those who admitted the existence of a Creator, but considered life and soul an admixture of elements which would cease at death. (3) Those who followed the views of Greek philosophers. Ibn-e-Hazam writes that the atheists or Dahris believe in the eternity of the world. They believed that there is no Creator or Ruler. As is declared in the *Quran*:—"And they say: there is nothing but our life in this world. We live and die and nothing destroys us but Time." (Ch. XLV. 24.) Some of them admit a Creator, but include time and space and soul also as co-eternal with Him. That which stands in the way of the objects desired *by* them is evil and that which *fulfils* his desire and ends to his advantage is good.

II. Qerāmeta.—The Qerāmeta were the followers of Abdulla, son of Maimun, an Iranian who lived in the third century A.H. (*circa* 10th century A.D.), in Khuzistan. His metaphysics was the same as known to the contemporary philosophers, *i.e.,* God is incomprehensible to human knowledge and the following are His emanations:—(1) Universal

Intelligence (*Aql-e-kul*); (2) Universal Soul (*Nafs-e-kul*); (3) Primal matter; (4) Space; and (5) Time. The last three constitute the universe. Man's goal is union with the Universal Intelligence, which can only be attained through Divine help. The Prophets are manifestations of the Universal Soul. The first was Adam and the last Muhammad. Each Prophet is followed by a number of *walis*. Muhammad was followed by Ali and six of Ali's descendants. The seventh was Ismail, son of Jafar, whose assistant was Abdulla, son of Maimun. The incarnations are the same but manifested at different times under different names. The universe was thought to be a sum total of phenomena, repeating itself in cycles and variety. Existence is divided into:—(1) *Nur-qāher*, or Victorious Light, from which emanate the Universal Intelligence, and after several other emanations, the intelligence of the Prophets, *Imāms* and elects reproduced. And (2) *Nur-e-Zalami*, the Dark Light, or *Maqhur*, visible, which is called matter. It is passive and manifested as universe in various forms, such as, stars, heavens, bodies, etc., which must finally disappear. The intelligence of the Prophets and their successors are sparks of the Supreme Light. There are five tyrants:—(1) Heavens, which cause day and night, decay and growth; (2) Nature, which causes the desires which bring misery and pain; (3) Laws, which cause the bindings of human inner action; (4) State or Government, which controls and commands man's external movement; and (5) Necessity, which brings hardship in daily labour. This doctrine was taught to the adepts by degrees as was done among the Manichæans.

III. Ismailiyya.—The Ismailiyya are those who follow the first six *Imāms* of the Shiahs, *i.e.*, those who admit the office of *Imām* in Alī, Hasan, Husáin, Ali (II), Muhammad, and his son Jafar and after him his eldest born Ismail, who died before his father. The majority of Shiahs follow his other son named Musa, but those who believe in Ismail as the true successor of his father and after him his son Muhammad as the legal successor and not his brother, were called

Ismailiyya or the Seveners, *i.e.*, those who believe in the Seven *Imāms*. They are also nick-named *Hash-shi-sheen*, or those who use a kind of intoxicating drug (hemp), which was corrupted later into "assassins" by Europeans. The Nusairis, and the present Bhōrahs and Khōjas (followers of H.H. the Aga Khan) are branches of the same stock and are found in Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, Oman and India.

According to the doctrine of the Ismailiyya group, God has no attributes. He is incomprehensible and beyond human knowledge and the universe has been created by a number of Divine emanations, such as Universal Intelligence, Universal Soul, primal matter which forms the world and receives the impress of forms, of which the ideas exist in the Universal Intelligence. Space and time are two necessary primitive entities. Human salvation is in union with the Universal Intelligence, which must be acquired through its earthly incarnation, called *Nā-teq* (speaker), and of Universal Soul, named *Asās* (foundation), or *Sāmet* (silent). The former manifests the revealed word and the latter its inner meanings. Such were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and last Muhammad, and their *Sāmet* such as Shees, Sam, Ismail, Harun, Peter and Alī. Below these are *Hujjat* (proof) and below *Hujjat, Dai, i.e.*, propagandist. The adept is taught the doctrine in the following stages:—(1) *T'anees*, (familiarity), in which the good aspects of his present religion is shown with the suggestion that it is much better than what he has believed; (2) *Tafarrus*, investigation in the same; (3) *Tashkik*, doubts in his believed theories; (4) *Rabt* (connection), with something higher; (5) *Taliq*, suspension; (6) *Tadlis*, allegorical explanation of the Ismailiyya doctrine; (7) *Tasis*, foundation or grounding in which the Ismailiyya doctrine is clearly explained; (8) *Mawasiq-bil-iman*, taking a vow and becoming a regular member of the new faith; and (9) *Khal'a* and *Sakh*, deposing and coming out of all previous dogmatic restraints.

IV. The Nusairis.—The Nusairis of Iran are a branch of the Shiah sect, whose number is now limited to a few

thousand persons. Their language is figurative and traces of the early Aryan religion are found in their beliefs and usages. A large number of them live in Syria. They divide time into several cycles, each cycle possessing its particular manifestation of the Deity like the *Yugās* of the Hindus. The Supreme Being is one in His essence but manifests Himself in diverse forms. His manifestations are similar to the Indian *avatar,* or the Christian word of God, *M'ana* (the meaning), the mind. He is not begotten; is immortal; and is eternal in His essence; He is a light which illumines the stars and shines in bodies. He is combined with Muhammad the Prophet, and *Salmān,* a companion of the Prophet, who was an Iranian noted for his piety. These three form the triad of Nusairis. Alī is identified by them with the sky and Muhammad with the sun. Some of them believe that Alī dwells in the moon. Those who ascend the seven stages of spiritual perfection reach the abode of the star, of which Alī is the prince, and those who are sinners are re-born, as Christians or as Muslims, until purified, and those who do not worship Alī are reborn as animals. Their chief festivals are the ancient Iranian New Year in spring, called the *Nouroaz,* and the New Year in autumn, named *Mehregan* (Feast of Mitra).

Hayula, or matter, is of four kinds:—(1) *Hayula sana'at* or individuality. (2) *Hayula tabiat,* or species and genus. (3) *Hayula kulli,* or material. (4) *Hayula avvul,* or substance. The soul is divided as among the philosophers into: (1) *Nafs-e-Nabāti,* plant soul; (2) *Nafs-e-Haivani,* animal soul; and (3) *Nafs-e-Insani,* human soul. The last is eternal and indivisible and has several aspects such as:—*Nafs-e-Khiyali,* imaginative soul or memory; and *Aql-e-Insani,* the reasoning power. Good and evil are illusory and relative terms. Predestination is denied and misfortune is considered due to stupidity, mistakes, illusion, accidents, etc. Hell and Paradise are taken in an allegorical sense. Abdulla, the originator, had recommended the following:—(*a*) Monogamy; (*b*) Woman need not wear a veil; (*c*) White dress

to be preferred to other colours; (*d*) Passages occurring in the *Quran* to be interpreted according to an inner meaning; (*e*) Proscription of wine; and (*f*) Relaxation in the matter of the performance of prayers, fasts and other Islamic rituals.

The Druses of the Syrian branch of Seveners believe that:—(*a*) All souls have been created of the Universal Intelligence, their number is always the same, and pass into different bodies; (*b*) Men rise to higher degrees of spiritual perfection according to their attachment to the truth; and (*c*) Their seven commandments are:—(1) Truth; (2) Charity; (3) Renunciation of former creed; (4) Submission to the will of God; (5) Admission that past religions were true, etc. Like Mani, they believe in two Jesuses, one the true and other, the false.

V. The Khurramiyya.—The Khurramiyya sect followed Babak Khurrami who lived at Buz in North-West Iran. This sect appeared soon after the execution of Abul Muslim Khurassani, who defeated the last Umayyad Khalif and supported the Abbaside Khilafat. Some of them accepted Fatima, who was Abu Muslim's daughter, as their spiritual guide. Their doctrine may be thus summed up:—(*a*) All religious founders, though they differ in language and method of teaching, are inspired by one spirit; (*b*) None should be hurt, unless he interferes with another's religious feeling; and (*c*) Bloodshed must be forbidden and avoided. Like the Zoroastrians, they based their system on the theory of Light and Darkness, and considered cleanliness and purity as essential features of religion. They read the *Quran* and attended mosques. Wine was not permitted among them.

VI. The Hurufi.—The Hurufi sect was founded by Fazlullah of Asterabad, in North Iran, about the end of the 14th century A.D. It gave particular significance to the letters of Alphabet. A branch of it was introduced into Turkey and followed by the Baktashi order of Darwishes, who are found in Asia Minor, Albania and parts of Turkey. A large number of works have been written by the followers of Fazlullah on their religion. Their doctrine, in brief, is:—

(1) The eternity of the universe, which moves unceasingly, and its movements cause changes divided into cycles. Each cycle has its own peculiar features. Man is created in the image of God, specially his face. The most remarkable fact connected with human beings, according to them, is invention of letters or the distinguishing power between several sounds and making compounds from out of them to express their inner views. They have no rituals except meeting their spiritual guide every morning, who gives a glass of wine, a slice of bread and a piece of cheese, which, to some extent, resembles the giving of sacred bread among Catholic Christians. They have also a kind of confession in vogue.

A Review of Scholasticism.

Such were the great religious movements and philosophical developments in Islam, which started about the 9th century and declined soon after the Moghal invasion. In these movements, we find the most abstract and deep thought as well as concrete and dogmatic views, toleration and persecution, reasoning and superstition. While the Motazalas were rationalists and conceptionalists, the Ashāeras were dogmatists, realists, nominalists and traditionalists. They classified wisdom into divine and human. Human knowledge also was subdivided into *Zaruri* (necessary), which means natural to every human being and apprehended through the senses, and *Muktasab,* or acquired by religious teaching and scientific researches. The Motazalas believed ignorance to be the absence of knowledge, while the Ashāeras preached ignorance as an entity by itself. One said that God is beyond any description or resemblance, and words describing His attributes in the *Quran* must be taken in a metaphorical sense; while the other insisted that the interpretation should be literal. One considered the Divine speech in the *Quran* as created, while the other denied it. Among Muslim rulers, some were patrons of the Motazalas, while others were of the Ashāeras. Thus, Mamun, his brother Motasam, and Wasiq were zealous supporters of Motazalas, while Khalif Mutavakkul, together

with the Seljukid kings and Salāhud-dīn the hero of the Crusades, were patrons of the Ashāeras. The works of the Motazalas were destroyed to such an extent that now only a few fragments are available.

Scholasticism was an attempt at the reconciliation of religion with philosophy. It had to depend on both, but its essential object was the defence of religion. In advancing their theories, in some instances, the upholders of scholasticism had to seek the support of philosophy and in other instances, in order to refute philosophical conceptions, they had to take shelter under religious commandments. Among the questions treated of by them were:—Matter (*Maddah*), or Greek *Hyle* (Arabic *Hayula*), which was considered as co-eternal with the Supreme Being. In its pure condition, it is a force but becomes something by accepting *surat* or form. It is classified into:—(*a*) Primal matter; (*b*) Matter of the universe; (*c*) Matter of the elements; and (*d*) Energy. Among Muslim thinkers, Abdul Karim Jill says that God is the *Hayula, i.e.*, substance of existence. *Jauhar* (substance) is that which exists by itself and *Araz* (accident) is the one which depends upon substance, such as colour, which must have a body for its appearance. Substance is divided into:—(*a*) Primal matter; (*b*) Form; (*c*) Body (which possesses dimension); (*d*) Soul, which means animal spirit; and (*e*) Intelligence. Against these, scholastics advanced the theory of Atoms and said that all the above-mentioned substances are nothing but atoms and that the world is composed of them. The Motazalite Abu Hashim's theory of atom is mentioned by Abu Rashid Saeed, son of Muhammad of Nishapur, in his work entitled *Kitabul-masæl,* in which he says:—That *Juzē-la-yatajazzā* or that which is not divisible is called *Jauher* (essence), and contains in itself the quality of filling *Tahayyuz* (space). It is of cubical form. Each such atom occupies a fixed portion of *Hayyez* (space). They move in empty space and affect each other by pressure. There is no void. The space is filled up with atoms. The condition of being and not-being exists in the

substance itself. God brings these atoms into existence. As beings, they move, unite, separate and are at rest. The Ashāeṛa scholastics modified this theory and said:—(*a*) The world is a composite of atoms; (*b*) These are not perceptible to senses; (*c*) They have no magnitude but fill up the space; (*d*) They have no quantity; (*e*) Bodies come into existence and are destroyed by their union and separation; (*f*) The time also is a combination of *Anat* points, movements made up of atoms; (*g*) Each *Jauhar* (substance) may contain a number of *Araz* (accidents), such as life, death, ignorance, knowledge, etc.; (*h*) Soul also is a composite of fine atoms; (*i*) The atoms forming the universe are continuously created and destroyed by God; and therefore (i) each moment there is new atom and a fresh life; (ii) There is no such thing as natural law; (iii) Being and not-being are the same to God; (iv) So long as God creates atoms, the world retains its existence, and when God ceases to create, world becomes nothing.

The soul was considered by the theologians as God's breath which He breathed in man. Its seat is in the heart and possesses the qualities of evil and virtue. Its higher aspect is will, which controls and regulates the two said qualities. The individual will is subject to the universal will. Death is the separation of soul from the body, which is re-united at the command of God. But the atomists regarded it as a kind of atom. Knowledge also abides in the indivisible atom. The object of advancing the atomic theory was to refute the theory of philosophers, who believed the world to be a compound of primal matter and form, which makes the world eternal and creates a difficulty in the doctrine of resurrection. According to philosophy, matter is eternal and its eternity naturally implies eternity of body. According to philosophers, the circular movement of heavenly bodies is eternal, while the same is not possible for rectilinear movement going upward or downward but according to the atomists the circular movement is made up of tiny rectilinear displacements of atoms, and is not eternal.

God is neither substance nor atom. His being is identical with existence. He is the creator of atoms (or substances) every instant, which, by their nature, cannot endure and hence are replaced by fresh ones. If God ceases to create, the world is destroyed immediately.

As regards Predestination, the idea was a very old one. The Zarvānists of ancient Iran believed in time without beginning, as the origin of everything. Some of them identified this with glory, fortune or destiny. Its effect was considered supreme over everything in existence. Some thought it an infinite pre-existing matter out of which God formed the world. Thus, destiny and eternal matter were identified as one, out of which everything is made or destined. Space is identified with destiny in the Pahlavi work entitled *Mainog-e-Khirat*. Among the heathen Arabs, the idea of destiny is found, as in the following verse by Ibn-e-Sumail:—

"You meet them and you will know how patient (they are).
On what comes them of the injustice of events (luck)."

Some texts in the *Quran* stand both for the helplessness of human beings and the almighty power of God, who determines man's action and limits the power of man. The traditions of the Prophet support the theory of divine decree and reject the effect of the stars on human destiny. The early Khalifs followed the views of the Prophet. When the fourth Khalif, at the time of his departure on the expedition towards Syria, was told by astrologers that the hour was not favourable, he replied, "My sword will correct the unlucky time". Thus, the early companions had the consciousness of their own free will, though subordinated to the Divine decree. According to orthodox Muslims, the action of man is not decreed in advance but noted after he has done it. The Motazala doctrine of *Tawlid* asserts that things possess *Taba* or nature and everything is by the choice of God who admits a certain *Adat* (quality) in it. Muslim philosophers equated God's decree (destiny) with His knowledge. But Ashāeras refuted these theories and made the action of human beings absolutely dependent upon God's will. Man's good deed,

intention, ability, etc., rest upon His *Mashiyyat* (intention). He may appropriate God's decree by *Iktisab* (acquisition) and may become deserving for its merits.

Inspiration is of the following kinds:—(*a*) Common to all creatures, including inanimate objects, such as earth, which means the natural capacity in all things for perfection and development. It is declared in the *Quran*:—"Your Lord revealed to her (earth)." (Ch. XCIX. 5.) (*b*) Common to all creatures, which means instinct. It is said in the *Quran*:—"And your Lord revealed to the bee, that make hives, in the mountains and in the trees and what they build." (Ch. XVI. 68.) (*c*) Virtuous men and women (as Divine suggestion or right feeling), as to the mother of Moses, the *Quran* says:—"When We revealed to your mother (O Moses!) what was revealed." (Ch. XX. 38.) The Prophet's inspiration is classified into:—(*a*) Internal inspiration, such as to Zakariyya. The *Quran* says:—"O Zakariyya! surely We give you good news of a boy whose name shall be Yahya (John)." (Ch. XIX. 7.) (*b*) By dreams, as to Abraham. As it is declared in the *Quran*:—"And when he attained the work with him, he said, 'O my son! surely I have seen in a dream that I shall sacrifice thee; consider then what you see'. He said, 'O my father! do what you are commanded'." (Ch. XXXVII. 102.) (*c*) By clear vision as to the Prophet (Muhammad). The *Quran* says:—"He (Muhammad) does not speak out of desire. It is nought but revelation that is revealed (to him). Taught to him by one possessing mighty strength, who stood in balance (perfect condition). He was in the highest part of the horizon. Then he drew near and approached closer (till) he was at the distance of two bows or even closer. And then he revealed to his (God's) servant (Muhammad) what he revealed. His (Muhammad's) heart was not untrue to what he saw. Will you dispute (doubt) with him in what he saw? (So to assure you) he saw him (angel of God) once again, near the *lote* tree, near which is the garden (of angels and higher spiritual beings). That which (should) cover, covered the *lote* tree. The eye (of

Muhammad) turned not aside, nor did it exceed the limit, (*i.e.*, his vision was a fact and not mere imagination). Then he (Muhammad) saw of the greatest signs of his Lord." (Ch. LIII. 3-17.) (*d*) The archangel Gabriel, without appearance, influences the heart of the Prophet. The *Quran* says:—"The faithful spirit has descended with it (*i.e.*, *Quran*) upon your (Muhammad's) heart, that you may be of the warners." (*e*) The archangel appearing in human form, as to Mary, the mother of Jesus. The *Quran* says:—"We sent to her our *Ruh* (archangel), who appeared to her in the likeness of a well-made man." (Ch. XIX. 17.)

According to the tradition, revelation used to come on the Prophet as:—(*a*) a sound of ringing-bell or something beaten on metal; (*b*) angel appearing in human form; (*c*) angel appearing in his real form; (*d*) angel appearing in dream; and (*e*) angel appearing in vision.

Ibn-Khalledun, the philosopher-historian, describes revelation as the state of complete detachment from the visible, and absorption in the invisible world, when the Prophet sees realities hidden from the ordinary mind. According to Imam Ghazzāli (in his work entitled *Ma'arijul-Quds*), the Prophet is distinguished by ordinary men in possessing the special power to think and discern realities not perceptible to others. Sūfis think that the archangel Gabriel is a prophetic power which takes form in the world of similitude and conveys the message of God. It is not anything separate but the Prophet himself, affected by his own inner spiritual power and, therefore, whatever he sees, it is in his heart or conscience. In the same way, the angel of death is a personification of the human mortal nature, by which he dies. Jalal-ud-dīn Rūmi has illustrated this idea by saying that as in a dream, the person as speaker and hearer is the same, the Prophet also in seeing the angel and hearing the message of God, is his own self. Thus, it is said in the *Quran* that the Prophet's vision of the archangel was by his eyes, which did not turn aside nor exceeded the limit, which means, what he saw was not mere imagination but truth. Others say that Prophets are created

with the power to pass over from human to the angelic immaterial state, in which they can hear and comprehend the divine speech. The Prophet's *Miraj*, or ascent to heaven, as Ashāera and all orthodox Muslims of sects such as the Sunnis, Shiahs and others believe, was in body, which may be taken in the same sense, that it was the moment when he reached the highest state of spiritual absorption in God and vision of the immaterial world. He saw the realities which are not perceptible to others. It was a journey from the imperfect material to the perfect spiritual state, without moving from his place, which comes in when the ego is perfect and pure. According to Zoroaster, there are two eternal forces or spirits, one leading to perfection, truth, light and knowledge, and the other towards destruction, defect, falsehood, darkness and ignorance. These are named by Zoroaster as Spenta and Angra, and in Islam, they are known as Gabriel and Satan. Both affect the human mind, one for good and the other for evil. Therefore, inspiration in a general sense, is classified into:—(*a*) the Divine, named *Wahy* and *Ilhām*; and (*b*) the Satanic "*Wiswas*, doubts, etc." The Divine message (*wahy*) has the quality of clearness, surety, and is affected either direct or through vision, night dreams, intermediation through the angels (which are benevolent forces in nature), behind a veil (through instinct) or through virtuous men, as it is said in the *Quran*:—"It is not for any mortal that God should speak to him except by revelation or from behind a veil or by sending a messenger." (Ch. XLII. 51.)

The Ashāera agree with the orthodox in accepting the *Miraj* or ascent of the Prophet, as narrated in tradition, *i.e.*, Gabriel descended to him, washed his heart and filled it with faith and wisdom, caused him to ride on the white-coloured animal (of enlightenment) named *Buraq*, and accompanied him in the space, where he saw wonders of God and met all past reformers and became acquainted with the spirit of their teaching. He and Gabriel reached the tree named *Sidratul Muntaha*, under which four rivers, two hidden and

two manifested, were flowing. The archangel could not accompany him further, but the Prophet alone, in a higher state of spiritual absorption, proceeded beyond the world of senses and found himself close to the presence of the Deity, at a distance of two bows and closer. He was facing in one aspect, which was subjective completely towards "singleness and unity", with the other which was objective towards "diversity". Between these two states, he stood and as it is said in the *Quran*:—"He saw of the greatest signs of his Lord."

As to miracles, it is said in the *Quran* that no miracle has been mentioned for the Prophet, except the *Quran*, as a revealed book similar to which it is impossible for anyone else to produce, not even a sentence, because it is descended from God. Muslim philosophers, like Abu Ali Sina, believed that any extraordinary or apparently supernatural action is called a miracle. The Ashāeras believed that God creates in lifeless objects certain qualities which work and are known to us, but these qualities are momentary and renewed unceasingly. Jalal-ud-dīn Rūmi says, in his *Masnavi*, that the chain of cause and effect is of two kinds:—(*a*) the one seen and comprehensible to human senses; and (*b*) the other unknown and incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, but known to men of higher spiritual or intellectual development and, therefore, when they do a certain act, it appears supernatural to us but natural to them. It is a miracle, according to our standpoint, because we are incompetent to know its cause and effect. The theologians consider a miracle *Khareq-ul-adah*, supernatural in its real sense and say it is an act in violation of the natural order, granted by God to the Prophets. Jalal-ud-dīn also explains that there are certain acts which cannot be solved by intellectual reasoning, because its chain of cause and effect is not known to us as they are slow in some cases and rapid in other instances, such as the speed in the melting of iron is rapid in fire but slow under sunshine. The length between the two is great in producing the same effect. According to the Ashāera school, the following are the conditions for accepting a miracle:—(*a*) it must be a Divine act;

(*b*) it must be supernatural; (*c*) it must not be counteracted by anyone else; (*d*) it must be done by one who claims to be a Prophet;[a] (*e*) it must be according to his claim; (*f*) the doer must not be proved a false Prophet; and (*g*) it must not be acted before he claims to be a Prophet. Like inspiration, it is divided into:—(*a*) Divine, called *Mojiza,* which means an act for doing which ordinary human beings are incompetent. (*b*) Satanic, named *Istadraj,* which is done through magic, but is always proved to be weaker and false before a Divine act. The *Mojiza* (divine) is classified according to the rank of the doers and the manner of the manifestation into:—(*a*) *Āyah* (sign) mentioned in the *Quran* in the following passages:—"They say, why are not (*āyah*) signs sent down to him (*i.e.,* Muhammad) from his Lord?" "Say (O Muhammad) (*āyah*) signs are in the power of God alone, but I am only a warner." (Ch. XXIX. 50.) (*b*) *Mojiza,* incompetency of other men to do an extraordinary act done by a Prophet. (*c*) *Trhas* (laying a foundation). Extraordinary act before announcement of the mission by a Prophet. (*d*) *Alāmat* (Mark). (*e*) *Karāmat* (grace) done by virtuous people, saints, for example, intentionally helping a man in distress or unintentionally.

According to some Muslims, the performance of miracles is not necessary for a prophet. His right teaching is his miracle and therefore the Ashāeras believe that a prophet need not be a man of high learning. His perfection is a Divine gift, as it is said in the *Quran*:—"Their apostles said to them: We are nothing but men like yourselves, but God bestows (His) favours on whom He pleases of His servants, and it is not for us that we should bring you an authority (miracle) except by God's permission."

CHAPTER XIII.

MUSLIM JURISPRUDENCE AND THEOLOGY.

Quran and Jurisprudence—I. *Quran*—II. The Earliest Collection of the Tradition—III. Formation of a System of Jurisprudence—IV. Theological Centres of Study—V. Period of Development—Prominent Shiah Theologians—The Shariat—The Fundamental Muslim Legal Principle—Principles of Islam—Place of Worship in Islam—Prayer in Islam—Fasting in Islam—Pilgrimage in Islam—Sacrifice of Animals—Zakāt or Alms—Mūāmlāt—Uqubat.

QURAN AND JURISPRUDENCE.

What is contained in the *Quran* may, in a general sense, be classified under four heads:—

(1) Metaphysical and abstract;
(2) Theological;
(3) Ethical and mystical; and
(4) Rituals and legal.

The first was taken up by philosophers; the second by the scholastics; the third was specialized by the Sūfis; and the fourth by theologians and jurisprudents.

Islamic theology begins with the Prophet's acceptance to settle down at Medina, which synchronised with an increase in the number of Muslims there and elsewhere. Within the short space of ten years from that time, almost all the passages with which future theology has been concerned, had been revealed. As the early Muslims led simple lives and their needs were few, the laws of Islam are extremely simple. The Prophet was the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the community. His orders, revealed from God, were obeyed. In certain cases, the prohibition was introduced gradually. Beginning with a recommendation, it ended in an injunction, as in the case of the use of intoxicants and gambling. The following passages indicate the manner in which recommendation eventually merges into prohibition:—

1st Stage: *Recommendation*:—"They ask then concerning wine, and games of chance. Say! In both is great evil and advantages also to men, but their evil is greater than advantage." (Ch. XI. 216.)

2nd Stage: *A first step towards prohibition*:—"O! You believers, do not pray when you are intoxicated, so that you may know well what you say." (Ch. IV. 43.)

3rd Stage: *Total prohibition*:—"O Believers! Intoxicants and games of chance and (sacrificing to) idols and divining arrows are an uncleanliness and the work of Satan; (therefore) shun it." (Ch. V. 90.)

As the passages in relation to rituals, ceremonies and laws were brief, they needed further explanation, which was given by the Prophet. In this manner, the Prophet himself was the first commentator of the *Quran*. The Tradition may be divided into:—

(i) That part of it which reflects on passages occurring in the *Quran*;

(ii) That part which is in answer to questions or relates to some particular occasion.

The rise of the Muslim Arabs after the death of the Prophet was rapid. Within a short time, a period less than sixty years, they became masters of North Africa, including Spain, Syria, and the whole of Iran, in fact, all Central Asia as far as China in the East. A large number of non-Arabs also embraced Islam. They were quite ignorant of the Arabic language and hence were unable to understand the *Quran* and even when they learnt it, many words, sentences and passages in the *Quran* were not clear to them. The inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, particularly those who had served under them, had occasion to learn the Islamic doctrine direct from the Prophet, came to be held as authorities on the subject of the religion. The regular development of theology may thus be said to begin with the subjugation of the countries above mentioned. As in the case of Sūfism, the development of theology

was gradual. The period of development may be divided as indicated below:—

(1) The life of the Prophet after prophetic announcement, which lasted from 608 A.D. to 632 A.D., *i.e.*, about 23 years.

(2) The reign of the first four Khalifs, from 632 A.D. to 661 A.D., *i.e.*, about thirty years.

(3) Umayyad Khalifs, from 661 A.D. to 750 A.D.

(4) Abbaside Khalifs, from 750 A.D. to 1258 A.D.

(5) Non-Arab period from 1258 A.D. to the present time.

The first period is coterminous with the revelation of the *Quran* itself and the instructions given by the Prophet in person. The second period is rendered noteworthy by

(1) The earliest collection of the Tradition or sayings of the Prophet;

(2) The building up of the system of Muslim jurisprudence under the guidance of the first four Khalifs; and

(3) The arrangement of the *Quran* into chapters as we have it now.

Of these achievements, the last is perhaps the most important.

I—QURAN.

The word *Quran* is derived from *Qara*, to read.[73] It is also designated in Arabic *Al-Furqan* (the distinguisher),[74]

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[73] The word "Quran" means "the reading", or "the recitation", and is the term given by the Prophet to the "revelations" which he declared he had received from God: *Suratu'n Nisa* (iv) 84; *Suratu'l-Ahqaf* (xlvi) 3, 7; *Suratu'n-Najm* (liii) 4. In *Suratu'l-Shuara* (xxvi) 192, it is styled: "Verily it is a Revelation from the Lord." With this declaration, compare *Suratu'l-Ahqaf* (xlvi) i. The original of these "Revelations" is said to be preserved under the Eternal Throne of God, and hence spoken of as the "Preserved Tablet". As stated in the *Quran*: "It is a glorious *Quran* written on a 'Preserved Tablet'."—*Suratu'l-Buruj* (lxxxv) 21, 22.

[74] It may also be rendered "The Illumination". This term occurs in the *Talmud* as well, and is further the title of a *Surah* in the

Kalamullah (the word of God), *Kitab* (the book), *Nur* (the light) and *Al-huda* (the guidance). It has a large number of other names, some mentioned in the *Quran* itself and others given by Muslims. It is held in the greatest respect by all sects of Islam. It is never read or even touched without ablutions previously performed or without the hands being washed. Its passages are written and used as charms and talismans. It is considered the eternal miracle of Islam;[75] as the expounder of the most sublime truth; as superior to what was laid down by all past religions; as the best guide for seeking God and for obtaining emancipation; the perfection of all moral codes; as the word of God, uncreated in its origin and before being conveyed to the Prophet, written by the hands of angelic scribes; and noble and complete in itself. It is believed by Muslims that the whole text descended from God, having been kept in

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Quran itself (see *Surah* xxv; also *Suratu Ali Imran*, iii, 2). Translators of the *Quran* vary in their interpretation of this term. Sale suggests that it signifies a section or portion of the Scripture, from Hebrew *perck* or *pirka* (*cf. firka*, a revenue sub-division in India). Rodwell translates it as *deliverance* or *liberation;* hence *illumination.* The common interpretation adopted is the *distinction* (between good and evil).

[75] This is the spirit in which the Muhammadan world in general regards the *Holy Quran.* The sublimity of language used in it—especially where it describes the majesty and attributes of God—has attracted the very widest attention and has won universal respect for it. The traditionary story goes that the Prophet, when he was challenged by his opponents to perform a miracle, readily referred them to the *Quran,* simultaneously challenging them, by way of answer, to produce even one *Surah* of the kind contained in it. (*Suratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 21; *Suratu Yunus* (x) 39; etc. The finest description of God in the *Quran* is the far-famed "Verse of Power" or the "Verse of the Throne", which is seen so commonly inscribed in mosques (Rodwell, 2: 256); the equally fine descriptions of the beneficent Creator found in some other *Surahs* (*Ibid.*, 2: 27; 6: 95–100; 14: 37; 46: 32; 50: 37; 55: 2–10) have proved acceptable to many non-Muslims, including Jews and Christians. The Prophet explicitly disclaimed the miracle-working power (Rodwell, 16: 109; 17: 92–98; 21: 3, 5, 10; 29: 49).

Heaven, and revealed in parts at different times during a period of twenty-three years, as necessity demanded it, through the archangel Gabriel, who descended for the purpose in various forms.[76] Some chapters were revealed in complete form; others in portions. It is divided into thirty *Juzv*, containing 114 *Surahs* or chapters, some very long and others very brief. Each *Juzv* is subdivided into four portions. The chapters were arranged under the personal direction of the Prophet, who used to ask the scribe present to insert the revealed passage in a particular chapter. Thus, it is not arranged in chronological order, not by oversight but as commanded by the Prophet.[77] The work of compilation was first undertaken by order of Abu Bakr, a copy of the Sacred Book having been left in the custody of Hafsa, the widow of the Prophet. The third Khalif Usman ordered the revision and comparison of the various fragments in the possession of people with the original copy, and the arrangement of the whole Sacred Book into chapters, under the supervision of the following experts:—

(1) Zaid, the son of Thabit, who was also the first compiler; (2) Abdulla, the son of Zubair; (3) Said, the son of As; and (4) Abdur-Rahman, the son of Hāris.

With the exception of the first, the other three belonged to the Quraishid tribe. The work was completed after careful scrutiny and comparison with other fragments and presented to the Khalif, who caused a number of copies of it to be made and sent them to the different centres of Islam,

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[76] *Suratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 91; *Suratu Bani Israel* (xvii) 107; and *Suratu'l-Furgan* (xxv) 34.

[77] Neither topical nor the chronological order was possible for the reason stated in the text. Western scholars have tried to find out the order in which the Prophet gave the *Surahs*. Rodwell has essayed to arrange the *Surahs* in chronological order. Canon E. Sell has tried to trace the historical development of the Sacred work. (See Rodwell's *Koran*; and Canon E. Sell's *The Historical Development of the Quran.*)

and these became texts for all subsequent copies of the Sacred Book. The fragments in the possession of different people were recovered and burnt. As a number of companions such as Abdulla, the son of Masud; Salim, Ali, the fourth Khalif; Muaz, the son of Jabal; Ubayy, the son of Ka'b; Abdulla, the son of Umar, had committed the whole *Quran* to memory and a large number had each got by heart a portion of it and hardly any difficulty was experienced in the matter of securing a correct text or in arranging it as required. The Prophet encouraged his companions to write and learn the text of the *Surahs* by heart. The attachment of the Muslims to the Sacred Book was so great that it has retained its purity, without the least change, for the last one thousand and three hundred years. Its contents were revealed in the Meccan dialect of the Quraish and one object of Usman was to make people read it in this self-same dialect. The titles of the Chapters are after important names, anecdotes, parables or one or more letters of alphabet mentioned at the beginning of a Chapter. For example:—Chapter I is named "Al-Fateha" or the opening Chapter. It is also called "Al-hamd", because its first word is *al-hamd;* Chapter II is "Al-Baqarah", or the cow, because the story of the cow which was slaughtered by order of Moses to discover a case of murder is mentioned in it; Chapter III is "Al-Imran", the name of a family. Chapter IV, "An-Nisa", or the women, in which treatment of women, marriage, etc., is mentioned; Chapter V "Al-Māidah", which means food; Chapter VI "Al-An'am", or the cattle; Chapter VII "Al-A'raf", or the elevated places; Chapter VIII "Al-Anfal", or accessions; Chapter IX "Berat", or immunity; and Chapters X, XI, XII, XIV, XXXI, XLII and LXXI have been named after the names of the Prophets Yunus (Jonah), Hud, Yusuf (Joseph), Ibraham (Abraham), Luqman, Muhammad and Noah respectively.

There are twenty-nine chapters beginning with one or more letters of alphabet, such as:—

	Chapters.
(1) Alif-lam-mim (Alm)	6
(2) Alif-lam-mim-sad (A.L.M.S.)	1
(3) Alif-lam-mim-ra (A.L.M.R.)	1
(4) Alif-lam-ra (A.L.R.)	5
(5) Ka, ha, ya, ain, sad (k, h, y, a, s)	1
(6) Ta-ha (t-h)	1
(7) Ya-sin (y-s)	1
(8) Ha-mim (h-m)	6
(9) Ha, mim, ain, sin, qaf (h, m, a, s, q)	1
(10) Qaf (q)	1
(11) Sad (s)	1
(12) Ta-sin (T-S)	1
(13) Ta, sin, mim (T.S.M.)	2
(14) Nun (n)	1
	29

Thus of the twenty-six letters of the Arabic alphabet *viz*:—*Alef, be, te, the, jim, hai, khai, dal, zal, re, ze, sin, shin, sad, zad, toe, zoe, ain, ghain, fe, qaf, kaf, lam, mim, nun, ye,* the undermentioned occur in the *Quran.* The special selection of these letters means that a certain spiritual significance has been attached to these letters or sounds:—

Alef, lam, mim, sad, re, kaf, hai, ye, ain, toe, gaf, nun.

Among the remaining chapters, several take the name of phenomenal objects such as:—

1. *Tur*—mountain.
2. *Najm*—star.
3. *Qamar*—moon.
4. *Burūj*—sign of Zodiac or stars.
5. *Tariq*—night star.
6. *Fajr*—day-break.
7. *Shams*—sun.
8. *Zuha*—ascending sun (*in Meridian*).
9. *Lail*—night.
10. *Falaq*—day-break.
11. *R'ad*—thunder, in which the Aryan myth of Indra

has been narrated in its Semitic form as a force working in nature by the order of God, as, for instance, in the following passage:—

"And the thunder declares His glory, with His praise and the angels too for awe of Him, and he sends the thunderbolt *(vajra)*, and smites them whom He pleases." (Ch. XIII. 13.)

A few chapters have been given the names of certain sacred trees and useful creatures, such as:—

Nahl (bee); *Tin* (fig); and *Fil* (elephant).

Other chapters have miscellaneous titles, such as:—

Hijr (rock); *Bani Isrāil* (children of Israel); *Kahf* (cave—certain Christian saints who took refuge in a cave); *Anbiyā* (prophets); *Hajj* (pilgrimage); *Momenun* (believers); *Furqan* (*Quran*); *Sh'uara* (poets); *Naml* (ant); *Qasas* (stories); *Ankabut* (spider); *Rum* (Romans); *Sijdah* (prostration); *Ahzāb* (confederates); *Saba* (Sheba, a town in Yemen); *Al-Fatir* (the originator); *Sāffāt* (ranks); *Zumar* (troops); *Mumin* (believer); *Fussalat* (explanation); *Shura* (council); *Zukhruf* (ornaments); *Dukhan* (smoke); *Jāsiyah* (kneeling); *Ahqaf* (sand-hills); *Fatah* (victory); *Hujurat* (chambers); *Zāryāt* (scattering winds); *Rahmān* (Merciful—name of God); *Wāqi-ah* (events); *Hadid* (iron); *Mujādelah* (dispute); *Hashr* (assembly); *Mumtahinah* (the examined one); *Saff* (array); *Juma'h* (the congregation); *Munafiqin* (hypocrites); *Taghābun* (deceit or defect); *Talāq* (divorce); *Tahrim* (prohibition); *Mulk* (kingdom); *Al-Haqqah* (calamity); *Ma'raj* (ascent); *Jin* (genii); *Muzammal* (wrapped up); *Muddassir* (enfolded); *Qiyāmah* (resurrection); *Dahr* (time); *Mursalāt* (messenger); *Naba* (news); *Nazi'āt* (drawers); *Abasa* (frowned); *Takwir* (folding up); *Infitar* (elevating asunder); *Tatfif* (defaulters); *Inshiqāq* (rending asunder); *Alā* (most high); *Ghashiyah* (overwhelming event); *Balad* (city—of Mecca); *Inshirāh* (expanding); *Alaq* (congealed blood); *Qadr* (majesty sight of power); *Bayyinah* (evidence); *Zalzalah* (shaking); *Adiyat* (swift

horses); *Qariah* (repelling calamity); *Takassur* (multiplying); *Asr* (the time); *Humuzah* (slanderer); *Quraish* (the tribe of Quraish); *Ma'un* (alms); *Kausar* (abundance); *Kafirun* (the unbelievers); *Nasr* (help); *Lahab* (flame—the nickname of the Prophet's uncle, who was called by him as Abu-Lahab, the father of flame); *Ikhlas* (the unity—God); and *Nās* (men).

A Muslim believes in the *Quran* as the word of God uttered in a manner which is unsurpassable in the beauty of its language and in the declaration of the truth of the doctrines inculcated by it. Non-Muslim writers and critics in Europe are unanimous in admitting its literary merit. Mr. Sale, whose translation is well known, writes:—"So strangely captivating to the minds of his audience that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witch-craft and enchantment." The *Quran* itself testifies to making of such remarks by the bitterest opponents of the Prophet in Mecca, who were considered learned men and leaders of the Quraish and held in respect. Among these were Walid, the son of Mughira, the father of the famous general Khalid, who, on hearing of certain of the passages in the *Quran,* made certain remarks, which have been described beautifully in the following *Surah* of the *Quran* itself:—

"He (Walid) reflected (on the passages read for him) and measured. May he be killed, how wrongly he measured. Again, may he be killed, how (wrongly) he measured. He looked, then frowned (and became gloomy); then turned back and made himself big with pride, then said: 'this is nought but enchantment'." (Ch. LXXXIV. 18–24.)

Umar, the second Khalif, before embracing Islam, was an opponent of the Prophet and once he left his place with the intention of murdering him. On his way, he met his own sister, who had already embraced Islam, and found her reading some passages from the *Quran.* He took those passages and read them and was so much affected by them, that he immediately became a Muslim. The following is a translation of a few lines from these self-same passages, which cannot, for

obvious reasons, retain their original beauty in the translation offered here:—

"Tâ! Hâ! we have not revealed (this) *Quran* to thee that thou shouldst be distressed. It is a reminder to him who fears (God), a revelation from Him, who created the earth and high heavens. He is the *Rahmân* (merciful), who is firm on (His) throne of (power), His (all) in heavens and whatever on earth and between them two and beneath the earth. If you are loud in speech, He knows the secret and what is hidden (in your mind). (Such is He) *Allah,* there is no God but He, His are the very best names." (Ch. XX. 1-8.)

In describing the great world flood, the passages in the *Quran* describing it became extremely figurative and sublime. According to Arab writers on rhetoric, the following few lines taken from these passages contain twenty-three figures of speech in them:—

"And the ark moved in with them amid waves like mountain, and Noah called out to his son (when) he was apart. O, My Child! Embark with us, and be not with unbelievers. He said, I will betake myself to a mountain, that shall save me from water. He said, none shall be saved this day from God's decree, save him on whom He shall have mercy, and a wave passed between them and he was drowned and it was said, O Earth! swallow down thy water and O Heaven! withhold thy rain! and the water abated, and God's decree was fulfilled and the ark rested on al-Judi (a mountain)."

Such is the style of the *Quran,* most beautiful, fluent, concise, persuasive; possessing great force of expression; in some instances composed for hearing than for reading; magnificent when describing the majesty and sublimity of God, encouraging to warriors, seekers of the truth and undetermined hearts. It is composed neither in poetry nor in simple prose. The sentences generally end in rhyme; words being well selected and beautifully placed. Each Chapter has its own

rhymed words, coming at the end of each sentence, as in the following:—

"*Fa Zakkir famā anta be nem'atē rabbaka be kahinin va la majnun am yaquluna sha'erun natarubbaso behi raiba-ul-manun?*"

Translated, this means:—"So continue to remind, for, by grace of your lord, you are not a soothsayer (as said by the unbelievers) or a mad man. Or do they say: 'a poet, we wait for him the evil accidents of time'?" (Ch. LII. 29-30.)

Apart from the beauty of its composition, it contains original ideas, especially in connection with the unity of existence and the singleness of God. The heathen Arabs, despite the large number of idols they worshipped, they believed in the existence of one great God, whom they called *Allah*. They considered *Allah* the creator of heaven and earth, self-existent and creator of everything in the universe, including gods and mortals. Thus it is said in the *Quran*:—

"When you ask them, who is the creator of heavens and earth, they say *Allah*. But, besides one great *Allah*, they believed in minor deities also and when the Prophet announced that there is no god but *Allah*, it was so strange to its hearers that according to the *Quran* they said, "What! does he (Muhammad) make the (numerous) gods into a single God? Surely a strange thing is this!" (Ch. XXXVIII. 5.)

The Chapters are divided into Meccan and Medinite. The Meccan Chapters are in short sentences, full of enthusiasm, poetical, lofty and brilliant; denouncing idol worship, promising paradise and threatening with the dire punishment of hell; describing the unity and the majesty of God, the day of Judgment, with allusions to some of the prophets and the events of their time; rich in eloquence, with appreciations of objects in nature; and with most of them beginning with one or a number of oaths, very attractive to Arabs as in the following:—"By the sun and his noon-day brightness; By the noon when she followeth him; By the day, when it revealeth him; And the night when it enshroudeth him; And the heaven and Him who built it; And the earth and Him

who spread it; And a soul and Him who perfected it; And inspired it (with) what is wrong and what is right for it." —(Ch. XCI. 1–8.) The Medinite Chapters narrate the same subjects but generally in greater detail, the sentences being more prosaic and the chapters much longer. They are chiefly noted for the addition of (1) civil and criminal laws; (2) directions on rituals, such as prayer, fasting, giving of alms, making of pilgrimage, etc.; (3) social reform; (4) moral regulation; (5) brief description of some of the important battles fought with the Quraish and the Jews; (6) criticism and condemnation of hypocrites who professed Islam but worked against it; (7) exhortation to defend the cause of Islam; and (8) brief descriptions of past prophets and events illustrating the fundamental principles of Islam. As beforementioned, the verses in the *Quran,* like verses in other sacred books, are poetical in character, though not bound with the fetters of metre, excepting here and there in a few sentences, such as the following:—

Thumma aqrartum va antum tashhadūn |
Thumma antum ha ūlaē takzabūn ‖

which would scan:—

Thūm mă āq rār | tūm vă ān tūm | tāsh hă dūn
Thūm mă ān tūm | hā ŭ lā ē | tāk zā būn

II.—The Earliest Collection of the Tradition.

The earliest collection of the Tradition took place during the reign of the first four Khalifs, who took great pains to see that only the correct Tradition is narrated. These were either reported or asked in support of judgments on cases or heard for adjudication as an evidence or in explanation of certain doubtful points of ritual or concerning a person and the like. The narrator was asked to swear that he was speaking the truth. Among the judges and traditionists of this period were the four Khalifs, *i.e.,* Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali and the following members or associates of the Prophet:—

(1) Hafsa, widow of the Prophet and daughter of Umar, the second Khalif. She has narrated about sixty pieces of tradition.

(2) Aisha, another widow of the Prophet and daughter of Abu Bakr, the first Khalif, one of the most learned ladies of the Quraish, well known for her intelligence, courage, eloquence and piety, was an authentic traditionist. She has narrated over one hundred and sixty-four pieces of tradition (see Bukhari and Muslim). Tradition ascribed to her by the Rāwis number 2,200.

(3) Zainub, daughter of Jahsh, also a widow of the Prophet, has narrated several pieces of tradition.

(4) Safiyya, daughter of Huyy, also a widow of the Prophet, has narrated ten pieces of tradition.

(5) Um Salama, a widow of the Prophet, has narrated 378 pieces of tradition.

(6) Abu Hurera, a companion of the Prophet, has narrated about 5,300 pieces of tradition.

(7) Abdulla, son of Umar, has narrated 1,500 pieces of tradition.

Besides these, a large number of the other companions of the Prophet, such as Mauz, son of Jabal, Abu Musa Ashari, and Umar, son of As, have narrated some pieces of tradition. The chief judges of this period were Umar, the second Khalif; and Ali, the fourth Khalif. Next to them was Abdullah, son of Masud; Abu Musa Ashari; Mauz, son of Jabal; Ubayy, son of Kab; Zaid, son of Thabet; Shurih, son of Hani. There being no written code, judgment was delivered on the basis of the *Quran* and the tradition narrated on the occasion by a companion, as the following case:—

A woman came to Abu Bakr, claiming her share of inheritance from her deceased grandson. The Khalif said that according to the *Quran*, she could not receive any share. Thereupon, Mughira, son of Shoba, got up and said, 'I have seen the Prophet granting one-sixth share to a grandmother'. The Khalif asked for a second witness and Muhammad, son

of Muslama, supported Mughira and accordingly judgment was delivered.

III—Formation of a System of Jurisprudence.

The formation of a system of jurisprudence was entirely based on the personal knowledge and judgment the judge brought to bear on the case, after hearing the evidence tendered by two trusted men or four trusted women, who had to narrate a tradition or point out a passage from the *Quran* in support of their assertion. The third period continued as the first, with the following improvements:—Tradition, which was much more limited owing to the strict scrutiny exercised by the first four Khalifs, increased by the rather indifferent attitude of the Umayyad rulers. There were as many as 600,000 pieces of tradition narrated practically on no authority by various men. Any man, who had lived in the time of the Prophet or had met an early companion of his, was at liberty to narrate a tradition, according to his own interest. There were several pretenders to the throne, having each a party to support his claim and a number of men to invent tradition in praise of his family. But among many professional traditionists, there were some who had sincere interest in the subject itself and whose life was pure and religious. These men investigated into the truth of the narrated piece of tradition and made their own selection. Thus authentic and false traditions were current among the people.

IV—Theological Centres of Study.

The work of research was perfected in the fourth period, when, owing to the currency obtained by a large number of traditions, people were at a loss which to accept and which to reject. The following cities became centres for theological studies, the chief theologians and traditionists at each centre being as noted below:—

(1) *Medina.*—Abdulla, whose father was the celebrated second Khalif, was noted for his piety and retired life; Said,

son of Musyyab; Urvah, son of Zubair; Abu Bakr, son of Abdur-Rahman; Ali, son of Husain, the great-grandson of the Prophet; Ubaidullah, son of Abdulla; Sālem, son of Abdulla, son of Umar; Qāsem, son of Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr; Naf'e (an Iranian); and several others.

(2) *Mecca.*—Abdulla, son of Abbas; Mujahad, son of Jubir (a non-Arab); Ikrama (a non-Arab); Atā, son of Abi Rabbah (a non-Arab); and Abu Zubair Muhammad (a non-Arab).

(3) *Kufa.*—Alqama, son of Qais; Masruq, son of Ajdá; Ubaidah, son of Amr; Shurih, son of Hāni (who belongs to the class of early theologians and remained a judge for about sixty years; and Said, son of Jubair (a non-Arab).

(4) *Basrah.*—Anas, son of Mālik; Abul *alias* Rafi, son of Mehran, an Iranian; Hasan, son of Yasār; Muhammad, son of Sirin; and Qatadah.

(5) *Damascus.*—Abdur-Rahman, son of Ghanem; Abu Idris ul-khulani; Qabisa, son of Zuwail; and Umar, son of Abdul Aziz.

(6) *Egypt.*—Abdulla, son of Umr, son of Ās; Murshad, son of Abdulla; and Yazid, son of Abi Habib (a non-Arab).

(7) *Yemen.*—Taoos, son of Kaysan (a non-Arab); Vahab, son of Munabbeh; and Yahya, son of Kather (a non-Arab).

These theological centres contributed towards the building of the earliest jurisprudence known. Each theologian had a number of followers, who used to narrate pieces of tradition referring them to the names of their respective teachers. Their number increased and the reigning Khalif Umar, son of Abdul Aziz, a very pious Khalif, ordered the collection and compilation of the extant pieces of tradition, which was done by a certain Abu Bakr, son of Muhammad (*d.* 120 A.H.). By the end of the Umayyad period, sufficient material had been collected on the subject of tradition and a biography of the Prophet as well by the great masters of theology, who became the founders of Muslim Law and Jurisprudence. These are even now considered the highest

authorities on these subjects by Muslims all over the world. Besides the traditionists and theologians, the readers of *Quran,* known as *Qāri,* formed a distinct body by themselves. These specialized in the correct reading of the *Quran,* which afterwards became a science by itself, called *Ilm-e-Tajwid.* There were seven *Qāris,* or readers, who are considered masters in the art of reading the Sacred Book and whose method of reading has been followed by all *Qāris* throughout the Islamic world. These were:—

(1) Abdulla, the son of Kathīr, an Iranian at Mecca, who died in 120 A.H.

(2) Abu Umr, the son of Al-ula of Kazerun, Iran, who died at Basrah in 154 A.H.

(3) Abdulla, the son of Amer, who died at Damascus in 118 A.H.

(4) Abu Bakr Asem, the son of Abin-nujud, who died at Kufa in 127 A.H.

(5) Hamza, the son of Habib, who died at Kufa in 156 A.H.

(6) Nāfe, the son of Abi Naim, a non-Arab, who died at Medina in 169 A.H.

(7) Ali, the son of Hamza Kisai, an Iranian, who died at Khorassan (Tus) in 182 A.H.

These are known as the seven masters in the art of reciting the *Quran.* Next to these seven, there are the following:—

(1) Abujafar Yazid of Medina, who died in 130 A.H.

(2) Yaqub, son of Ishaq, who died in 205 A.H.

(3) Khalaf, son of Hisham.

The fourth period saw the development of Muslim theology begin with the rise of the Abbaside dynasty. It was the golden period of Islamic learning and among other subjects, theology reached the zenith of its development. Great masters of theology flourished and founded schools of theology which are now known as the four *Sunnat Jama't* schools:— *Hanafi, Shafai, Maleki* and *Hanbali.* Besides these, the other sects of Islam, such as *Shiahs* of *Ithna'ashriyya, Zaidiyya* and

Ismailiyya also produced their greatest writers during this period.

Theology was systematized into a science. Under this head, the following subjects had to be studied by those desirous of knowing it for practical purposes:—

(1) *Ilm-ul-tafsir*, a commentary on the *Quran*.

(2) *Ilmul-hadis*, pertaining to Tradition.

(3) *Ilmul-usul*, or the fundamental principles of Muslim Law, based on the *Quran*, the Tradition, concensus of opinion and analogy.

(4) *Ilmul-fiqh*, rules relating to morals, civil and criminal law.

(5) *Ilmul-aqaid*, scholastic theology based on the knowledge of the unity of God, His attributes, the word of God, freedom of will, the sacred books, the Prophets, the angels, the punishment and the reward, the resurrection, etc.

(6) A brief study of logic.

Among the four established schools of *Sunnat Jama't*, each founder had his own particular method of deducing the correctness of rituals and laws. For instance, Imām Abu Hanifa, whose followers are the largest in number among Muslims, laid down the following principles:—

The *Quran* he regarded as indeed the first and the primary source for deducing the form of rituals bearing on civil and criminal laws, or for deducing the moral principles which should govern a case. Next, the Tradition, which being narrated by different persons in varying manner, and varying grades of credence to be attached to what they narrate, he was very strict in relying upon or accepting. It is said that he was very cautious in relating the traditions of the Prophet for forgery had become common even in his days. Ibn Khaldom writes that the Imām narrated only seventeen traditions and preferred *Qiyas* or analogy, which means the analogical deductions from passages occurring in the *Quran*, tested by his own opinion. Hence most of the Mesopotamian theologians were called *Ahlur-rai*, or men of private opinion. The application of the principle of analogy meant no more

than the treatment of a case from the decisions given on similar rules before. Then there was *Ijma,* or the agreement of the majority of early companions and theologians on the validity of a particular law. The Prophet had said: "My people will never agree in error." This grand principle gives the Muslim theologians an opportunity to adjust the laws according to the conditions of the time. *Ijma* comes third in the order of authority and *Qiyas* the fourth.

Imām Abu Hanifa, of Iranian descent, born during the rule of the Umayyads, in 80 A.H. and who lived at Kufa, was suspected of sympathy with the Zaidi movement which was formed under Zaid, the son of Ali, who was the son of Husain, against the Umayyad Khalif. The Governor of Kufa, to test his loyalty, offered him the post of *Qazi,* or judge, of Kufa, which he did not accept; and this act proved his anti-Umayyad tendency, for which he was imprisoned by way of punishment. He lived on the proceeds of the silk trade he engaged in. He had a large number of pupils studying under him. Among these the following were the most celebrated:— Imām Abu Yusuf, Zafr, the son of Hazil, and Muhammad, the son of Hasan. The last was the second founder of the Hanafi school.

Imām Abu Hanifa is also noted for his principle of *Istehsan,* which means the law of preference or suitableness of an act. For example, take the rule that a thing which is washed must be squeezed. This can only apply to the case of cloth or other like thing and not to a wooden or metal article, in which case the *Istehsan* is simply to clean it. When a man purchases a thing, he must see it; but in the case of an article to be manufactured, it is sold in advance. This, according to the law, is invalid. But *Istehsan* permits a transaction like this on the ground that it is needed by the buyer and practised among merchants and is not forbidden by the *Quran.* Thus a Muslim jurist could lean, for making up his mind, besides the *Quran* and the Tradition, upon the four principles of analogy and agreement, based upon the *Quran* and Tradition and discretion and public

welfare as the circumstances of the age permitted. Imām Abu Hanifa formed a committee of forty men among his known pupils for the codification of Muslim Law according to his method. This work was carefully done, during a long period of thirty years, and parts of the same were sent to different places. Unfortunately the whole work has been lost, though available in fragments through other works.

The next school was established by Imām Mālik, who based his system on Tradition and "Sunan", or usages of the Prophet. He was himself considered a great Traditionist and wrote a work entitled *Muvvatta,* which is considered as one of the earliest compilations of Tradition and included among six other authentic works on the same subject. His principle of deduction was named *Maslahat* or public good.

Imām Shāfai, a pupil of Imām Mālik, adopted moderation, as a principle in following the Tradition, between Imām Abu Hanifa, who leaned more on passages in the *Quran* and his own deductive opinion, and Imām Mālik who was a mere Traditionist. He was a voluminous writer and his works form extremely valuable texts on law and Tradition. Among these are:—*Usul,* or principles of the Muslim Civil and Canon Law; *Sunan,* on Traditional Law; *Musnud*; and on theology in 14 volumes. He adopted both the principle of *Ijma* (or concensus of opinion) of Abu Hanifa, and *Istadlal,* or the logical conclusions of Imām Mālik.

Imām Ahmad Hanbal was more a Traditionist than a theologian. His chief work is a collection of Tradition, numbering about 50,000.

Besides these four Imāms, there were other theologians who had founded separate schools among the *Sunnat Jama't,* but, as they did not find followers, they ceased to count after a time. Among these are:—Abu Abdur Rahman, known as Āuzai. Imām Daūd, son of Áli, son of Khalaf of Ispahan, known as Az-Zāheri, a voluminous writer. His system was to interpret the Tradition in a literal sense. He rejected analogy and accepted *Ijma* to a limited extent, and leaned on the *Quran* and *Sunnat* (the usage of the Prophet). His

school did not survive long, but appeared in the form of the present Wahabhi sect. Imām Jafar, the contemporary of Imām Abu Hanifa, developed Shiah theology. The sources of Shiah Tradition are derived through one of the twelve Imāms. Among the Traditionists of this school are:— Abun-nasr Muhammad, son of Masud Ayashi; Abu Ali Muhammad, son of Ahmad Junaid; Zararah, son of A'yun, and his sons Husain and Hasan. Shiah theologians did not admit *Ijma* (agreement) and *Qiyas* (analogy) as the Imāms of *Sunnat Jama't* do. In all fundamental principles of religion they agree with *Sunnat Jama't* but differ in detail, which will be found mentioned elsewhere in this work.

Texts of the *Quran* connected with the rules of Muslim Law occur in the following chapters:—

(1) *Al-baqara*—cow chapter.
(2) *An-nisa*—woman.
(3) *Al-Imran*—the family of Imran.
(4) *Al-maidah*—the food.
(5) *An-nur*—the light.
(6) *Bani-Israil*—a family of Israel.

These rules pertain to (1) reform in unlawful heathen customs, such as infanticide, gambling, drinking of intoxicants, usury, polygamy, etc.; (2) social reforms, such as marriage, position of women, divorce, chastity of men and women, texts relating to which subsequently came to be quoted in connection with the use of the veil by women, their seclusion (*purdah*), succession, etc.; (3) criminal laws relating to punishment for theft, fornication, slander, murder, etc.; (4) directions relating to the treatment of enemy, the distribution of booty, etc.

For testing the genuineness of the precepts or traditions of the Prophet, the following grades were adopted:—

(1) *Khabar-e-Āhād*, or isolated one, related by a single person in which case it was considered as not authentic.

(2) *Mash-hur*, or well-known, narrated by a number of persons, in which case it could be accepted.

(3) *Mutavatur*, or repeated, having been narrated by

several well-known persons and recognised as genuine by the early companions. These were considered as most authentic.

Traditions were further tested by classifying them into:

Sahih, or correct, narrated by men known for their piety and integrity of character.

Hasan, good, but not up to the standard reached by *Sahih.*

Zaeef, or weak, of doubtful narrators.

The *Rāvi,* or narrator, should have possessed the following qualifications:—(*a*) He should have had a knowledge of Arabic as spoken in Mecca and Medina; (*b*) He should have understood well the sense of what he heard; (*c*) His chain of narration should enable him to reach the Prophet. If the chain is disconnected anywhere, the tradition concerned was called *Maqtu* or *Mursil,* and was considered not authentic. For example, if A says that he had heard from B and B says that he had heard from C and leaving several names in the middle, says that X heard from the Prophet. There are, however, exceptions in a narration of this kind. If the narrator was a known companion of the Prophet, his narration, even if the chain is broken, has been accepted by some theologians. (*d*) The narrator should be able to specify the names of other narrators and say thus:—I heard from A, and he from B and he from C and he heard from the Prophet, who said so and so; but if, instead of saying "I heard", the narrator said, "I was informed," his narration would be counted weak and prove unacceptable. (*e*) The narrator should not be a boy of tender age, lunatic, idiot or man of bad character. (*f*) He should not be a non-Muslim. (*g*) There should not be any suspicion that the narrator transfers a saying from the Jewish, Christian or other sources in the name of the Prophet to obtain currency for it. (*h*) There should not be any doubt that the tradition contains some words actually pronounced by the Prophet, while the others were added to it by the narrator. (*i*) The circumstances under which the tradition was heard by one or more

narrators should be considered. (*j*) It should also be considered whether the narrator or narrators were men of good memory and could retain what they had heard. The narration of a woman, a blind person, or a Muslim-slave was also accepted on the above conditions.

Among the *Sunnat Jama't*, the following compilers and books are considered authentic on the subject and are called *Sihah-e-Sittah*, or the six correct works:—

(1) Al-Bukhāri, who carefully and patiently scrutinized and selected tradition by Imām Muhammad, the son of Ismail, born at Bokhara in 810 A.D. and died near Samarqand in the village of Kartang in 870 A.D. He selected from about six hundred thousand traditions, seven thousand, after working hard for sixteen years. It is said that before selecting a tradition, he used to prostrate and seek God's help as to the truth of the recorded tradition.

(2) Imām Muslim, born at Nishapur in East Iran, in 204 A.H. (826 A.D.) and died in 261 A.H. (883 A.D.). His collection contains three thousand traditions and is as authentic as Bukhāri's.

(3) Abu Isa Muhammad of Tirmiz, born in 209 A.H. (831 A.D.) and died in 279 A.H. (901 A.D.). His collection is entitled *At Tirimizi.*

(4) Abu Daūd of Seistan, born in 202 A.H. (824 A.D.) and died in 275 A.H. (897 A.D.). His compilation contains 4,008 traditions, which have been selected from a collection of five hundred thousand traditions.

(5) Abu Abdur Rahman of Nisa in East Iran, 303 A.H. (925 A.D.).

(6) Abu Abdulla Ibn-e-Mājah of Qazvin, North Iran, born in 209 A.H. (831 A.D.) and died in 273 A.H. (or 895 A.D.).

Besides these, the collections of Imām Shāfai, Ibn-e-Hanbal, Imām Mālik and some others are also considered authentic. The total number of works on Tradition is over 1,465.

The Shiahs possess the following collections of Tradition:—

(1) *The Kafia,* by Abu Jafar Muhammad known as Kulaini (329 A.H. or 941 A.D.).

(2) The *Man la Yas-tah-Zirahul-faqih* by Shaikh Muhammad, the son of Ali, 381 A.H. (or 991 A.D.).

(3) The *Tahzib* by Shaikh Abu Jafar Muhammad, the son of Hasan, 460 A.H. (or 1067 A.D.).

(4) The *Istabsar* by the same author.

(5) *Kitabur-Rijal* by Ahmad, son of Annijjāshi (1063 A.D.).

V.—Period of Development.

The fifth period of the development of Muslim Law begins with the conquest of Muslim territories between the Jaxartes and the Euphrates by the Mongols, and finally when Baghdad was captured and the last Abbaside Khalif was deposed, imprisoned and murdered. This period is specially noteworthy for the large number of commentaries and annotations on the work of past authorities belonging to the four schools of the *Sunnat Jama't.* In Iran, the hold of the long established schools of Hanafi and Shāfai was weakened by the neutral attitude of Moghal Emperors, and the rise of Shiahism which gradually became the State religion of Iran. When the Safavid dynasty succeeded the Timurid, about the beginning of the 16th century, Iran was split up into two divisions, the West, or what is now called Iran, becoming the centre of Shiahism, and the East, *i.e.,* Bokhara, Khiva and the present Afghanistan, remaining attached to the *Sunnat Jama't.* Besides these, Turkey and Egypt in the West, and India in the East also remained great centres of the *Sunnat Jama't* theology while Mesopotamia gradually became the chief centre of Shiah learning. This period ends about the beginning of the 19th century, when the Westernizing process of even theology began and is still in progress. Among the more notable authorities of this period are:—

(1) *Multaqal-Abhar,* which expounds the opinions of the four great founders of the *Sunnat Jama't* theology. It became a text-book on law in Turkey. It was written by Sheikh Ibrahim Halabi, who died in 956 A.H. (or 1598 A.D.).

(2) *Bahrur Raeq* by Zainul-abedin, the son of Nujaim or Ibn-e-Najm, 970 A.H. (or 1592 A.D.).

In India, Muslim Law is divided into *Fiqh* and *Faraiz.* The following works are considered as most authentic:—

(1) *Fiqhul-Akbar,* commented upon by several important writers.

(2) *Mukhtasare Qudūri* by Abul Husain Ahmad, the son of Muhammad-al-Qudūri (288 A.H. or 910 A.D.); with a commentary on it, entitled *al-Jauharatun-nayyerah.*

(3) *Al-mohit,* a famous work on the subject by Abu Bakr Muhammad Sarkhasi.

(4) *Al-Hidayah* by Shaikh Burhan-ud-din (593 A.H., or 1215 A.D.), which, according to the Turkish writer Haji Khalifa, like the *Quran,* supersedes all other books on the law. A commentary on it by Shaikh Akmal-ud-din Muhammad (*d.* 1384) entitled *Inayah* is well known. Several other commentaries have been written on it, such as *Nihayah* and *Fatuhul-Kabir.*

(5) *Sharhul-viqāyah* a commentary on the *Viqāyah* (by Ubaidullah, the son of Masud (*d.* 745 A.H. or 1367 A.D.) which is widely read in India.

(6) *Chalpi,* a commentary on the above commentary, written by Akhi Yusuf, the son of Junaid (901 A.H., or 1523 A.D.) was published in Calcutta in 1829.

(7) *Tanvirul-absar,* by Shumsud-din Muhammad, the son of Abdulla Ghāzi (995 A.H., or 1617 A.D.). A popular commentary on this work is *Durul-Mukhtar* by Muhammad Ala-ud-din, the son of Shaikh Ali (1071 A.H., or 1693 A.D.).

(8) *Sirajiyyah,* by Siraj-ud-din Muhammad, the son of Abdur Rashid Sajawandi, is much used in India on questions relating to inheritance. It has been commented upon by many writers, among whom Syed Ali Gorgani's (*d.* 814

A.H., or 1436 A.D.) *Sharafiyyah* is the most read in *Madrasas.*

(9) *Fatawæ-ālamgiri,* compiled by order of the Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb, is considered a highly authentic code of law in India. It was translated from Arabic into Iranian by order of the Princess Zibun-Nisa, the daughter of the Emperor. A portion of it was again translated into Iranian and published by order of the Council of the College at Fort William, Calcutta, in 1813.

(10) A collection of Fatwās (or judgments) were compiled by order of Tipu Sultan in Iranian in 313 chapters, under the title of *Fatāwāe-Muhammadi.*

(11) Mr. Neil Baillie wrote *Muhammadan Law of Inheritance* according to the Hanafi School, which was long used in the Indo-British courts of justice.

(12) Sir Abdur-Rahim wrote a book entitled *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* in 1911, which has been translated from the original English into Urdu by the Osmania University.

(13) Syed Amir Ali compiled a book on Sunni and Shiah Jurisprudence under the name of the *Personal Law of the Muhammadans,* which has been translated into Urdu by Syed Abul Hasan.

A very large number of other works on law have been written in Iranian, Arabic and Urdu and translated into the European languages, details about which lie beyond the scope of this work.

Prominent Shiah Theologians.

In Iran, during the Safavid and Qajar periods, many prominent Shiah theologians and writers on Jurisprudence flourished. The most celebrated among these are:—

(1) Yahya, the son of Ahmad Hilli, the author of two esteemed works, *viz., Jāma-ush-Sharāé* and *Mudkhul der Usul-e-Fiqh.*

(2) Baha-ud-din Āmeli (*d.* 1031 A.H., or 1653 A.D.),

the author of *Jāma-e-Abbasi,* a concise but most important work in twenty chapters in Iranian.

(3) Muhammad, the son of Murtaza, known as Muhsan, the author of *Mafātih.*

(4) Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (*d.* 1699), a voluminous writer, whose work *Bahrul-anwār* is a large compilation of Shiah traditions. His *Haqqul-yaqin,* in 14 volumes, deals with various questions relating to theology and is much esteemed.

THE SHARIÁT.

The *Shariát,* or the law of Islam, distinguishes between what is *Sahih* (lawful) and what is *batal* (forbidden). Some Acts are termed rights of God and others rights of men. The former again are classified into *complete* and *partial*; likewise the latter. Among the *complete* rights of God are:—

(1) Faith or *Iman*;
(2) Prayers at the five different times fixed;
(3) Fast of Ramzan;
(4) Alms or *Zakat*;
(5) Pilgrimage;
(6) Khums, paying one-fifth of the booty acquired in fighting the enemy; or one-fifth of what is obtained from a "mine" to the State;
(7) Abstaining from murder;
(8) Abstaining from drinking intoxicants; and
(9) Abstaining from adultery, gambling, etc.

The *partial* rights of God are those which are connected with an individual but remain under the supervision of the State, such as theft, etc.

Among the *individual* rights are:—

(1) Safety of person.
(2) Safety of honour.
(3) Safety of possession.
(4) Safety of marital relations.
(5) Safety of guardianship.

(6) Safety of rights in inheritance.

(7) Safety of freedom in all lawful action.

The *partial individual* and *State* (God) rights are those relating to attack on the honour of another; or those which attack the chastity of another; in which case the State should also take independent action against the aggressor. The acts are of two kinds:—

(1) The external, done by the body such as speaking, seeing, touching, tasting, smiling, using the hands and other limbs of body.

(2) *Qalbi,* or Internal acts of mind such as thinking, believing, desiring, etc. The *Shar-a* (law) can deal with external acts alone. If a man admits that "there is no God but Allah", he is considered by Muslim law as a member of Islam, though he may be an infidel in his mind. The acts done by the body are either *Qaul,* or speech, or *Amal,* action. These again may be *Isbatāt* or positive, such as giving or taking anything, in or without exchange for example, by way of sale of a property or gift; or *Iqatat,* or negative, such as divorce. Among these, the *Shar'a* distinguishes between that which is *rawā,* or lawful, and *na-rawā,* or unlawful. The *rawā* have been graded into:—

(1) *Farz,* or obligatory in the first degree, in which the pure rights of God are prominent, such as prayer five times a day, fasting, etc. There is besides a *Farz-e-Kifāyah,* which is obligatory in the first degree, but which if done by a few, there is no necessity for others taking part in it, in which case they are not considered responsible, for example, in regard to the burial of a dead body or fighting an enemy.

(2) *Wajūb,* or obligatory in the second degree, such for example as the maintenance of one's own wife and children.

(3) *Sunnah,* or that which was done by the Prophet or said or done by others and approved by him.

(4) *Mustahab,* commended, such as charity.

(5) *Mubāh,* or permitted, which may or may not be done.

The *Na-rawā* (or unlawful acts) are classified into:—

(1) *Fasid,* or vicious.

(2) *Haram,* or forbidden by law.

(3) *Makruh,* or unclean, for doing which the law cannot take action against an individual but abstinance from it is enjoined or said to be desirable.

The Fundamental Muslim Legal Principle.

Equality is the fundamental principle of Muslim legal and social code. All Muslims are equal before God, who is the supreme head, the only sovereign, ruling over men, through His messengers and His revealed books.

The *Quran* says:—

"Obey God, the Prophet, and the one who (in his absence) rules over you." Islam possesses neither church, nor priest nor a temporal power (king). Man must address God directly without seeking any mediator and the judge must give judgment according to the will of God as stated in the *Quran.* Thus *Quran* is the fountain head of Muslim law, supported by tradition, agreement, analogy and preference, as to which all Muslim sects, *Sunnat Jama't, Shiahs, Ahle-Hadis,* are unanimous. The differences only arise in regard to the selection of a particular tradition or preference given to one tradition over any other or the interpretation attached to certain of the texts in the *Qurānic* passages.

Principles of Islam.

Actions in Islam are divided into:—

I. *Eteqīdāt,* or belief in

(1) God.

(2) His angels.

(3) His revealed books.

(4) All prophets, as the *Quran* states "Each nation has its own Guide", of whom the last is Muhammad.

(5) Day of resurrection and judgment.

(6) The decrees of God.

Iman (or faith): A possessor of faith (or *Iman*) is called *Momin,* or believer. He must believe in the above-mentioned fundamental principles of Islam. Those who believe and have faith in Islam but are indifferent to the rituals and commit unlawful acts, will be punished in Hell though they will be finally saved. Thus Paradise is the final abode of all believers. According to the Sūfis, faith is inner illumination and vision, which is perfected by devotion and virtue, till man is absorbed in God. All Muslims may not be *Momin* but all *Momins* are Muslims, which means when a Muslim acts as he believes, he becomes a *Momin, i.e.,* true in his faith. The following texts from the *Quran* are related concerning the idea of *Muslim* and *Momin*:

> "Successful indeed are the believers who are humble in their prayers; and who shun vain conversation and who pay the *Zakat* (alms); and who guard their chastity; keepers of the trust and their covenant."
>
> "These are the heirs, who will inherit paradise." (Ch. XXIII. 8, 10, 11 and 15.)
>
> "Those who believe and do good, enjoin on each other the truth and patience." (Ch. III. 1–3.)

"A'rab say *amanna, i.e.,* we have faith, (say: you O Muhammad) you do not have faith but say *aslamna* (we submit) and *Iman* (faith) has not yet entered your hearts. The *Mominun* (faithful) are those who have faith in God, in apostle and they doubt not and strive hard with their wealth and their lives for the cause of God, such (believers are sincere." (Ch. XLIX. 14–15.)

A non-Muslim who embraces Islam must have faith in the Islamic tenet that "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet" and he must repeat the following:—"I believe in God, His attributes and name; obey His commands as prescribed in the *Quran* and Tradition."

The faith must be both by *Tasdiq,* internal conviction, and *Iqrar,* external admission.

II. *Ādāb* (or moralities) in theology are those which are mentioned in the *Quran* ,and the tradition, for example:—,

Sincerity and honesty in dealing, trust in God; humility towards all, particularly towards parent. In the following text of the *Quran,* we have laid stress on these qualities:—"Goodness to your parents, if either or both of them reach old age, say not to them 'fie', nor repulse them"; "and lower unto them the wing of submission." (Chapter XVII. 23–24.)

Contentment, patience in distress and in the time of fighting with enemy, charity, moderation in food and every good action, forgiveness, love and fear of God, obedience to God and His revealed law, toleration, speaking the truth, using power without violation of other's rights, guiding a wrong-doer towards the truth without hurting his feeling, as God recommended to Moses, when He sent him towards Pharoah, who claimed divinity for himself, as thus stated in the *Quran*:—"(O Moses and Aaron) go both of you unto Pharoah, surely he has transgressed (the limits) and speak unto him a gentle word, that he may heed or fear." (Ch. XX. 43–44.)

PLACE OF WORSHIP IN ISLAM.

Ibadāt (or worship) are:—

(1) Salāt or prayer is classified as under:—

(*a*) Daily prayers, to be performed five times in the twenty-four hours of day and night, *i.e.,* (1) Morning before sunrise *Farz-q-Rukat.* (2) Noon 4 *Rukats.* (3) Afternoon 4 *Rukats.* (4) After sunset 3 *Rukats.* (5) Night 4 *Rukats.*

Besides these, it is left to the option and will of each individual to perform the prayers named *Ishraq* (after sunrise—8 *Rukats*), *Zuha* (about 11 A.M.—8 *Rukats*) and

Tahajjad (midnight—9 *Rukats*). There are very few pious Muslims who perform the last three prayers.

Each *Rukat* consists of:—

1. Standing prayer.
2. Bent prayer.
3. Prostrated prayer.

There are a number of *Rukats* going under the names of *Sunnat, Nafl* and *Witr* performed in addition to those mentioned above with each period of prayer. Thus, in the morning prayer, there are, according to *Sunnat Jama't,* two more *Rukats,* named *Sunnat*; in the noon, eight *Rukats, Sunnat* and *Nafl*; in prayer before sunset four *Sunnat,* or after sunset two *Sunnat* and two *Nafl* and in the night prayer four *Sunnat-ghair-maokkadah,* two *Sunnat* after *farz,* two *Nafl* and three *Witr,* but all these are seldom performed by ordinary Muslims. Shiahs combine the prayers of noon and afternoon, and after sunset and night and thus they have shortened the times of prayer from five into three. Prayers are preceded by *azān* (or the call for prayer) and ablution, as shown below. In calling for prayer—the *Moazzin,* or crier, says:—

(1)	God is great	4 times.
(2)	I bear witness that there is no God but Allah	2 „
(3)	I bear witness that Muhammad is God's apostle	2 „
(4)	Hasten to come to prayers	2 „
(5)	Hasten to come to salvation	2 „
(6)	There is no God but Allah Sunnat Jama't once, and Shias ..	2 „
	In the morning *azān,* the Sunnat Jama't add "Prayer is better than sleep" ..	2 „

This is omitted by the Shiahs but they add in all *azāns:* "Hasten to the best action."

Ablution:—*Wazu* is mentioned in the *Quran* as following:—

"When ye rise up for prayer, wash your faces and

your hands upto the elbows, and rub your heads and (wash) or rub your feet up to the ankles, and if you are unclean purify yourselves, and if you are sick or on a journey, or one of you cometh from the closet, or ye have had contact with women and find no water, then go to clean high ground and rub your faces (two sides) and hands with it." (Ch. V. 6.)

"When you are under obligation to perform a total ablution (bath), unless (you are) travelling, (pray after) you have washed yourselves." (Ch. IV. 43.)

Thus ablution is of two kinds, the one which is the cleaning of the exposed parts of the body, which must be performed after rising from the bed for the morning-prayer and not necessary for others, unless when a man has answered a call of nature; where a man has had sexual intercourse, he must take a full bath, before the prayer. When sick or on journey or not finding water, one can do *Tayummum,* which means, instead of water, he may touch both his hands on clean dust or earth and wipe his face and back of his hands, both for ablution and bath. The ablution is performed by cleaning hands, and then mouth and teeth by means of *Miswak* (a tooth-cleaner made from the smaller twigs of a tree) or water, then, within nostrils, then face, right arm and left arm upto the elbow. After these the head should be wiped with wet hands and likewise the ears and round the neck. Lastly, the *Sunnat Jama't* wash their feet up to the ankles and put fingers between the toes, but Shiahs wipe the feet.

Prayer in Islam.

The form and detail of the prayer is not mentioned in the *Quran,* but the time, the significance and the spirit in which prayer should be performed is stated in the following passages:—

The Time of Prayer.

"Guard your prayers and of the mid-most prayer." (Ch. II. 238.)

"If you are in danger, then (pray) standing or on horse back (in time of war or journey." (Ch. II. 239.)

"And when you journey in the earth, there is no blame, if you shorten the prayer, if you fear that those who disbelieve will cause you distress." (Ch. IV. 101.)

"When you have finished the prayer, remember God, standing, sitting and reclining (in whatever condition possible for you)." (Ch. IV. 103.)

"Keep up your prayer from the declining of the sun till the darkness of the night and morning recitation, surely the morning recitation is witnessed. And during a part of the night, forsake sleep by it, beyond what is incumbent on you." (Ch. XVII. 78–79.)

"Glorify your Lord by praising Him before the rising of the sun and before its setting and during hours of the night do also glorify (Him) and during parts of the day." (Ch. XX. 130.)

The Significance of Prayer.

"Surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil." (Ch. XXIX. 45.)

The Spirit in which Prayer should be Performed.

"Say surely my prayer, my sacrifice, my life and my death are (all) for God, the Lord of the worlds." (Ch. VI. 163.)

In prayer, a Muslim is expected to observe the external form as well as the internal devotion and attention. His inner self must be absorbed in God, so that for the moment his soul must enjoy perfect peace and calmness. It must be detached from all worldly cares and remain attached in concentration on the Supreme Being.

Every person who prays should first stand up and face towards Mecca, although the *Quran* clearly states that the:—

"East and the West everywhere is God, therefore whither you turn, thither is God's countenance, surely God is all-embracing and all-knowing." (Ch. II. 115.)

Therefore the object of facing Mecca is to bring uniformity among Muslims while they pray.

Then raise both hands upto the ears, and after the words "God is great" and then the following *surah* of the *Quran* should be recited:—

"By the name of God, the beneficent, the merciful."

"Praise be to Allah, Lord of all the Worlds!"

"The compassionate, the merciful."

"King of the day of reckoning."

"Thee alone do we worship, and to Thee alone do we beseech for help."

"Guide us on the right path."

"The path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious."

"Not of those with whom Thou art angry."

"Nor of those who go astray."—*Amen.*

Next a few verses from other parts of the *Quran* are to be repeated or the following *surah* which is commonly recited:—

"Say! He is God alone."

"God the eternal!"

"He begetteth not."

"He is not begotten."

"And there is none like unto Him." (Ch. XII.)

Then saying God is great, the worshipper goes in *ruku* by lowering his head down and bending his body, so that the palms of the hands are placed on the knees, and says, "Glory be to my Lord the Great", and rising again, says:— "God hears him who gives praise to Him," and then prostrates himself, till the forehead touches the ground and says "Glory be to my Lord, the most high". Then the supplicant sits down and again prostrates himself and repeats the same words, and rising, assumes the standing position. This is what is called one *rukat.* At the end of prayer, sitting in a reverential and humble posture, and glorifying God and wishing peace for the Prophet, to one's brother believers, to oneself and all others, the worshipper ends the prayer, and raises his hands offering further supplications

(*munajat*) in which selected passages from the Tradition or sayings of pious and holy persons are recited.

Besides the daily prayers, the following are performed on specified times:—

Friday, or congregational prayer, performed about one o'clock, when people, before prayer, listen to *Khutba,* or address, delivered usually by the one who leads the prayer. Those who attend the Friday prayer take a bath before going to the mosque.

Festival prayers. (For example on the occasion of the *Ramzan* and *Baqarid.*) People are assembled in large numbers in an open place or mosque and perform two *rukat* prayers and listen to the address delivered by the Khatib after prayers, in which the significance of the festival in question is explained, and praise offered to the Prophet and to his virtues.

Eclipse prayer: Consists of two *rukats.*

Prayers for the dead: The Imām stands near the corpse and the others stand behind him in rows. The prayer begins by the Imām raising his hands and saying, "God is Great", then repeats:—

"Holiness to Thee, O God
"and to Thee be praise
"Great is Thy name
"Great is Thy greatness
"Great is thy praise
"there is no God, but Thee."

Again raises his hands and says, "God is Great" and in this manner after four times raising hands and saying "God is Great", he completes the prayer.

During a journey or when at war, the prayers are shortened from four to two *rukats,* but two-*rukat* and three-*rukat* prayers of the early morning and after sunset are performed as usual. Women, during the menses, are excused from performing prayer.

Bath (or *ghusl*) is taken after:—

(1) Menses.

(2) Child-birth, in which a woman remains unclean for ten or forty days.
(3) After sexual intercourse.
(4) Physical pollution by dream.
(5) Before the Friday and festival prayers.
(6) After washing a corpse.
(7) After death, when the corpse must be washed.

Added to these cleansing the nostrils, mouth, teeth, head, finger-nails, abstersion *(Istinja)* after passing urine, washing hands before and after meals, combining the head, etc., are attended to by all orthodox Muslims.

Fasting in Islam.

Fasting is common among many nations, and with the exception of Zoroastrianism, it has been commended by all religions. The reasons assigned vary:—On the supposition that food has an evil influence over the body (as believed by the Mithraists);[78] to initiate a youth in society; a source of dreaming the desired object and of ecstasy in which vision or communication with the deity, or an angel or a sacred person is expected; following an old custom, for instance, among the Jews, it is said that Moses fasted for forty days and Daniel abstained from eating flesh or bread for three months; the belief with those who perform magic that success in magical performances is attained by practising it; the belief that it is a war for capturing genii or other supposed spirits or forces in nature;[79] a sign of repentance and to obtain Divine mercy and compassion.

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[78] The religion of *Mithras* (or the friend). *Mithras* is the highest of the Second Order of deities in the ancient Iranian religion, the friend of man in this life and his protector against evil in the world to come. He is said to have sided with Ormuzd against Ahriman, incarnating in the sun. He is represented as a youth kneeling on a bull and plunging a dagger into his neck, while he is at the same time attacked by a dog, a serpent, and a scorpion.

[79] *Genii* or *Jinnie* (*pl. Jinn*): In Islamic myth, one of a race of spirits, some good, others bad.

Fasting is common among Muslim and non-Muslim ascetics, being considered a mode for subduing passions. The reason assigned in the *Quran* for fasting is that it is intended to prevent evil tendency and to purify one's soul.

The following are texts from the *Quran* in regard to fasting, which appear to support this view:—

> "O Believers! fasting is prescribed for you, as had been prescribed for those who were before you, that ye may guard against evil. (Fast) for a fixed number of days but whoever who is sick among you, or on a journey, then (the same) number of other days (he must fast) and those who can afford a redemption by feeding of a man in need—but whoever does good of his own accord, it is better for him: and that you fast is better for you if you know. The month of *Ramzan*[80] is that in which the *Quran* was revealed, a guidance for mankind and clear proofs of guidance and the distinction (of good and bad); therefore whoever of you observes (crescent of) the month, he shall fast, and whosoever of you is sick or on a journey, then (he shall fast the same) number of days in other time. God desireth ease for you and does not desire hardship." (Ch. II. 83–185.)

The fast of *Ramzan* lasts for one whole month during which a Muslim must eat light food between four and five before the day-break and remain without food, including water, till sunset. He must abstain during these hours from all vicious action, such as abusing, backbiting, anger, jealousy, sexual intercourse. Thus, fasting among the Muslims does not mean remaining hungry for

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[80] *Ramzan*: Also *Ramadan* and *Ramadhan*; from *Ar-ramida*, to be hot; hence the hot month. The ninth month of the Muslim year kept as a great annual Muslim fast. A sort of Lent. It was the month in the life of Muhammad when, as he spent it alone in meditation and prayer, his eyes were opened to see, through the shows of things, into the one Eternal Reality, the greatness and absolute sovereignty of Allah.

certain hours but to abstain from all evils and restrain one's eyes, tongue, ears and all other members of the body from lust and passionate activity. Even the heart should, it is said, be filled with good thoughts and remain absorbed in God. It is a month in which every Muslim is expected not only to *restrain* appetite but also passion and should pass most of the time in contemplation of God. The fast must be broken only after sunset, after which a Sunnat Jama't Muslim goes to the mosque and joins in the prayer known as *Tarawih,* which is held in addition to the usual prayer in twenty *rukats.* During the period of this great fast, in all Muslim countries, restaurants and tea houses are kept closed during the entire day and are opened only after sunset, though kept open the whole night. Drinking of water and taking of food in the street is also prohibited. The nights are passed in visiting friends or in reciting the *Quran* and offering prayers. Sermons are delivered in mosques on morals, the Traditions and duties involved in fasting. The *Hafiz,* or the reciter of *Quran,* reads a portion of the *Quran* every night, so that he may complete the whole on the 27th night of *Ramzan.*

Pilgrimage in Islam.

A religious undertaking resembling the Hindu *yatra* used to be celebrated annually by heathen Arabs round the Ka'aba, the ancient temple at Mecca. The Prophet after removing all idols and signs of idolatry from the temple and making certain modifications in the rituals observed by the pilgrims, permitted the pilgrimage to his followers. The ceremonies begin at the last stage of the journey, near Mecca, in the following manner:—

(1) The pilgrim, after taking a bath and performing two *rukat* prayers, removes his dress and wears two pieces of cloth, one of which covers the lower extremities of his body and the other his chest and shoulders. The head remains uncovered. None is exempted from this rule and all Muslims, from a king to the poorest peasant, has to observe

it. This is called *ahrām*; after this is done one must not shave or anoint his head, remove his nails or kill any living being. He must not even scratch his body lest he may kill a vermin.

(2) The pilgrim must take the vow to abstain from worldly affairs and continuously call on God and recite *Talbiah, i.e.*, say: *Labbaik allahumma, Labbaik, i.e.*, I stand in thy service, O God, I stand in thy service.

(3) The pilgrim must next perform *Tawāf, i.e.*, make circuit round the Ka'aba, thrice at a quick pace and four times at a slow pace.

(4) The pilgrim must next kiss the black stone built inside the mosque.

(5) The pilgrim must then perform two *rukat* prayers at a place known as Moqām-e-Ibrahīm.

(6) The pilgrim must next perform *Sa'y, i.e.*, run from Mount Safa to Mount Marwah seven times (this being done on the sixth day of *Zil-hujja*).

(7) The pilgrim next listens to the Khutba or sermon in the great mosque at Mecca (this being done on the 7th of *Zil-hujja*).

(8) On the 8th called *Tarwiyah* (*i.e.*, satisfying thirst), the pilgrim proceeds to *Mina* (which is about 3 miles from the city of Mecca) and remains there the whole night.

(9) On the 9th day, the pilgrim proceeds to the plain of "*Arafat*" (which is further away from Muzdalafa, which is over two miles from Mina) and there listens to sermons and leaves for *Muzdalafa*, where he arrives for the sunset prayer.

(10) After praying at Muzdalafa, the pilgrim proceeds to the three pillars at Mina (which are named *Jamarat*; the first pillar is called *Jamrat-ul-oula*, the second *Jamrat-ul-wosta*, and the third *Jamrat-ul-uqba*) and at each pillar throws some pebbles. This is called *Ramyut-jamar*.[81] He

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[81] One of the three pillars is called the Great Devil. When throwing the pebbles, the pilgrim says: "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty, (I do this) in hatred of the Fiend and to his shame."

remains at Mina and performs the animal sacrifice, which is the concluding act of the pilgrimage. The pilgrim then returns to Mecca and again after going round the Ka'aba once again, completes the pilgrimage. The 11th, 12th and 13th days of the pilgrimage are called the days of *Tashriq,* moonlight nights[82]; sun. The minor rituals connected with the pilgrimage are:—Drinking of the water from the well near the Ka'aba, known as *Zamzam*; fasting and the further throwing pebbles and visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Medina, etc. Those who perform the pilgrimage are called *Hajis.* The *Umrah,* or the lesser pilgrimage, is performed on any day excepting the 8th, 9th and 10th of *Zil-hujja.* The following rituals are omitted in connection with it:—

(1) Ahrām;

(2) The Running between Safa and Marwah; and

(3) The Sacrifice of animals.

The following are the texts of the *Quran* relating to the Haj pilgrimage:—

"Perform the pilgrimage (*Haj*) and the visit (*Umrah*) to Mecca, for God. And if you are prevented, send such gifts as can be easy for you to obtain, and shave not your heads until the gifts have reached their destination. And those among you who are sick or has an ailment of the head must pay a ransom of fasting, alms giving or sacrificing. And if you are in safety (from enemy) then whosoever profits by combining the "Umrah" with the pilgrimage (should give) such gifts as can be had with ease and if you cannot find (such gifts) then a fast of three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven when you have returned." (Ch. XI. 196.)

"The pilgrimage is in the well-known months (*i.e.,*

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[82] The Arabs, during their pre-Muslim days, after performing the pilgrimage, used to pass three days in recounting the heroic deeds of their ancestors. There was feasting and enjoyment, somewhat like the *yatras* and *katha* recitation current to this day in India. *Tashriq* may represent sun-rise, the idea being that the slain animal's flesh is dried under sunshine.

Shawwal, Ziqad and *Zil-huj*), so whoever determined the performance of the pilgrimage therein (he must remember) there shall be then no foul speech nor abusing nor disputing in the pilgrimage." (Ch. XI. 197.)

"There is no blame on you in seeking bounty from your Lord (by trading), but when you advance from Arafat in multitude (of pilgrims) you must remember God near the sacred monument (*i.e.*, Mazdalafa, where the pilgrims halt for the night)." (Ch. XI. 198.)

"Then hasten onward from the place whence the people (pilgrims) hasten on, and ask forgiveness of God." (Ch. XI. 199.)

"And when you have completed your devotions, then praise God as you praised your fathers even with a more (intense and devotional lauding)." (Ch. XI. 200.)

Sacrifice of Animals.

"And proclaim among men the pilgrimage: they will come to you on foot and on every fleet camel, arriving by every deep defile. They may witness of its advantages for them, and may make mention of God's name on the appointed days (of the first ten days of *Zil-hujja*) over what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds, then eat of them and feed the distressed one, the poor. Then let them accomplish their needful acts of shaving and cleansing and let them fulfil their vows and let them go round the ancient house (of Ka'aba)." (Ch. XXII. 27–29.)

Must not kill living beings:—"O Believers! do not kill game while you are on pilgrimage and whoever among you shall kill it intentionally the compensation is the like of what he is killed, from the cattle, as two just persons among you shall judge, as an offering to be brought to the Ka'aba of the Kaffara (atonement of it, is the feeding of the poor or the equivalent of it in fasting, that he may taste the unwholesome result of his deeds." (Ch. V. 95.)

"Safa and Murwah are among the signs of God: (therefore) whoever maketh a pilgrimage to Ka'aba or maketh "Umrah", shall not be blamed if he go round about them both." (Ch. XI. 158.)

ZAKÂT OR ALMS.

One of the five foundations of religion, incumbent upon a Muslim who is an adult, free, sane and possesses *Nisab*[83] is to give alms.

The portion is fixed at one-fifth of the total income derived by him. This income is distributed by the State among the following:—

(1) People in hard circumstances, whose income is less than their necessary expenditure.

(2) *Miskin,* the needy, who possess no property.

(3) The collectors of *Zakāt.*

(4) Non-Muslims who embrace Islam, for whom help is to be extended.

(5) To free captives.

(6) To help the debtors, who cannot pay their debts.

(7) To help travellers, who, though in good circumstances in their own homes, have accidentally met with difficulty, owing to the loss of their money at the hands of thieves or sickness or some other valid reason or have to be helped from the State treasury.

(8) "In the way of God." For advancing the defence of Muslims, which means, on the purchase of arms and other necessary things for the equipment of the army for defending Muslims.

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[83] *Nisab* means property, such as a saving of silver weighing 40 tolas or valued at about Rs. 50; or gold worth £12, both saved at the end of one year; or camels over five in number; or bulls, cows, buffaloes more than thirty in number; or sheep and goats, over forty in number; articles of trade, exceeding 200 *dirhams* in value; and mines of gold, silver, etc., provided the mine should not be within the boundary of one's dwelling.

The following are texts from the *Quran* in regard to *Zakāt* above referred to:—

"The alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of God, and for the wayfarer; a duty imposed by God." (Ch. IX. 60.)

The approximate *Zakāt* duty imposed on various sources of wealth is as follows:—

(1) On gold, one *Misqal* for 20 *Misqals* of gold.

(2) On silver, 5 *dirhams* for 200 *dirhams* of silver and above that quantity, for each forty *dirhams,* one *dirham* is imposed.

(3) On all articles of trade exceeding the value of 200 *dirhams.*

(4) On all kinds of fruits, one-tenth of their market value.

(5) On sheep and goats, for each forty head of sheep or goats, one sheep or goat, and from 121 to 200, two, and over that, for every hundred, one is to be received by the State.

(6) Bulls, cows and buffaloes—on thirty or above that number up to forty, one calf of one-year; and for every forty, one calf two years' old.

(7) On camels—every five camel, one goat or sheep; and from ten to fourteen two goats; and from 20 to 24, three goats; and from 25 to 35, a female camel and so forth proportionately according to the number of camels, provided these animals, or silver, gold, etc., remain with the owner for about one year.

Kaffarah, or expiation, for not performing a religious ritual, such as daily prayer, fasting, paying of *Zakāt,* pilgrimage or vows, is incumbent on all Muslims. The rituals or vows are considered as a debt or duty, which, if performed at the specified time and manner, is called *ada.* If one fails to perform them, he must make a *Qaza* by some

deed equal to what he should have performed. The following text of the *Quran* relates to this matter:—

"Whosoever remitteth it as alm, shall have expiation for his sins." "God does not call you to account for what is vain in your oaths but He calls you to account for the making of deliberate oaths; so its expiation is the feeding of ten poor men out of the middling (food) you feed your families with, or their clothing or the freeing of a neck (captive) but those who cannot find (means) then fasting for three days; this is the expiation of your oaths when you swear; guard your oaths." (Ch. V. 89.)

If one cannot fast in the month of *Ramzan* for one or more days, owing to illness, the performance of a journey, or some other reason, such as menses in the case of women, he or she must fast at other times or feed a number of persons. A slanderer must ask the man whom he has injured to forgive him. The substitute presented is, in many cases, to free slaves, fast at another time, or the performance of charity.

Jahad, or Holy War:—In theory, it becomes a duty on every Muslim to defend Muslim territory and faith against non-Muslim aggression as the following texts of the *Quran* show:—

"Permission is given (Muslims) to fight because they have been wronged and most surely God is able to give them (Muslims) victory. Those (Muslims) who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they said: Our Lord is '*Allah*'. And had these not been Allah's repelling some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters, churches, and synagogues and mosques in which God's name is much remembered." (Ch. XXII. 39–40.)

"And fight in the way of God with those who fight with you (but) do not exceed the limits." (Ch. XI. 190.) (And when you are in the state of war) kill them (enemies) whomever you find them and drive them out from whence they drove you out, and persecution is severer than

slaughter, and do not fight with them at the sacred mosque, until they fight with you in it, but if they do fight you, then slay them, such is the recompense of the unbelievers." (Ch. XI. 191.)

"But if they desist, then surely Allah is forgiving, merciful."

"And fight them until there is no persecution of (Muslims) and religion should be one only for Allah." (Ch. XI. 192–193.)

Jihad means to defend or to strike, as the following texts from the *Quran* show:—

"O Prophet! strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be unyielding to them." (Ch. IX. 73.)

"Do not follow the unbelievers, and strive against them a mighty *Jihad* (striving)." (Ch. XXV. 52.)

"O Prophet! strive (*Jihad*) hard against them." (Ch. LXVI. 90.)

But the early defensive attitude was changed gradually into aggression on the part of Muslims, when, after the death of the Prophet, they became conquerors and Empire-builders. Their conquest was on political grounds, particularly when the lead of Islam was taken by Turkish and Moghal rulers.

MŪĀMLĀT.

The fourth division of Islamic Sha'ra (law) is Mūāmlāt or transactions and is subdivided into:—

(1) *Marriage.*—Marriage is encouraged by the Prophet, while celibacy is condemned by him. Even Sūfi ascetics have lived a married life and have had large families, such, for example, as the celebrated Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani, who had as many as about forty children. Men and women must marry, not once in their lives, but so long as they have strength and can afford to support each other. In the early days of Islam, women belonging to the most respectable families in Mecca, married several times after

becoming widows or after having been divorced by their husbands. For instance, Khadija, the first and most honoured wife of the Prophet, had been twice married before accepting the Prophet as her third husband. There are numerous other instances that may be quoted among Muslim men and women. Aiyasha was the only wife of the Prophet who was married a virgin girl to him. There is a tradition that the Prophet said:—"A married man perfects half of his religion." During the pre-Islamic period of the Arabs, there was no limit to the number of wives they could take, but Islam limited the number to one, with permission to marry, if necessary, two, or three or even four, *provided* one can treat them with justice and equality in his relations with them as a husband; which is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Hence, the tendency of Muslim Law is towards monogamy though it does not definitely bind a man saying that he can take only one wife. At present, the concession of marrying more than one wife is enjoyed by very few, as the economic conditions, the social habits, the cost of education and the practical difficulties involved in bringing up a large family are against polygamy. In the early days of Islam, the circumstances were rather different, owing largely to the then prevailing social and political conditions. Wars of conquests ended in the capture of a large number of women, some of whom were of respectable families, and had to be taken as wives and supported by the conquerors. Polygamy thus became a necessity and offered a ready solution to social difficulties. Among Shiahs and the Māleki sect, a temporary marriage named *Mut'ā* is allowed, according to which, after the lapse of a fixed period mutually agreed to, both the parties become free of each other, without the need for pronouncing divorce on their part. Such a marriage is permitted for the convenience of travellers, strangers in a place and poor but young widows, for whom it is difficult to find suitable permanent husbands.

In Islam, marriage is a civil contract made by mutual consent between man and woman. Among the Sunni

Muslims, the presence of two male or one male and two female witnesses and a dower are necessary. A woman who has reached the age of puberty is free to choose, to accept or to refuse an offer, although such conduct may be against the declared wishes of her parents or guardians. If a woman was married in her infancy, she may renounce and dissolve the contract on reaching her majority. Her consent in any case is necessary, though parents are allowed to find a suitable match and even in some cases to force her to give her consent, which, however, is not legal. She can make her own terms before the marriage, as to the amount of the dowry to be paid to her, the dissolution of marriage in case her husband leaves the place and goes to some other country, or in regard to any other matter. All terms and conditions agreed to mutually would be binding on the husband. Freedom, age and health are the conditions for a marriage. In the case of impotency, insanity or extreme poverty, which disallows a husband so much as to render it impossible for him to support his wife, she has the right to divorce him. A man may see the face of his future bride before the marriage but in practice, this legal concession is not utilized. Future husbands in India receive information about their spouses through their women relations who arrange the marriage or meet her in his or in her house. A man may divorce and re-marry the divorced wife, but if he pronounces divorce on three occasions, she cannot return to him, unless after having married another man, has lived with him as his wife for a period of time. She may be divorced by the second husband and then she may re-marry the first. This, however, happens only in extremely rare cases. The object of this law is the husband who has divorced his wife feels ashamed and disgraced to take her back after she has re-married and lived as the wife of another man. Thereupon, in practice, few people resort to take advantage of the right to divorce. Divorce is condemned by the Prophet and is not to be resorted to except in unavoidable circumstances, such as

the infidelity of a woman or other serious cause. Divorce is of two kinds:—

(1) *Rajaī,* or revocable.

(2) *Ba'en,* or irrevocable.

A husband has the right to divorce his wife. This right is not effective until the period of *iddat* (probation) is over. This period, according to the Hanafi school, is three menstrual courses or three months, and during this period the right to revoke the divorce is available. After the death of the husband, the period of *iddat* is prolonged to four months and ten days. If a woman is enceinte, and divorce has to be resorted to, the *iddat* period continues till the delivery takes place. In this case, the wife has the right to reside in her husband's house and be maintained by him. A child born six months after the marriage is considered the child of the married husband and so after his death until about two years (according to Hanafi school). But if a child is born earlier than six months after the marriage, it is not considered to be legitimate. The following are the different forms of divorce current among the Sunnis and Shiahs. Among the Sunnis:—

Besides impotency on the part of a man and certain defects in a woman, a divorce may be approved by the *Qazi* on the grounds of:—

(1) Unequality of status of the men and women.

(2) Insufficient dower.

(3) If either non-Muslim husband or wife embraces Islam or Muslim wife or husband are converted to paganism.

(4) La'an, if a husband charges his wife with adultery and, if she swears that she is innocent and the husband swears that she is not.

(5) *Eela* (vow), if a husband makes a vow that he will have no sexual intercourse for a period of four months or more.

(6) If a husband becomes a slave of his wife or she of her husband.

(7) If a husband is obliged to flee from a country ruled by non-Muslims to a country ruled by Muslims.

(8) *Khula,* which means continuous disagreement between husband and wife, when the wife is willing to pay a certain ransom and free herself from her husband. On mutual agreement, the ransom may not be demanded by the husband.

(9) *Zihar,* if a husband says to his wife: "You are to me like the book of my mother", or say, "you are free", etc. In each of these cases, if he changes his mind, he may take her back by freeing a slave or fasting two months or feeding sixty poor men.

The Shiahs have little difference with the Sunnis in this connection. Among them, a divorce cannot be effected in a language that is not clear. The husband must know the language or at least understand and intend to pronounce divorce. He must be an adult, free and declare his intention to divorce and the divorce should be pronounced in the presence of two just persons as witnesses. The expression of divorce should preferably be pronounced in Arabic.

The following are few of the texts of the *Quran* usually quoted in connection with marriage and divorce:—

"And marry those among you who are single and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves, if they are needy, God will make them free from want out of His grace and let those who do not find a match keep chaste until God makes them free from want, out of His grace." (Ch. XXIV. 32–33.)

"And marry not those women whom your fathers married."

"And forbidden unto you are:—Mothers, your daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, and brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster mothers, foster sisters, mothers-in-law, step-daughters, or two sisters together." (Ch. IV. 22–23.)

Among the sayings of the Prophet are:—

"All young men must marry, because marriage prevents

sins. Those who cannot marry must fast." "Marriage perfects half the religion." "A man who wishes to marry a woman, let him see her before marriage."

Inheritance.—Inheritance, technically called *Ilmul-Fāraez,* is based upon the following text of the *Quran*:—

"The male shall have the equal of the portion of two females. If there are more than two females, they shall have two-thirds of what the deceased has left, and if there is one, she shall have the half. With regard to parents, each shall have one-sixth, if (the deceased) has left a child. If there is no child, his parents (father and mother) only inherit him, the mother shall have the third, but if he has brothers, his mother shall have the sixth after payment of debt. And you shall have half of what your wives leave if they have no child, but if they have a child, you shall have one-fourth And they (wives) shall (inherit) the fourth of what you have if you have no child, but if you have a child, they shall have the eighth of what you leave after payment of the debt; and if a man or woman leaves property to be inherited by neither parents nor offspring and have a brother or a sister, each of them shall have the sixth, but if there are more of them, they shall be sharers in the third after paying the debt; concerning those who have neither parents nor offspring, if a man dies and he has no son and has a sister, she shall have half of what he leaves (*vice versa*), he shall be her heir if she has no son; but if there be two (sisters) they shall have two-thirds of what he leaves, and if there are brethren, men and women, male shall have the like of the portion of two females." (Ch. IV. 11–12 and 177.)

During the pre-Islamic period, Arab women and children could not inherit, because the idea prevailed that inheritance was for those who could fight and defend the family. All differences among Muslims concerning the distribution of the inherited property arise from the interpretation of the words occurring in the text of the *Quran* or in fixing the nearest relations. A Muslim is free to

spend or dispose of his property as he wishes during his life-time. If he gives the whole or a portion of it to a charitable institution or to a relation or friend, he must part with the same and give over full possession of it to the party concerned. As regards making a will, he or she has the right to dispose of one-third of the property after his or her death, the remaining two-thirds being distributed according to the law of inheritance, in which the owner cannot make any change, unless such changes are agreed to and accepted by his legal heirs. The testator must not be insane, a minor or under any compulsion to make a will. He must be free and independent to dispose of his property. After making the will, he or she may revoke it from time to time, if he or she thinks it necessary. Both Sunnis and Shiahs agree that a relation connected with the deceased through another relation, cannot inherit, so long as the direct heir is alive. This is called *Hujub,* or rule of exclusion. For instance, a grandfather cannot inherit while the father is alive, and a grandson cannot inherit so long as there is a son alive. They also agree that propinquity is essential in regard to inheritance, but authorities differ in fixing the "near relative". Sunnis give preference to the male line, though it may not be direct to a female descendant; for example, they prefer a brother's son to the daughter's children. Supposing 'A' dies leaving a grandson by his daughter and a cousin of his father, the grandson has no right to inherit but this cousin of the father does inherit. Both Shiahs and Sunnis agree that if 'A' has two sons and one of them has predeceased and has left children, when 'A' dies, his son inherits the whole property. But Shiahs take the nearer blood relation and give preference to the grand-children through the daughter to the brother's children. The property is divided in the following manner:

(1) Payment of funeral expenses of the deceased.

(2) Payments of debts of the deceased.

(3) Disposal of one-third according to the will (if there be any).

(4) Balance or whole (if there be no will) among the undermentioned relatives:—(*a*) *Zu-wul Farāez* or closest relation; (*b*) *Asabah*, next to the above; and (*c*) *Zu-wul Arhām* next to *Asabah*.

Descendants take precedence over the ascendants, as son over father, and, in each class, next of kin take first, as grandson before the great-grandson, and grandfather before great-grandfather. The woman relations inherit half of what male relations get. Where full brothers or sisters are alive, half-brothers or sisters cannot inherit. Among the Sunnat Jama'at, if a woman dies leaving behind her her husband, mother and brothers born of her mother, but by a different father, and also full brothers, the husband receives half, the brother one-sixth and the half-brothers one-third each, but full brothers being residuaries get nothing. The murderer of the deceased, though related to him, is deprived of the inheritance, and so one who has been converted to another religion, and illegitimate issue. The Sunnis allow inheritance to such children from the mother because there cannot be any doubt of her being the mother, but among the Shiahs, an illegitimate child neither inherits from the father nor the mother, and parents also cannot inherit from illegitimate children. Adopted children are also excluded from inheritance, though marriages between the adopted parents and children are not encouraged.

Contractual Transactions.—Among the recognised contractual transactions are sale, barter, agency, etc. *Bái* means barter or sale of property for money or goods. Things are divided into:—

(1) Similars; and

(2) Dissimilars.

Similar things are those which are sold by weighing and measuring; and dissimilar things are different in quality but sold in exchange, such as wheat for its price in coin. Similar things, as wheat for rice, when sold after being measured or weighed, delivery should take place at once. When these are sold unconditionally, the buyer has no right

to choose the best part of it from the whole, unless the seller consents and desires to please him. Things sold or exchanged cannot remain undelivered or unadjusted on the mere responsibility of the parties. But if a thing is sold against its value in money, time is allowed in receiving money. Among similars, there are similars of capacity, weight and sale. The seller must express clearly the quantity and quality of the thing exactly as it is, so that any doubt or misunderstanding may not arise in regard to it later on. He must fix the price and say that such a thing, of so much value and on such terms and conditions (if there be any), he is willing to sell to so and so; the buyer must accept the offer in clear language. If the seller himself cannot do this, he must appoint an agent, with sufficient authority to dispose of his goods. If a contract takes place through a broker, it must be ratified by the actual buyer. Option is allowed to the buyer and seller for three days (in case a thing is not removed from the seller's premises) to avoid the transaction. If a thing is purchased without inspection or examination and afterwards a difference is found in the quantity or the quality specified by the seller or asked for by the purchaser, the latter may refuse to take delivery of it. There are twenty different kinds of sale recognised, of which a few are:—

(1) Sale of a specific thing for a specific price or by way of barter;

(2) Sale of silver for silver or gold for gold or banking, in which the exchange of coins, either silver or gold must be exact in weight or quality, so that there may be no chance of resorting to usury.

(3) Sale in advance when the price is deposited before taking delivery of goods;

(4) Loan, etc.

The quality of the thing, when lent, is specified and the thing to be given back should be of the same quality.

One can mortgage his property, but here also usury is avoided. The theologians have permitted only such

bargains in wihch a lender of money can be benefited without transgressing the law, for example, the use of a thing or property which has been mortgaged; or make a condition precedent that if, within a specified time, the money is not repaid, delivery of possession of the property mortgaged will be given to the lender, etc. *Reba*, or usury, is strictly prohibited under Islamic law. It means the taking advantage of an individual in distress, by giving him momentary relief, with the intention of bringing more misery upon him. One is forced to ask for a loan on the condition that it would be repaid, as agreed, to the lender; often, much more has to be paid to the lender than he has actually paid. In some cases it may be deemed harmless, but often it brings ruin to whole families, of which the lender is conscious. Such exaction is against the spirit of Islam. The lender may intentionally lend money to possess the property of one who may, owing to hard circumstances, be forced to seek its help. Islam inculcates moderate socialism and with it prescribes a rational and just mode of dealing as between members of the Muslim community. Each individual has the right to possess what is his own property and to enjoy what is his own wealth, but only to the extent that by that he does not injure others' happiness or interests. He may amass wealth but the surplus wealth, which he is not in need of immediate use, must be used for helping those who badly need it. Usury as practised in the time of the Prophet was against such democratic principle and therefore it was prohibited. It is difficult to say whether the modern method of banking and charging of interest on amounts lent out is based upon the doctrine of mutuality, service and mutuality of benefit as between lender and borrower. If the benefits are deemed to be one-sided, it cannot be said to be permitted by Muslim law. If, on the other hand, there is mutuality of service, it would, in the judgment of Muslim theologians, be permissible as it would be held by them a kind of transaction. The following are the texts of the *Quran* relating to trade and usury:—

"They say that trading is just like usury, while God allows trade and forbids usury." (Ch. XI. 275.)

"God does not bless usury but make charity fruitful."

"When ye contract a debt for a fixed time, record it in writing; let a scribe record it in writing between you (two parties) in term of equity. But if a debtor is a minor, weak (in brain, *i.e.*, insane) or unable to dictate, let his guardian dictate, and call two men to witness; if not one man and two women. Do not be averse in writing the contract whether small or great and record the term. (Ch. XI. 281.)

"If a debtor is in straitened condition, postpone until he finds it easy to pay back the debt, or (better) if you (can) remit the debt as almsgiving (this in case of extreme poverty and inability on the part of a debtor to pay back his debt) who, instead of persecution and imprisonment, deserves sympathy and help."

"And if you are on journey and cannot find a scribe (to write the terms of transaction) then (give) a pledge in hand, or if one of you trust the other, the one who is trusted (must) deliver up the thing entrusted to him."

"Do not eat (take) usury in compound interest." (Ch. CXI. 129.)

"Allah does not bless usury (but) He causes charitable deeds to prosper."

"Fill the measure when measuring, and weigh with a right balance." (Ch. XVII. 35.)

"And the heaven, He raised high (and keep them suspending by a law of nature always balanced) and He made (this) measure (so that) you may not be inordinate in respect of the measure (in your actions), and keep up the balance with equity and do not make the measure deficient." (Ch. LV. 7–9.)

"Woe unto the defrauders, who, when they take demand in full measure, but when measure unto others, cause (to make it) less. (Ch. LXXXIII. 1–4.)

Ownership, termed *milkiyyat,* or possession, is of two kinds:—

(1) *Umumi,* or things in common or joint use, such as public roads, gardens, water, pasture, light and fire lighted in a desert to which any man has a right of warming himself.

(2) *Khususi,* or private concerns, limited to the ownership of an individual, may be classified under the following sub-heads:—(*a*) *Milkul-raqba,* or right as the proprietor of a thing; (*b*) *Milkul-yad,* or right of being in possession; and (*c*) *Milkul-Tasurruf,* or right of disposition.

Property is divided into:—

(1) *Manqul,* or moveable, which is subdivided into (*a*) *Mekyal,* or that which is measured, such as rice; (*b*) *Mauzunāt,* or that which is weighed, such as silver; (*c*) *Mozruāt,* or that which is measured by a linear measure, such as cloth; (*d*) *A'dadiyāt,* or that which may be counted, such as animals, etc.; (*f*) *Urooz,* or articles of furniture and miscellaneous things.

(2) *Ghair-e-Manqul or Áqār,* which means immovable property such as buildings, land, etc. A man may not be the owner of a property but may have a share in its income, through hard labour or skill, in which case, he is not concerned with the loss. But a full owner or member of a company is affected both in the loss and the profit. As part-owners in property, each part-owner is co-owner and bears the responsibility of sharing in the responsibility of maintaining it, repairing it, etc. At the same time, each co-owner enjoys the right of demanding his or her share and resolving to separate his or her own share of it from the joint ownership. There are partial or temporary rights, such as the right of *murur,* or passing through the land of others, and the right of *majra,* or *mosib, i.e.,* benefiting from the water passing through another's land and the right of *shufa,* or pre-emption, which means a co-partner in a certain property must be given preference in the matter of its purchase before the property is sought to be sold to a

stranger, and next to him to a neighbour (if the property is immovable, such as a building or land). If there are more partners than one, the preference is to be given according to the proportion of the share, of need as between the parties or on other considerations. But if the sharer or sharers do not assert their claim at the proper time, their claim lapses. Therefore, the *Qazi*, when he announces the sale of such property, fixes a time for the exercise of the right. Waste land belonging to the State may become private property by cultivation after permission from the authorities concerned. Land belonging to an individual cannot, however, be acquired through cultivation or effecting other improvements on it. Muslim law prevents an individual from becoming a nuisance or a source of annoyance to others in exercising one's own right of ownership. For instance, a man may not build his house so close to his neighbours as to prevent the access of light and air to them; nor could he discharge rain or waste water on his neighbour's property, etc.

Possession is transferred by *aqd*, which means tie, by the original possessor proposing its transfer on certain terms or unconditionally and the receiver accepting the same. This is called *Ijab* (proposal) and *Qabul* (acceptance). Offers and acceptances of transfers of this kind are classified as follows:—

(1) *Hiba*, a gift or a transfer of property without any exchange. This is affected by a decree of the court (*Qazi*).

(2) *Bai*, or sale, which is a transfer of property in exchange for something else. This may be effected by (*a*) payment of cash; (*b*) barter (*muqayaza*); (*c*) banking (*Sarf*), in which the transaction is in cash for cash; (*d*) sale *in futuro*, or paying in advance so that the goods sought to be bought may be delivered on a future date; and (*e*) sale in advance, or *Istisna*, which occurs when goods are made only on receiving an order, its value being paid, in whole or in part, in advance.

(3) *Rehn,* or mortgage.

(4) *Ijāra,* or rent.

(5) *Wassiyyat,* or bequest of property which takes effect after the death of its owner. The testator is called *Musi;* the legatee, *Mūsa-lahu;* the legacy itself, *Mūsi-be-hi;* and the executor, the *Wasiy.*

The testator has the full right of bequest in one-third of his or her property for private and charitable purposes after paying the debts (if any) and funeral expenses incurred, the remaining two-thirds being distributed according to the law among his heirs. If he or she desires to bequeath more than one-third of his or her property for charitable purposes, he or she must take the consent of the future heirs. A testator must not be insolvent at the time he or she bequeaths the property in question, or in debt, to an extent exceeding the value of the property. He or she must be an adult at the time the bequest is made. The bequest can be made in writing or verbally in the presence of two males or one male and two female witnesses. An executor after accepting the responsibility cannot decline to discharge it. He must administer the property in case the heirs are minors and distribute the property among them according to the will, on their attaining majority. He may sell, pledge, or let the land or house for absolute advantage or for meeting a necessity. But he cannot trade with it unless specifically permitted by the will. A bequest made must be accepted by the legatee. It may be in favour of one or more persons of his own family or to outsiders, who may be Muslims or non-Muslims.

The duties of an executor, beside generally administering the property, are:—

(1) To pay the funeral expenses;

(2) To discharge all debts due, if any;

(3) Collect all dues and debts owing to the testator; and

(4) To act according to the intention of the testator.

A bequest may be revoked during the life-time of the testator and all changes he desires may be effected by him in regard to it.

(6) *Waqf or Endowment*:—*Waqf* means suspension or standing, a word used in the sense of transferring an individual's property and its income for some charitable purpose. The number of *Waqfs* in Muslim countries is very great. The meeting of *Waqfs* has been attended with good and evil results. Evil in the sense that in many instances it has become a source of income for an undeserving class of people.

Endowments among Muslims are made for the erection and maintenance of:—

(1) Mosques;
(2) Hospitals;
(3) Schools;
(4) Sacred Shrines; also for
(5) The benefit of the poor.
(6) The maintenance of a monastery. *(Khaneqah.)*
(7) Maintaining reservoirs, water works, streams.
(8) Carrying out Caravan services, hostels, cemeteries.
(9) Supporting a family (whole or its poorer members).

The idea of a public charity of this kind began as early as the time of the Prophet, but it developed and took a definite and legal form about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Hijra. Its motive, from the very start, was the promotion of charity, seeing the divine, pleasure, and encouragement of learning, particularly religious learning. Accordingly, Muslim law forbids such endowment for purposes opposed to Islamic teaching. A non-Muslim is permitted to make endowments under the same conditions as a Muslim could. The donor of *Waqf* must be in full possession of the property. He must be *āqil*, a possessor of understanding, *i.e.*, sane; *Bālegh*, of age; *hurr*, free; and of good health at the time he makes the endowment. He must not be in debt for an amount exceeding the value of his property. The object of the endowment must be of a permanent nature and the property must yield *manfa,*

profit, *i.e.*, it must be productive or beneficial in some other way, as, for instance, endowment of a library by presenting number of books, which though they may not yield an income may be studied for a very long time. Endowments may take the form of immovable property such as land, buildings, etc., but certain kinds of moveable property may also be accepted, such as animals for the milk they might yield.

Waqfs may be divided into:—

(1) *Khairi,* charitable, such as mosques, etc.

(2) *Ahli* or *Zurri,* to support a family, in which the object aimed at is the perpetuation of a family in good circumstances, by affording it the support of an income of an estate.

A *Waqf* need not necessarily be executed in writing, but in case it is not in writing the donor must expressly declare it before witnesses, *i.e.*, state specifically before them

(1) His intention to make the endowment;

(2) Describe the nature of the endowment, its income, etc.; and

(3) He must provide for its coming into force immediately the declaration is made.

A *Waqf* can be made from one-third part of the donor's property, the remaining two-thirds being left to his heirs, but the donor may increase the quantity by making in its favour a gift during his life-time. Once a *Waqf* is properly made and comes into force, it cannot be revoked, even by the donor. In case a mosque is erected, it becomes public property soon after a man performs his prayer in it. A *Waqf* is administered, according to the terms of its endowment, by one or more trustees. A single person supervising the administration is called *Nazir. Mutavalli,* or *Qayyim,* is paid from the income of the estate. The founder himself can become a *Mutavalli* and be succeeded by the members of his family. But in case another is appointed under the terms of the endowment, he or his descendants cannot interfere with the management, so long it is administered according to the terms and conditions laid down in the endowment. If a

Mutavalli fails to carry out his duties honestly, or if he is proved incompetent, it is left to the magistrate (*Qazi*) to dismiss him and to appoint a competent man. If an endowment is not utilized for the intended purpose, it becomes the property of the donor or his heirs. The endowed property must be free from the claims of creditors. A man cannot make an endowment of his property in favour of his children, if he is in heavy debt, and if his object is to escape payment of his lawful debts. In Islam, the kinds of endowment being many and varied, it is often a problem how to utilize the income derived from an endowment. The present tendency is to nationalise *Waqf* property and spend the income on education and public works. At present, in Iraq, *Waqf* property is under the Ministry of *Waqfs* and the income derived is spent on the repair of sacred shrines, mosques and other purposes as santctioned by Parliament. In Turkey, the Ministry of *Waqfs* spends the income derived on various useful public purposes other than the maintenance of religious institutions, for which the endowments may have been made. The same rule obtains in Iran

UQUBAT.

The fifth division of Muslim Law is *Uqubat*, or punishments for intentional injury to:—

(1) Human body, such as murder or causing a wound.
(2) Human property, by usurpation, theft or damage.
(3) Human honour, such as by slander.
Also (4) Breach of Public peace, such as rioting, highway robbery, etc.
(5) Offences against religion, such as not attendance at prayers or non-payment of *Zakāt*, etc.
(6) Offences against decency, such as adultery, use of intoxicants, gambling; and
(7) Offences against the established government, which means rebellion.

Muslim criminal law is known as *Siasat-ul-Shariah*. The extent of punishment for the abovementioned crimes

extends from administering a warning, or the infliction of a fine, *Hadd,* or bodily chastisement by means of stripes, to imprisonment, transportation, cutting off of hands, feet and lastly putting to death.

Guilt is proved when a man intentionally acts to cause injury to another man. If a man is hurt, but the doer never intended to injure him, he is not held responsible for the injury. For example, when a man keeps a dog in his house and a stranger without warning or permission enters it, and is bitten by the dog, the owner of the dog is not held responsible for the consequences. But when a man leaves his horse on the public road and the horse kicks a passer by and hurts him, the owner is punished for the same. In the case of murder, the punishment inflicted is the infliction of a like injury on the murderer, which is called *"Qisās"* or retaliation *lex talionis.* Though the murderer must be put to death, Muslim law does not insist in such punishment. On the other hand, it recommends the relatives of the murderer to accept *compensation.* Punishment by way of *Qisās,* or the infliction of a like injury is not permitted in doubtful cases. For example, when a man causes fracture of the bone to another, he cannot be punished with the infliction on him of the same kind of injury. Thus the doctrine of *Qisās* is limited to certain specified cases. Muslim law, however, punishes, in a milder manner, the guilty in case of this nature by the administration of admonition or scorn, by inflicting imprisonment, whipping and finally by taking the life of the criminal. It depends upon the character of the offence and the circumstances under which the offence was committed, the intention of the party and his age. All these are left to the consideration of the *Qazi,* whose discretion and judgment are depended on. His guide in these matters is *Quran,* the Tradition and the legal codes as arranged by eminent scholars learned in the law. Lenity may be shown in the inflection of punishment but once it is pronounced there can be no lenity in regard to its being carried out. As, for instance, the magistrate

may show leniency in ordering twenty stripes instead of fifty, but the twenty ordered stripes must be real hard blows, as the *Quran* says:—

"And let not pity detain you in the matter of obedience to Allah's (Command)." (Ch. XXIV. 2.)

Among the *Jinayat*, or crimes, are:—

Murder—A murderer must either be put to death by order of the magistrate or if the relatives of the murdered man or woman are willing in certain cases to forgive the murderer and forego their claim, the guilty party may be made to pay compensation as ordered by the court with the mutual consent of the relatives of the murdered man and the murderer.

As the *Quran* says:—

"Retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of the slain, the free for the free, and the slave for the slave and the female for the female, but if any remission made to anyone by his (injured) brother, then prosecution should be made according to usage, and payment should be made to him in a good manner; this (ordinance) is an alliviation from your Lord and a mercy.

"There is life for you in (the law of) *Qisas* (retaliation), O Men of understanding, that you may guard yourselves." (Ch. XI. 178.)

Qatl, or homicide, in Islam is classified into:—

(1) *Qatl-e-amd*, or intentional murder. In this case, the offender is to be punished both in this life and in the next. As the *Quran* says:—

"Whosoever kills a believer purposely, his punishment is hell." (Ch. IV. 95, 93.)

A murderer cannot inherit from the murdered person.

(2) *Qatle, Shibhul-amd*, or analogous cases. Cases where the intention to kill may be inferred. For example, when a man strikes another with a stick, but he may or may not have intended the strike to result in his death. If the strike accident causes the death of the other, the

punishment is if the intention to kill him is not brought home, he is fined heavily but not put to death.

(3) *Qatle-khata,* mistake. Murder may be committed under a mistake of fact or intention. The former occurs when a man strikes something else but it hits the slain man and the latter, when a man has no intention to kill but his act accidentally causes the death of a person. The following text of the *Quran* bears on this point:—

> "He who hath killed a believer by mistake must set free a believing slave, and pay the blood money to the family of the slain, unless they do not take it as a charity." (Ch. IV. 92.) Or the guilty may fast for two months successively.

(4) *Qatl-e-qaim maqam-e-khata,* or the murder under a mistake. A man, for instance, accidentally falls on another person and his death occurs. The punishment in this case is the same as detailed for number three above.

(5) *Qatl-be-sabab,* or indirectly causing death, for example, when a man digging a well falls in it and dies. In such a case, if the act itself is wrong, *i.e.,* if a man digs a well outside his compound, on a public road, or where there is possibility of people having to cross it, he is held liable and made to pay a fine. But, if his act *per se* is not illegal, the dead man having taken the risk, there is no reparation to be made for his having come by his death. According to Muslim law, the man who kills is alone held responsible for his guilt. It excludes his relatives from retaliation by the relatives of the murdered man, as it was the custom among the pre-Muslim Arabs. Therefore it is, that the *Quran* says a free man for a free man and a slave for a slave, etc. In the case of poisoning, canvassing of death through suffocation, etc., the law of retaliation does not operate. Punishment in cases of this nature is left to the discretion of the magistrate.

Adultery or Fornication.—Some Muslim jurists recommend that an eye witness in a case of this sort need

not bring such an offence to the notice of the authorities or need he attend as a witness. But, if they do come and enquire of him, he must satisfy the court, as to what he saw with his own eyes. If he fails to satisfy the court, he is liable to be punished with eighty stripes. Therefore it is that the task of becoming a witness in a case of this sort is most onerous under the Islamic law. The object is to discourage such charges, which may arise from suspicion, doubt, wrong notion, jealousy or other similar cause and even if true, the effect is not likely to prove healthy on society. Adultery is either committed with an unmarried or a married person. In the former case, the punishment is not severe but in the latter, the punishment is stoning the guilty to death. A husband may slay his wife, if he finds her with her lover in the act of sexual conjunction. In other cases, an alleged act of adultery, if brought forward by any person, must be proved by four witnesses, whose statements should not differ or appear doubtful. These witnesses should not contradict it themselves when cross-examined by the judge. The husband should not be himself guilty of privy. If the wife or husband voluntarily confess the guilt then the witnesses may be dispensed with. In the last of these cases, the wife or the husband must confess at four different times and on all these occasions the statement made should not differ or look doubtful. Even after these four confessions made at different times, if he or she retracts the confession, the retraction is accepted. If proved, the punishment for fornication (of an unmarried person) is one hundred stripes, inflicted on a man while standing and on a woman with leniency while sitting. At present, the punishment for adultery or fornication is much relaxed in Muslim countries. In the case of the unmarried, the law does not take any notice of her act, but in regard to married women, the punishment is left to the discretion of the court, although in theory the old Islamic punishment is supposed to be still in force.

The following texts from the *Quran* relate to adultery:

"The adulterer and the adultress scourge each one of them (with) a hundred stripes."

"The adulterer shall not marry save an adultress or an idolatress, and the adultress none shall marry save an adulterer or an idolater. All this is forbidden unto believers." (Ch. XXIV. 2–3.)

Slander.—In the case of slander, one who accuses a woman of adultery must produce the evidence of four witnesses, who must clearly state the crime or else the slanderer himself is to be punished. The *Quran* says:—

"Those who accuse free woman and cannot bring four witnesses, flog them, with eighty stripes and do not accept (afterwards) their testimony." (Ch. XXIV. 4.)

Theft and Highway Robbery.—According to the following text of the *Quran,* the magistrate may inflict any moderate or severe kind of punishment. It is left to his discretion and depends upon his interpretation of the text and his judgment:—

"The punishment for those who fight against God and his apostle and cause disaster in the land (by highway robbery) is:—(1) to be slain; (2) crucified; (3) have their hands and feet cut off cross ways; (4) or to be banished from the land—unless he or they repent and reform before falling into your hand." (Ch. V. 33.)

"And (as for) the man or woman, who steal, cut off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned, an exemplary punishment from God." (Ch. V. 38.)

The judge according to Shāfi school, may pass the following sentence:—

(1) If the crime consists in making public highways unsafe for travellers and trade caravans, the punishment is deportation from the land.

(2) If anything has been robbed, the guilty parties may be punished by cutting off their right hands and left feet.

(3) If, besides interrupting caravans, public highways are made unsafe and those guilty are also held to have killed any man or woman, those adjudged guilty may be put to

death or crucified, such a sentence being considered a deterrent one. But, if those guilty repent before being brought before the law officers, they may be forgiven, provided they return the stolen property; and if they have killed any one, they pay the *diya*, or the amount of money fixed by the judge and accepted by the murdered person's relatives, as compensation due to be given to his heirs. The Muslim law defines theft in the sense of stealing a thing considered as the property of another man kept in his shop or in any other safe place, such as a house. Many things are not considered property, such as:—

(1) Things which may decay or be wasted as milk, fruits, grain (not reaped), grass, fish, garden stuff, etc.

(2) Liquor in stealing which a thief may excuse himself by saying that he wanted to spill it.

(3) Instruments of music.

(4) Trifling things, such as fowls, wood or utensils made of wood.

(5) Books, including the *Quran*.

(6) The public treasure or *Baitul-māl*, being a property common to all Muslims, the idea being that an individual Muslim cannot be punished with amputation for an offence of this kind, because as a Muslim he is entitled to a share in it.

(7) A creditor may steal up to the limit of his claim from a bad debtor.

In case a theft is proved and the magistrate passes the judgment of cutting off the hands of the thief, it is cut at the joint of the wrist.

Intoxicants, gambling, etc., are forbidden according to the following texts from the *Quran*, and the punishment to be inflicted is whipping, as many stripes as might be ordered by the trying magistrate.

The testimony of a gambler or a drunkard is not to be accepted by the court:—

"Intoxicants and games of chance (before) idols and

dividing by arrow are uncleanliness, (and) the devil's work, therefore abstain from them." (Ch. V. 91.)

"Satan sows hatred and strife among you by wine and games of chance and turn you aside from the remembrance of God and from prayer, therefore abstain from them." (Ch. V. 91.)

The punishment for drinking wine is whipping, which may consist of as many as eighty stripes.

Such, in brief, is the criminal law of Islam, which has been much modified to some extent in modern Muslim States all over the world. No Muslim government, in these days (with the exception of Arabia) orders the cutting off of the hands of a thief; nor does it allow the ransoming of a murderer. Even as early as the Umayyed rule, Khalif Hisham modified the punishment for theft by limiting it to ordinary imprisonment extending to two years. With regard to other crimes, the punishment is to-day left to the discrimination of the judge and the nature of the crime alleged and proved. For instance, a noble found guilty of rebellion is forgiven, imprisoned, deported or put to death as the policy of the State and the will of the ruler might demand.

Sin.—According to Islam, a man does not possess evil in his true self but has the weakness of being tempted into evil. Therefore, evil is not a human disposition but an acquired habit. It is a mental disease and may be cured through right preaching and training. Satan, who is evil by nature, was the first to sin, *i.e.*, to disobey the command of God. His sin was self-conceit and pride, enumerated among the great sins. The evil tendency is the bidding of an animal soul. A text of the *Quran* says:—

"Joseph says, I do not declare myself free (from human weakness); most surely the *nafsa-ul-ammarah* (my animal soul) commands evil (and hence man does evil but one on whom) my Lord has mercy." (Ch. XII. 53.)

Therefore, if the carnal (animal) soul is brought under the control of true self, one may become free from evil.

Sins are classified into:—

(1) *Kabirah,* or great.

(2) *Saghirah,* or small.

This division is based upon the following text of the *Quran*:—

"To those who avoid the great sins and scandals but commit only the lighter faults, verily the Lord will be diffused of mercy." (Ch. LIII. 33.)

Among the great sins are:—

(1) Association of a being with God.
(2) Wilful murder.
(3) Adultery.
(4) Theft.
(5) Unnatural crime.
(6) Drunkenness.
(7) Usury.
(8) Disobedience to parents.
(9) *Qazf,* or charging illegally a Muslim with fornication.
(10) False witness.
(11) Defrauding orphans.
(12) Despair of God's mercy.
(13) Cowardice in battle.
(14) Neglect of prayers.
(15) Gambling.
(16) Neglecting fasts.

Sincere repentance from any sin may bring God's mercy and salvation. If a non-Muslim embraces Islam, his past shortcomings are all forgiven. A Muslim, by committing a great sin, becomes a sinner, but not an infidel. According to Shiahs, the Prophet and the twelve Imāms, including Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet, are sinless. According to the Sunnat Jama'at, the Prophets do not commit the *great sins,* but are liable for any slight imperfections in action. For example, in the case of Adam, whose action in eating the forbidden fruit, it was not disobedience but weakness of the understanding. Therefore he is not to be

treated as one who was disallowed from seeking pardon at the hands of God. Nor does seeking pardon mean committing any sin. It is only a sign of humility towards God Almighty. It is admitted that human beings in any stage of human perfection are not perfect and their imperfection is in itself sufficient reason to seek God's pardon, because an *imperfect* cannot act completely to the bidding of the *perfect* (*i.e.*, God). There is a tradition that the Prophet said: "I ask pardon of God and repent towards Him, more than seventy times every day." Thus "sin" is human imperfection, a weakness to being tempted, though his real self remains pure in its essence.

Suicide.—Suicide is a sin, because the *Quran* says: "It is not (right) for a believer to kill a believer except by mistake." (Ch. IV. 93.) As suicide is considered a wilful act to kill oneself, it is considered a sin. According to Tradition, "Whoever kills himself will suffer in hell." In Islam, life is respected and its destruction, though it may be in one's own care, is severely forbidden. Accordingly, cases of death by suicide are rare in Muslim countries. A Muslim must submit to the decrees of God and accept cheerfully all unavoidable events. According to the following text of the *Quran,* some of these happenings should be taken to be trials ordered by God Almighty in the case of human beings:—

"And He will most certainly try you with fear, hunger, loss of property, lives and fruits, *i.e.,* (result of your striving), and (O! Prophet) give good news to the patient (in all the said trials). Who, when a misfortune befalls them, say: 'Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return'." (Ch. II. 155–156.)

From this point of view, a Muslim, in attempting to commit suicide, is really revolting against the trials sent down to him by God in the form of misfortunes.

Food also is divided into permissible and prohibited. Among the forbidden or *Harām* food are:—

(1) Quadrupeds that seize their prey with their paws

and teeth or talons, such as cat, tiger, etc., and among birds crow, kite, eagle, etc. Besides these, the flesh of elephants; the flesh of any animal which is dead of itself; the flesh and blood of swine; and the flesh and blood of those animals over which God's name has not been invoked. A man driven to the necessity in extreme cases of eating anything forbidden may eat it, even a dead body. For example, in a famine or when an army is besieged by enemy, the eating of forbidden food is allowed provided he does not desire to eat it for its taste or exceed the prescribed limit, *i.e.*, as much of it as prevent death from hunger. The strangled animal, beaten to death, or killed by a fall, or smitten by a horn, or killed by beasts should not be eaten by as it is forbidden. (Ch. V. 3.)

An animal to be fit as food, must be slaughtered with a sharp knife, in using which care should be taken to avoid suffering to the animal as much as possible. Before killing, a few drops of water should be poured into its mouth, so that it may not die in a thirsty condition and the name of God must be recited before using the knife, signifying that it has been done by the permission of God. *(Ibid.)*

Sacrifice.—The idea underlying sacrifice in Islam is to help the poor or to satisfy the appetite. It is either an act of benevolence or an act of feasting. Among Jews, as well as Iranians and Hindus, sacrifice was shared with the priest and particular persons but among Muslims the flesh of the sacrificed animal is used by all those invited to the function. It is not a ritualistic act of worship. There is no recitation of prayer excepting pronouncing the name of God, which is recited on all occasions. There are no hymns to be recited in praise of the Deity, to whom the sacrifice is offered nor is any particular ceremony to be carried out on the occasion. There is no idea of atonement in it; no libation offered for it; and there is no idea of redemption from sin involved in it. The animal offered by a *Haji* is slaughtered on the 10th of *Zil-hujja*, after performing the pilgrimage, which is the continuation of a pre-Islamic practice, done in memory of Abraham, the great ancestor of Quraish Arabs. The

animal is slaughtered at *Mina* (Mecca) and its flesh is eaten by the slaughterer and the remaining portion is distributed among the poor. The number of pilgrims is large and the majority can afford to slaughter one or more animals. Therefore, the quantity of flesh available is always much greater than there is need for it and a good part of it is actually wasted. In killing an animal, there is a slight difference of opinion among theologians. Some hold that the severence of the windpipe and the gullet is necessary. Imām Malek says that the gullet and the veins of the neck must be cut. Some others believe that the two jugular veins or one of jugular veins must be cut. A camel is killed by *Nahr, i.e.,* by stabbing his windpipe. But in the case of all other animals, except fish, the killing is done by cutting the throat of the animal concerned. Fish is taken out of the water, and this causes its death. The following texts occurring in the *Quran* relate to sacrifice:—

"He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds, then eat of them and feed the distressed and needy." (Ch. XXII. 28.)

"And as for *Budn* (camels), we have made them of the signs of the religion of Allah for you, in them, there is much good; therefore mention the name of God on them as they stand in a row, then when they fall down (after stabbing) eat of them and feed the poor man, who is contented and the beggar, thus we have made them subservient to you, that you may be grateful."

"There does not reach God their flesh nor their blood (as it is believed in other religions) but to Him is acceptable your (piety) the guarding (against evil)." (Ch. XXII. 36-37.)

Death and Resurrection.—A Muslim should not desire death, because if he is virtuous, that is likely to elongate his life; and if he is bad, he may have a chance of doing good and repent of his evil. When actually he is facing death, he must resign himself to the will of God and submit to it

with a cheerful heart. According to the *Quran,* the hour of death is fixed for every living creature. After burial takes place, the dead person meets the two angels named *Munker* and *Nakir,* who question him about his religion, God and faith and if they receive satisfactory replies from the dead man's soul, he is left in a calm and undisturbed state, till the day of resurrection. If not, he is to suffer torments till resurrection comes, when finally both good and bad will be examined and receive the last reward or punishment. The state between death and the day of resurrection is called *Barzakh.* According to the Sūfis, it is a semi-physical and semi-spiritual life.

The doctrines of Islam in this behalf are based upon the faith in:—

(1) Unity of God;
(2) Muhammad as His Prophet;
(3) Good deeds; and
(4) The Day of Judgment or Resurrection.

Whoever does not believe in the four abovementioned fundamental principles, cannot be considered a Muslim. The Day of Judgment is mentioned almost in all the Chapters of the *Quran,* particularly in the short Meccan Chapters, to which various alternative appellations are given. For example, *Yaumul-Fasl* (reckoning); *Din* (judgment); *Saat* (hour); *Ba's* (awakening); etc. All Muslims believe that the dead will rise in bodies as they were born in their earthly life; their actions will be examined and weighed; and in the short time of half a day or even less, divine sentence will be pronounced. All will have to pass over the bridge called *Sirat,* which is thinner than a hair and sharper than the sword. This, it is stated, will give way to the pious, who will pass over it with ease to Paradise; while the wicked will not be able to pass over it and will be thrown into Hell. Texts of the *Quran* descriptive of the Day of Resurrection must, it is held, be interpreted in an allegorical sense. The following are a few of them:—

"When the earth is shaken with her shaking (*i.e.*, when the Day of Resurrection comes)"
"and the earth brings forth her burdens"
"and man says what has befallen her"
" on that day she shall tell her news "
"because the Lord inspireth her."
" On that day men shall come forth in scattered groups that they may be shown their deeds."
" He who has done an atom's weight of good shall see it."
" He who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it."

Intercession and Salvation.—"*Shafa'at,* or the intercession of the Prophet on behalf of Muslim sinners on the Day of Judgment, is a common belief among orthodox Muslims, particularly Shiahs, who include the intercession as well of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet; her two sons, Hasan and Husain; and her husband, Ali, the fourth Khalif. The *Motazala* school of Muslim scholasticism limits such intercession by the Prophet in favour of virtuous Muslims, so that their reward in the next life may be increased. Members of the Wahabi sect believe that the Prophet will be permitted, according to the following texts, to intercede on behalf of those whom God may desire:—

" Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission." (Ch. XI. 255.)

" On that day shall no intercession avail except of him who the beneficent God allows and whose word He is pleased." (Ch. XX. 109.)

The Sufis believe that salvation is release from ignorance; is nearness to the Deity; and the attainment of the knowledge of God. In theology, submission to the laws of Islam, *i.e.*, to the commands of God, leads human beings to salvation. Such salvation may, it is said, be attained by all Muslims, even by a sinner. The orthodox believe that salvation is release from punishment in Hell. In the case

of Muslim sinners, such release may be postponed, but finally will come and they will be saved. According to the *Quran,* a Muslim must not lose hope in God's mercy. He will gain salvation by repentance at any stage of his life, as the following text of the *Quran* bears testimony to:—

> "But as to him who repents and believes and does good may be he will be among the successful." (Ch. XXVIII. 67.)

CHAPTER XIV.

MUSLIM SOCIOLOGY.

The Ethical Basis of Muslim Social Life—Position of Women in Islam—Purdah or Seclusion of Women—Marriage in Islam—Birth and Early Life—Circumcision—Concubines and Slave Girls—Position of Parents—Disposal of the Dead—Feasts in Islam—Saints and Shrines—Sacred Places in Iran—In Mesopotamia—In Arabia—Forms of Devotional Exercise—Moharrum—Blood-feud—Symbolism in Islam—Superstitions in Islam—The Evil-eye—Magic or Sehr—Physical Beauty and Love—House, Furniture, Diet and Dress.

The Ethical Basis of Muslim Social Life.

Muslim society is rather difficult to write about in anything like adequate fashion. Islam is international and Muslims, who inhabit different parts of the world and live in different stages of social development, are attached to their inherited customs of ages, some of them of pre-Muslim origin. There is, however, uniformity in the semi-religious ceremonies observed by them. This aspect of their social life will be dealt with here at some length. The ethical basis on which Muslim society is built up may be traced back to the last address delivered by the Prophet soon after his farewell pilgrimage, in which he said:—

"O Men! listen to me, for I may not be with you after this year in this place. Your lives and property are sacred and inviolable to each other. Every man will have his share of inheritance. The child belongs to his parents. You have rights over your wives and they have over you. They must not be faithless to you, and you must treat them with loving kindness. Do not transgress, and be faithful to the trust placed in you. Usury is prohibited and also vengeance for blood. Treat your slaves with kindness, feed them with what you eat, and clothe them with what you wear. Forgive them if they commit fault. The slaves who perform prayers are your brothers and all Muslims are brothers to one another. Guard yourselves from injustice."

Such was the fraternal spirit under which Muslim society came to be first established and later developed, first and foremost in Arabia and then in Central and South Asia, North Africa and Southern Europe. The same spirit made itself felt in less or more degree, wherever Islam permeated even in a mild or attenuated form. Among the more important factors which influence the development of society is the status assigned to men and women as members of the family. In Islam, man is the maintainer of the family and as such holds greater power and responsibility, though women also take a prominent part in it. In fact, one of the most striking features in Muslim culture is the position assigned to women in social life.

Position of Women in Islam.

Among the pre-Muslim Arabs, the custom of polyandry was prevalent. A woman could break off her relations with her husband, simply by turning the side of her tent. She was free, too, to choose her husband, either directly or through her parents, and dismiss him at her pleasure. The prevalent custom was somewhat similar to that obtaining among the Nayars of Malabar, among whom a woman could, until not long ago, possess several husbands, and children were born to a known or an unknown father, and not knowing the father had to live with the mother. Thus, kinship was recognised from the mother's side and the affection of children was built up more among the relatives of the mother than of the father. According to Strabo, the Greek writer, the Arabs held property in common. The eldest member of the family was recognised as the head, and several brothers had one wife common between them, and the man who was with her at any time, used to fix his stick on the door of the tent, which was a sign for others not to enter it. According to Jewish tradition, Abraham, the great ancestor of the Mostaraba Arabs, married his half-sister Sarah, and among the Phœnicians, King Tabnith married his father's daughter. It is said that Auf, the father of Abdur-Rahman, the famous

companion of the Prophet, married Shafa, his half-sister. The same custom prevailed in pre-Islamic Iran and among the Macedonians as well. The Jews allowed marriage with a niece on the mother's side, and so do the Hindus at the present time. Kinship on the father's side also prevailed among the Arabs but that on the mother's side appears certainly to be the older of the two and the more prevalent. Women among the pre-Muslim Arabs were included in the property inherited, and on the father's death, a son could marry his step-mother. Mothers-in-law were also taken as wives. Islam, however, definitely abolished all these relations, and made the father's side stronger to safeguard the chastity of women, to prevent polyandry and to make man responsible for the support of his wife and children. Thus, while Arab women lost certain privileges and their freedom, they gained security of livelihood and a higher social position. Islam also abolished the evil custom of female infanticide, which had become common among the Arabs, where a father used to consider it his sacred duty to take his daughter of tender age and bury her alive. This custom is referred to in several passages of the *Quran*. For example, we read:—"When men are united (on the Day of Judgment) and when the alive-buried (girl) will ask, for what sin she was killed." (Ch. LXXXI. 7-8). "When anyone of them has tidings of a female child, his face is overclouded and is turned black and he is full of wrath. He hides himself from the public for the evil tiding he has heard, is he to keep the (girl) in disgrace or to bury her in the ground?" (Ch. XVI. 58-59.) The reason for resorting to such a terrible disposal of female children was partly ignorance and pride, and partly the economic condition of the Arabs of the time. As is explained in the *Quran*:—"And do not kill your children for fear of poverty; we give them and yourselves subsistence; surely to kill them is a great sin." (Ch. XVII. 31.)

The civilised propaganda in favour of birth-control was unknown in those far off days. Arab infanticide, however, was limited to daughters and, though undoubtedly crude and

cruel in form, such a practice was prevalent in India as well, among the Rajputs, until historical times. The motive in both cases was the same, and the cause that led to it seems to have been identical. Among the heathen Arabs, the foster-mother was respected, and her children were treated as brothers and sisters. Islam contributed towards the improvement of the position of women in certain ways:—

(1) By retaining certain of the more ancient and healthy customs, such as respect and good treatment of a foster-mother. (2) By making woman the mistress of her own property, in which the husband had no right to interfere except with her permission. (3) By giving her the right of claiming divorce on the following grounds:—impotency of the husband; leprosy or insanity on his part; inferior social status; non-payment of the dowry; and conversion to other religions. Divorce was also allowed in certain other cases. Thus, if the wife is suspected and accused of adultery by her husband, and he cannot prove her guilt and swear that she is guilty, and she swears she is not guilty, she becomes free of her husband. If she accepts marriage on certain conditions, which cannot be fulfilled by her husband, she secures freedom of action. If, again, she is not paid her *nafaqah* (maintenance) or if she is highly ill-treated, or if she can establish sufficient reason why she should be allowed to have recourse to divorce proceedings, she becomes free. (4) She need not take part in the fighting lines in case of war, though she may help the fighting men as a nurse or encourage them against the enemy. (5) She can hold any public office, such as that of the head of an empire, a minister, a judge (except in criminal cases). (6) She is free to re-marry after divorce. (7) She is encouraged to study and acquire learning. (8) Among the pre-Muslim Arabs, as among certain classes of people in India, when a man wanted a healthy child, or for some other reasons, he used to permit his wife to sleep with another man, known for courage, wisdom or learning, and a son thus born came to be recognised as the son of the putative husband. The father is called *ab* in Arabic, which

does not bear the meaning of *progenitor,* but *nurturer,* and the husband is called *b'al,* which, in its meaning, is equivalent to the Iranian *Paiti* (or the Sanskrit *Pati*). Islam abolished this ancient custom. (9) Then, again, if the husband remains absent from home and in an unknown place for a very long time and does not pay for her maintenance, the wife might procure a decree of divorce from a judge. Among the Berbers of Morocco, a married woman may take refuge in another man's house or tent and thus force her husband to divorce her. Among the Arabs and the North African Muslims, even at the present date, divorce is frequent, especially among the higher classes. In India, however, owing to Hindu influence, it is very rare. Among some nomads of Iraq, the wife has the same privilege as the husband and can divorce him at her desire.

Divorce was very common among the pre-Muslim Arabs and, though a lawful act, was condemned by the Prophet who has said:—"The thing most disliked by God is divorce." He has also praised a good wife by saying:—"The world and its pleasure are valuable, but more than all (pleasure) is a virtuous wife." The *Quran* says:—"Verily the contented men and the resigned women—for them God has prepared forgiveness and mighty rewards." (Ch. XXXIII. 35.) "The best of you in the eye of God is the one who treats his wife the best." It was common among high class Arab women to marry more than once by claiming divorce or after becoming a widow. The Prophet himself, with one exception, married widows. An Arab woman is known to have married as many as forty husbands. This right, though it was continued under Islam, was limited in its extent.

Temporary alliances, still prevalent among the Shiahs and the Shafai school of the Sunnat Jama'at called *Muta* or *Sigha,* had been long prevalent before the advent of Islam. According to it, matrimonial alliance is fixed from one hour or less to any length of time, after which both sides are free, without taking a divorce. This custom is not permitted by other schools of the Sunnat Jama'at, and among the Shiahs,

it is, in practice, limited to a few widows and to women in extremely poor circumstances, who cannot find suitable husbands.

In Islam, women have had their own institutions of learning, such as the Women's College of Medicine and Jurisprudence at Cairo, which was founded in the reign of Malik-ut-Taher, the Slave King of Egypt. Similar institutions existed at Damascus, Baghdad, Cordova and other important centres of Islam. Some brave ladies took part in expeditions specially in the early conquests of Islam, and helped their fighting husbands, brothers and fathers. They founded charitable institutions, such as caravanseras, mosques, monasteries, colleges, orphanages and hospitals and constructed bridges and canals, besides erecting shrines. There were women speakers, musicians, poetesses, theologians and mystics (see Appendix A). Arab ladies freely recited their compositions in the assemblies of men. Girl students were permitted to remain unveiled before their teachers. Women were free to go out shopping, to join prayers and to attend lectures on religion. Rural women, in almost all Muslim countries, and to some extent even in India, do not use the veil. They go about free and help their men in agricultural work and in tending cattle.

Purdah or Seclusion of Women.

The heathen Arabs, men and women, used to perform the circuit of the great temple of Ka'aba naked, while at prayer, because they believed that the gods had created human beings naked and therefore they had to appear naked before their gods. This custom reminds us of the naked appearance of Raja Duryodhana before his mother. The Prophet abolished this old custom and commanded that men and women must cover their bodies, while offering prayer at the Ka'aba, with two pieces of cloth. Afterwards, when the Prophet heard of some misbehaviour on the part of certain men towards women, he read the following revelation:—"Say to the believing men to cast down their looks and guard their

chastity; this will be purer for them," (Ch. XXIV. 30), which means that men, when facing a woman, after the first look which is natural and harmless, must not stare at her once again with passionate eyes but control his passions by casting down his eyes. Likewise women were asked:—"To cast down their eyes and guard their chastity and not to display their ornaments except what appear (such as on their hands and feet)." (Ch. XXIV. 31.) Further, women were asked to throw their head covering on their bosom, instead of on the back (as they used to do), because it attracts the attention of men. This revelation must have been the beginning of what has become known as the regular *purdah* system among Muslim women. Originally, it was not so rigid as it is to-day. During the life-time of the Prophet and during the period of his first four successors, the Umayyed and Abbaside Khalifs, women freely mixed with men and some high class ladies, such as Ayesha, daughter of Talha, even declined to wear the veil. The practice, however, gradually spread in its intensity according to the circumstances of the age, till it reached the present intolerable position. Strict *purdah* system probably became popular after the fall of Baghdad and the rise of Moghals and the Timurids in Iran and India. During this period, partly owing to the inclination of the Moghal rulers and partly owing to the insistence of the orthodox section, who became very powerful and laid emphasis on the complete seclusion of women, the present *purdah* system became effective. Amir Khusroe, the celebrated poet, who flourished under the Slave, Khilji and Tughlaq rulers, considered that women must be trained to perform household work, should receive instruction in moral and religious subjects alone, attend exclusively to the management and care of children, attend to the spindle and the kitchen, and obtain training in weaving, needle-work and in the work of decorating the house. Such was the condition of Muslim society between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries A.D. There were exceptions to this general rule in certain places and in particular circumstances.

According to strict Islamic doctrine, a man may see the face and hands of the girl whom he intends to marry but few or none take advantage of this permission. There is no uniform agreement among the theologians as to which ornament should be concealed by a woman when in *purdah*; nor is there uniformity in observing *purdah* as such in Muslim countries. In some places, such as Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Syria, women used to go out with a cloak over their head, reaching just below the knees. In North Africa, this seclusion is partly intended to escape the evil eye. In Arabia, even handsome men and boys used to cover their faces, specially in public gatherings, fairs, etc., when they considered they would be exposed to dangerous glances. In the interior of Arabia, some Arabs observe strict *purdah* exactly as it is observed in India. It is said that when Emperor Timur invaded India and captured Delhi, he issued an order prohibiting Muslim women from showing themselves to strangers and directed them to travel in covered conveyances. If this story is true, it suggests that strict *purdah* had not been enforced till then in India, at least among Indian born Muslim women. The orthodox Moulvis preached the covering of the whole body, including face and hands. Men of dignity and learning, such as Amir Khusroe, considered that perfection of womanhood and chastity was attained by the observance of strict seclusion. They appear to have thought that such seclusion was a distinction and a privilege to which female timidity and sense of pride, vanity and a false idea of chastity came to be added. The lower orders of society imitated the higher and the result was the present seclusion of women in India, which has excluded them from taking part in the performance of so many useful duties both for themselves and for society. The orthodox section claim certain advantages for the *purdah*. It is suggested that Muslim women, remaining strangers to the society of men, can exclusively attend to the work of the household and tend the children in which kinds of work they are likely to find sufficient occupation. It is further suggested that they may mix with members of their own sex and enjoy

their company without suspicions being raised on the part of their husbands and their husbands may freely enjoy the society of their own sex without being suspected or misunderstood by their wives. In such a case, both would be contented and happy without being watched and oppressed by each other! Women's seclusion from men naturally brings them closer to their own sex and makes them familiar with one another. Last, but not least, women consider certain qualities, which they acquire in one another's society, make them perfect, which is possible if they move exclusively among themselves or at least do so to a very great extent. It is pointed out that a woman, who is masculine in her appearance, in her habits, in her speech and in her action, which is the case among most Western ladies, loses her feminine charms and attractions. The distinctive feature of femininity, that is feminine beauty, if it must remain predominant in women, seclusion may not after all prove so injurious to mankind—or even womankind—as it seems to be suggested in certain quarters. Such, at any rate, is the trend of the argument in favour of seclusion. The extreme argument in favour of the development of femininity in features, form and character is, however, a double-edged one when it is considered on its merits. It is forgotten that over-femininity is bad, and is likely to prove disadvantageous to the fair sex as much as the development of masculinity among women. Further, as against these real or supposed advantages of seclusion, those who espouse it never seem to have felt that there is a distinct economic loss in keeping half the population in thraldom, as it were—physical and intellectual. Men, in consequence, have to carry the greater part of the family burden and responsibility, especially in a poor country such as India is. The economic condition of Muslim countries, including India, is now changed and the social needs of the present-day Indian Muslim are quite different from his compeer of the time of Amir Khusroe or even a hundred years ago. Turks were the first to study the problem of women's emancipation and, thanks to the bold action of Kamal Ata Turk, Turkish ladies

to-day enjoy the same privileges and freedom as their sisters in Europe. Iran and Iraq have followed Turkey and it is to be hoped that it will not be long before Egypt and other Muslim countries will follow them in the good example they have set. In Albania, the present king is inducing the womenfolk of his country to abandon *purdah* and become free. Thus, there are signs that the long-established veil is everywhere breaking down to-day under the pressure of modern conditions. Perhaps, India will be the last country to follow the Western Muslims, but it is impossible to continue the *purdah* in its present state even in this country. *Purdah* is essentially a social problem and it is bound to be decided by social needs and necessities. At present, the Indian custom is restricted more to the middle classes than to the richer or the poorer. The villagers and poorer classes to a great extent are free, and the rich can afford to remain secluded in their big houses or to enjoy fresh air in motor cars. Some of them are indifferent, specially those who have received Western education. It is the middle classes, possessing neither big houses nor suitable conveyances, that suffer under the existing practice. They will probably give the lead in the matter and thus help to do away with a custom which has over-stayed its utility. That the *purdah* has had little effect on the progress of women is perhaps inferable from the great women poetesses and administrators that Islam has produced (see Appendix A).

Marriage in Islam.

There were four kinds of marriage prevalent among the early Muslim Arabs, *i.e.*:—

(1) Marriage with a close relation. It was considered that the children of such a marriage would be of pure blood. Those born of such marriages, among the Quraish, were proud of their descent, especially if they were of a well-known tribe, such as Bani Hashim, from which the Prophet was descended. His grandsons, Hasan and Husain, being Hashimites, both from their father, mother, grandfather, and

(paternal) grandmother's sides, were considered to be of the purest blood and of the best descent.

(2) Marriage with a stranger, because it was thought that those born by such connection would prove strong and healthy. Women from war-like tribes or from families celebrated for their generosity and courage, were especially sought and taken as wives.

(3) Women taken captives (in war) were distributed among the captors and either kept as prisoners or let go free on ransom, or married, such as Safiyya, who was captured in the battle of Khaiber and was taken as wife by the Prophet himself. Many princes and ladies of noble descent, who were captured in the conquest of Syria, Egypt, Iran and India, were married to Arab generals and Khalifs.

(4) Slave girls, noted for their beauty, were sold in the open market by slave dealers and purchased, in some instances, at high prices and, after emancipating them were married by their masters. The majority of the Abbaside Khalifs were the children of such slave girls.

Marriage between cousins, both on the paternal and maternal sides, is permitted in Islam. Among the Arabs and the Iranians, a man had the right to claim the hand of his cousin, because the property, in such a case, would continue to remain in the same family and, if the family is not rich, the purity of blood would also be preserved. The Iranians prefer first cousins because of the feeling that where husband and wife are of equal status and possess the same family ties, harmony of life and domestic happiness would result. The ancient Hindu custom of carrying away the bride, by real or pretended capture, is prevalent among some Afghan tribes. A pretended opposition is made by the relations of the bride but indirectly the bridegroom is helped to carry away the bride. According to tradition derived from the Prophet, marriage with a stranger was believed not to bring weakness to posterity. Marriage with a heathen woman is not permitted, but a Sunni Muslim may take as wife a Christian, Jew or Zoroastrian. The custom of *Mehr* (settlement of Dower)

or the payment of a fixed sum as agreed to between the agents of the bride and bridegroom, was to be paid to the bride on demand. This custom was common to all Semitic races. Among the Iranian villagers, besides the usual *Mehr,* a fixed amount is paid to the mother-in-law called *Shir-baha,* or the value of the milk (given by mother). In Gujarat, the Khojas pay rupees five and annas four indirectly to the common fund of the community, which is called the *Jama-at-Khāna.* This money is paid by the bridegroom's father to the father of the bride who pays it over to the *Jama-at-Khāna.* The amount of *Mehr* depends upon the position of the bridegroom and the demand of the bride. In some cases, it is normal and even insignificant. During the height of Arab power, it was increased from one hundred thousand to fifty and even several million *dirhams,* and so it was among the Moghal princes and nobility. Even at the present time, it is an enormous sum with the aristocrats of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Northern India. If a person takes more than one wife, in most cases, the first wife has precedence and holds high rank, though she may not enjoy the favour and affection of her husband. All the children are considered equal in the eyes of the father, including those who are born in concubinage. The marriage ceremonies of a heathen Arab, especially among the Bedouins, were very simple and brief and, in most cases, did not last more than a week (*Isbu'*). The bride was adorned and carried to the bridegroom by her father, brother or a woman friend or relation of the bride who was received by the bridegroom in a special tent put up for the occasion.

Women belonging to the Meccan nobility used to wear rich garments and change them several times at the first meeting with the bridegroom and passed before him, accompanied by women singing songs. In pre-Muslim Iran and Syria, the wedding ceremonies were elaborate. Among the Arabs, from the earliest times, *Walima,* or feeding the guest, was the most important part of a wedding ceremony. The bride was conducted to the bridegroom in a procession of

friends and relations, consisting of both men and women. The men used to sing war songs (as it was done at the marriage of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet) in praise of their tribe or the bride and bridegroom, and women used to join with cries called *Hilhila* or *Zaghirat*. Sometimes, young girls used to sing verses suitable to the occasion and beat tambourines. The following instruments of music were permitted even by theologians to be used at a wedding:—(*a*) *Duff*, Tambourine; (*b*) *Ghirbal*, another kind of Tambourine; and (*c*) *Mizhar*, a kind of lute. As regards other instruments, there is unanimous agreement that they are forbidden. In Iran, an orthodox *Moulvi* or *Qazi* would leave the wedding assembly on hearing the sound of music. The giving of the *Walima*, or the wedding feast, is common among all Muslims and, indeed, it is given two or three times, *i.e.*, at the time of the *Nikah*, and again when the bride is conducted to the bridegroom, and on a third occasion by some wealthy people at the house of the bridegroom. Among the primitive Arabs, when the bride was introduced to the bridegroom, he used to touch her head (as it was done by Khalif Usman, in the case of his bride Naila) or take her forelocks and pray for a blessed life. A bridegroom should not leave his bride at least for three days after they are united in holy wedlock. Among some, the bridegroom remains with the bride for seven days after the marriage, but the Khalif Mamun was so much pleased with his bride Purān that he did not leave her company for eighteen days. The following are among the important wedding ceremonies current in India:—

Every marriage starts with the *mangani* or negotiation for the marriage. The bridegroom's parents, after ascertaining the personal beauty, learning, character, health, age and descent of the proposed girl, go in person or appoint a relative or a friend to meet the bride's parent and settle the terms and, if satisfactory, come to a settlement. *Sherbet* and sweets are given to the party by the bride's father and a ring or bangles are presented to the bride-elect by the bridegroom's parents. The marriage proper starts with the ceremony of

(2) *Manjha,* or sitting in state of the bride. This lasts for three days. The bridegroom wears saffron-coloured garments and the bride is left alone with intimate friends, and becomes, in the ceremonious sense, a *Dulhan,* or bride. (3) Next comes the ceremony called the *Sachaq,* a Turkish word signifying the *Henna,*[84] the leaves of which plant are presented to the bride, together with the wedding gifts. (4) Next comes the *Mehndi,* or using the leaves of the Eastern privet (*Lawsonia inermis*), for dyeing the hands, feet and hair. This custom is as old as the time of the Prophet, who recommended its use, especially for women. In Arabia and Iran, its use is general though in India it is restricted to marriage. (5) This is followed by the *Barāt,* or the ceremony of carrying the bride's clothes, ornaments and other things, in procession to her house. These are by some included in the *Sachaq.* (6) Next comes the *Rukht-borani* (Iranian), cutting of the cloths for the bride. Then follows the (7) *Sub-Gusht* (Iranian: *Shab,* night; and *Gusht,* passing), when the bridegroom goes in procession with candle lights to the house of the bride. Then we have the (8) *Haldi* (Indian), or the ceremony of rubbing turmeric, this being current only among Indian Muslims. Then follows the (9) *Chauthi,* which marks the end of the wedding, in which the bride and bridegroom play with each other. There are very large number of other minor ceremonies, in India, taken over or adopted from the Hindus. The sister-in-law plays an important role on behalf of her sister, teasing and playing jokes with her brother-in-law in the celebration of the *Mehndi* and other ceremonies.

The chief function of marriage, according to Muslim Law, is the ceremony of *Nikah,* an Arabic word, which means *conjunction,* and understood in the sense of *contract.* It is a simple ceremony, for which the assent of the man and the

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[84] *Henna*: Arabic, *Hinna,* a shrub, the leaves of which yield a reddish-brown or orange dye.

woman to marry each other is necessary. Two men must be witnesses and the amount of *Mehr* payable must be fixed. It is performed in the presence of invited friends, relations and parents of the bride and the bridegroom. The *Qazi*, after receiving the consent of the bride or her agent, and after acceptance of the terms of marriage by the bridegroom, recites a few passages from the *Quran* and tradition in praise of sexual relation, and ends with blessing for both, in which the others present also join. Sweets, almonds and dry dates are thrown amidst the assembled guests, who try to pick up as much as they can. This ceremony is a very ancient one, dating from the time of the Prophet. At the present time, in Iran, instead of scattering, sweets are given in plates or knotted in hand-kerchiefs to each guest. The bridegroom sits on a *musnad* or carpet in the place of honour, dressed in the clothes presented by the bride, and after the ceremony is over, meets his elderly relations and friends, who are assembled for the occasion, and receives their blessings and congratulations. The best description of an Arab-Iranian high class marriage is given by Nizami, the author of the celebrated prose work entitled the *Chahar-maqala* (or Four Discourses). He writes as follows:—

"When Khalif Mamun wanted to marry Purān Dukht, the daughter of his vazir Hasan, son of Sahl, he entered the hall in which his best clothes were kept and out of one thousand coats of the best silk presented to his view, he selected one simple and dark of colour, and riding on his horse left for the house of the bride. His ministers and bodyguard followed him. When he reached the house of the vazir, he found a rich embroidered curtain, set with jewels, hanging at the door of the entrance to the bride's chamber. He turned to his secretary and remarked saying, 'If I had worn any of my most valuable coats, it would not have been so costly as this curtain'. When he entered the compound of the harem, his father-in-law approached and scattered at his feet pills made of wax, about the size of a filbert nut, containing small pieces of paper, on which the names of a village (or

piece of land, horse, slave girl) was written and whoever got one or more of those waxen pills presented them to the vazir's treasurer and received that which was mentioned in it. When the Khalif entered the bridal apartment, he saw a costly carpet, decorated with valuable jewels, spread in the place of honour, over which a most handsome and attractive girl was seated. There were kept six pillows decorated with jewels. The bride, seeing the Khalif, left her seat and received him with a smile and with many kind and sweet words, took his hand and led him to her seat, and herself sat in his front looking on the ground. The Khalif took out from his pocket eighteen pearls, each of the size of a sparrow's egg, and scattered them over her but she continued to look bashfully on the ground."

In India, the bride, influenced by the custom of the country, does not speak with her bridegroom for days after the marriage, but in Iran and other countries of West Asia, they soon become familiar with each other. The *Walima,* or wedding feast, usually consists of *Pilau* (rice mixed with meat), vegetable dishes, sweets, etc. Music and dancing are the essential parts of the entertainment of the day of *Nikah* and *Jilwah* in India, but in West Asia, including Iran, there is music but no dancing by dancing women. The ceremony of the "bath" is an important item in the marriage ceremonies in Central and West Asia and North Africa, to which many other minor ceremonies are added. The bride, before the marriage, takes her bath in company with her female friends and so does the bridegroom. Their friends keep them engaged by singing and amusements. In India, this ceremony is done at home, but in West and Central Asia, it takes place at a public bath. The bride goes to the female and bridegroom to the male bath. The *Mehndi,* or *Henna* ceremony, is done before *Nikah,* in which the ground and moist leaves of henna plants are put on the hands and the feet and tied with a piece of cloth, till the hands and feet are coloured and then removed and washed. The same is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom and put by the would-be

sister-in-law on the hands of the bridegroom, who, though teased by her, has nevertheless to make a present to her for her kindly offices.

The next and most important function is *Jilwah* (called in Arabic *Zeffet-at-Aroos*, and in Iranian, *Zifaf*), when the bridegroom comes in procession to the house of the bride and is introduced to her first by the placing of a looking glass between them. The veil is then removed from the face of the bride. Her face is reflected in the mirror and seen by the bridegroom, who, questioned about the beauty of the bride, must give a pleasing reply and give her a present to mark the occasion. This ceremony is called *Ru-noma* in Iranian. She is introduced to him by an elderly relation, of either sex. In most cases, uncles, aunts, grandmothers or fathers undertake this duty of introducing the bride to the bridegroom. Next, the bride takes leave of her parents and close relations amidst tears on both sides, and led by her husband, reaches the conveyance kept ready for the departure. In India, the bridegroom must carry her in his arms to the place where the conveyance is ready for her departure, but in other Muslim countries, she is led by the hand and helped to seat herself over a donkey, mule, camel or motor car, as the case may be. The party leave in procession with music, lights, etc. The bride is dressed in the clothes presented to her by the bridegroom. Her eyes are blackened with *Kuhl* or *Surma,* and her women friends try to present her in as beautiful a manner as they could. She is adorned with jewels presented by both the parties to the marriage. In ancient Egypt, as in India, yellow patches were put over her cheeks, which is not done at present. The bride's conveyances were different in various countries, and at different times, such as:—

In Iran, Mesopotamia and Egypt, the bride used to go on foot accompanied by a number of her friends and relations. Now, a motor car is generally in requisition for the purpose.

In North Africa, she was taken in a litter borne on a

donkey, or mule, or in a camel litter followed by her bridegroom on horse-back, while in front were horn-blowers, drummers, songsters and musicians.

In Morocco, she was carried in an octagonal box carried by eight men; or in a covered cage placed on a mule.

In Egypt and Syria, she had to go on foot or ride under a canopy.

In Turkey, she had to ride on a horse, mule, or a donkey, veiled in a red silk cloth.

In modern times, horse carriages and motor cars are used everywhere in Muslim countries. The *Palki* was common at one time in India. It gave way to more modern conveyances about forty years ago. The wedding candles in the Eastern countries were of green or yellow wax, big enough to give light for several nights. In some places, trays of candles were carried before the bridal procession.

In Egypt, a bridegroom is not allowed to unveil his bride before making a gift either in cash or in the form of some ornament. In Turkey, after the unveiling, prayers were offered, and then coffee was served to both the bride and the bridegroom. Among Iranians, a number of women, especially the mother, or a very close relation or a nurse, follow the bride to her husband's house and sleep in the adjoining room, and on the morrow she has to prove to the women belonging to the bridegroom's family the token of the virginity of the bride, for which a white cloth is spread, over which the pair must sleep. The bridegroom himself must also see and satisfy himself that his bride is actually a virgin. If she is not proved to be virgin, the bridegroom may divorce her and send her back. The bride and bridegroom go to a "Bath" on the morning after *Zifaf*. In North Africa, the bride is visited for a week by her friends and relations and the bridegroom, in case he is satisfied with the virginity of his wife, meets his friends and shakes hands with them; otherwise, remains at home. In South Africa, friends are invited on the seventh day by the bride and bridegroom. The first

seven days of the marriage are called *Sabi-al arus* and considered as lucky days. In Morocco, the bridegroom goes to the market on the seventh day and brings fish, which is laid down by his mother or close relation at the feet of the bride. The betrothal may be performed the same day (as in India) or several days, months, or even years before the wedding. The last is the case—which, however, is rare except among the aristocracy, for social or political reasons. The household furniture and dress for the bride sent by her parents to the house of the bridegroom are taken in procession with music. Procession, music and festivities are allowed in the case of the marriage of a virgin. In the case of a widow re-marrying, the function is finished in songs and that in a private manner. In Iran and Mesopotamia, after the first meeting, the bride and the bridegroom perform two Rukat prayers and wash their feet, in which act they help each other. Astrological calculations are generally made to determine agreement of the stars under which the bride and the bridegroom were born. If they do not agree with each other, the attempt at an alliance would be given up. This is done to know their future agreement with and attachment towards each other. The time for the betrothal and the *Zifaf* are also fixed with the aid of the astrologers. The wedding ceremonies are, however, rapidly changing among Muslims all over the world. The present tendency is towards simplicity and modernizing them.

The variations in marriage ceremonies as prevalent at present may be classified as follows:—

(1) Semitic group, *i.e.,* Arabia, Egypt, Syria and North Africa.

(2) Turkey and Albania.

(3) Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran.

(4) India.

(5) China and the Pacific Islands.

The most important duties of a married woman are:—

Looking after the household, including the kitchen, and preparation of food for her husband, though Islamic law does

not allow the husband to force her to prepare meals for his guests. She is not asked to earn her livelihood or find means for maintaining her children. An ideal wife is described as one who is content, submissive, clean and devoted to her husband.

A man, who has more than one wife, has to provide for each. The convenience of each wife has to be provided for according to his wealth and position in life. In his sexual relations, he is expected to be strictly just and treat all wives alike. If he cannot do this, he must be content to choose only one wife.

Changes are taking place in this and other matters affecting social relations, as between husband and wife, at the present time and the tendency is in making the wife less responsible for household duties and to give her an opportunity of joining the society of men but not to the extent that is to-day permissible in Europe.

Birth and Early Life.

In Iran, Iraq and India, the parents invite the married daughter for her first confinement so that their first grandchild may be born in their house. If one is blessed with more than one daughter, all in turn are invited and all the expenses of confinement are borne by the parents. Soon after the delivery, the baby is washed and dressed in the clothes prepared some time before the confinement. For the first ten days after the delivery, the mother takes chiefly vegetables, butter, and some light and easily digestible food, and for forty days thereafter (in Iran and India), she drinks water in which a red-hot horse-shoe or some other piece of red-hot iron has been quenched. The baby is washed by the midwife and presented to the father and near relations. An elderly person of the family utters *azān* (call for the prayer) in both the ears, or *azān* in the right and the *kalima* (or creed) in the left ear of the baby. During the life-time of the Prophet, he was requested to give the name and rub the child's gum with masticated dates, which now has been

substituted in Iran by honey. The birth of a son is considered lucky. The important ceremony of naming the child, called *Aqiqah,* is done by an elderly person or the father. It was prevalent among pre-Muslim Arabs. The child's head was shaved and smeared with the blood of an animal slaughtered on the occasion. The underlying idea was religious, the child's hair being offered to the Deity, to avert all future evil to it. This custom, when it was taken over, was modified in Islam. It has now lost its religious significance, but continues to retain its hold on people as a social ceremony sanctioned by usage. This is done usually a few days after the birth of the child. The mother takes rest in her bed for ten days and is prohibited from conjugal felicities thereafter, for at least forty days. On the seventh day, the child is named and, in rare cases, circumcised also. The present *aqiqah* ceremony is to shave the baby's head and slaughter a sheep, ram or a goat, two for a male child and one for a female child, and distribute the flesh among the poor. The hair of the baby, after the shaving, is weighed against gold or silver and the same is given away in charity. On the fortieth day, the purification of the mother is complete. She takes a bath accompanied (in the case of a first confinement) by her intimate friends. Feasting and inviting friends are common among the wealthy classes when the child begins to close its fists, to crawl, get its first tooth, or when it walks, and, at the age of four or five years, or when it begins to read the *Quran* by first pronouncing the word *Bismillah* (*i.e.*, in the name of God), and on completing the *Quran,* and on circumcision in the case of a boy, and in the case of a girl when her ears are bored and when she attains her age.

In Western and Central Asia, boys and girls stayed at home, in the care of their mothers, till they were seven. In India, the infant's first nourishment is *Umultas* (*casia*), a laxative vegetable with sugar and distilled water of *anni* seed. In Iran, old women believe that boiled water mixed with sugar, should be given to the new-born baby for the first three days. The head is oiled, especially the front portion, and by

some even moulded to the desirable shape. Wealthy women employ wet-nurses, who in India are not allowed to taste animal food for the first one month. In Iran, a wet-nurse is watched and allowed to take such food in quantity and quality as is considered easily digestible and essential to the well-being of the baby. Such nurses called *Dāya,* become foster-mothers and treated as members of the families to which they get attached, and much respected by their foster-children. Even kings have had high regard for their foster-mothers. Emperor Akbar used to forgive his foster-brother, whose conduct sometimes deserved punishment, by saying that "there is a river of milk between me and him, which I cannot pass over". The child's nurse, on all occasions of feasting and rejoicing, is presented with gifts.

At the age of seven or eight, boys and girls are sent to a school common to both, where they are taught the *Quran,* without translation. The girls, when grown up, go to a girls' school or stay at home and are taught sewing and embroidery. The veil is put on in Iran and other Muslim countries—barring India, in this respect—just before attaining the age of puberty. In olden days, Muslim parents considered their children as trust committed by God in their hands, to be cared for and looked after by them, and they regarded themselves as responsible for their education and training and for their up-bringing as good Muslims. Following the *Quran,* the mother must feed her child for at least two years after its birth. Even after divorce, if she is enciente, or is mother of a baby, she is paid by the father for nursing the child. The *Bismillah* ceremony is performed in India, soon after the child begins to speak well. Friends are invited on the occasion and the child is taught to read the word *Bismillah* and sweets and other presents are distributed among those present.

Circumcision.

The practice of circumcision was common among pre-Muslim Arabs, Jews, various African tribes, the Kafirs of

Afghanistan, the Christians of Abyssinia, Bogo Copts (of Egypt) resident in the Madagascar Island, the primitive tribes of Australia and the islands of Melanesia, Polynesia, and in some parts of America, in Yucatan on the Orinaco, among the tribes of Rio Braneo, in Brazil, etc. According to Arab tradition, it was originated among them by Ibraham, their grand-ancestor, when he was eighty years old. In the *Quran,* no mention has been made of the ceremony and, therefore, the operation is called *Sunnat,* or a practice which is good to be performed but not binding. This ritual is one of those which was prevalent in the pre-Muslim period and not abrogated by Islam. The rapid spread of Muslim power and doubtful conversions of large numbers of non-Arab and non-Jewish nations encouraged Arab leaders to enforce it on proselytes to make sure of their conversion. It was also held to produce a sort of psychological effect on the mind of a convert. According to the Hanafi school of theology, an uncircumcised Muslim's evidence can be accepted in law, provided that the reason for not undergoing the operation was not due to contempt of Islamic custom. Among the Arabs, circumcision was practised among both males and females. Among all other Muslims, it has been restricted to *males alone*; and even in this case, it is not universal. There are many Muslims who do not practise it, such as a large number in China (even at the present date) and in India about 5 per cent. remain uncircumcised. The Timurid princes of India also did not practise this ceremony, except those who were very pious among them. During the rule of Khalifa Umar II, son of Abdul Aziz, a large number of people in Khorassan (Iran) wanted to embrace Islam but the Arab governor, fearing a considerable reduction in the poll-tax by their conversion, made it a condition precedent that they should undergo circumcision, which was not possible for all of them. Therefore, a deputation waited upon him, requesting exemption and the Khalif immediately wrote to the Governor to allow them to become Muslims unconditionally. The operation is performed in Iran and Arabia from the early age of seven, or

ten days to about ten or twelve years. A convert may not perform the operation, though, in some instances, he is wrongly compelled to do so by orthodox *Moulvis*. A grown-up youngman may do it himself, if he does not like to uncover before a stranger, or he may even go to a doctor. The operation is, in many places, performed by a barber; at present, however, a good many prefer a trained doctor. In Africa, Muslim *Mullas* (priests) also do perform it. In Tunis, some astrologers or dealers in amulets have to learn to do the operation. The fee, in the case of the poorer classes, is about four annas or more which is given to a barber, but wealthy people give according to their generous inclinations. The operation is performed, in the case of a barber, by a sharp razor or scissors and does not actually take much time. There is no particular season fixed for this operation. The summer, however, is preferred because the wound heals up soon then. The hemorrhage is not dangerous and is stopped by the application of an ordinary ointment. In India, invitations are issued to friends and the ceremony is performed amidst merry-making and music. Salted food is not given to the boy for a number of days and when the wound heals up, he is taken round in procession, garlanded like a bride-groom, with music and dancing. While the operation is going on, the boy is made to sit on an earthen-ware or a chair, and after operation, he is made to tie up a red cloth round his body, below his shirt. In some countries, he is made to stand or sometimes lie in bed. The day for operation is fixed by the astrologer. In China, the ceremony is more religious than social in character.

Concubines and Slave Girls.

Islam, though it fixes the number of married wives a man may have, does not set any limit to the number of concubines he may possess at a time, because a concubine is kept under special and abnormal condition, such as:— (1) Women taken as captives of war, which is uncommon and not possible for all. (2) Women purchased as slaves,

such purchase depending upon circumstances and the extraordinary wealth of a man. Both circumstances became possible during the early stages of Islam. The status of children born of concubines and slaves does not differ from those born of a wedded wife. As polygamy is permitted and was practised in Arabia, the addition of slave girls and concubines was in practice limited to a few princes and wealthy people. A large number *harem* was either due to lust; or it was a privilege forced on the king or nobleman, to whom girls were presented every year by subordinates and as presents used to be accepted by them. This is still so in Hyderabad (Deccan). Sometimes on political grounds, and often as a sign of dignity, slave girls were added to the number of legitimate wives one already possessed. There were market centres in Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Iran and other Muslim countries, where slaves, brought from Georgia, Abyssinia, Central Asia, Greece and North Africa, were sold. They were trained, in some instances, by their purchasers, in music, dancing, etc., and sold at high prices. During the Umayyed and Abbaside rule, Roman, Greek, Armenian and Turkish slaves were sold at Damascus, Basra and Cairo. During the Turkish ascendency, the prisoners of war from Russia, Hungary, Poland, and the Balkhan States were brought and sold at Constantinople. A slave girl was often emancipated and married as a legitimate wife, or, after she gave birth to a child, she was taken as wife. A free girl could be met and seen by women relations alone, though the law allowed a man to see her face and hands and settle the terms of marriage directly with her. In the case of a slave girl, however, her body also could be seen by the would-be purchaser, with but a small piece of cloth for her covering. Though slavery was not abolished by Islam, slaves were recommended to be kindly treated, so much so that Muslim slavery cannot be compared with the cruel type of slavery prevalent among the nations of Europe and America. A Muslim slave had better prospects than subject nations under any of the present civilized rulers. The Prophet himself not

only made his slave an adopted son but went a step further and pursuaded his cousin, a noble lady of Quraish, to marry him. He made the son of the same slave, who was a boy of seventeen or eighteen years, to command a veteran army, in which the most proud and ambitious chiefs of the Quraish had to serve. This fine beginning struck the keynote, as it were, for the future genteel treatment of slaves by their Muslim masters. Muslim slaves were educated and received military training as well, and even founded ruling dynasties in Egypt, India and Iran. The second Khalif, Umar, while on his way to Syria and Palestine, used to ride his camel with his slave by turns and so did the other companions of the Prophet. Usman, the third Khalif, in anger twisted the ear of his slave but at once repented and requested his slave to twist his ears in retaliation! Umar, the second Khalif, just before his death, was sorry that Salim, an Iranian slave who had embraced Islam, was dead. The Khalif considered Salim most suited to succeed him as Khalif of the vast Muslim Empire. Such was the wonderful sense of equality bred by the conception of Muslim fraternity that a slave could be preferred to the distinguished leaders and those in whose veins ran the best blood of the Quraish. Thus, Muslim slavery was the pride of Muslim culture. Such humane treatment was not limited to unfortunate human slaves only but was extended to dumb animals, to which, a kind treatment is recommended. The social status of a slave, however, was inferior to that of a free man. He could marry two women, while a free man had the option of four, but a slave could be given but half the punishment prescribed for a free man. The master was bound to provide his slaves with suitable food and clothing and allow them work for their own support and grant freedom by receiving a reasonable amount by way of ransom. The Prophet strongly enjoins kindness and good treatment both to male and female slaves. There is no doubt that Islam made a great improvement on slavery as prevalent among the Prophet's contemporaries. The manner in which

Arabs, Iranians, Indians, Romans and the Greeks treated their slaves shows this unmistakably.

The following are a few texts from the *Quran* concerning slavery:—

Kindness to slaves.

"And be good to the parents and to the near of kind and the orphans and the needy and the neighbour (your relatives) and stranger neighbour and the companion in a journey and the wayfarer and those whom your right hand possess (*i.e.,* slaves and animals), surely God does not love him, who is proud." (Ch. IV. 36.)

Conjugal felicities with slaves.

A master may enjoy conjugal felicities with his slave girl:—"And if you fear that you will not (be able) to do justice (between your wives), then marry one only or (you may be content with) what your right hand possesses (*i.e.,* slave)." (Ch. IV. 3.)

The Muslim law for freeing a slave.

A slave may be given freedom by:—(1) If a master says "Thou art free" (or *mutlaq*), whether he really means to grant his freedom or not, the slave becomes free. (2) By *Khitābah,* or granting freedom in writing. (3) By saying "Thou art free after my death" (or *Tadbir*). (4) By *Istilad,* or having a child by a slave-girl, a female slave becomes free. (5) By *Kaffarah* (see below).

Position of Parents.

Among Muslims, children pay the greatest respects to their leaders. The highest consideration is given to parents, concerning whom the *Quran* recommends respect and kindness, and the Prophet is reported to have said:—"Paradise lies at the feet of your mother!"

In Iran and Central Asia, a son never sits or smokes in the presence of his father. With the mother, the children are more free. During festivals, after performing prayers, children kiss hands of their parents and receive their blessings.

In India, under Hindu influence and the custom of the country, the feet of the parents are touched by way of respect. Next to parents, rank aunts and uncles, elder brothers and sisters. Foster-mothers rank next to the real mother. In some instances, a foster-mother has great influence. The foster-mother of Emperor Akbar was the cause of the Emperor's trouble with his faithful and favourite minister and general Beram Khan, who was finally forced into rebellion in which he lost his life.

Disposal of the Dead.

The moment death takes place, the dead man or woman's mouth and eyes are closed, to avoid disagreeable looks, toes are fastened together with a thin piece of cloth, the face is turned towards the *Qiblah* (Mecca), perfume is burnt around the body and in the case of wealthy people, a man is hired to read the *Quran*. The burial takes place as soon as the body is got ready for the purpose, which usually does not take more than a few hours. If the death is due to heart-failure or the cause is doubtful, the body is kept for some hours together to make sure of the fact of death. While washing, the body is placed on a plank or a stone, and covered, in the case of a man, with a piece of cloth from the navel to the knees and, in the case of a woman, from the chest to the feet. The Sunnat Jama'at wash with warm water but the Shiahs use cold water, raising and turning the body gently, so that all sides may be washed and cleaned well. In the end, the face is washed and two hands upto elbow as well, the hands being wiped (*mas-ha*) and water thrown on the feet. Camphor mixed in water in a new earthen pot, and powdered leaves of *lote* tree (*sidr*), and in Egypt, rose-water mixed with ordinary water, is poured three times, first from the top of the head to the extremities of the feet, then from the right shoulder to the feet and finally from the left shoulder to the feet. The whole body is then wiped with a new piece of cloth and made dry. The *Kafen*, or shroud, consisting of three pieces of cloth for a man and five pieces for a woman,

helps to cover the corpse. The three pieces for men are:—*Lung,* a piece of cloth from the navel upto the knee; *Jama,* or a shirt from the neck to the knee or ankles; and *Lifafah,* or a covering from over the head to below the feet. In the case of a woman, besides the three pieces used for in the case of a male, there are, in addition, a breast-band, and *Damni* (Indian), which encircles the head. The shroud is perfumed and camphor is put on the forehead, nose, palms of hands, knees and the toes. The shroud is a new piece of cloth and white in colour. The body is placed on a bier, which is covered with a *shawl* (in India) and decorated with flowers. The *shawl,* after it is brought back from the cemetery, is given away to a poor man. In India, the dead body is shown to relations and friends. Prayer is offered in the mosque or in an open place. The bier is borne by relations and by all those who follow the body to the graveyard, without distinction of rich and poor. This custom is universal and is indicative of the high regard shown to the dead in Islam. This most honourable custom of paying the last respects to the dead body is unique and restricted to Islam. The body is buried in a grave about 5 to 5½ feet deep, divided into two parts—one from the floor to about two feet with a margin on both sides, more or less, over which stones or planks are laid and the next about the same depth covered with earth. The external shape of the tomb is not uniform among the Muslims of different nationalities. In India, tombs are usually made of bricks and mortar or stone from one foot to several feet above the ground. The shape is generally oblong, the higher platform being narrower than the lower. The graves in most cases resemble the camel's hump. A woman's tomb in some places is distinguished from that of a man by its shape, it being flatter or lower. The name of the deceased is inscribed by rich people and some add appropriate verses, the dates of birth and death of the deceased being engraved either on a stone placed over the tomb or on the one erected over the entrance or on the head side. In South Iran, the figure of a lion made of stone or in mortar and bricks, is placed

over the tomb. The shrine of a sage has usually a red, green or white flag on a tree in its compound or on the building in which the tomb is set up. On returning after the burial, friends accompany the chief mourner of the deceased to his house and afterwards visits of condolence are paid. In Iran, the chief mourner does not leave his house for three days, and on the third day, if his father was a merchant, or following any other calling or profession, friends take him to his father's office and leave him there.

Graves made in different countries differ with regard to depth and placing the stone or planks. These are, of course, local variations. In India, flowers are placed over the grave and a last short prayer is performed, in which all present join and all following the chief mourner return to the house where once again words of consolation and condolences are uttered, and leave is taken. During the three days following the death, the family is fed by relations, neighbours and friends. In Iran and Western Asia, the chief mourner remains at home or sits in a mosque, where friends and acquaintances visit him and read to him passages from the *Quran*. Tea or coffee is served to the guests. On the third day, mourners and friends visit the grave, and offer a brief prayer; in India, a new covering of flowers is also spread on that day over the grave, bread and *halva* (a sweet preparation) being served to those present, besides being distributed among the poor.

There are also slight differences in washing the corpse and in performing the other ceremonies mentioned above in the different countries inhabited by Muslims, these differences being peculiar to them, not infrequently due to climatic and other causes.

After the burial, a person sits on the side of the grave and, addressing the deceased, dictates the answers which should be given when examined by two angels called Munkar and Nakir, who are believed to appear before the dead man and ask him about his creed. This is called *Talqin* (instruction). The man, who reads *Talqins*, says:—"O Obdulla! (servant of God) and son of so and so! Remember thy faith,

that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His apostle. Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection are real: say (when questioned by the two angels): "I confess that God is my ruler (Lord); Islam is my religion; Muhammad is my Prophet; the *Quran* is my guide; the Ka'aba is my *Qiblah*; and Muslims are my brothers." The Shiahs add the names of twelve *Imāms*, saying that they are "Thy *Imāms*". After the burial (as stated above), the two angels are said to appear to the dead man or woman. Boys and girls, who have died before attaining their age, are exempted from such an examination and from such enquiries about their faith. If the above-said answers are given, the two angels are said to be satisfied, and calmness, peace and rest are granted to the soul of the dead person till the Day of Resurrection; if not, the soul is believed to be subjected to sufferings during the same length of time. After the burial, the *Fateha* (or the first chapter of the *Quran*), is recited and on returning home, a candle or some other light is set up and kept burning by some people in the place where the dead person was last lying. The *Quran* is read, and on the seventh or tenth day, people are invited and fed.

Another ceremony is observed on the fortieth day after death. It is called the *Chehlum* (an Iranian word meaning *the fortieth*). It comes off on the fortieth day from the date of death. On that day, people are fed and the tomb is revisited by the relations and prayers are offered to the soul of the deceased.

In Iran and Arabia, close relations, like parents (in the ascending scale) and children (in the descending scale), brothers, sisters, etc., wear a black dress for forty days and some wear such for even six months and more. In Mesopotamia, close relations of the deceased of the younger class, who are accustomed to shaving their beards, give up the shave during this period.

After the ceremony of *Chehlum*, an anniversary, called the *Barsi*, is observed by some people and on that day also

prayers are offered. The *Quran* is recited and people, including rich and poor, are fed.

Commemoration of the dead.

According to Al-Ghazzali, death does not cause a complete loss of consciousness. There are two stages after death, *i.e.,* (i) from death to the Day of Resurrection. During this period, the dead have some interest left with the living ones, especially relations; (ii) after the Day of Judgment, when the fate of each individual as well as of the whole of humanity is finally settled. The Prophet used to visit the cemetery and ask pardon for the dead. Muslims visit the graves of their relations and friends, every Thursday or at least once in a year. The vision of a dead man appearing in a dream is highly regarded in certain cases, especially if one sees the form of the Prophet in that connection. Such a vision is held to be most welcome. According to the Sūfis a human being has two kinds of existence; one prior to his birth, and the other after his death. In the latter, he is believed to live in a suspended state of animation in expectation of more permanent life. The existence before birth is called *Alem-e-Mithal* (a semi-spiritual state) and that after death is called *Alem-e-Barzakh,* in which a man continues to enjoy a semi-physical and spiritual existence till the Day of Judgment, when he passes into a permanent life (see *Gulsham-e-Raz* by Shibistiri). The life prior to birth is materialised from a semi-spiritual state and the one after death is semi-spiritualised from a material existence. It was customary among the Arabs for women attached to their husbands or brothers to pitch their tents near their graves and live there for six months or even a year, as Fatima, the grand-daughter of Alī, the fourth Khalif, did, when she lost her husband. This custom in course of time changed into the erection of permanent structures over the graves of not only dear relations but also over those of spiritual guides and persons known for their piety and virtue, kings, princes and noblemen, and led eventually to the development of magnificent styles of architecture during the days of Islamic supremacy. One of the

best specimens of such buildings, as described elsewhere in this work, is The Taj Mahal at Agra. This was also an indirect cause of the cult of saint worship in Islam. Some hold that here we see the influence of Christian modes of thinking. But it is possible that the practice is closely connected with the Arab attachment to their dead. In India, the *urus* at the tomb of a saint seems a direct and distinct imitation of Hindu *Yātras*.

Feasts in Islam.

Feasts in Islam are not mentioned in the *Quran*, but two of them, possessing a semi-religious significance, are observed by Muslims all over the world. These are:—

(1) *Id-e-Zuha*, called the *Bairam* festival in Turkey and Egypt, the *Bakr-Id* in India and the *Id-e-Qurban* in Iran. *Id-e-Zuha* means the feast of sacrifice. This feast is observed on the ninth and tenth of the last Arabic month named *Zil-hujja*. It is a pre-Islamic feast celebrated by the pilgrims who visited Mecca and allowed by the Prophet. The pilgrims assembled in the valley of Mina, close to Mecca, and offered animals, such as goat, sheep, camel, cows, or bulls, by way of sacrifice, according to their means. Muslims resident in other countries did the same on the same date. While Islam did not prohibit the custom of killing animals to feed pilgrims, it teaches that while neither the flesh nor the blood of slaughtered animals reaches God, piety and virtue do reach Him (see *Quran*, Chapter XXII. 37). As the number of animals slaughtered in Mecca is very much more than what is needed to feed the pilgrims, the greater portion is, often, of necessity, wasted. On the day of the feast, Muslims take a bath, change their dress and go to the *Id-gah*, or place of prayer. The *Imām* or leader in prayer, stands alone in front of the congregation, and leads them in prayer (of Two *Ruka*). Then, the *Khetib* ascends, and reclining on a sword, bow or stick, addresses the audience, praising the significance of the day, and when it is finished, people embrace each other and return home. In Iran and Western Asia, women also join

in the prayer, but in India, it is restricted to men. On returning, all those who can afford to do so kill one or more animals in sacrifice, according to their desire and means, turning their heads towards Mecca, and pronouncing the prayer beginning with: "In the name of God and for God, the Beneficient, the Merciful". Among the animals to be slaughtered, the following are mentioned in the *Quran*:— "And (as for) camels, we have made them of the signs of religion of God for you. Therein is much good for you; therefore, mention the name of God on them when they stand in a row (to be slaughtered) and when they fall down, eat of them and (the remaining portion) feed the poor man, who is contented and a beggar. Thus, we have made them subservient to you, that you may be grateful." (Ch. XXII. 36.)

In Iran, sheep and goats are slaughtered and, in rare cases, camels or oxen; it depends on the kind of animal available at the place of sacrifice. In some places in India, the victims are adorned and carried to the place of slaughter in procession, a custom that was prevalent in pre-Muslim Arabia. This custom is not practised in Iran, Mesopotamia and other Muslim countries. The flesh of the victim is partly cooked at home and partaken of, and partly distributed among friends, neighbours and poor people. Later in the day, friends visit each other, while singing and dancing are kept up common among the masses in Mesopotamia and Western Asia. The Prophet himself allowed songsters to sing and collect alms on such days. In Iran and Western Asia, the graves of relations, friends and pious people are also visited on this day. Thus, the significance of this feast and of *Ramzan* as well is more religious than social.

(2) *Ramzan* or *Id-ul-Fitr, Id-e-Sadeqah* (of Alms) or *Id-e-Saghir,* is a minor festival, the great one being the *Id-e-Zuha* above dealt with. It is celebrated on the first of *Shawwal,* the tenth Arabic month, after the long-drawn fast of a whole month which is taken up by the ninth month, *Ramzan.* Like the *Id-e-Zuha,* it is religious in character, and dates from the time of the Prophet. Unlike the *Id-e-Zuha,*

it is purely Islamic in origin. On the day mentioned, every good Muslim is expected to take a bath, change his dress, attend the festival prayer, *i.e.,* two *ruka,* at the *Id-gah* (or the mosque), and embrace the Muslims present in the place. In Western Asia, soon after prayer, people visit well-known *Moulvis* (theologians) and receive their blessings. Next, they go to their friends, elders and others of higher rank and receive visits from subordinates. At home, children go to parents and kiss their hands and in return they are kissed in their foreheads. In India, following the custom of the country, younger men and subordinates touch the feet of their elders and others higher in position. In Muslim countries, shops are closed and the streets are filled with people enjoying the feast. Sweets are sold, while sweetmeat sellers, story-tellers, jugglers, dancers and singers amuse the people. Servants receive gifts from their masters and kings hold their Durbars.

Besides these two, there are other festivals observed by Muslims, some of them national while others are limited to particular sects. Among these are:—*Milad* or *Moulud,* which is the birthday of the great Prophet, annually celebrated on the twelfth, *Rabi-ul-awwal* in Turkey, Egypt, some parts of Iran and India. Alms are distributed on the day and *Qasidas,* or verses in praise of the Prophet, are recited in India during the whole night. In India, the date is not fixed. It may fall on any day in the month of *Rabi-ul-awwal,* or the following month. Muslims and non-Muslims are invited to listen to lectures and sometimes even asked to preside over meetings held in honour of the occasion. Members of the Wahhabi sect do not observe this feast.

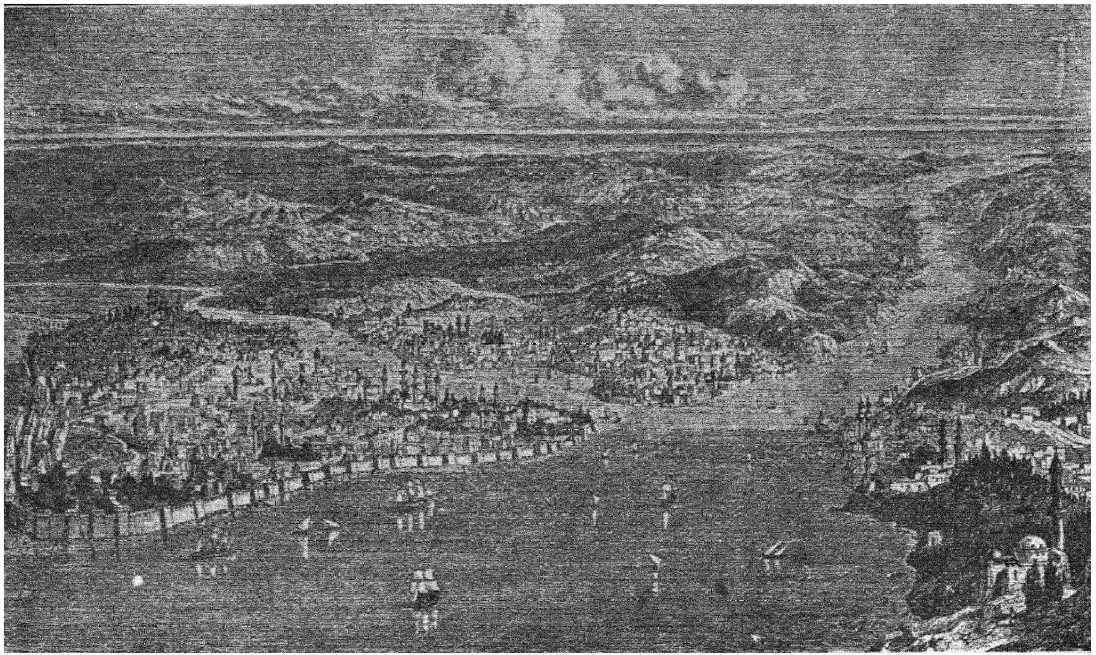
The birthday of Saint Abdul Qadir of Gilan, a very popular and most respected Sūfi saint, is celebrated in India, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia and in some parts of North Africa, in the month of *Rabi-ul-akhar,* though its observance is confined to the Sunnat Jama'at, Wahabis and Shiahs not taking part in it.

The *Shab-e-Barat* falls on the fifteenth of *Shaban,* the

eighth Arabic month. It is supposed that on that date the share of living and fortune for the coming year are fixed and registered in Heaven. It is celebrated by illuminations and demonstrations of fireworks in a manner similar to what Hindus do on the *Dipawali* day. It may be the *Farvardin* of ancient Iran, which, owing to some wrong calculation of the calendar or change in its pre-Islamic aspects, is fixed in an Arabic month. The word *Shab-e-Barat* is a compound of Iranian *Shab*, which means *night*, and *Barat* (Arabic) means *assignment*. Like the *Farvardin* of ancient Iran, it is connected with the memory of dead relations, whose souls are believed to visit their living descendants or others in whom they are interested. According to Muslim tradition, on the night of *Shab-e-Barat*, the tree of Sidratulmuntaha is shaken. Each leaf contains the name of a person and according to the fall of the leaf, the death of the person named is settled. On the 14th or 15th, a variety food is prepared in memory of deceased relations and after recitation of *Fateha*, it is distributed among the poor or used by the members of the family.

Akhir-Charshanba, or the last Wednesday, is observed on the last Wednesday of the month of *Safar*, the second Arabic month. People go out, take a bath, and put on amulets to protect themselves against impending bad luck. It is thought that the Prophet, on that day, recovered from a serious illness and took a bath. It may be the beginning of his illness which continued, the Prophet dying on the 12th of the next month. This feast is not current among all Muslims, the Wahabis not observing it.

Nou-roz, or the New Year, is celebrated at the present time only by the Iranians and Shiah Arabs in Mesopotamia. It is observed on the twenty-first of March or the Vernal equinox. It is the greatest Iranian national festival known, and is observed with great pomp and ceremony by all Iranians without distinction of religion. The king holds a Durbar and people enjoy themselves, visiting each other for twelve days. The festival marks the beginning of the Spring season, or Summer solstice, and the celebration begins at the hour



A View of Constantinople

the sun enters the sign Aries (March 21st) and lasts for twelve days.

The Capture of Constantinople (1453 A.D.) is observed only by the Turks, who also observe the day of the establishment of the present Turkish Republic. In the same manner, the Afghans observe their Day of Independence from the time of King Amanullah Khan, and Egyptian and Chinese Muslims have their own feasts. The Shiahs commemorate the death of Alī, the fourth Khalif, from the 19th to 21st of *Ramzan,* as also the *Id-ul-Ghadir* in memory of the Prophet, delivering an address in praise of Alī. This address has been interpreted by the Shiahs, as meaning that he desired to announce the appointment of Alī as his successor.

The Spanish Muslims used to join their Christian countrymen in celebrating St. John's Day on the day of Penticost, which is still observed by some Muslims in Morocco. It falls in the beginning of July. Festivals like these, common to Muslims and others, may be observed in India, in which Muslims, Hindus and Christians may join and enjoy one another's company. This is likely to bring about national unity and cordiality of feeling between them. They should be fixed during the best time of the year, for example, the beginning of Spring. The Hindu festivals of *Dipawali* or *Dasara,* the Western New Year's Day, or the Iranian *Nou-roz,* afford such opportunities for celebrating what may be termed common festivals.

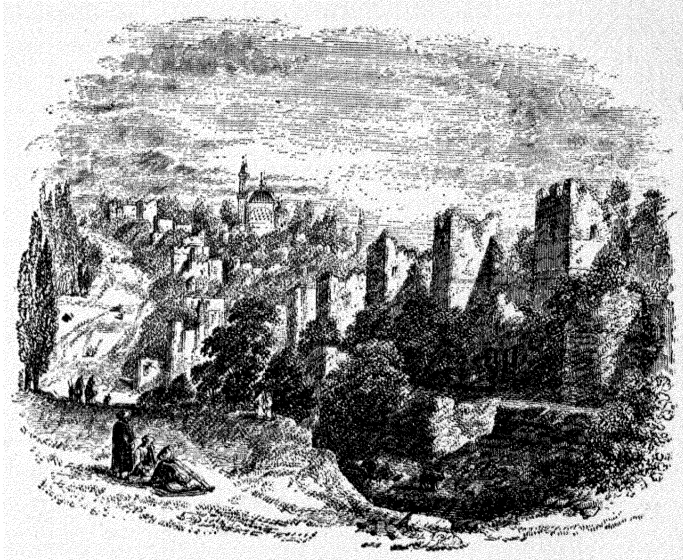
Juma (or Friday) is not a Sabbath day for Muslims as Sunday is for Christians or Saturday for Jews. On that day, a Muslim is expected to take a bath, change his dress and join the congregation at noon and hear the sermon. It has been mentioned in the following passage of the *Quran*:— "O you believe! when the call for prayer is made on Friday, hasten to remember God and leave trade (or other business); this is better for you, if you know." Thus, it is a partial holiday and restricted to prayer and hearing the sermon.

In India, there are other minor feasts connected with well-known saints or sages, such as the festival of the Saint

Qadir Wali, whose shrine is near the town of Nāgor, the festival of Rajab Salar, etc. The Nawabs of Oudh used to observe the Hindu Basant Panchami on March 31st.

Saints and Shrines.

The cult of "Wali"s or saints is an important feature in Muslim social and religious life. It has brought into existence a large number of Muslim fraternal societies; helped the development of a magnificent style in Muslim architecture; induced a large number of non-Muslims all over the world to come under the banner of Islam; in one way refined Muslim character itself; and produced many pious world famous saints, sages and poets. It had its defects as well, as causing inactivity, encouraging superstition and in inducing a slavish mentality and even immorality among the masses. Before long, the *Walis* became numerous all over Muslim countries. Some were really pious, but a great many were undeserving men who put on the appearance of pious men and made their garb a cheap source of living at the expense of illiterate and innocent people. The veneration extended to them did not depend upon their real merit, but on the extent of the ignorance of their followers and the devotion they paid to them. Islam has, however, produced a large number of really pious and enlightened spiritual men who became guides to virtue and a higher life. The illiterate masses, who could not be expected to distinguish, believed in the piety of real and pretended *Pirs* alike, and considered all of them as mediators between themselves and God, which is demonstrably against the spirit and teaching of Islam. Popular belief makes them a source of blessing, healing, in the case of physical diseases, and spiritual consolation in the case of mental anxieties. Powers of a supernatural and preternatural type came to be associated with their names. They could, for instance, defy Nature and perform miracles, if they desired. With the exception of Hanbalite and Wahabi sects, almost all Muslims, Shiahs or Sunnis alike believe in the sanctity of *Walis* and *Pirs,* venerate them during their lives and respect their names



THE TRIPLE WALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Captured by the Turks, 1453

after their death. The Hanbalite and other puritan Muslims protest against such veneration, but they have always remained in a minority. A *Wali* is a friend of God, one who has renounced the world and lived in contemplation of His majesty. He is the recipient of Divine *Ilham* (communication), content to live a secluded life in a desert or a monastery, outside cities, and preferably on mountain peaks. He is usually surrounded by a large number of disciples and larger number of devotees. Kings, Emperors, Khalifs, and even the absolute and merciless tyrants, have made no secret of their respect for this class of men, and are known to have paid visits and even sought their blessings. After the death of a *Pir* or *Wali*, large sums have been expended in putting up magnificent buildings in their honour. They have been consulted as much in spiritual as in worldly affairs and sometimes they have done duty as thaumaturgists, performing miracles and predicting victories and defeats in battles, etc. Their popularity is accordingly undoubtedly great. Thus, thousands of Shiahs, many of them admittedly extremely poor, visit the Shrines of Imam Alī, Husain and his descendants, in Iran, Arabia and Mesopotamia. There is scarcely a village in Iran, in which one or more tombs of *Walis* and *Pirs* are not found. Many believe, too, that if their own bodies are buried somewhere near the tomb of a patron saint, their souls will find rest and peace. Most of the well-known shrines are surrounded with a large number of graves. Many people request their children to carry their bodies and bury them near the shrine of a patron saint. Much money is spent in carrying skeletons to such shrines. Besides the tomb, the existence of large trees or natural springs, adds to the importance of the place, healing powers being attributed to them. In such a neighbourhood, even animals are in many cases secure immunity from molestation. They are neither hunted nor killed while they are there. Offerings are carried from distant places and distributed to the people assembled at the spot including large number of people seeking alms. Petitions are written, complaining of their worldly difficulties

and with prayers and certain rituals, placed near the tomb, the patron saint being expected to possess the powers to grant their desires. If, perchance, the wish is fulfilled, more offerings are presented. In some instances, a vow is made for an offering, if a certain object in view is fulfilled. In some cases, *riyazat* (or austerity) is performed in the vicinity of the tomb. In Western Asia, including Syria and Mesopotamia, certain shrines are common to Muslims, Jews and Christians; and in India, a Hindu *Yogi* may have a number of Muslim devotees and a Muslim *Fakir* a large number of Hindu disciples. Several Hindu temples have become Muslim shrines. The relics of the known saints, if available, are preserved with great care, for example, a turban, a coat, a shirt, shoe, or anything written by him, particularly a copy of the *Quran*. There is no town in India, as there are in other Muslim countries, especially among Sunni Muslims, where the *athār-e-Sharif* (venerated hair of the Prophet's beard) is kept as a sacred relic and a ceremony in its honour held once in a year. In India, the following are among the most venerated saints, whose tombs are visited by a large number of pilgrims:—

1. Moin-ud-dīn Chesti at Ajmer.
2. Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyar-e-Kaki at Delhi.
3. Farid-ud-dīn Shakar Gunj at Pakpatan.
4. Nizam-ud-dīn Ouliya at Delhi.
5. Burhan-ud-dīn at Hyderabad (Deccan).
6. Chiragh-e-Delhi.
7. Gisu Darāz at Gulburgah.
8. Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur Sekri.
9. Khaja Mir Muhammad Qibla-e-Alam.
10. Baha-ud-dīn Zakariyya at Multan.
11. Makhdum-e-Jehānian.
12. Muhammad Ghous in Gwalior.
13. Wajih-ud-dīn in Gujarat.
14. Shah Pir at Meerut.
15. Shah Madar at Makanpur, near Cawnpore. His

followers are known as Madari and perform jugglery. His very existence is doubted by some.

16. Musa Sutaq, a certain *Pir* who used to dress himself in woman's clothing and considered himself the wife of God. He is worshipped as such. His disciples have followed him in adopting his dress and have remained celebates. He is buried at Ahmedabad and a tree in the vicinity of his tomb is decorated with glass bangles by those who take a vow to him.
17. Pānch Pir, or the Five *Pirs*, is a name venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike.
18. Seven Sisters, supposed to be buried in the fort of Raichur.
19. A tomb, about nine feet, is known as the Tomb of Nine-feet Saint, at Jālna (Hyderabad, Deccan).
20. Sultan Ahmad at Jalalpur, Multan, is specialized by women only. There are tombs where women are not admitted.
21. The tomb of Salar Masud, constructed on the site of a temple dedicated to the Sun.
22. The tomb of Bamdin in Kashmir is considered originally to have been a Hindu temple, constructed by one Bhimasahi in 1026.
23. Sadiq Nihang. *Fakirs* of this shrine are said to have adopted a number of Hindu customs and ceremonies.

Besides these, there are a very large number of tombs scattered throughout India, Iran and Central Asia.

Among relics connected with *Wali* worship is a tooth-brush of Piran-e-Pir (Abdul Qadir of Gilan), supposed to have been brought by some of his disciples and planted at Ludhiana. It is said that the tooth-brush, when planted, grew into a tree, which is venerated to-day, an annual fair being held underneath it, attended by about five hundred thousand pilgrims from far and near.

Among the offerings brought to the shrines of *Walis* and *Pirs* are:—(1) a flag; (2) a goat or a sheep; (3) a white cock, offered to Khejuria Pir at Ambala; (4) sugar and cardamom; (5) toys (to the boy saint in imitation of Hindus); (6) bangles, to the saint who considered himself wife of God; (7) boiled rice mixed with milk, curd, honey or sugar; and (8) sweets of different kinds, called *khir* or *shir-berenj, puri, halva,* etc.

Among Muslim kings and conquerors, some enjoy the veneration commonly paid to a saint. Among these are Tipu Sultan of Mysore and Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, late Nizam of Hyderabad, Emperor Aurangzeb, etc.

Vows are often taken before, or in the name of, *Walis.* In fulfilment of such vows, presents are offered to their souls. *Niaz* (supplication or present) is such a fulfilment. It is given by men and women who take the vow that in case they attain their desire, they will distribute sweets and fruits among the poor, at the shrine of the saint in whose name the vow is taken. If the object is attained, and the vow has been taken by a woman, she takes a bath and carries the things she has promised on the day fixed for it, and after brief ceremony, distributes it among those present. Great precaution is taken in preparing such food so that it may not be defiled in any way. This custom is peculiar to India and is undoubtedly the result of Hindu influence. In other Muslim countries also, such vows are taken and given effect to in nearly the same manner.

Konda, or earthen pot, is another present in satisfaction of a vow, peculiar to India. It is performed in memory of the fourth Khalif Alī, in which dishes of sweets such as *puri,* rice mixed with curd, sugary bread and other sweets, are arranged in earthen pots placed on green vegetables. Those who are invited should not remove anything from the spot. Dishes remain on the spot till nothing is left in them.

Urs, corresponding to the Hindu *Yātra,* is current among Indian Muslims. It is a gathering of people in memory of

a sage or martyr at his shrine. Singing, music and gambling are connected with it. *Qawwals* (singers), especially women, sing in praise of the departed sage. The tomb is washed and people go in procession round it and after cleaning its exterior with water, the tomb is covered with a new pall of flowers, prepared for the occasion. It is done once a year, after the usual ceremony. Sweetmeats are distributed among the poor present and pieces of the old pall or palls are given away to the devotees, who take it as a valuable and sacred present, which is used as an amulet. This kind of ceremony is unknown in Western Asia. In many cases, a Sūfi saint is honoured after his death, though in his life-time, he was an obscure and unknown person. It depends upon the propaganda and advertisement secured for him by the devotees, particularly if a fine building is constructed by a wealthy person over the tomb and miracles reported by the admirers. The tombs of many saints are situated in mosques, or, mosques are sometimes constructed adjoining a tomb. The tombs are covered in some instances with palls of colours ornamented with passages from the *Quran*. These shrines have a permanent staff with a headman called *Mutawalli*, to look after the management of the buildings and the arrangement of the *Urs*, etc. In some cases, a Muslim shrine is looked after by a Hindu admirer. In Arabia and Egypt, a visitor distributes alms to the poor who reside in or about the tomb.

Sacred Places in Iran.

The following sacred places are known in Iran:—

(1) Meshed (lit. place of martyrdom), capital of Khorassan (North-East Iran), where Imam Alī-ur-Raza lies buried. It is also the place where Harun-al-Rushd is buried.

(2) Qum, a city in North-Central Iran, where a lady saint, known as Masuma-e-Qum, is buried.

(3) Shah Abdul Azim, near Teheran.

There are a very large number of minor shrines scattered throughout Iran.

In Mesopotamia.

In Mesopotamia, there are the following shrines:—

(1) Kazemain, near Baghdad, where Imam Musa, son of Jafar, and Imam Muhammad-ut-Taqi, son of Imam Alī-ur-Raza, are buried.

(2) Baghdad, where Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani, known as Peran-e-Pir, is buried.

(3) Karbala, where lies the burial ground of Imam Husain, the martyr of Muharrum.

(4) Najaf, where Imam Alī, the fourth Khalif, is buried.

There are also a large number of minor shrines in other places.

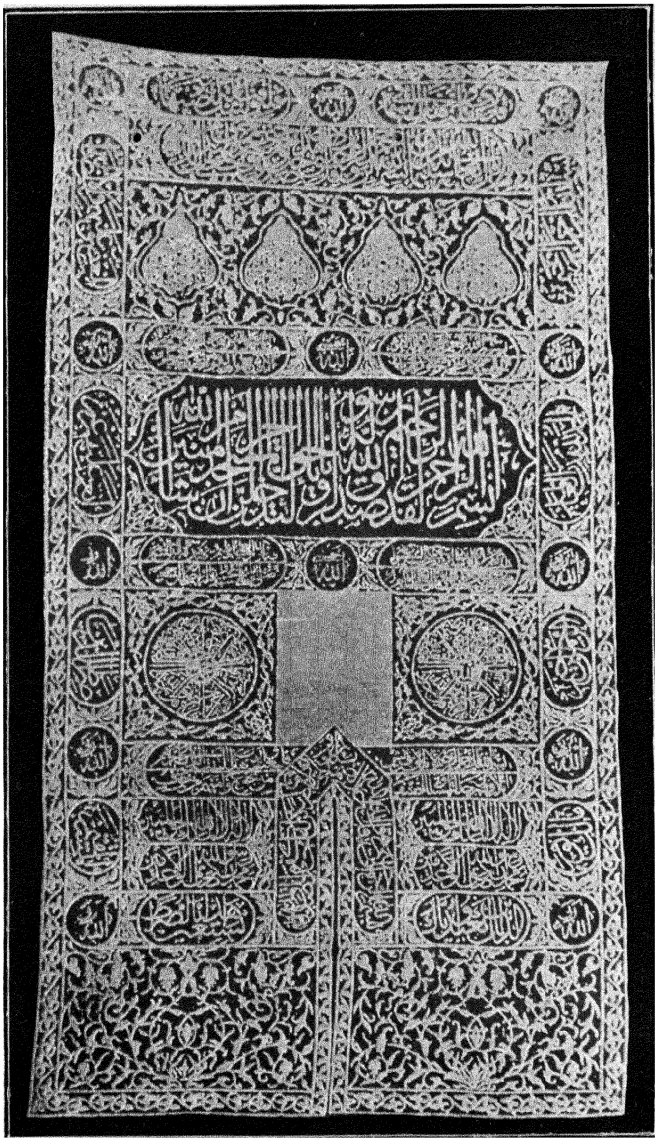
In Arabia.

The following are in Arabia:—

(1) Medina, where the Prophet; the first and the second Khalifs; Fatima, daughter of the Prophet; the third Khalif; a number of companions and descendants of the Prophet lie buried.

(2) In Mecca and Taif, where the tombs of other companions and descendants of the Prophet are to be seen.

(3) Damascus, which contains the tombs of the Umayyed Khalifs and many celebrated theologians and Sūfi saints. Among the sacred places in Palestine some exclusively belong to Muslims, while others are common to Muslims, Jews and Christians. In Egypt, there is a place known as the "Head of Husain", where Husain's head is supposed to lie buried. There is, besides these, the tomb of Sit-Nafisa, who was a descendant of the Prophet. In Turkey, the tomb of Ayyub, the companion of the Prophet, and the tomb of Moulana Jalal-ud-dīn, the composer of the celebrated *Masnavi* and the founder of the Moulvi order of Darvishes, are among the most famous shrines. Central Asia, now under Russia, is noted for a large number of Sūfi saints and so is North Afghanistan. In India, as already narrated, in some



THE CURTAIN OF THE DOOR OF THE KAABA AT MECCA

The Inscriptions are from the *Kuran*, Sūrás 1,106 and 112, the prominent inscription above the centre being the first part of *Sūra* 48, verse 27

places, a Hindu temple has accidentally or intentionally been converted into a Muslim mosque, or by Hindus themselves turned into a Muslim shrine. For instance, there is the hill in the vicinity of Hyderabad, known as Maula Ka Pahar, or the Mountain of Maula (Alī, the fourth Khalif). There was originally a temple on the top of this hillock and the reigning king, who was a Muslim of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, noticing a light on it while out hunting, wanted to know what it was, and the accompanying Hindu minister foolishly explained that the place was once visited by Alī and has ever since been a mosque. The king was surprised at possessing such a sacred place near his capital and the story goes that he decided to pay a visit to it. The minister was obliged to make good his word. He had to remove the idols and convert the temple into a real Muslim mosque! Once turned it a mosque, it has remained so to the present time! It is annually visited by a large number of men and women. The adjoining hillock, gradually became known as Qadam-Gah-e-Rasul, or the place where the Prophet's foot impression, is to be seen. Muslims, while paying visit to the tomb of the sage, recite the opening chapter of the *Quran* and other texts from the sacred book. The tomb is kissed by some admirers and the walls and windows are touched and rubbed over the face. The Shiahs, whose devotion to the family of Alī is intense, when they visit Karbela, Najaf, Meshed and other sacred places where their *Imāms* lie buried, offer prayers and address the dead sages as if they were still alive. Some even prostrate before the tombs.

Forms of Devotional Exercise.

Sūfis perform *Zikr* (repeating the name of God or some sacred words) alone or in chorus and some sing religious and devotional verses, with or without the aid of a musical instrument as, for instance, a flute (*nay*). Dancing girls and devotees of the musical art sing *Mujra,* or song gift, sitting before a saint's tomb, expecting the buried sage to bless them with a good voice and success in their profession.

MOHARRUM.

The Moharrum is the anniversary of Imam Husain, whose death at Kerbala is one of the most tragic events in the history of Islam. The Muslim year begins from the first day of the month of *Moharrum*, but the tragedy of Kerbala has converted it into a month of mourning for all Muslims, especially Shiahs. The mournings and recitations of the sufferings of Imam Husain and his small band of faithful relations and followers are so pathetic that apart from Muslims, non-Muslims become affected and often join Muslims in expressing their grief and sympathy. Gibbon says that "in a distant age and climate, the tragic scene of the death of Husain will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader". Imam Husain is called Sayyidus-shohoda, or the prince of martyrs, and is the most beloved hero of Iranian Muslims. It is said that prior to the conquest of Islam, when Iranians were the followers of Zoroaster, they used to mourn over the innocent and tragic death of Prince Siavakhsh, the son of King Kai Kaus and when they embraced Islam, they accidentally found another hero, greater in their esteem and affection in the respected and beloved grandson of their Prophet. Imam Husain was born on 4 A.H. and was killed at Kerbala in 61 A.H. Thus, he lived for about 57 years, of which the first seven were passed with his grandfather, the Prophet. The next thirty years, he spent with his father Alī; ten years more under his brother Hasan; and the last ten as the head of Bani Hashim. To understand the causes which eventually led to the event of Kerbala, one must know, at least briefly, the history of the Khilafat, the ambition of Umayyeds, seekers of power, and the ideal of the Hashimite messenger of God. The following were the leading families among the tribes of the Quraish, at the advent of Islam:—
(1) The Bani Hashim, who were noted for their generosity, bravery and learning but were comparatively poor and few in number. The Prophet, Alī, the fourth Khalif, and Abbas, the ancestor of the Abbaside Khalifs, were Hashimites.
(2) The Bani Makhzum were brave, wealthy and ambitious.

Among them, the chief leaders were Walid, son of Mughira and father of Khalid, the conqueror of Mesopotamia and Syria; Amr, son of Hisham, nick-named Abu Juhl, and a bitter opponent of the Prophet. Umar, the second Khalif, was a Makhzumite on his mother's side. (3) The Bani Umayya, known for their diplomacy and statesmanship. They were able military leaders and zealous supporters of pre-Muslim customs, literature and ideals. Among them Utoba (a grandson of Abdus-shams and a nephew of Umayya), Abu Sufyan, son of Harb, Hakam, son of Abil-ās, and Usman (the third Khalif), son of Affan, were the leaders. Islam as taught by the Prophet, was primarily based on the idea of equality of human beings combined to a moderate ideal of Socialism. Human beings are all one in the sight of God, and differences in status, birth or worldly position were not allowed to make any difference in the relations of human beings towards each other. There may be social distinctions, but the best man is he who is purest in mind and action. Thus, human brotherhood was the ideal presented by the Prophet, but the Umayyed ideal was Arab supremacy, the clannish glory and temporal power. The Umayyeds did not believe in the equality of other Arab tribes with the Quraish and of the non-Arabs with the Arabs. They sought power and wealth for their own tribe and next for the Quraish, but never went beyond the limit of the Quraish. Therefore, when the Prophet announced his mission, he permitted the Quraish and the non-Quraish Arabs, the Abyssinians, Romans, Iranians and all others to embrace Islam and enjoy equal privileges and status with the Quraish and himself. He went on the broad principle of equality between man and man and condemned idol worship. Ka'aba was the great centre of idol worship and a source of wealth and distinction for the Quraish, who were the guardians of that great temple at Mecca. No wonder that the Quraish in general and the two families of Bani Makhzum and Bani Umayya in particular, became his bitter enemies. They were jealous of admitting a Hashimite

as spiritual leader and breaker of their ancient laws and customs, and Abul Jahl openly declared that "Islam may be a true religion, but it is hard for us to admit a Hashimite as our leader". Therefore, the Prophet and his followers, most of whom were poor, persecuted for thirteen years and the cause of Islam made little progress. At last, a number of Medinite pilgrims to Mecca heard the Prophet and promised to support him if he made Medina his home. The oppressed Muslims gradually left for Medina and finally the Prophet himself followed them thither. The Quraish tried to prevent his departure by attempting to assassinate him but they failed in their dastardly deed. But, they did not leave him at peace in Medina. They began planning and put all possible obstacles in the way of the success of his mission. The Medinites themselves were unfortunately divided into several parties and those who were on the side of the Prophet were also divided into two parties, one the rival of the other. The Prophet thus found both internal and external opposition to his mission. He, however, succeeded in reconciling the rival Medinite parties who had embraced Islam and tried to live in peace by patching up a friendly treaty with the Jews. A section of the Medinites, whose leader expected to become the chief at Medina, remained outwardly a Muslim but was, at heart, an enemy of the Prophet. With regard to these people, the following verses from the *Quran* prove interesting reading:—

"When they meet those who believe, they say we believe (in Islam), and when they are alone with their devils, they say surely we are with you, we were only mocking." (Ch. XI. 14.)

"They desire to deceive God and those who believe; (but) they deceive only themselves as they do not perceive." (Ch. XI. 9.)

"Surely those who disbelieve, it being alike to them, whether you warn them or do not warn them, (they) will not believe." (Ch. LL. 6.)

With all these obstacles and difficulties, the number of Muslims daily increased, till they were strong enough to defend themselves from external and internal foes. Within ten years, the Umayyed and Makhzumite power, and along with it the power of the other Quraish tribes who supported them, was broken up, the Medinite hypocrites were subdued and left harmless, while the Jews were either expelled or killed. The power of the Muslims thus remained supreme in the land of Arabia, with the Prophet as its head. Thus, the spiritual guide was destined to hold other responsibilities as well. The Prophet was:—(1) The messenger of God and the conveyor of the revealed truth; (2) a social reformer; (3) a political organizer; (4) the law-giver, etc.

Abu Jahl was killed and Abu Sufyan, the Umayyed leader, reluctantly had to yield and profess Islam. The Hashimites gained the higher hand, which was a thorn in the eye of the Umayyeds, their kinsmen. The Prophet was succeeded by Abu Bakr, whose election was partly due to the old rivalry of the Medinite Muslims and he in turn appointed Umar, a member of the tribe of Adi, his successor. Both these Khalifs followed the policy of the Prophet and treated the Quraish and non-Quraish alike. Umar went to the extent of desiring an Iranian captive slave, named, Sālem, Maula Abu Huzaifa, who had embraced Islam and was famous for his piety, to succeed him. Fortunately for the Quraish, he was dead. Umar, though he refused to acknowledge close relations of the Prophet, such as Alī or his uncle Abbas, as more deserving to succeed him or enjoying special rights, treated them with respect and kindness. The third Khalif, an old gentleman of good intentions but too much attached to his clan, made members of his tribe masters of the vast Muslim Empire. They held the high post of Governors-General in Egypt, Basra, Syria and Kufa. His own cousin and secretary Marwan, son of Hakam, exercised the power and authority of the Prime Minister. He was a bigotted Umayyed, who established his dynasty after the death of Moaviya, the son of Yazid. These Umayyeds, who,

though they were now Muslims, still retained their old ideals, became most powerful in all the departments of the Government. It thus became indispensable for other Muslims to renew once more their struggle for equal treatment. It was an irony of fate that those who fought for the cause of Islam and conquered the East and the West, were left to serve those who fought against Islam and became the sole masters of the Muslim Empire. The result was discontent, rebellion and finally assassination of the Khalif himself. The eyes of the new party turned towards a man who could follow the ideal of the Prophet and they elected Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet himself. Their programme was to secure equality of treatment and equality of opportunity for governing the Empire to all Muslims, without any distinction. Alī had many admirable qualities which made him deserve the high post of Khalifa. He was, if not the first, one of the earliest believers in Islam. He was celebrated for bravery, generosity and justice. He had served the Prophet in all his battles against the Quraish and other non-Muslim Arabs and distinguished himself as a warrior who had never been defeated. He was closely related to the Prophet. He had received direct training from the Prophet since he was ten years' old. He was known for complete adherence to the cause of Islam and submission to the will of the Prophet. He had helped the first three Khalifs as their adviser and was considered a gentleman of sound opinion and judgment. He was a fine speaker and a poet. His sayings were philosophical and mystical. He was the husband of the beloved daughter of the Prophet and father of his two grandsons, *i.e.,* Hasan and Husain. But he had also certain qualities which could not be held good for his election to the post, *i.e.,* as the head of the Hashimite family, he was disliked by most of the Quraish, who were jealous of the Hashimite power. As a warrior under the Prophet, he had killed several leaders of the Umayyed clan, who could not tolerate to see him at the head of the Muslim state. He was a Socialist, who believed in the equal distribution of the State income among all

Muslims, without distinction, which could not be approved by greedy leaders and generals, who were accustomed to amass wealth at the cost of the weaker members of the Muslim commonwealth. He did not believe in State diplomacy, in bribe-taking and in preferring one tribe to another. He was also too lenient for the times, when a strong dictator was, indeed, needed. He was elected Khalifa by the common consent of those who caused the assassination of Usman and some others who had remained neutral. The Umayyeds considered his election as a direct challenge to their supremacy and power which they were determined to retain at any cost, and the Quraish, in general, did not approve of his election, apart from their natural jealousy, fearing his Socialistic tendencies. Thus, Alī's position as the Khalif was most unfavourable from two points of view, *i.e.*, (1) his electors, who had already killed a Khalifa in his home, expected him to do what they liked. Thus, he was powerless; and (2) the Umayyed opposition, whose leader Moaviya, son of Abu Sufyan, was Governor of Syria, for about twenty years and was in command of a strong and well-organised army of over one hundred thousand men. Nevertheless, Alī continued to struggle against internal and external enemies and within a brief reign of five years, found a number of sincere admirers to his learning, virtue and spiritual purity.

After Ali, his son Hasan was elected as Khalifa, but Hasan abdicated in favour of Moaviya, the able organizer, fighter and administrator, whose capital was Damascus in Syria. Thus, for a second time, the Umayyeds became powerful and this time they knew how to crush the power of the non-Quraish, in which Moaviya completely succeeded, and within twenty years of his reign, no opponent was left anywhere. All provinces of the vast Muslim Empire were governed by the Umayyeds, supported by a regular and loyal army. Imam Hasan had abdicated the Khilafat in favour of Moaviya, on condition that the right of succession to the Khilafat, after him should be left to election by the people, but Moaviya thought himself strong

enough to appoint his son Yazid as the heir-apparent and establish a dynasty. Yazid became Khalif on his death, but Imam Husain who was the chief of the Bani Hashim at that time and leader of the Muslim democracy, protested against his appointment. He could not, however, find any support at Medina and so left for Mecca and even there felt himself not safe. In the meantime, a very large number (about 150) of letters were received from the Kufa leaders requesting him to guide and lead the Kufis against the Umayyed tyranny. He had either to yield to the semi-pagan rule of the Umayyeds or revive the ideal of his grandfather, to which he could not find sufficient support and in which there was risk of life. He decided on the latter course and despatched his cousin, Muslim, son of Uquil, to Kufa for investigating the real condition of the Kufis and to receive their oats of allegiance to his cause. Muslim left for Kufa and sent a report that about thirty thousand men were under arms ready to follow him and, therefore, Imam Husain had no other option but to advance towards Kufa. In the meantime, Yazid appointed Ubaidullah, son of Ziyad, as Governor of Kufa, with orders to suppress the impending trouble. Ubaidullah arrived just in time to find Muslim with a large number of conspirators, but succeeded in dispersing them and in capturing Muslim, whose head was struck off by his orders together with Hāni, his supporter. He despatched a body of horsemen under Hurr and Husain, son of Numair, to watch the arrival of Imam Husain, and intercept him wherever they might find him. Thus, when Imam Husain reached the confines of Mesopotamia, instead of finding an army of supporters, he found an army of the enemy. Hurr was the first leader who met him and forced him to move under his direction. He also informed Ubaidullah of his arrival and received orders to bring him to Kufa. Ubaidullah commanded Umar, son of Sad, whom he had appointed Governor of Rai-Iran and to lead an expedition towards Northern Iran, to proceed with a regular army of about four or five thousand men towards Imam Husain. Once again, Imam Husain found himself

between two fires. He could not return to Mecca or to Medina, because he did not expect support there, and his return would have been a defeat and for an Arab an act of cowardice. He could not move towards Kufa, because that city was completely under the military occupation of Ubaidullah. The only option left to him was to yield or to resist, which would cost his life. As may be expected, he decided on the latter course. By this time, he had reached together with Hurr to a village called Kerbala on the bank of the river Euphrates. Umar, son of Sad, on his arrival at Kerbala, became the supreme commander of the combined horsemen under Hurr and other leaders and sent word to Imam Husain enquiring the reason for his journey. Imam replied that Kufis wrote and requested him to guide them, but if they do not require his guidance, he is willing to return to Medina or he may be permitted to leave for a distant place on the frontiers. Umar was satisfied with this reply and reported to Ubaidullah, but he being persuaded by the Khavaraj leaders, replied that Husain must surrender himself unconditionally and must come to Kufa where his case would be considered. The bearer of this order was Shimr, who had served Alī in the battle of Siffin and afterwards had joined Khavaraj and had become a bitter enemy of the Alī's descendants. Shimr left Kufa with the horsemen under him and with orders that if Umar, son of Sad, makes further delay in fight, to take charge of the command of the army from him. Umar informed Imam Husain of the fresh orders and, in reply, Imam requested him to give him time for a night which was granted. At night, he gathered his small army and explained the situation and permitted them to leave his camp and seek refuge in a safe place. A few left, but the majority remained faithful with him to die. He ordered to tie the scattered tents close to each other and to dig a trench on the back side of the camp and fill it with wood, and set it on fire, so that the fighting may be confined on one side. This arranged, next morning, which was the tenth of *Moharrum,* he arrayed his little army in the order of battle and

himself sitting on a camel, advanced towards the enemy and addressed them as follows:—

"O men of Kufa and Syria! am I not your Prophet's only grandson alive on earth? Have I killed any of you so that you desire to take revenge on me, or have I acted contrary to the law of Islam, so that I deserve punishment, or have I usurped your wealth and property? What have I done? Did you not invite me and request me to guide you?", etc.

To this, the reply came: "Surrender yourself to Ubaidullah." Some said, "You have not done any wrong to us, but your father has caused the death of our relations and we must take revenge on you".

On seeing this condition of affairs, Hurr was the first leader to join Husain. Leaving the Syrian army, he approached towards Imam Husain—to die with him. He offered his services to him, which were accepted. The battle started with a series of single combats and ended before the evening. Imam Husain, though left without water, fought with heroic courage and bravery together with his son, brothers, cousins, nephews, and followers, all of whom were killed. His head, together with those of his relations, were sent to Kufa and thence to Yazid at Damascus. The family, consisting of widows, Imam Husain's sisters and other ladies, together with his surviving son Ali Zainul-Abedin and a few children, were taken captives to the court of Ubaidullah and afterwards to the Durbar of Yazid. Such was the end of the third attempt to revive the true spirit of Islam against the despotic rule of the Umayyeds.

The cold-blooded murder of the Prophet's grandson raised a cry of protest and criticism. Medina was in open rebellion and Mecca followed suit under the leadership of Abdullah, son of Zubair. The Syrian army defeated the Medina rebels and plundered the city for three days and in this manner the Umayyeds took their vengeance on the inhabitants of Medina, who had supported Islam against their Paganism. Mecca was besieged but, before its capture, news reached

that Yazid was dead. For the next nine years, there were pretenders at Mecca, Kufa and Damascus. The Umayyed clan elected the old Marwan as Khalif. Mukhtar, son of the veteran general Abu-Ubaidah, occupied Kufa, while Hejaz remained under Abdullah, son of Zubair. Mukhtar captured almost all the ring-leaders, who fought against Imam Husain, such as Umar, son of Sad, Shimr, Khuli and others, and killed them. Ubaidullah, who was at that time in Syria, invaded Kufa with a Syrian army but was defeated by the Kufis under Ibrahim, son of Malik, and killed in the battle together with a number of other known leaders of Syria. Thus, the tragedy of Kerbala was complete in every sense and both those who fought for the truth and those who joined the wrong side, lost their lives without gaining the object. The name of Imam Husain became a household word for courage, patience and bravery and successive generations emulated his example in facing the enemy and in struggling for what is known to be right.

The Umayyeds continued to rule for another sixty years, when they extended the Muslim Empire to its greatest extent, but the propaganda of Bani Hashim finally succeeded in organising a rebellion in Iran. The last Umayyed Khalifa was defeated by the Iranians and the Khilafat was restored to Bani Abbas, who, though he did not follow the democratic ideal of Islam, treated non-Arabs with much kindness and gave them equal opportunity in the highest posts next to the Khilafat.

In course of time, several non-Quraish and non-Arab dynasties were founded in Syria, Egypt and Iran, with the Khalifa remaining as the spiritual head at Baghdad. Among these dynasties, the Buvaihid, who ruled in Central Iran and Mesopotamia, were adherents of the descendants of Alī, and encouraged the meetings in commemoration of the tragedy at Kerbala. These meetings became elaborate during the reign of the Safavids in Iran. Emperor Timur and some of his descendants in India, and the kings of the Bahmani dynasty, Bijapur and Golconda of

Deccan did the same, but in a different manner, which has to-day degenerated into what are called the Moharrum ceremonies.

The original motive of the Indian Moharrum ceremonies was the demonstration of the Kerbala tragedy in the light of the Sūfi ideal. "By the representation of tigers, perhaps, is meant the supposed tiger who guarded the martyrs' bodies, and the *alavah*, or fire, made in the Moharrum is the representation of the trench dug and filled with fuel by Imam on the side of the camp to safeguard that side from the enemy's attack, turned into the Sūfistic symbol of purifying oneself by burning in the fire of God's love," etc. The sufferings of Imam Husain and his followers has produced, in course of time, an enormous quantity of literature in Arabic, Iranian and Urdu, both in prose and poetry. The recitation of the sad events, which led up to the tragedy, is called *Rawza Khani* in Iranian and there is scarcely a house in Iran or a Shiah family in India in which at least a few days in the year are not passed in hearing the *Rawza*. Among the most popular poets in Urdu whose works are best known in this connection, are Mirza Dabir and Mir Anis, each of whom has composed an elegy bearing on the Kerbala episode. In Iran and Mesopotamia, dramatic performances are given, in which, to intensify the cruelty of the enemy and the sufferings of Imam, a Christian ambassador from the Roman Emperor is produced in the court of Yazid, who, after seeing the head of the Imam and, knowing his family, is converted to Islam; while an Indian king also embraces Islam after witnessing the tragedy. The lions guard the sacred body. Animals, birds and even the sky and the earth show expressions of grief over the innocent martyr's sufferings. Many imaginary sufferings and miracles are added to evoke sympathy for the Imam. The *Ashura*, or the ten days of the Moharrum, are celebrated as days for mourning everywhere in India, Central Asia and other places where Muslims inhabit. In India, Hindus also join the Muslims in maintaining the *Ashur-Khana* or *Imam-bara*, where banners with the figure of a hand, of

which the five fingers perhaps signify the five sacred persons, *i.e.*, Muhammad (the Prophet), Alī, Fatima, Hasan and Husain. These banners are called *Panjas*, which means *hand*, and are taken in procession to demonstrate and remind people of the events connected with the Kerbala. In Iran, there are no demonstrations like the representation of tigers and carrying of *Panjas*, as are current in India, but meetings of *Rauza* are numerous during the ten days. *Sherbet* (water mixed with sugar and rose-water or milk with sugar and almond) is distributed among those following the processions. The present form of Moharrum ceremonies dates back to about four hundred years ago. Among the rulers of India, the Maharaja of Gwalior and several other Maharajas celebrate the Moharrum. Hindus also become *fakirs* and collect alms, and some of them roll in front of the *Tazia*, or the processional *Panja*. Hindu women join Muslim women in carrying out certain ceremonies, such as the "chastity test" in which women observe a fast, take a bath and dip their fingers in wet lime and lick the same. There is also a further ceremony, known as the *Fire-bath*, in which, after a bath, pieces of hot charcoal are thrown over the bodies of women, observing the ceremony. Offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, etc., are presented to *Ashur-Khanas*, where the *Panjas* are kept, both by Muslims and Hindus, during the ten days commemorating the festival. There is a class of Brahmins in the Bombay Presidency, who are known as Husaini Brahmins. The recitation of the events is common everywhere and is so much elaborated that it has lost the greater portion of its historical setting and has become nearly a romantic and mythological affair. There are a number of professional reciters known as *Marthia Khan* (elegy reciters), *Rauza Khan*, etc. Their main object is to narrate the events in a manner intended to create grief and sympathy in the hearts of their audience. The more the people assembled are moved to weep, the greater the success of the narrator. It is believed that such grief will purify Husain's intercession for forgiveness of their shortcomings those weeping from sins and enable them to receive Imam

on the Day of Judgment. With the same hope and to show the depth of their grief and sympathy, Shiahs beat their chests when an elegy for the Imam is sung. In a word, Imam Husain's self-sacrifice is considered to teach the following moral lessons:—

(1) To resist against tyranny, even at the cost of life. As Imam himself said:—"It is easy for me to throw myself into the fire than to live a life of shame. I shall not give my hands to a tyrant as slaves do, nor shall I run away like a coward."

(2) To live with self-respect.

(3) To endure hardship and remain calm in the face of the most difficult trials.

(4) To realize that grief for the loss of one's freedom must be deeper than the grief created by the loss of one's family, honour and wealth. When the Imam was asked not to take his women on his dangerous journey, he replied that when he is killed, they must also experience the sufferings of captivity.

(5) To appeal to the human sense of sympathy by voluntarily undergoing sufferings for a just cause.

In the Moharrum ceremonies as at present practised by the Shiahs and the Sunnis, the spirit of self-sacrifice seems to be wholly lost.

Blood-feud.

Blood-feud was prevalent among the pre-Muslim Arabs and in Iran. These Arabs used to dip the shirt of a murdered man in his blood and hoist it up at the top of a lance and appeal to his tribe for vengeance. The same usage, though forbidden by the Prophet, was revived by the Umayyeds, when Moaviya hoisted the shirt of the Khalif Usman against Alī. In Iran and Afghanistan, and among the nomad Arabs, even at the present time, the blood-feud is common among the tribes.

Symbolism in Islam.

Symbolism is unknown to Islam and there is nothing in it as a religion possessing any religious significance. With

the exception of the above-mentioned *Panja* or *Alam*, kept up during the Moharrum in various shapes, the most common being the palm of the hand, there may be said to be no symbols used in it or sanctioned by it. It is not even known whether the standard used by the Prophet and his early successors had any figure in it, though it was called the *Eagle* (or the *Uqab*). The Abbasides adopted the black colour for their standard and their official dress. Their standard, as seen by Khaqani, the Iranian poet, had the figure of the golden eagle on the top. The Fatamids adopted the green colour and the Umayyeds the white. The history of the Crescent and the Star used by the Turks is obscure. The Sassanian kings of Iran used to adorn their crown with such a sign; so did the Roman Emperors of old. Its use must have been adopted by Seljukid kings of Asia Minor and followed by the Turks and other Muslims when they took over their former possessions. An European writer suggests that the Crescent of the Turks is really a horse-shoe. The standards of other Muslim rulers, who were contemporaries of the Turks, were not identical with that of the Turks. In Iran, the lion, sun, and the sword appear on the standard. In India, the Nawabs of Lucknow had the fish, the dragon, sun, moon, cow, and the stars. Figures of other animals were also used as common symbols in Iran and India.

Superstitions in Islam.

Many Muslims believe in the existence of demons, spirits and the effects of their evil influences on man. They also have other superstitions as well. The Iranians, Turks, Arabs, and Indians strongly believe in the evil eye, even animals being considered to be affected, and, therefore, guarded by amulets being put on them. There are believed to exist numberless angels, existing in numerous wonderful forms, worshipping God in the sky and the heavens. Among these four are considered to be archangels, *viz.*,

Jebrail (Gabrail), whose duty is to carry messages from God to the Prophets; Mikael (Michael) is the distributor

of food; Izrael (the angel of death); and Israfel, the angel of the trumpet at the end of the world. The Indian corresponding deities, as given by some Muslim writers, are the following well-known three, *i.e., Brahma, Vishnu* and *Siva* including *Yama.* Besides these, every human being is attended by two angels, who write his good and bad deeds, and two angels called *Nakir* and *Munker,* who examine the accounts of each person after his or her death, and punish or give rest, according to the right or wrong answers given by the dead. Genii are mentioned in many books of fiction and in stories contained in works like the *Thousand and One Nights,* etc. These are divided into:—Satan (*Shaitan*), who prayed to God for a very long time but fell into disgrace when he refused to prostrate himself before Adam, as commanded by God. Since then, he became an enemy and has sworn to tempt men to do evil deeds. Genii are called *Dēv* in the Iranian (Avestan *Dæva* and Sanskrit *Dēva*). They are supposed to have been created of a smokeless fire and are said to possess bodies. They can transform themselves into various shapes, such as serpents, lions, cats, birds, and other animals. They can move to distant places in a few minutes. They can perform wonderful deeds altogether impossible for ordinary human beings. They may disappear or re-appear as they please, fly in the air and carry most heavy things. Among them, there are believed to be those who have embraced Islam and are quite harmless, and there are others who have remained infidels and are wicked.

Pari or fairies (Avestan *Pairica*), are generally considered to be of the female sex. They are mentioned in the *Avesta,* though sometimes they are spoken of as belonging to the male sex also.[85] They are described as extremely handsome to

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[85] *Pari*: Commonly written *Peri* in English. *The Paradise and the Peri* of Thomas Moore, published in 1817, is a poetical rendering of a tale in which the Peri plays an interesting part. The Peris are, by some, held to be begotten of fallen spirits, and excluded from Paradise, but usually represented as leading a life of pleasure and endowed with immortality. They are spoken of as intermediate between angels and demons.

look at, light in build, and as possessing wings. They are supposed to live on Mount Qaf. Some genii, called *Ifrit,* are described as hideous, strong and of enormous size. The genii may be captured by the performance of certain kinds of penance, the recitation of sacred formulæ and invocations and made to serve their masters, who are always human. They may be used for discovering thefts and buried treasure or to carry their master to a distant place or give information of lost men and women or to fight and subdue enemies. Muslim fiction and tales, stories and fables, such as *The Thousand and One Nights,* the *Rustam Nama, Burzoo Nama,* the story of *Amir-Humza, Hatem, Chahar Darvish,* etc., are full of genii and *Paris,* in which the influence of Hindu myths seems too palpably predominant to be mistaken. Their chief abode, Mount Qaf, is said to encompass the earth, though they are said to be found in other places as well, such as (public) baths, wells, ruined houses, certain kinds and classes of trees, untenanted houses, cemeteries, etc. Genii are mentioned in the following passage of the *Quran,* though in a different meaning:—"And when we decreed death for (Solomon) nought showed them his death but a creature (wood worm) of the earth that ate away his staff; and when it fell down, the jinn came to know plainly that if they had known the unseen, they would not have tarried in abasing torment." (Ch. XXXIV. 14.) This passage explains that people considered the genii as possessing the power to predict future events and know what they may not themselves see. "And when we turned towards the group who listened to the *Quran*; so when they came to (hear) it, they said be silent (and hear)." (Ch. XLVI. 29.) "A party of Jinn listened and said surely we have heard a wonderful *Quran.*" (Ch. LXXII. 1.) "And they (Arabs) make Jinii associate with God." (Ch. VI. 101.) "And we made for every Prophet an enemy, the devils from among men and Jinii." (Ch. VI. 113.) "O! assembly of Jinii, you made a great number of men your followers." (Ch. VI. 29.) "O assembly of Jinii and men! did there not come to you Prophets from among

you, relating to you my communication and giving you warning of this Day (of Judgment)?" (Ch. VI. 131.) "And the Jinii We created before (mankind) of intensely hot fire." (Ch. XV. 27.) "If men and Jinii join together to bring the like of this *Quran*, they could not bring the like of it." (Ch. XVII. 88.) "And assembled for Sulaiman (Solomon) his hosts of the Jinii, men and the birds, and they were formed into groups." (Ch. XXVII. 17.) "And of the Jinii, there were those who worked before him (Solomon) by the command of his Lord." (Ch. XXXIV. 12.) "One Ifrit among the Jinii said:—I will bring (the throne of Bilqis from Saba) to you (in Palestine) before you rise up from your seat." (Ch. XXVII. 39.)

Among other non-human creatures believed to exist are the following:—

Ghool, who are said to assume various forms, somewhat like the Indian *bhuts*. Sometimes, they appear as human beings and at other times as animals. They live in deserts and haunt the burial ground. There is a kind of *ghool*, something between a man and brute, appearing to men when travelling alone in different forms and turning them out of the way into the interior of the desert. They appear in both sexes. These are mentioned by the celebrated poet Nizami in his romantic *Masnavis*.

Nesnas, who are also said to resemble human beings. Their face is said to be in their breasts and they have a tail like a sheep. They are found, it is said, in South Arabia.

The Indian Muslim imaginary creatures are in most cases the same as those believed in common by the Hindus. Instead of *ghool* and *Nesnas*, they have the *bhuts*, the *Churails*, etc.

The Arabs believe in beings called *Sealah*, *Ghadar* and the *Dilhan*. All these are demoniacal in their nature and qualities. In appearance, they are represented as possessing semi-human forms.

The Evil-eye.

The evil-eye is believed to enchant a handsome child, an young man or a young woman. It is also said to last its malificient influence on any one who does anything extra-ordinary. Certain diseases are also attributed to its influence. Amulets are used by children, by pregnant ladies, etc., to avoid the evil eye. This superstition is common to all Muslims in Africa, West Asia and India. It is mentioned that Jacob forbade his children from entering the city of Cairo all together from one gate. His idea was that people should not see that a number of brothers did so, as such a sight would affect them. It is said in the *Quran*:—"And he said: O my sons! do not (all) enter by one gate (but) enter by different gates and I cannot avail you aught against God." (Ch. XII. 67.) Children are said to be kept dirty in order to avoid the evil-eye!

As to the good and bad omens believed by Iranians and Arabs, it is said in the *Quran*:—"They said: surely we augur evil from you." (Ch. XXXVI. 18.) "They said: your evil is with you." (Ch. XXXVI. 19.)

Magic or Sehr.

Belief in magic was common among ancient nations, particularly in Egypt, Iran and India. Muslims believe in two kinds of magic, one spiritual which they permitted, the other Satanic and deceptive, considered an evil thing practised by infidels. Spiritual magic, named *Amaliyyat, Tashkeer,* etc., affected through the virtues derived from the use of God's name, among which *Ismul ázam* is the most sublime, is known to few. Those who know it can, it is believed, perform wonders. The other means are: invoking the names of certain angels, genii, some unintelligible words, sentences from the *Quran,* mysterious combinations of letters, figures and numbers, written in peculiar diagrammatic forms. Spiritual magicians are supposed to obtain their power by practising penance, austerities of kinds, abstinence from certain kinds of diet, fasting, the muttering of mysterious words, and

the making of certain kinds of signs. By these means they can call upon the service of a genii. By controlling the extra-ordinary powers of planets, who become obedient to their enchantment, they can, it is said, serve both malevolent and benevolent purposes. A magician, spiritual or satanic, can change his own or other 'creatures' forms by the force of art. A man may be made to become a bird and fly in the air, or he may be turned into a dog, ape, or other animal, as illustrated in the *Thousand and One Nights*. He can obtain the power to move from one place to another place in a short time, appear and disappear at his will and speak of things not heard of or seen and even show hidden treasure. Babylon and India were, at one time, considered the centres of evil magic. The originators of evil magic were, it is said, Harut and Marut, mentioned in the *Quran*, who were originally angels, but who descended to earth to guide humanity but themselves fell in love with a dancing girl, named *Zohra*, and were accordingly degraded and punished by God. They are believed to be suspended in a well at Babylon by their feet and are to remain so till the Day of Judgment. They taught magic to people. The names, *Harut* and *Marut*, curiously resemble the names of two Iranian archangels, *i.e.*, *Haurvatat* and *Amertat* (in Sanskrit *Sarvatata* and *Amṛtata*) which means health, fertility and immortality. The causes which led to the change in the meanings of these two words is unknown. It must be a very ancient legend which was taken over from the Aryans by the Semitic nations and turned evidently from a good into a bad sense. The *Quran* says:—And they follow what the devils fabricated against the prophethood of Solomon, but Solomon did not disbelieve it; it is the devils who disbelieved teaching men enchantment, and it was not revealed to the two angels *Harut* and *Marut* at Babylon, nor did they teach it to any one, so that they should have said we are only a trial; therefore, do not disbelieve, so they learn from those two that by which they (enchanters) make a distinction (hatred or love) between a man and his wife." (Ch. XI. 102.)

According to the *Quran,* evil magic is intended to produce false phenomena, or feeling, in which the operator controls the senses of the subject. He makes something to appear or to be felt when actually it has no real existence. The *Quran* thus refers to this peculiar feature of the black art:—"He said: nay! cast down. Then lo! their cords and their rods—it was imaged to him (Moses) on account of their enchantment as if they were running (moving).

"When they cast they deceived the people's eyes and frightened them." (Ch. VII. 113.)

Kehanah, or prediction, was a form of astrology, current in Greece, Iran and amongst most of the ancient civilized nations, was also known in Arabia. The belief in magic is fast vanishing and is being taken in the West by mesmerism and by what is called "spiritualism" to-day, which more frequently than not signifies the relationship with the spirits of the dead. *Fāl* or *Istikhārah* is common even at the present time in Iran and India. It is done by reciting passages from the *Quran* and thinking in one's mind the desired object or question, then closing the eyes and opening the *Quran,* the *Diwan* of Hafiz, or the *Masnavi* of Rumi, and reading the first line on the right side page and interpreting it in the light of what one had thought in mind.

There are fortunate and unfortunate dates, days and hours. Among the Iranians, consideration is given to the particular effect of a day on any act intended to be undertaken on it. For instance, Monday is held to be bad for travelling; Tuseday for cutting off a new cloth, and so on. Thus, there are days on which one must not visit a sick person or meet the king or a minister.

Fate or destiny, is believed in among the masses, as a decree of God which cannot be avoided by human beings. Man may struggle against this supreme hidden power, but cannot overcome his destiny. Thus, human life becomes a tragedy, if one's actions are not harmonious to his destiny. The human will is subordinate to a higher and stronger will.

This idea is supported by certain texts of the *Quran*, such as:—

"And a man will not die but with the permission of God, the term (of death) is fixed." (Ch. CXI. 144.)

"And for every nation, there is a (time of) death, so when their death is come; they shall not remain behind (the appointed time) the least while, nor shall they go in advance." (Ch. VII. 34.)

The idea that man cannot die except at the appointed hour has become a fixed one. It gave the early Muslims reckless courage in warfare but the same idea also has caused a certain amount of inertia and loss of strength in will power.

Taviz, or talismans, *Hirz* or amulets, charms and the like are in use among Muslims in common with many Asiatic and European nations. There are large numbers of books in Arabic, Iranian, Turkish, Urdu and other languages spoken by Muslims on the use and method of preparing *Taviz*. The main object aimed at is to protect a human being from:— the evil-eye; ill-luck; to bring about good luck; to defeat the enemy; to create love between its possessor and another; to prevent diseases; to safeguard from the evils inflicted by genii, etc.

Those who prepare *Taviz* are, in most cases, acquainted with astrology, astronomy and geomancy,[86] with the aid of which they fix up the auspicious hour. In geomancy, dots and lines have their own significance. The time for writing an amulet is fixed. Mysterious signs and words are used as spells; while numbers and human and animal figures play an important role. Meaningless words, formulæ, the different names of God, and of angels, sentences from the *Quran*, etc., engraved on square-sized metal (silver) plate, or on paper or on silk, and written over in saffron coloured or black

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[86] *Geomancy*: From Greek *ge*, the earth; and *manteia*, divination. A kind of divination by means of figures or lines made originally on the ground, but afterwards on paper. Among Muslims, it is known as *Ilmur-Rawal*.

ink, and sprinkled in certain cases with perfume or rose-water, form the staple of amulets and charms in use. These are worn on the body after some formality, so that the possessor may be sure of its effect. The day and hour for putting on a *Taviz* is fixed by the writer, and women wear it in their necklaces, or as part of a head ornament. Some *Taviz* are made with a definite object in view, for example, for a disease or to attract one's beloved or as a safeguard against evil genii. Some are used for securing general good also. There are also in use certain signs, resembling the Kufi script, Hebrew letters, cryptographic alphabets, other scripts, including, perhaps, one of the Indian or Chinese ones, in a mutilated form, in addition to those already named. It is believed that these signs, names, mysterious words, numbers and *Quranic* sentences, if arranged in a particular order and at a particular time, will have a particular effect for the person putting them on. In some amulets, figures of certain animals are engraved on mirrors, seals, or cups. The representation of a human hand is also believed to possess a certain magical effect. If a man or woman is suspected to have been troubled by a Jinn or *Pari*, it is believed that by reciting certain spells on a cup of water, or by writing the same on a piece of paper dipped in saffron, the same being given to the patient to drink, the Jinn will leave him or her free. *Hirz* is a kind of amulet, enclosed in a silver, gold or some other metal plate and rolled over by the tooth of an animal or bone, and wrapped in a piece of wax cloth. Kings and nobles in most cases put on such amulets on their arms and those who use turbans, keep these tied to them. Those used by kings, princes and nobles, especially included in necklaces or armlets, are set with precious stones. Muslims also believe in witches. Women use amulets sometimes to harm a co-wife or to attract their husbands unto themselves. When the object is to harm some, the talisman is pierced with needles or wrapped in a bundle of human hairs, and buried in the opponent's room or compound. Sometimes, it is given in food or buried in a grave. It is also believed that animal

tooth, nails, etc., have certain effects, and are accordingly used for making up amulets and talismans. The ignorant classes believe not only in genii but also that the spirit of dead men afflict and harass people. Thus, the spirit of one Shaikh Saddo, who accidentally came in possession of a magic wick, similar to one narrated in *The Thousand and One Nights*, is credited with the capacity to do a great deal of harm. The story goes that Shaikh Saddo, through the mysterious effect of a wick, had a number of genii to serve him, but he misused his power by desiring to encompass all sorts of unlawful objects. At last, he commanded the genii to transfer a mosque, in which there was a pious *Fakir* in residence. The genii, being tired of carrying out his unlawful demands, revolted and killed him. But Shaikh Saddo, after his death, transformed himself into an evil spirit. Sweets and a goat are presented to his evil spirit and the same distributed subsequently among the poor.

Khizar is a popular imaginary spiritual guide of the Sūfis, who is also the protector of all in distress. It is believed that he has drunk the water of life and has accordingly become immortal and helps human beings on sea or land, when in distress. He is often mentioned by the Sūfis and poets as their guide. Among Iranian poets, Khaqani Nizami and some others have claimed that they met him and received instruction and blessing from him. His name is used by Sūfi poets, sometimes in a metaphorical and in other instances, evidently in the real sense. He is reported to have met some of the Sūfi *Pirs*, instructed them in their prayers and blessed them. Indian Muslims, largely under Hindu influence, carry sweets, fruits and flowers, to the banks of a river or tank and, after offering prayers, consign the same to the water as a present to be accepted by Khaja Khizar. Some write a petition in which they mention their difficulties or desired objects, and finish up with the request that the same may be removed or their objects granted by him. The petition is left floating in the water. The word *Khizar* means, the green one. This belief goes back to the legendary period

of history and the idea underlying it appears to be pre-Islamic in character. It probably indicates the old god of fertility, which has managed to linger on in Muslim popular superstition and belief, owing to its great popularity all over the East. The myth must have been current in Arabia, Syria, Egypt and Iran. There are several passages in the *Quran*, associated with Khizar, as an individual gifted with divine knowledge. Here is one such:—

"When (Moses) found one of our servants, whom we had granted mercy from us and whom we have taught knowledge from ourselves, said to him: Shall I follow thee on condition that thou shouldst teach me the right knowledge of what thou hast been taught. He said verily, Thou canst not have patience with me; and how canst thou be patient in matters whose meaning thou comprehendest not?" (Ch. XVIII. 66-68.)

The story of Alexander going in search of the fountain of life was long popular in the East. His cook, while cleaning a salted fish, which fell into water and came back revived, accidentally came to know that it was the fountain of life, and drank its water, but did not inform the king till they left the place. Afterwards, falling in love with the princess, he was commanded by Alexander to be thrown into the sea, where he remained as a sea-demon. This story was mixed up, in course of time, with the legends of the Jews concerning the Prophet Elijah (Arabic *Iliyas*) and must have been known to the pre-Muslim Arabs. The early commentators on the *Quran* interpreted the word servant as a reference to *Khizar*, which later was elaborated by Sūfis and Indian poets. The two names became distinct, one as Iliyas and the other as Khizar. Both of them meet the distressed on sea and land and help them, though Khizar is found mentioned more often Iranians or other non-Arabs, who had their own old myths. They have accordingly interpreted the *Quran*, wherever it was possible, in the light of their own legends. The cult of Khizar (or the God of Fertility) must have been at one time very popular in Syria and Iran, to which passages in the

Quran bear testimony. Sacrifice and presents were offered to him by shipowners when a boat was launched into water. There are sanctuaries in his name in Syria, at which first-born animals are offered by way of sacrifice. The cult of Khizar, as cherished by the Sūfis and celebrated Iranian poets and admired by the generality of Muslims of West and Central Asia and India, is indicative of the popularity attaching to it. Khizar is called, in some parts of India, as Kawaja, Pir Badr or Raja Kizar. He is said to ride on a fish, wearing green garments. Boatmen celebrate a feast, named *Bera* (raft), the chief feature of which is the setting afloat a boat with turning lamps and sweets placed in it.

Luqman is mentioned in the *Quran* as a *Hakim* (physician) or philosopher Chapter thirty-one of the *Quran* is called *Luqman*, in which some of his sayings are mentioned. He is identified by some writers with the Æsop of the Greeks.[87] Some make him a contemporary of Solomon, or a nephew of Abraham and so forth. Like Khizar and Iliyas, he is mentioned for wisdom and sincerity in Sūfi works, such as the *Masnavi* of Rumi. The following text from the *Quran* refers to him:—

"And certainly we gave wisdom to Luqman, saying, be grateful to God. And whoever is grateful, he is only grateful for his own soul and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is self-sufficient praised."

"And when Luqman said to his son while he admonished him: O my son! do not associate aught with God; most surely polytheism is a grievous inequity."

"O my son! surely if it is the very weight of the grain of a mustard seed, even though it is in (heart) of rock, or (high above) or in the earth, God will bring it (to light), surely God is knower of subtleties."

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[87] *Æsop*: A celebrated Greek fabulist of the sixth century B.C. Little is known of him, except that he was originally a slave, manumitted by Iadmon of Samos, and put to a violent death by the Delphians, probably for some witticism at their expense.

"O my son! keep up prayer and enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and bear patiently that which befalls on you."

"And do not turn your face away from the people in contempt, nor go about in the land exulting over much. Surely, God does not love self-conceited boaster."

"And pursue the right course in your going about and lower your voice; surely the most hateful of voices is braying of asses." (Ch. XXXI. 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19.)

Solomon[88] is also a great hero with Muslim poets, famous for his great wealth, and for his rule over men, jenii, animals, birds, etc. His name is mentioned in several passages in the *Quran*:—

"We bestowed on David and Solomon in judging men and with language of the birds and other matters."

"And we subject unto Solomon the wind, blowing strongly and being light at his desire and which ran at his command."

Bilqees, the queen of Sheba, South Arabia, was married to him. His vizier's name was Asaf, who knew the great name of God, called Ismul-Azam. As the knower of that name, he could, it is said, perform wonders, bring even the throne of the Queen from Sheba to Palestine in the twinkling of an eye! The Iranians identify Solomon with Jamshid (*Yima*) of Iranian mythology. Both were great rulers, inventors and organizers. Both ruled over men and jinii, and possessed means of flying in the air, etc.

Physical Beauty and Love.

Beauty is appreciated by human beings in everything. There is beauty in body, in voice, in movement, in character,

[88] *Solomon*: King of Israel, 1015–977 B.C.; second son of David and Bathsheba, and David's successor; in high repute far and wide for his love of wisdom and the glory of his reign; he had a purely Oriental passion for magnificence, and the buildings he erected in Jerusalem, including the Temple and the Palace on Mount Zion, he raised regardless of any expense, which the nation resented after he was gone. So great was the resentment that, after he was gone, ten of the tribes revolted, with the result that it led to the final rupture of the community and its falling under alien sway.

in dress, in the construction of building, in speech and in nature. Each nation has its own standard of beauty. The physical beauty appreciated by an Arab may not be to the liking of a Japanese, and of a Japanese to an Arab, yet both admire their own beauty. There is no uniform standard of beauty for a Muslim. An Arab Muslim admires Arabian beauty and so do an Iranian and an Indian, admire what is admirable according to their own countrymen. The Arab conception of beauty has influenced early Muslim poets and the Moghal conception has found its way into Iranian poetry when that nation ruled in Central Asia and India. The Arab conception includes the following ideas:—(1) Large and long almond-shaped eyes; (2) intense blackness of the pupil of the eye and whiteness of the white part. A woman possessing such an eye is called *Huri* or *Hur*; (3) long and brilliant eyelashes; (4) arch-shaped eye-brows; (5) wide, white and clear forehead; (6) a straight nose; (7) a small and well-shaped mouth; (8) red lips: (9) white, well-arranged teeth; (10) small and well-proportioned pomo-granate-like breasts; (11) a slender waist; (12) wide and large hips; (13) small hands and feet; (14) fingers like an ivory pen; (15) tapering nails; (16) deep black, but soft, hair; and (17) round-neck, fore-arms and ankles.

Iranians admire a white face with rosy cheeks, contrasted with deep black hairs. But Arab poets have praised an olive oil or mild white colour of the face and black eyes (pupil), while Indian poets praise golden colour. The Mongolian conception includes small deep eyes, rosy cheeks, high eye-brows, and small mouth. The Iranians prefer a somewhat fleshy body, large eyes like those of the gazelle, the white part having a vein of rosy colour; while the Arabs appreciate a slender form. The Iranians love a cheerful and innocent expression; according to them, the ears must be small; the thighs thick-set; and long and full hairs in the head. Among Arab poets, the lover is always a man and the beloved a woman, while Indian poets make woman to love a man. Iranian poets seldom make any reference to either sex.

Muslim literature contains a large number of words for love with but slight changes in their meaning. For example, *Mohabbat, Movaddat, Hava* (inclination), *Ishq* (intense attachment—the literal meaning of the word being creeper), *Ilāqah, Shaghaf, Shiftagi, Walah, Varftagi, Mehr, Prem* (Indian), etc. The effect of lyric poetry was deep on Muslim society, especially among the Arabs and the Iranians. The popular heroes and heroines of love referred to by Muslim poets are:—Yusuf (Joseph) and Zulaikha of the Hebrew legends, who are mentioned in the *Quran*; Majnun and Laili (Arab); Khusroe and Shirin (Iranian); Wameq and Uzra (Iranian); Farhad and Shirin (Iranian); Salman and Absal (Iranian); Vais and Rāmin (Iranian); Khizer Khan and Devildēvi (Indian); Nala and Damayanti (Indian); and Sulma (Arab), etc. Muslim myths are derived from Hebrew, Arab, Iranian, Chinese and Indian sources. Among these, the Iranian are the most predominant, while most of the legendary heroes are either ancient kings or warriors of Iran.

House, Furniture, Diet and Dress.

Among Muslims, houses, dresses, household furniture, manner of taking food and social etiquette vary according to the customs of the places they inhabit, though, in certain respects, there is a certain kind of uniformity, due to general intercourse and past traditions. The passages in the *Quran*, descriptive of the comfort and luxury which characterise Paradise, if interpreted in a metaphorical sense, give a clue to Arab aspirations of the time of the Prophet. The great conquests that followed it and the sudden accumulation of wealth and abundant sources of income, which fell to the share of the Umayyed Khalifs of Damascus and Spain and the Abbasides of Baghdad, are described to us, as it were, in the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*.[89] The same love

[89] *The Thousand and One Nights*: Or the *Arabian Nights*; a collection of tales of various origin and date, traceable in their present form to the middle of the fifteenth century; first translated

of comfort continued and reached its zenith during the rule of Usman Sultans in Turkey, Safavids in Iran and the Timurids in India, and had considerable effect on social development of the middle and lower classes, who, in most things, imitated the higher. The passages in the *Quran* referred to are the following:—

"Reclining on carpets, the inner coverings of which are silk brocade." (Ch. LV. 54.)

"Springs gushing forth (in the courtyard)." (Ch. LV. 66.)

"On thrones in wrought" (Ch. LVI. 15.)

"Reclining on them facing each other" (Ch. LVI. 16.)

"Round about them shall go youths" (Ch. LVI. 17.)

"With goblets and overs and a cup of pure drink" (Ch. LVI. 18.)

"They shall not be affected with headache thereby, nor shall they get exhausted (by drink)." (Ch. LVI. 19.)

"Reclining on raised couches, they find therein neither (the severe heat of) the sun, nor the intense cold and close down upon them (trees, shall leave) shadows and fruits shall be made close (to them) being easy to reach."

"And there shall be made to go round about them vessels of silver and goblets which are of glass (transparent and appearing like silver)."

"And they shall be made to drink there in a cup the admixture of which shall be *Zanjabil* (ginger)."

"And round about them shall go youths for ever."

"When you see them, you will think them (youths) to be (like pearls) scattered broadcast."

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into French by Galland in 1704. The thread on which they are strung is this: An Iranian monarch having made a vow that he would marry a fresh bride every night and sacrifice her in the morning, the vizier's daughter obtained permission to be the first bride and began a story which broke off at an interesting part evening after evening, for a thousand and one nights, at the end of which term the King, it is said, released her and spared her life.

"Upon them shall be garments of fine green silk and thick silk interwoven with gold, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver and their Lord shall make them drink a pure wine." (Ch. LXXVI. 13, 14, 15, 17, 19 and 21.)

Such, in brief, is a description of luxurious life as given in the *Quran*. With regard to dress, the *Quran* teaches extreme simplicity, and the tradition of the Prophet also supports the same idea. It is said in the *Quran*:—"We have sent down raimant to hide your nakedness and splendid garments, but the raiment of piety is the best." (Ch. VII. 25.)

The Prophet used to wear an *Izar* (trousers) reaching below his knees, a shirt and a turban. He was fond of the white colour but occasionally used green, red, yellow and black also. The dress of men and women at present in use in Egypt, Turkey, and Iran, is fast becoming Europeanized. The Arabs wear a long shirt, over which a *Qaba* or long *Jubbah* is added, with Kaffiah, or a square kerchief is put on the head, covering the back and a portion of the breast, over which *aqal* or a cord (woollen or silk) is tied. This is a dress common to rich and poor alike, the difference, if any, being in quality and value. The head dress in the cities of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, besides the above dress, is a small turban, bordered by a margin like a *shawl* and wound over the cap. The Sayyeds in West Asia and Iran use green or black colour for turbans while other colours, though not prohibited, are never used, these colours having become a kind of distinction for Sayyeds. The official class use the *fez* in Egypt and modern European hats in Turkey. The Iranians in the pre-Islamic period imitated Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Roman costumes. During the post-Islamic period, they imitated the Arabs first and then the Moghals. The Safavid kings were the earliest to imitate European dress which was followed, with certain modifications, by the Qajar dynasty. The present king persuaded the people to wear European dress. The Qajar semi-Caucasian hat has been exchanged for the European hat. The lower

orders in Syria wear a long shirt and a jacket, with a leather or cotton girdle. The Kurds are distinguished for their wide sleeves. The Sūfis in Iran used a wollen girdle. The *Aba,* or a wollen gown, was common all over the Western and Central Asia, but now its use is restricted almost entirely to Arab countries. Iran was a great centre of its trade, but since few years, European overcoats are substituted for *Aba.* The Iranian theologians wear a loose white turban, with a long *jubbah,* covered by an *Aba,* and in Syria, the *Moulvis* use small white wide turbans. The Kurdish women wear a small round cap or an embroidered silk kerchief wound round their heads like a turban. They have long shirts, over which a jacket is added. The trousers are wide and fully cover their bodies. The hairs are divided into two or a number of tresses or braid *gisu* (Sanskrit, *Kesa*; Urdu, *Choti*), some falling from both sides on to the shoulders and some on the breast and others on the back. The Bedouins (or nomad Arabs) wear a long shirt, with a leather girdle or a cord round their waist and generally both men and women use amulets. In summer, boys of seven or eight years go naked and so do girls of tender age in the interior. In the desert area, women do not observe the *purdah* and in the cities, a woollen mantle is worn from the head reaching below the knees. The desert Arabs have a peculiar habit of exposing themselves to the burning sun and are indifferent to fire during the winter. The Afghan dress is noted for loose trousers, long shirt and a coat or jacket. Their women also wear long shirts reaching below the knee and trousers rather tighter than those of the men.

Among the ornaments used by Muslims in West and Central Asia, including Arabia, are:—Silver and gold rings, ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces, bangles, small nose-rings, and foot ornaments. The Arabs, like the Indians, tattoo their arms, face, breast, and ankles with colour. Theologians, particularly of the Shāfai school, trim and even shave their moustaches. In Central Asia, loose trousers are worn both by men and women, to which a long shirt, a long *jubbah,*

with girdle or shawl round the waist, are added. The head-dress is a skull cap or turban, mostly white in colour, but since the Russian influence spread, even the dress is changing and European fashion is being adopted everywhere. The Arabs go usually bare-footed at home and so do Muslims in Central Asia. The women, although they wear more or less the same dress as men, adorn themselves with a number of amulets, necklaces, pendants in their hairs, ear-rings and some even use nose-rings. When they go outside, a black veil is also worn by them. Indian Muslims follow Hindus in North Indian villages, but in large cities their dress is a mixture of what prevails among Moghals, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans and Indians. The women generally wear *saris,* much like the Hindus with small modifications. *Saris* are becoming most popular not only among Indian Muslims, but even among domiciled Iranians and Afghans in India. Indian Muslim head-dresses are various kinds of turbans, the *fez,* and Afghan, Iranian, Turkish and English hats. Muslims in China and the Pacific Islands follow the habits of their own countrymen.

In West and Central Asia, a house is divided into parts—male (*mardana*) and female (*zanana*) apartments. The compound wall (if there be one) is generally built of mud. The entrance is protected by a handsome arch which opens into a doorway (*dālān*), leading to the first court, consisting of a guest chamber (*mehmankhana*) and several other rooms. In the centre of the courtyard is a reservoir (*houz*) and on one side is a latrine and a place for storing charcoal and wood. There are no bath-rooms provided in all houses, as people, with the exception of a few of the wealthy, go to the public baths. There is a second entrance leading to the female apartment, which corresponds to the arrangement on the *mardana* side. The rooms have windows only on one side, opening towards the court. The house is surrounded with rooms on all sides and the courtyard is in the centre. Houses are generally built in one storey or more, with a *tahkhana,* or underground rooms, for storing provision or passing the

day-time, particularly during the midday, which becomes extremely hot in South Iran and Mesopotamia. In some places, like Shushter or Najaf, etc., there are undergrounds as deep as seventy or eighty feet. The top of the house is also surrounded by a mud or brick wall, about four to five-and-a-half feet high, which space is used for sleeping in the night during the summer and for drying clothes and fruits during the day-time. Almost every house in the East contains a well and if its water is not potable, it is used for other purposes. In the verandah of the male apartment, couches are kept covered with carpets or raised *daias* of stone or wood. The house furniture consists of looking-glasses, rich carpets, and a few chairs or couches. Meals are served on the floor but among ancient Turks, a table, about a foot or less in height, was used, while common people sat on the ground. At present, the old system is fast changing and high tables are coming into vogue. Instead of the hand being used, forks and spoons are used. During the Moharrum, in Iran and Mesopotamia, streets and open grounds are used for large assemblies, where carpets are spread and a pulpit is kept ready for the reciter. Rich people possess gardens adjoining their houses or a separate building with a large garden outside the town. Stables for horses and cattle and rooms for servants are built close to the male apartment. Both men and women visitors are free to pass their time with friends, without causing the least inconvenience to the other sex. The roofs are flat and covered with bricks or mud, where, cots and sofas are kept for sleeping in the night. The life led by Muslim women in the nineteenth century has been described by an English lady who had married a Muslim, named Mir Ali, and when she became a widow and returned to England, she wrote a book in which she recorded her observations on the life led by Muslims in India. She had the honour of paying a visit to the reigning Moghal Emperor Shah Alam II and the Moghal Empress. The life of Muslim women, as described by her, was restricted to Lucknow and Delhi, but, as these two places had at that time been much influenced by Afghanistan and

Iran, from it one can have an idea of Muslim life beyond India, too. She writes:—

"They (ladies) have not, it is true, many intellectual resources, but they have naturally good understanding. Having learned their duty, they strive to fulfil it. So far as I have had any opportunity of making personal observation on their general character, they appear to me obedient wives, dutiful daughters, affectionate mothers, kind mistresses, sincere friends, and beloved benefactresses to the distressed and poor. These are their moral qualifications and in their religious duties, they are zealous in performing the several ordinances which they have been instructed by their parents or husbands, to observe. If there be any merit in obeying the injunctions of their law-giver, those whom I have known most intimately, deserve praise since 'they are faithful in that they profess'. The Muslim ladies, with whom I have been long intimate, appear to be always happy, contented, and separated by the seclusion to which they were born, the female society is unlimited, and that they enjoy without restraint."[90]

Kitchens are always distinct from the main building Muslims are known for the luxury of their table. The variety in dishes is not limited. In Iran, mostly charcoal is used, instead of wood. The common food in West and Central Asia, among villagers consists of curd, milk, fresh and dry fruits, and bread. In India, a poor man is content with boiled rice and *dāl*, and occasionally he may find flesh of some animal. Rich people have various dishes, among which the *pilav*, a preparation of boiled rice mixed with meat, ghee, onions and coloured by saffron, is much esteemed as a delicacy. Roast meat and different kinds of curries, a mixture of meat and vegetables, and varieties of sweets are also common. Shoes are removed while eating (except by those who are Europeanized gentlemen or ladies, who eat sitting on chairs

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[90] *Observations on the Musalmans of India*, by Mrs. Mir Ali, Vol. I.

beside tables); hands are washed; the mouth is cleaned; and the meal is started with the utterance of *Bismillah, i.e.,* in the name of God. At the end of the meal, praise is offered to God by saying *Alhamdo-lil-lah* (praise to God), or *Shukran-lil-lah* (thanks to God). After that, once again, the hands are washed with soap. Tea was seldom used in India upto the middle of the nineteenth century; but now, it has become common and is used mixed with milk. In Iran, Central Asia and Turkey, tea is used both with and without milk and in greater quantity. Arabs, Egyptians and North Africans are fond of coffee with or without milk. Chinese Muslims and non-Muslims are noted for using tea without milk and often without even sugar.

The substantial dinners are at noon, and once again between 7 to 9 p.m.; and in between these, early in the morning and late in the evening, tea is drunk with bread. In Central Asia, cheese is used for breakfast but in India, it is not known. An orthodox Muslim takes his supper after performing his sunset prayers. Women, during the period of menses, are not permitted to say prayers, fast or to enter mosques. They must not touch the *Quran* or any sacred book during the period and remain away from the husband till they take their bath on the seventh or the tenth day, when they are declared "purified".

While eating, one must not look into others' dishes or watch them eating or swallow food in haste or open his mouth wide. He must take food using the three fingers and eat with dignity and calmness. He should neither stretch himself beyond the dignified limit; nor should he choose the best and show himself greedy when eating. He must see that others also have a share of the best things on the table and have regard for them. He must not remove anything from his mouth, because such a sight might become unpleasant to others near about him. If he is forced to remove anything, such as bone or undesirable food, from his mouth, he must do it in a way not perceived by others. He should not pick his teeth or swallow something half extracted from the mouth, or to

drink water or *sherbet,* making noise. He must wait or offer others for washing their hands before and after the dinner. Such was the etiquette of sitting at table as taught in the celebrated work of Dawwani, entitled *Akhlaq-e-Jalali,* of which more will be found said under the Chapter on Philosophy

CHAPTER XV.

THE FUTURE OF ISLAM.

Islam in Europe—The Great War and Asia—Islam in India—Progress of Muslim States—Conference of European Muslims—The Future.

Islam in Europe.

Spain in Europe, and India in Asia are the two countries where Islam had to deal with quite a different civilization. In both of these countries, it was introduced as the religion of the conquerors. Spain became an entrance through which Islamic culture penetrated into the interior of Europe and India became the centre from which it spread to distant places in the Far East. The torch-bearers of Islam in the East were the Iranian and Arab merchants and adventurers from these countries combined in themselves the ambition to seek wealth and the enthusiasm to preach their religion. Among non-Muslims, Syrian, Christian and Iranian Zoroastrians took part in the development of Muslim culture in the East and Jews and Berbers were responsible for introducing the Muslim learning in the West. There is no doubt that the Muslims of Spain and North Africa had a share in the development of the Mediæval European Arts, Science, Philosophy and Architecture. Nor is there any doubt that men of Europe, such as Thomas Aquinas and Dante among the ancients, and Spinoza among the moderns, were indebted to Muslim thinkers. Thus, the present European civilization has been nursed and brought up on Muslim culture of a bygone generation. Likewise, the Iranians and Central Asiatics have had an indirect share in most of the present religious movements in the East. Muslims in Spain were divided into:—

(1) Full-blooded Arabs.
(2) Berbers or the neighbouring nations.
(3) Native converts.

Arabic became the literary and scientific language of

not only Spanish Muslims but also of Christians. Latin or Spanish remained the spoken language of lower orders but in the East, Iranian, through Moghals and Turks, became the *lingua franca* of Muslims, while Arabic was restricted to the study of theology and philosophy. As the Arabic script was adopted for Iranian and Hindustani in the East, it became the script of the Spanish language in the West as well. Just as by adopting the Arabic script, Hindi was modified into Urdu, likewise Spanish became about one-fourth mixed with Arabic. Even at the present time, Spanish contains not only hundreds of Arabic words but numerous Iranian words also. In India, the following cities became centres for the study of Urdu:—Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad. In Spain, the following were famous centres of Arabic learning:—Toledo, Cordova, Seville and Granada.

The fall of Muslim political power was the cause for the Spread of Muslim culture in Europe. When the cities of Toledo (1085), Cordova (1236), Seville (1248) and Granada (1492), were one by one captured by the Christians, the key to Muslim learning was found in the ruins of these cities by European scholars, who profited by the grand libraries at one time located in them, and translated the works of Muslim authors into Latin. Thus Muslim culture became better known to the other countries of Europe and affected all branches of science and arts. In philosophy, European thinkers of the mediæval period became indebted to Averroes, Avicenna and other Muslim philosophers, whose works were studied with eagerness in the University of Paris.[91] In

[91] *Paris*: The largest city on the Continent and one of the most beautiful in the world. No city has finer or gayer streets, or so many noble buildings. It is the centre of European fashion. The history of Paris is the history of France, for the national life has been, and is, in an extraordinary degree centred in the capital. Its University schools in the Quartier Latin attract the youth of all France; the chief of them are the schools of Medicine and Law, the Scotch College, the College of France, and the Sorbonne, the seat of faculties of letters, science and Protestant theology. At the Sorbonne, gratuitous lectures are delivered by eminent scholars and men of science.

theology, the Protestant movement has been indirectly influenced by the Muslim monotheistic doctrine and teaching. The Crusades in Palestine, the Franco-Spanish and Arab-Roman border wars between Islam and Christianity, affected the culture of both Muslims and Christians. While the Christian fighters imbibed chivalry, and helped to protect helpless men and women, Muslims also learnt new methods of warfare from the European invaders. In the East, the Moghal invasion and the fall of Abbaside Khilafat at Baghdad caused many learned men to migrate towards India, where Sūfi sages found a new field for the spread of Islam. While the East was subjugated and pacified by Muslim rulers, the West became aggressive. Spain was recaptured and re-Christianised and Muslims were looked upon as a dangerous political body and the professors of a rival religion, which, they felt, should be crushed at any cost. The Crusaders did not succeed in their arduous attempts, but the European nations were, by this time, fully warned that the Christian rise can only be by the fall of Islam. Therefore, though among themselves they had natural jealousies and rivalries for power, they remained always united in destroying Muslim States and as against them, they had one definite and common policy. The means which the European powers adopted to subdue Muslim countries may be summed up as:—

(1) Taking military action whenever there was an internal disturbance, and creating such disturbances themselves in different ways.

(2) Creating constant intrigues and carrying on virulent propaganda.

(3) Formation of Missionary Societies with the double object of the spread of religion and peaceful political penetration. These missionary bodies were supported by the European public and backed up by their respective governments. Thus, a peaceful crusade continued. Even European activity in navigation was partly actuated by such motives. Hence it was that even the navigators used to wear a cross,

bearing in mind, that they were taking the risk of the high seas for the spread of their religion and for the liberation of the Holy Land. Such a policy continued for long and Turkey became the chief target of European attack, covert and overt. The Muslim States of India, the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Sea were easily subdued; Egypt and North Africa were pacified; and Iran, owing to the extreme ignorance and apathy of her inhabitants, became an easy prey for the diplomatic intrigues and slow and methodic occupation by two strong and neighbouring powers. Turkey continued to struggle and though fully awakened to the future danger, owing to her peculiar geographical situation, could not find an easy escape.

The Great War and Asia.

The War of 1914 decided the destiny of Turkey and, after six hundred years of crusade—private and public—the European powers achieved their object. Palestine and Iraq were given over to Britain and Syria was occupied by France. The Arabian Peninsula came under the British sphere of influence. Islam lost its prestige as a rival political power in the Near East and became insignificant and harmless as a military power. Europe was saved. And Lord Curzon remarked after the Great War that the further extension of the British Empire into the East is not desirable. The hunger of European powers for extension in the East was more than satisfied. While the West thus became apparently contented, discontentment began to be felt in the East. All nations inhabiting Asia, with the exception of Japan, have come to consider themselves as ill-treated, insulted and humiliated. None is satisfied and the consequence of such a feeling is struggle, which nobody can at present foresee where, when and how it will eventually end. The Muslims of Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan imagine that, by adopting European methods of life, they may soon achieve what Europeans have already achieved—national self-respect —but there is one great difference between them and Europe.

and that is the lack of patriotism of the true and correct type. In Europe, the striving is after unity and collective action in national affairs and the united effort of the nation as a whole, guided by a few able and sincere men, while, in Asia, the effort is limited to a few seekers of personal distinction and fame. The masses in the East are yet indifferent and blindly follow their leaders without themselves feeling the necessity of what they are asked to do. In India, there is no genuine racial antagonism. The relations of the Indians with the Central and Western Asian peoples who invaded their country, whether as racial hordes or as Muslims, date back to countless centuries. Indians, whether Aryans or non-Aryans, were closely related to the peoples of the countries in the North-West of India, particularly Iran and Central Asia, and these have mutually imbibed one another's culture. This has been so throughout the ages. The Iranians especially were identical with Aryan-Indians in their religion, literature and even in most of their social and cultural matters. When Iran became a great centre of Christian missionary activity in the East, a number of Iranian and Syrian Christians visited and preached their religion to Indians, so that we find, as early as 352 A.D., an Indian Bishop named Ophillus was sent out by the Emperor Constans. According to Philastarges, the historian, this Bishop was despatched by the Emperor as an ambassador to the Himyarite king of Yemen (in South Arabia) and was permitted to build a church at Zafar and another at Aden. Thence, he went to the Iranian Gulf and there built a third church in the island of Hormuz.[92] India was known to ancient nations as the country of ascetics and philosophers. Firdausi has given a fair description of Hindu ascetics of the time of Alexander the Great. He says that Alexander had heard of Indian sages and met several of them in the Punjab. Those ascetics, he says, covered their body with leaves and

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92 Curiously enough, the earliest Christian and Islamic missionary activity began in South India.

lived on jungle fruits. Alexander, it is said, had the following dialogue with them:—

Alexander: Is the number of dead more or of the living?

Sage: Dead, because all living must die.

Alexander: Is the land more, or the water?

Sage: Water is the keeper of land.

Alexander: Who is good and who is wicked?

Sage: Good is one whose heart is pure, whose action is just and who is content. Guilty is one who hates others and is greedy, such as yourself, whose lust for conquering lands and enslaving people, brought you here. Greed and poverty are the devils which bring all kinds of calamities.

Alexander offered gifts to the Hindu ascetics, but these were declined. Plutarch narrates the same conversation in his *Life of Alexander*, and adds that the king despatched his pilot, named Onesicritus, to meet the sages. He met fifteen of them, and found some were sitting, others standing or lying in various attitudes of *tapas* (asceticism). Among them was one named Damdam and another called Kalyan. All this is indicative of the ancient relations of India with her Western Asian neighbours, which continued till her invasion by the fair Western Aryans of Britain.

Islam in India.

The progress of Islam in India may be divided into:—

(1) Islam as presented by Arab invaders in its Semitic form;

(2) Islam as preached by the Sūfis; and

(3) Islam as represented in the modern form.

During the first period, Muhammad, son of Qasim, while invading Sind, plundered a number of cities and demolished a few Hindu temples, but soon realised his mistake that force may conquer the land but would never conquer the hearts of people. He, therefore, adopted a milder policy and even admitted Hindus into the ranks of the followers of "revealed" religion. The second period began soon after the invasion of Mahmud, when Islam was preached in an

agreeable form to the suppressed lower castes in India, who embraced it as a great blessing from heaven. The zeal of the Sūfis in expounding the doctrine of Islam was as deep as the greed of Muslim leaders and generals for conquering a new province or plundering a wealthy city or a rich temple. The monotheistic doctrine of Islam gradually and unconsciously spread among all classes of Hindus and cast its influence, subtle in form but nonetheless effective, not only on religious beliefs but also on high philosophical conceptions. Several new religious movements started in India, as the result of such influences. Among these may be mentioned the following:—

(1) The school of thought founded by Kabir, a born Muslim who had been greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Kabir was born in 1440 A.D. and died in 1518. He was a disciple of Rāmānanda and recognised Rāma as the name for the one God and denounced polytheism. His teaching was an attempt at unification of Islam with Hinduism. About a dozen or more minor sects sprang up in imitation, conscious and unconscious, of his school and all of them can be traced to his teachings.

(2) Baba Nanak, born about 29 years after the birth of Kabir. He died in 1538. He was a believer in the monotheism preached by Islam. His writings are, as a matter of fact, partly in Iranian. Like Kabir, but in a different manner, he attempted to harmonise Hindu ideals with the Islamic doctrine. He was the founder of the Sikh community, who, at present, are second in importance to Muslims in India.

There have been a number of other movements whose object has been to reform Hinduism from within, by consciously or unconsciously adopting one or more strong points from Islam. Some of these have called themselves Muslim, while others have remained Hindu or have taken new names for themselves. Among these are the Husaini Brahmins, who are devoted to Imam Husain, the grandson of the Prophet; the Pirzādās; the Satnamis; the Khojas; Chajjupantis, etc. The movement started by Swami Dayanand



KABIR WITH HIS SON KAMAL FANNING HIM
(*From a picture in the Kabir Math, Benares*)

Saraswati, the founder of the Āryasamāj, which has become a great rival of Islam and is anti-Muslim and anti-Christian as well, has been influenced by the Islamic doctrine. Arya Samajists may adduce other reasons and endeavour to prove that the ancient sacred books of Hindus were anti-idol in spirit and teaching, but there is scarcely any doubt that the founder had been influenced by Islamic tenets and principles. Even the Lingayet reform of the thirteenth century may, perhaps, be said to have had some connection with Islamic principles. However this may be, there is no doubt that, though Islam had no missionary organization and did not work on the systematic lines the Christian missionaries have done, the individual efforts of Sūfi saints through seven hundred years of Muslim ascendancy, have modified Hindu views on religion practically all over India. At the same time, it is a fact that Indian Muslims themselves have been much influenced by Hindu ideals, social customs, religious beliefs and philosophical views. The Sūfis, who strived to convert Hindus into Islam, have themselves been affected in turn by Hinduism, even to the extent of their modifying some essential points in Islam. For instance, one Sadr-ud-din, an Iranian Muslim missionary, wrote a book entitled *Dasavatar* (or the Ten Incarnations), in which he has admitted the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and added that Alī, the fourth Khalif, was the expected tenth incarnation of the said deity. The Moghal Emperors, beginning with Akbar, dressed themselves partly in Hindu and partly in Irano-Moghal manner. The forehead was marked after the fashion of the Hindus in public durbars and Akbar even venerated the Sun and followed certain Hindu ceremonies. His *harem* was filled with Rajput ladies, who carried out all their Hindu customs in the *harem*. The Emperor Aurangzeb was not really so bigotted a monarch as is sometimes pictured to us by some historians. His unpopularity was more largely due to the drastic measures he adopted for the subjugation of the Mahrattas and the punishment he meted out to Rajput chiefs. In the lust he possessed for power and conquest, he might be considered a vain man and

even a bigot. In this respect, it may be said, he was as bigotted towards the Hindus as towards the Muslim kings of Bijapur and Golkonda, nay, even towards his own father and brothers, brothers born of one and the same mother and father. The other side of the picture is worthy of note. Some of his best and most trusted generals were Hindus and on several occasions he showed the same favour to Hindus as to Muslims. He had one great fault and that was of screening his political and administrative ambitions under the guise of religion. Mahmud Ghazni, the great idol-breaker, and his son Masud, trusted their Hindu generals against their rebellious Muslim governors. Tilak, the commander of Masud's army, was one of them. While Shahb-ud-din was fighting with one Hindu Raja (Prithvi Raj), he had another Hindu Raja (of Jammu) to help him against a Muslim rebel at Lahore. The mother of Firuz Shah, another ruler known for his bigotry, was a Rajput lady. Thus, while India has been influenced by the Muslim invaders, she has in turn influenced them much more in many aspects of their life.

Progress of Muslim States.

The awakening of all nations after the Great War includes Muslim States also. Among them, Turkey, which suffered most, has improved to an extent that her present condition may favourably be compared with any other State in the Balkan Peninsula. She has been described as the leading Muslim power in the world to-day, and her position, even after losing two-thirds of her former territory, is much stronger and much more consolidated in 1936 than it was in 1914. The Turks have made an amazing progress within the short time of sixteen years. They have organised every department of Government on the most up-to-date lines. They have adopted the Swiss Civil Code, the German Commercial Code, and the Italian Penal Code as the basis of their new laws and regulations. Many of the older social customs which clogged the way of progress have been replaced by the absorption of practices current in civilized society. So much

is this case that one cannot now distinguish between a Turk and a citizen of any other European country, whether as regards dress, manners, mode of living, etiquette, etc. The Near East has changed into the Far West. In other matters, deeper than mere usage, the same change is observable. Polygamy has been prohibited. The system of education has been thoroughly reorganised and co-education has been made compulsory and even popular. Social centres, clubs, parks, playgrounds, etc., have been established in all the bigger villages and cities. *Madrasas* in mosques have been abolished and their libraries have been transferred to public libraries. When the Greek and Armenian inhabitants of Turkey were exchanged for Muslims, all European papers were unanimous in predicting that Turks lost their best artisans, but, within the short period of a decade or so, the Turks proved themselves capable of looking after their needs without the help of Greeks. They are now becoming independent of European manufactures and can produce the best kinds of woollen and cotton cloths in their own country. Women freely join men in bearing the burdens of life, including enlisting themselves into the army, filling the responsible posts of ministers and other equally high public offices. They are brave, self-sacrificing and, like their men, full of courage and spirit. Most of the educated women, besides knowing their own literature, know French, German, and the English languages. The modern method of study in Turkey and Iran started as early as the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, took definite shape about ten years ago. The end of the eighteenth century, when Egypt was invaded by Napoleon, and the Moghal Emperor Shah Alam lost the last vestiges of his imperial power and prestige and Seringapatam was captured by the British, may be set down as the lowest ebb of Islamic political tide; and the end of the nineteenth century may perhaps be taken as the beginning of the flow of a new chapter in the history of Islam. The present Turkish progress is far ahead of the Iranian, though both started in the same direction by adopting the French model. University education in Turkey,

including under that head all school education, is under the Minister of Education, who is assisted by Directors of Higher, Secondary and Primary Schools, with the exception of special schools devoted to agriculture, commerce, and medicine, managed by the respective ministers. Both in Iran and Turkey, the country is divided into educational provinces and districts. Each province is under a *Rais-e-Maaref,* or Director of Education, under whom there are a number of Inspectors for the Districts. The Directors manage their own provinces. A student has to undergo training for about fifteen years. The following are the recognized school and college classes:—(1) Elementary school education, 5 years; (2) Middle school education, 3 years; (3) Lycee, 3 years; (4) College or University classes, 4 years; total 15 years. There are kindergarten schools in Turkey and free Normal Schools, affiliated to the University, train teachers for the Middle Schools and the Lycee. Much stress is laid on physical exercise, both in Iran and Turkey. The Rector of the University, chosen from among the Professors, is elected for three years and may be re-elected for another period of three years. The Turkish University is composed of the following Faculties:—Medicine; Law; Arts; the Sciences; and Theology. There are schools of Dentistry, Pharmacy, and a training course is given in Midwifery. The University Library at Constantinople contains over 1,20,000 volumes of books. Among these are ten thousand selected manuscripts in Iranian, Turkish and Arabic. There are a number of foreign schools and colleges worked under the direction of the Turkish Minister of Education, such as the American Robert College (for men) and a Women's College. The former possesses a library containing 24,000 volumes, while the latter has ten thousand.

Iran, likewise, has made rapid progress within the past ten years. The Minister of Education controls the whole department of education. Both male and female education has been made compulsory. The number of students has increased within seven years, from something like fifty

thousand to one hundred and seventy-five thousand and the expenditure has gone up from seven to twenty million *riyal*. At the time of writing (1936), there are over seven hundred Iranians who have been sent by the Government of Iran to study various subjects or to specialise in various technical branches of study. These students, when they return to their country, are replaced by a new batch, and among them is the Crown Prince of Iran, who is undergoing training in Europe, at Rolles near Geneva. Women are employed in various public departments, such as the National Bank of Iran. The veil is given up. Physical training receives the attention of government, particularly in the army and schools. Recently the Boy Scout movement has been established under the patronage of the Crown Prince. Out-door games such as polo, football, etc., are very much encouraged. Hygienic rules are adopted in public baths, the number of hospitals are greatly increased and a hospital which may favourably be compared in extent, equipment, competent and learned staff and the architectural beauty to any hospital in Asia, is built at Mashed (Khorassan). The present Shah has organized a uniform Iranian army, well-equipped and disciplined. The first University has been formed at Teheran. There are regular air-services, both in Iran and Turkey. A passenger can travel in cars from Bushire in extreme South Iran to Teheran, the capital, and thence to Russia, Turkey, Iraq, or in the East as far as Meshed on the borders of Afghanistan. In Iran alone, within the past six years, over twenty thousand passengers have been carried by aeroplane service without any accident. Economic conditions in Iran and Turkey are proving more and more satisfactory. The trade balance of Iran is in her favour and the government is free from external debts.

In Egypt, besides *Madrasas* attached to the mosques, with their ancient methods of education, there is a University at Cairo, possessing colleges and schools of medicine, dentistry, law, arts, and the sciences. The system of education imparted is built upon French and Belgian models put

together. The University Library contains over one hundred thousand books and the Royal Library, with a circulating section attached to it, contains more than one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. Besides these institutions, an American University was established in 1920, besides a large number of schools opened by other foreigners. There is increasing intellectual activity in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. Even in Arabia, the most backward Islamic nation to-day in South-West Asia, a definite change for the better is visible. About twenty years ago, pilgrims to Mecca had to travel on camels, mules and horses. To-day motors are available everywhere. The passage from Jeddah to Mecca and from Mecca to Medina is quite safe to-day. There are two wireless stations, one at Mecca and the other at Riaz, the capital of King Ibn-e-Saud.

In India, comparing the moral, intellectual, political and economic activities of other communities, Muslims are possibly less progressive, but the awakening of other communities, particularly the Hindus, is having its healthy effect on Muslims as well. Muslims have the great advantage of simplicity of religious rituals and the absence of caste system. There can be no obstacle to their progress, if they are only determined to reform themselves. Their progress is bound to be rapid, if they only went forward with resolve. At the present moment, the following are among the more important centres of Muslim learning in India:—The Muslim University of Aligarh; the Osmania University in Hyderabad (Deccan); the Shibli Academy of Azamgarh; the Jamiyat-e-Tabliqh-ul-Islam of Ambala; the Anjuman-e-Tariqqie-urdu at Aurangabad; the Jamai-e-Milliyah at Delhi; the Unani Colleges at Delhi and Hyderabad; the Darul-ulum of Devaband; the Islamiyyah College at Lahore; the Madrasatul-waezin of Lucknow; the Islamiyyah College at Peshawar; and the College of Jogeshwari in Bombay. There are minor centres at Rampur, Poona, Bombay and elsewhere. In Mysore, though the number of Muslims is comparatively small, they are an influential body and receive great

encouragement from His Highness's Government and more especially from the State Department of Education. The number of Muslims in Northern India is considerable. They form over fifty per cent. of the total inhabitants in the Punjab and in Bengal. In Kashmir, Sindh, North-Western Frontier Province and Beluchistan, their number is overwhelmingly predominant and in the United Provinces and Cutch, they compare favourably with other communities. Their position is weak in the South of India, but the position in the North well counterbalances that in the South. Among the Muslim States in India are:—Hyderabad, the premier Indian State; Beluchistan, Chitral, Rampur, Bhopal, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, Bhawalpur, Firuzpur, Loharu, Malakotta, Chamba, Patawdi, Tonk, Khairpur, Junagadh, Cambay, Zanjirah and Banganapalli. There are also many other smaller States and Zamindaris. The one promising feature of Islam is its great adaptability to circumstances. The texts of the *Quran* in regard to rituals, prayers, etc., are so simple and so brief that one has the option of performing them according to the needs of the time and without any difficulty. Islam may be termed Nature's religion. Its most fundamental principle is submission to the Law of Nature. As it is declared in the *Quran,* every man is born a Muslim, which means, every man is born subject to the Law of Nature, though brought up otherwise. Islam teaches pre-eminently toleration, though, unfortunately, in India, Muslims are known as fanatics. Islam is practical, though in India Muslims live in dream-land. Islam never separates itself from politics, though Indian Muslims have no definite political aims, though they indulge in politics. Islam teaches progress, though Muslims of India are hopelessly backward in most branches of life. All this seems pathetic in the extreme and that, in a country which for centuries has never been known to be intellectually sluggish or politically lacking in acumen. But it must be confessed that such lack of adaptability on the part of Muslims in India is not due to any defect in Islamic teaching, but to ignorance and to lack of capable lead among

Muslims. It is true that Islam strongly prohibits usury, but it should be remembered that it, at the same time, encourages commerce. The present Banking System is on commercial lines and for the benefit of the people; while the usury forbidden by Islam was usury which meant the destruction of the people. It is needless to remind that the Prophet and his best companions lived as traders. Islam encourages social reform. Those Muslims who have sense enough, for example, the Turks, have torn to pieces all those customs which have proved obstacles in the way of progress and yet remain good Muslims. Indian Muslims can do the same. They need not give up Islam—and they should not—but they must give up superstition. They must not be content with government service, but seek hundred other avenues of life and sources of livelihood. They must strive after economic, social, moral and political betterment of themselves and those with whom they have to live and carry on. They must join their countrymen and minimise their religious and economic differences with them and evolve a common aim and a common aspiration for the country as a whole. Islam teaches manliness and chivalry and not hatred and jealousy. A strong and united India means a strong Iran, a strong Iraq and a strong Arabia. Hindu-Muslim unity is not possible so long as both the major communities strive for their own single betterment. The effort should be for combined, united action. The time has come when, not only Hindus and Muslims must forget their religious differences, but others, such as Sikhs and Christians also must join and become one great nation. India will remain in gratitude to the British as a nation, for it is that nation that has made possible an united India—a country torn to pieces into one great nation, greater than any other nation in Asia with the possible exception of China. Now, it is left to Indians themselves to complete the work of unity by composing their religious differences, and subordinating them to higher interests and aspirations, which may mean so much to India and so much more to Asia and Europe generally and to the world at large. Islam, as a religion, is no hinderance

to the realization of this ideal; it is a help towards its realization, if rightly understood by those who follow it.

Conference of European Muslims.

The first Conference of European Muslims was held at Geneva on September 1935, in which delegates from Poland, Austria, Hungary, England, Balkhan States, Russia and other parts of Europe met and discussed matters connected with Muslims in Europe. The total population of European Muslims is estimated to be about seven millions.

The Future.

It is difficult to predict the future of Islam as a world religion. But it is certain that Islam, as interpreted, taught and brought into practice by the conservative and orthodox *Mullas* or *Moulvis*, cannot endure long. Similarly, the belief in *Pirs* and *Fakirs* (who though they may call themselves Sūfis, exploit the ignorant masses), may have to end before long If Islam is to continue to capture the hearts of mankind, its future will have to be based upon the following passage of the *Quran*:—"Those who believe (Muslims) and those who are Jews, and the Christians and the Sabians, whoever believes in God and the last day and does good deeds, they shall have their reward from their Lord and there will be no fear for them nor they shall grieve." (Ch. II. 62.) Islam's great message is the unity of God and the fraternity of human beings. It has caused the fusion of races and abolished distinctions of caste and colour. Racial superiority and social rank are foreign to it. It has taught the fraternity in its true sense. All those who adhere to these principles in theory and practice, can be called true Muslims, in whatever else they may differ and not agree. The form of worship may not remain as it is at present and the language of prayer may be changed from Arabic into some local vernacular, as has been done in Turkey, and Muslims of various nationalities may imitate Christians and translate and read the *Quran* in their own language, but the spirit of Islamic teaching is so

deep-rooted in Muslim hearts that it will re-appear brighter and much more refined among future generations, if only its true principles of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are grasped and acted upon without qualifications and without meaningless abjurations, which can only lead away those professing it from the Eternal Truth proclaimed by it.

APPENDIX A.

MUSLIM WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE.

I.—Muslim Women Warriors.

Safiyya, the paternal aunt of the Prophet. She was active in the battles fought near Medina.

Aisha, the only virgin wife of the Prophet. She was noted for learning and courage, and was among the earliest traditionists, a poetess and an orator of whose eloquence Moaviya, the first Umayyed Khalif, said: "I have never heard an orator more eloquent than Aisha." She fought with Alī, in the battle known as *Jamal,* and stood firm in the battlefield when many brave warriors had fled. She was well acquainted with Arab legends, and was so generous that when once she received one hundred thousand *dirham,* without keeping one *dirham* for herself, she distributed it among the poor and needy. She died in 58 A.H. (680 A.D.).

Asmā Zatun-nataqain, elder sister of Aisha. She was also a brave woman, who fought side by side with her husband Zubair, against the Romans in Syria. When her son Abdulla was besieged at Mecca by an Umayyed army, he consulted his mother as to surrendering, but she advised him to die sword in hand, as became a true warrior.

Ummul-Khair, daughter of Harish. She was on the side of Alī in the battle of Siffeen, taking an active part in it by addressing the men under him and encouraging them to fight.

Zarqa, daughter of Adi. She was also a great woman orator in the army of Alī, and took part in the battle of Siffeen.

Zainab, sister of Zubair. She was well known for her eloquence and courage.

Amiyya Ghaffari, who served as a nurse for the wounded under the Prophet.

ASMA ANSARI, who fought in the battle of Yarmuk, and killed nine of the enemy with her own hand.

ASMA, daughter of Yazid Ansari. She was another well-known orator and poetess.

KHOLA, daughter of Thabba Ansari. She fought against the Romans in Syria.

SUDAH, daughter of Asem. She also took part in the Syrian war.

SULMA, daughter of Sad. She fought against the Iranians and the Romans in Syria and Mesopotamia.

SULMA, daughter of Zir. She nursed the Muslim wounded in the battles fought against the Romans.

AGHA BEGI, daughter of Mirza Miran Shah. She fought in 817 A.H. (1439 A.D.) in the victorious army of Qara Yusuf, under Akhi Farrukh.

QARA FATIMA KHANUM. She led a regiment of the Kurdish army in the Crimean War which was fought between Russia and Turkey (1854).

NASIBA, better known as Ummul-Amara. She fought a large number of battles in Arabia and Syria, and nursed the Muslim wounded.

II.—WOMEN RULERS AND ADMINISTRATORS.

Among the women rulers in Iran were the following:—

LALA KHATUN, at Kirman. She was also a poetess, and has left a *Divan* containing 5,000 verses.

QUEEN PADSHAH KHUTUN, the sixth ruler of the Qarakhtai family of Kirman.

PADSHAH KHATUN, who ruled at Khurrum Abad, Luristan.

TANDU, Queen of Mesopotamia and Southwest Iran, (819 A.H.), fought with the Arabs of Basra, defeated and subdued them.

SAYYADAH, mother of Majdud-doulah, King of Central Iran, ruled as regent for a long time. She was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna.

DOULAT KHATUN, of the family of Khurshidiya Atabeks, ruled at Kirman.

In Egypt also, there were women rulers and administrators. Among these were:—

SHAJARATUD-DUR, a slave girl, gradually rose in power and became eventually Queen of Egypt.

In Turkey, there have been powerful women behind the throne:—

BAZM-E-ÁLEM, wife of Sultan Muhammad II, was the *de facto* ruler—the power behind the throne—and noted for her charity. She built several mosques and founded schools and hospitals. Among them was the well-known hospital of Yanki Baghcha, in Constantinople.

ZAIFA KHATUN, niece of the famous Saladin (Salah-ud-dīn), the hero of the Crusades, ruled as regent for her grandson, in Syria.

In India, we have many notable examples of women:—

EMPRESS RAZIYA, of the Slave dynasty, was well known for her administrative ability. She was also a poetess, and her pen-name was *Shirin*.

BIBI RAJI of Jaunpur, wife of Sultan Muhammad, was an able administrator. She built the famous "Lal Darwaza Gate" of Jaunpur.

MAKHDUMA-E-JEHAN ruled as regent on behalf of Nizam Shah of the Bahmani family, in the Deccan.

NUR-E-JAHAN BEGUM, wife of Jahangir, famous for her personal beauty, learning and ability, was an administrator who possessed courage and bravery. She killed a tiger, while out hunting with her husband, and fought against the army of Muhabat Khan. She was also a poetess.

CHAND BIBI, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, is well known for her bravery and courage which she showed against the invading army of Moghals under their able generals. She was killed in 1599.

NADIRH BEGUM, wife of Prince Dara Shukoh, accompanied him in his wanderings.

SIKANDER JEHAN BEGUM of Bhopal, and her successors, SHAH JEHAN BEGUM and SULTAN JEHAN BEGUM,

were all able rulers of that State. The last-named, who died in 1930, founded many schools, such as the Sultana School, the Victoria School, the Bilqisi School, the Birjisiya Kanya Patasala, the Sikandari School, the School of Arts and the Nursing School.

MAMULA BIBI, the wife of Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, the second ruler of Bhopal, was also well known for her ability in administration. She remained the chief adviser to the Nawab until her death in 1794.

III.—WOMEN ORATORS AND SPEAKERS.

In the family of the Prophet himself, there were some very eloquent speakers:—

AISHA, the wife of the Prophet;

FATIMA, the daughter of the Prophet;

ZAINUB, the sister of Husain and daughter of Alī by Fatima; and

SUKAINA, the daughter of Husain.

ZARQA, daughter of Adi, who took part in the battle of Siffeen.

SIT-UL-ULEMA, known as the *Bulbul* (nightingale), for her eloquence.

AISHA, the mother of Sultan Abdulla, the last king of Granada, in Spain, was famous for her eloquence. She addressed her son, when he surrendered the capital, as follows:—

"O ignoble! mean and undeserving to be called a descendant of an Arab, I am ashamed of calling you my son. Would I had given birth to a stone instead of you! You weep like a woman at the moment when you should defend your country like a man. Could you not ask help of those who are willing to fight under the banner of Islam? Your ancestor defeated the Christians in so many battles, and if you cannot do so, you could at least have defended your home", and so on.

KHOLA, daughter of Azur, was well known for her courage and eloquence.

DARIMIYYA, a poetess, and a propagandist in the cause of Alī against Moaviya.

IV.—Women Who Built Mosques and other Public Institutions.

Many women founded schools or carried out other charitable works, particularly among the Abbasides, the Turks and the Indian princesses. A few of the better known of these are:—

Queen Zubaida, wife of Harun-ul-Rashīd.

The wife of King Azad-ud-doula of Iran, who rivalled her husband in building hospitals, colleges, and other public institutions.

Khatun, daughter of Malek Ashraf of Syria, who founded a college at Damascus.

Zamurrud Khatun, wife of Nasir-ud-dowla of Syria, who founded a college.

V.—Women Theologians and Traditionists.

Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, who was, perhaps, the foremost traditionist known in her time. She gave out all the words of the Prophet. Many learned Muslims, including *Sahāba* (companions), used to learn the law of Islam from her.

Fatima, daughter of Jamal-ud-din, a traditionist, who had heard the tradition from one hundred traditionists. He was born in 620 A.H. (1246 A.D.).

Fatima, daughter of Ibrahim Moqaddasi, died in 747 A.H., at the age of 90 years.

Fatima, daughter of Ahmad of Tabiristan, a famous traditionist, died in 779 A.H. (1369 A.D.).

Fatima, daughter of Syed Ahmad, born in 732 A.H., and died in 813 A.H. (1435 A.D.).

Fatima, daughter of Shehal Ahmad, studied under several theologians and lectured on that subject. She died in 773 A.H. (1395 A.D.).

Fatima, daughter of Taqiyud-din, *d.* 759 A.H. (1381 A.D.).

Fatima, daughter of Abbas of Baghdad, used to ascend the pulpit and deliver lectures on subjects of theology to both sexes. Sadr-ud-dīn, the great contemporary

theologian, admitted that he could not discuss theology with her.

There were several other ladies of the name of Fatima, who were well known as traditionists.

MALIKEH, daughter of Sharif, lectured on theology and on tradition. She died in 802 A.H., at the age of 80 years.

NISHWAN, daughter of Abdulla Asqilani, died in 788 A.D.

YASEMIN of Serawand in Iran.

ASMA, daughter of Muhammad, born in 638 A.D. and died in 733 A.D.

UMME-HANI MARYAM of Syria, who began to study at the tender age of eight, and became a traditionist. She died in 871 A.D.

TAQIYYAH, daughter of Ahmad, and TAQIYYAH, daughter of Amusan, were both traditionists.

JANAN BEGUM, daughter of Abdur-Rahim Khane-Khanan, wrote a commentary on the *Quran*. She was so much attached to her husband that, after his death, when his brother, Prince Salim (Emperor Jahangir) offered himself as her second husband, she cut out hair of her head as a sign of her dedication to the ascetic life and strict widowhood, and sent it to the Emperor.

HABIB, daughter of Abdur-Rahman Maqdasi, who died in 733 A.H. (1355 A.D.).

KHADIJA of Baghdad, who died in 460 A.H.

KHADIJA, daughter of Badran, who lived in the ninth century A.H. (*circa* 1522 A.D.).

KHADIJA, daughter of Ibri, who lived in the sixth century A.H. (*circa* 1222 A.D.).

RUQIYYAH, daughter of Mohd. Qeshri (Egypt), who died in 741 A.H. (1363 A.D.).

ZAIN-UL-ARAB, daughter of Taj-ud-dīn Abdur-Rahman, who was born in 628 A.H. and died in 704 A.H. (1250 A.D.–1326 A.D.).

ZAINAB, daughter of Ahmad (Syrian), who lectured on tradition in Palestine, Egypt and Medina, and died in 645 A.H. (1267 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Kamal-ud-din Ahmad, who died at the age of 90 in 740 A.H. (1362 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ismail (Syrian), who died in 750 A.H. (1372 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Sulaiman (Syrian), who lived in Egypt and died there in 705 A.H. (1327 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Shar's, who was born at Nishapur and died there in 615 A.H. (1237 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ibrahim Shindhi, who was born at Nishapur and died there in 879 A.H. (1501 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Ahmad Sherwaiki, who was born at Mecca in 797 A.H. (1419 A.D.) and began to study at the age of five.

ZAINUB, daughter of Abdur Rahman, who died in 730 A.H. (1352 A.D.).

ZAINUB, daughter of Imad Rahman, who died in 785 A.H. (1407 A.D.), at the age of 80.

ZAINUB, daughter of Amr, who died in Balbuk (Syria) in 699 A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Muhammad, who lived for over 100 years and died in 799 A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Yahya, who died in 735 A.H.

There were several other ladies of the name of Zainub who were noted as traditionists.

SIT-AL-AHL, daughter of Alwan, who died in 703 A.H.

SIT-AL-ARAB (Palestinian), who died in 734 A.H.

SIT-AL-FUQAHA, who died at the age of 90 in 726 A.H.

SIT-AL-QURAISH, who lived in the ninth century A.H.

SIT-AL-WOZARA, who died in 715 A.H.

SOHOLA, daughter of Ahmad, and another lady of the same name, daughter of Umar, were well-known traditionists.

SAFIYYA, daughter of Majd-ud-din (Syrian), who died in 704 A.H.

SAFIYYA, daughter of Yaqut (Abyssinian), who was born in 804 A.H.

There were several traditionists of the name of AISHA.

TAHERAH, daughter of Ahmad Tanukhi, a theologian, who

flourished in the end of fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.H. and died in 436 A.H.

VI.—Women Calligraphists and Astrologers.

Among calligraphists and astrologers, there were:—

Lubna, daughter of Abdul Moula of Spain, a very learned lady, known as an excellent calligraphist. She was appointed secretary and scribe to Hakam, son of Khalif Abdur Rahman III.

Asma Ibrat, daughter of Ahmad Aga (Turk).

Halima, daughter of Muhammad Sadiq of Constantinople, who was alive in 1169 A.H.

Abedah, daughter of Muhammad Jahniyya.

Māh, contemporary of Nur-ud-dīn Jami, who was a poetess and astrologer.

VII.—Women Physicians.

Among physicians, there were:—

Ukhte-Zahra (Spain), a physician for treatment of the ladies of the harem of the time of Amir Abdul Mansur.

Bashi Khanum (India), an Iranian lady employed in the harem of Emperor Shah Jahan. She was also mistress to Princess Jehan Ara Begum. She died in 1056 A.H.

VIII.—Women Musicians.

Among musicians, there were:—

A very large number of musicians flourished during the Khilafats of the Umayyeds and the Abbasides. These were chiefly employed by Khalifs, princes and the nobility. Among them, the following are mentioned in *Aghani*:—

Fitna, a slave girl, who was employed by Jafar Barmaki.

Mutayyem, who studied music under the famous Ishaq of Mosul.

Masabih, who was trained under Zaryab.

Neam, celebrated for her personal beauty and excellent voice, who lived in the harem of Khalif Mamun.



AL-MUTAVAKKIL

(*From a Silver Portrait Coin. He is shown with a two-pointed beard, wearing a Low Cap of the Sasanid Type. It belongs to 955 and is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*)

WASHIKA.

BAZL, a contemporary of Khalif Harun and his son Mamun.

BASBAS, a contemporary of Mehdi.

HUBABA, the celebrated singer, loved intensely by Khalif Yazid, son of Abdul Malik.

SULLĀMAH also a famous singer, a favourite of Khalif Yazid II.

SULLAMA-TUL-QASS, who flourished under the Abbasides.

HUSN, a lady musician of Basra.

HANDUNAH, daughter of Zaryab, the famous Iranian musician, who found favour in the court of the Spanish Khalif.

KHASHAF, who lived during the reign of Khalif Mutavakkal.

KHALL, who was patronised by the Abbaside Khalif.

KHALIDAH of Mecca.

RAHILA and AQUILA, who were musicians to Ibn-e-Shamesa.

ZA'F, who was patronised by Khalif Amin.

DAFAQ, wife of Yahya, son of Rabi, who flourished under the Abbasides.

DANANIR, singer for Yahya Bermeki. She was well known for her beautiful voice and appearance, and was a fine prose-writer and a composer of poetry.

ZATUL-KHAL, famous as an expert musician and well known for her personal beauty. She was much liked by Khalif Harun.

RAYYA, SODA, SAHIQA were all musicians at the Abbaside court.

URAIB, a celebrated singer in the Abbaside harem.

IZZUTUL-MILA, who lived in the reign of Khalif Abdul Malik.

IX.—WOMEN SŪFIS.

Islam has produced a very large number of women, who were Sūfi saints, whose piety and devotion affected all those who came to know them. Among these were:—

RABE'A of Basra, who was celebrated for her piety and ascetic life.

RABE'A of Damascus (Syria).

RABE'A of Gilan (Iranian), a contemporary of Muhammad Shah (1834–1848).

FATIMA of Nishapur (Iranian), a contemporary of Bayazid Bastami and other great Sūfi saints. Bayazid says that she was one who could reply and satisfy him on all questions concerning Sūfis.

FAKHRIYYA, daughter of Usman, who died in 703 at the age of 86.

FIZZA, who had a number of disciples.

MUZGHA, sister of the famous Sūfi Bishar Hafi.

NAFISA, daughter of Hasan and grand-daughter of Alī, who was celebrated for her piety. She lived and died in Egypt.

AMANA RAMLIYYAH, who flourished in 200 A.H.

TUHFA, who was known for her saintly life. She was also a poetess.

TEZKARPAI KHATUN, daughter of King Baiber of Egypt. She built a Rabat named Baghdadiyyah in 684 A.H., where women studied tradition and theology.

HAFSAH, daughter of Shirin.

HAKIMAH of Damascus (Syria).

SHA'IRANA, a celebrated Sūfi lady, who died in 187 A.H.

SAFIYYAH, a contemporary of the Moghal king, Abu Said.

KHADIJA, aunt of the famous Sūfi saint Abdul Qader of Gilan.

FATIMA SAM (Indian), who was a poetess and a Sūfi.

UM YAHYA, who made the *Quran* the medium for her speech for about forty years. Whatever she spoke was a quotation from the *Quran*.

X.—POETESSES.

The number of poetesses is very large, particularly among the Arabs, who have produced many women known for the beauty of their poetry and excellence of their oratory. It is, however, beyond the scope of this work to give a detailed account of them. The following are among the more important of them:—

FATIMA, the daughter of the Prophet, was celebrated for her pious life. She was a most obedient daughter, a devoted and faithful wife and a very kind mother. She composed verses on several occasions.

FATIMA ANI, a well-known poetess and calligraphist.

FAUDAH of Constantinople, who was learned in literature and a good poetess.

FEZL, a contemporary of Said, son of Hamid, the poet. She died in 260 A.H.

FITNET, a Turkish poetess. She composed verses both in Turkish and Iranian, and flourished during the time of Abdul Hamid I.

FITNET KHANUM, daughter of Ahmad Pasha, who was born in 1258 A.H. She studied Arabic, Iranian and Turkish and was well known for her calligraphy. Her poems contain philosophical ideas.

KAMALIYYAH, an Egyptian poetess.

GAUHAR AGA BEGUM, an Iranian of Azerbaijan.

LAILA, daughter of Abdulla, a noted poetess, who flourished at the beginning of the Umayyed rule.

LAILA, daughter of Hassan. Her father was a poet who defended the Prophet and Islamic teaching against the criticism of non-Muslim poets.

LAILA, daughter of Turaif, poetess and warrior. She fought against the army of Khalif Harun.

LAILA KHANUM, a Turkish poetess, who was well acquainted with the French language.

MARYAM, daughter of Yaqub, a poetess of Seville (Spain). She lectured on literature and had a number of pupils. She was alive in 400 A.H. (1022 A.D.).

MEHRI (Iranian), a contemporary of King Shah Rukh Mirza. She was a humorist.

MEHRI KHATUN, a Turkish poetess, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Muhammad II.

MAHASTI, a celebrated Iranian poetess, in favour with Emperor Sinjar.

NAZHUN, an Arabian poetess, who was a native of Granada (Spain).

WALLADAH, a learned princess of Spain, daughter of Khalif Al-Mustakfi.

AMAMA, daughter of Khazruj.

UM HAITHEM, a contemporary of an early Khalif.

TAQQIYYAH, daughter of Ghais (Syrian). She has left many beautiful verses. She was born in 505 A.H. and died in 579 A.H.

HABIBA KHANUM of Herzgovina (Turkey).

HASSANAH of Bani Tamim (Spain).

HAFSA of Granada (Spain). She was celebrated for her learning and personal beauty and lived under the Movahed dynasty of Spain.

HAFSA, daughter of Hamdun (Spain).

HAMDUNAH, a celebrated poetess of Spain.

HAMIDA, daughter of Noman (of Medina), who was a satirist and humorist.

PRINCESS KHADIJA, daughter of Khalif Mamun.

SUKAINA, daughter of Imam Husain, the martyr of Kerbala.

KHANSA, one of the most celebrated composers of elegies.

DILSHAD (Iran), a scholar and poetess.

RABE'A of Ispahan (Iran), a contemporary of the Samanid kings.

RASH-HA of Kashan (Iran), the author of a *Divan* of verses.

KHULA, an Arabian poetess.

RUWAIDA of Turkey, who flourished in the thirteenth century A.H. She was mistress in the High School of Yusuf Pasha.

ZUBAIDA KHANUM of Shiraz, a Sūfi poetess.

ZUBAIDA of Turkey, who composed verses in Iranian and Turkish.

PRINCESS ZIBUN-NISA BEGUM, daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb, who died in 1113 A.H.

ZAINAB, daughter of Tathriya, a prominent poetess in the Umayyed period.

ZAINAB, sister of Zubair, son of Awwam, the famous general and companion of the Prophet.

ZAINUB KHATUN of Turkey, who lived during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Khan (fifteenth century A.D.) and dedicated her *Divan* to his name.

ZAINUB-AL-MIRYA of Spain, who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries A.H.

ZAINUB, daughter of Zaid of Wadi-ul-Huma, near Granada.

ZIVAR of Iran, who was a good composer of odes and a humorist.

SIRRI KHANUM (Kurdish), who was a poetess in Turkish. She was born about 1230 A.H.

SULTAN of Iran daughter of Muhammad Mirza and author of a *Divan* in poetry containing 1,000 verses.

SULMA of Baghdad, celebrated for her personal beauty and the beauty of her language.

SHARAF KHANUM of Turkey, was the owner of a fine library. A scholar and a poetess, she has left a *Divan* in poetry.

SIDQI AMATULLAH of Turkey, a philosopher and a poetess, who died in 1115 A.H.

SIFVAT of Turkey, who died in 1053 A.H.

AISHA. of Cordova (Spain), who was alive in 460 A.H.

AISHA HUBBI, friend of Sultan Salim II, was celebrated as a poetess. She has been preferred to many contemporary poets. She has left a *Divan* of odes and *Qasidas*. Among her works is a *Masnavi* entitled *Khurshid* and *Jamshid*, containing over 3,000 verses.

URUZIAH (Spain), learned in literature; died in 450 A.H.

ISMATI, an Iranian poetess.

ATUN, an Iranian wife of Mulla Baqar, who was a poetess and humorist.

PRINCESS AKHTAR of India, an Urdu poetess.

ADA (AMEER BEGUM) of India, an Urdu poetess.

ASIR of India, a pupil of Shah Fakhr-ud-dīn; an Urdu poetess.

BIJA (Iranian), an astrologer and poetess.

CHANDA (Indian), an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB (MUNI BAI) of India, an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB of Lucknow, an Urdu poetess.

HIJAB, Princess of Oudh; an Urdu poetess.

Several other Indian poetesses had the pen-name of *Hijab*.

HIJAB of Astrabad (Iranian), an Urdu poetess.

HAYAT of Shiraz (Iranian), lived in the fourteenth century A.D.

ZULAIKHA, daughter Taughtimish Khan (Turk), was the author of *Masnavi*. She died in Delhi.

ZUHRAH (AMRAV JAN) of Lucknow, an Urdu and Iranian poetess.

SHARA, daughter of Hakim Kamr-ud-din; an Urdu and Iranian poetess; pupil of Khaja Wazir.

ABED, daughter of Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan of Rampur, has left a *Divan* in Iranian and another in Urdu.

ALEM (Indian), wife of King Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, has left a *Divan* of verses in Urdu. She was a good player on the *Sitār*.

FATIMA ALIYYA KHANUM, born in 1861, at Constantinople; a Turkish lady, who studied French, Iranian, Arabic, and Turkish, including philosophy and music. She was among the best musicians of her time, not only in Turkey but in all Europe. She was versatile to a degree and wrote several books on a variety of subjects.

SITARA BANU, daughter of the celebrated poet Sadi, who, like her father, was a poetess.

KHALIDA ADIB KHANUM, a poetess and scholar of modern Turkey.

ZARRIN TAJ, known as QURRAT-UL-AIN, the heroine of the Babi movement of Iran, was a great orator and poetess. She was killed in Teheran.

KAIFI (Indian), an Urdu poetess. She was a descendant of the Timurid dynasty.

GUNNA BEGUM, an Iranian and Urdu poetess; wife of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk.

APPENDIX B.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS.

B.C.	
6000	Sumerian City-States in Mesopotamia.
5000	Menes, First Pharoah of Egypt.
4000	The period of the *Rig Veda* (Jacobi).
	Pre-Semitic Sumerian Culture.
3000	Spread of Aryans into the Balkans, Asia Minor, Black Sea and Caspian.
2750	Sargon I founds Akkadian-Sumerian Empire.
2500	Minos acquires Crete.
	China under its first three Emperors.
2100	Hammurabi—First Babylonian Empire.
2000	Stonehenge and Avebury come into existence.
	Aryans in Gaul and Britain.
	The *Illiad* sung.
	Cnossos at its zenith.
	Hykso's conquest, XVI Dynasty.
	Abraham.
	Tyre and Sidon flourish.
1750	Shang Dynasty—First Chinese writing.
1450	Hittites take Nineveh.
1383	Amenophis IV.
1317	Rameses II.
1150	Tiglath Pileser I takes Babylon.
1110	Chow Dynasty.
1000	Moses, Philistines and Solomon. XXI Dynasty in decay in Egypt. Shishak (XII Dynasty) loots the Temple. Saul, King of Israel.
930	Israel splits from Judah.
900	The Chow Dynasty in Surmia. Assyrian and Babylonian Empires.
800	Carthage founded.
790	Ethiopian conquest of Egypt.
753	Rome built.
745	Tiglath Pileser III founds the new Assyrian Empire.
700	Birth of Zoroaster.
704	Sennacherif.
680	Esarhaddon.
667	Sardanapalus.
606	Nineveh falls.

B.C.

600 Birth of Mahavira.
590 Nebuchadnezzur.
550 Birth of Buddha.
Birth of Confucius.
539 Cyrus takes Babylon.
525 Cambysis in Egypt.
500 Egypt in decay.
490 Battle of Marathon.
488 Death of Buddha; First Buddhist Council.
486 Darius rules over Iran.
480 Battle of Salamis.
485 Xerxes.
470 Hanno's voyage.
466 Pericles.
465 Xerxes murdered.
401 The Retreat of the Ten Thousand.
400 Plato. Hellenism spreads Eastward.
384 Birth of Aristotle
338 Battle of Chæronea.
333 Battle of Issus.
331 Battle of Arbala—Overthrow of the Iranian Empire.
330 Darius III killed.
The Parthians.
326 Alexander defeats Porus in India.
323 Death of Alexander the Great.
322 Death of Aristotle.
321 Rise of Chandragupta.
281 Pyrruhs invades Italy.
280 Battle of Heraclea.
278 Gauls invade Asia Minor.
269 Asoka's Coronation.
264 First Punic War.
251 Shi-Hwang-Ti.
236 Death of Asoka.
219 Second Punic War.
216 Battle of Cannæ.
214 The Great Wall of China begun.
202 Battle of Zama.
201 End of Second Punic War.
200 Rome at war with Macedon.
192 War with the Seleucus.
190 Battle of Magnesia.
149 Yue-chi cross the Pamirs.

B.C.

149 Third Punic War.
146 Carthage destroyed.
133 Attalus' bequest of Pergamum to Rome.
Tiberius Gracchus killed.
121 Caius Gracchus killed.
100 War with Jugurtha.
89 Death of Marius.
78 Death of Sulla.
67 Pompey reaches the Caspian; Mongolian Huns reach the Caspian.
65 Death of Mithhridates of Pontus.
Conquest of Gaul.
53 Battle of Carrhæ.
44 Assassination of Julius Cæsar.
31 Battle of Actium.
27 Augustus Cæsar made head of the Republic.
4 Jesus of Nazareth born.

A.D.

14 Tiberius.
30 St. Paul.
Conquest of Britain.
54 Nero.
61 St. Barnabas introduces Christianity into Antioch. He suffers martyrdom.
69 Vespasian.
70 Titus destroys Jerusalem.
102 Pan-Chau reaches the Caspian.
117 Hadrian.
140 Indo-Scythians in India.
161 Kanishka.
Marcus Aurelius.
200 Roman Empire in decay.
220 End of Han Dynasty in China.
227 Ardashar (Sassanid).
242 Mani born.
247 Goths cross Danube.
251 Decius killed.
260 Sapor I takes Antioch.
277 Mani died.
284 Dioclectian.
330 Constantinople made capital of Roman Empire.
571 Birth of Muhammad.

A.D.	
622	Hijra (or flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina).
631	Death of Muhammad.
732	Battle of Tours. Frankish victory checks Muslim advance into Western Empire.
800	Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans.
1095	Beginning of the Crusades.
1453	Constantinople captured by Muslims (end of Byzantine Empire).
1498	Vasco Da Gama reaches India.
1566	Death of Suleiman the Magnificent.
1606	Jehangir begins his reign.
1628	Shah Jehan begins his reign.
1658	Aurangzib begins his reign.
1688	The English Revolution.
1707	Death of Aurangzib. End of Moghul Empire in India.
1736	Nadirshah invades India.
1740	Accession of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia.
1763	Anglo-French struggle in India.
1757	Battle of Plassey.
1764	Battle of Buxar. British Dominion in India established.
1769	Birth of Napoleon Bonaparte
1776	Declaration of American Independence.
1814	Abdication of Napoleon.
1832	First Reform Bill in Britain.
1837	Queen Victoria ascends the Throne.
1857	Great Mutiny in India.
1861	Indian Councils' Act passed. End of the East India Company.
1869	Suez Canal opened.
1877	Russo-Turkish War. Queen Victoria declared Empress of India.
1883	British occupation of Egypt.
1885	Indian National Congress founded.
1904	Russo-Japanese War.
1911	Italy declares War on Turkey.
1914	The Great War breaks out.
1917	Imperial War Conference.
1918	European Peace Conference.
1920	First meeting of the League of Nations.
1921	Non-Co-operation movement in India.
1922	Establishment of the Irish Free State.

A.D.	
1929	Civil Disobedience movement in India. First Round Table Conference of India and England.
1930	Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Calling off of the Civil Disobedience movement.
1935	New Government of India Act passed by Parliament.
1936	Italian conquest of Abyssinia.

APPENDIX C.

IRANIAN DYNASTIES.

Iran.—First known Aryan kingdom. Began its existence *Circa* 3000 B.C. on the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, amid Egyptian and Aryan Cultures.

I. Pishdadyan Dynasty.

Founded by King Gayomard. (Ruled over Airyanevæjo, comprising the northern steppes of Turkestan, with Balkh in Bactria as its capital.)

His successors.—

Hoshang.
Tehmurasp.
Jamshed—the *Yima* of the *Avesta,* contemporary of Noah. Founded Persepolis.
Zohak.
Faridun.
Minocheher.
Nodar.
Afrasiab.
Jotemash.
Kershasp.

II. Kyanian Dynasty.

This dynasty saw the birth of Zoroaster, about 1500 B.C.

Kæ Kobad.
Kæ Kaus.
Kæ Khusroe.
Kæ Lohrasp.

B.C.
1000 Kæ Gushtasp (Vishtaspa). He and his queen Hutaosa first converts of Zoroastrianism thus becoming patrons of Zoroaster.
Behram.

B.C.

Homae—Queen.
Darab.
Dara.

836 Assyrian invasion of Media under Salmanassar II.
715 Assyrian Sargon led into exile.
Median Chief Dayaka.
710 Median Revolt against Assyria.
640 Beginnings of Median monarchy.
626 Scythian invasion.
606 Nineveh and other Assyrian Cities destroyed by Cyaxares.
Median Empire included Iran, Ecbatana being the Capital.

III. Achæmenian Dynasty.

558 Revolt of Cyrus the Great, King of Anshan, against Astyages, son of Cyaxares.
Welds the Iranian tribes into one single nation.
546 Iranian Empire extended to the Mediterranean.
539 Babylon occupied; Chaldean Empire, Syria and Palestine added to Iran. East of Iran added to the Iranian Empire.
528 Cyrus died.
Founded the Dynasty; Rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem; Organized the Empire.
525 Cambyses, son of Cyrus; conquered Egypt; Cyprus and the Greek islands on the coast of Asia Minor annexed; died by his own hand.
Darius—Triligual Rock inscriptions of Behistun, and Hamadan; Conquered Thrace, Macedonia, the Punjab, etc; Samos added to the Empire; Usurpation of Smerdis; Darius kills him and crushes all revolts; Completed the work of Cyrus; Iranians knit into one single uniform nation; died 485 B.C.; Iranian Empire reached its zenith.
Xerxes—Lost Macedon.

B.C.

486 Egypt revolts.

484 Egyptian revolt suppressed.

Artaxerxes—Peace with Greece.

Darius II—Levied tribute on Asiatics in Greece.

Artaxerxes II (Mnemon of the Greeks)—Fight between him and Cyrus, his younger brother.

Battle of Cannæ—Retreat of the 10,000; Artaxerxes III murders all members of the Royal family.

Governors in India—Became independent; decline of Iran.

Darius III—Thrice defeated by Alexander. Battles of Granicus (334 B.C.); Issus (333 B.C.); and Arbela, near Nineveh. Destruction of Babylonia, Susa, Persepolis, Parsagadæ, Herat and Sistan by Macedonians. Library at Persepolis consigned to flames 300 B.C. (Ruins near Shiraz).

List of Kings.

B.C.

558–528 Cyrus; Conquered Medes 550 B.C.; King of Babylon from 538 B.C.
528–521 Cambyses.
521 Smerdis.
521–485 Darius I.
485–465 Xerxes I.
465–425 Artaxerxes I.
425–424 Xerxes II and Secydianus or Sogdianus.
424–404 Darius II. Nothus.
404–359 Artaxerxes II.
359–338 Artaxerxes III. Ochus.
338–336 Arses.
336–330 Darius III.

[PERIOD OF MACEDONIAN DOMINATION.]

IV. PARTHIAN DYNASTY (400 YEARS).

Mithridates

Vologeses

Ardavan—Defeated by Ardashir Babekan.

V. Sassanid Dynasty.

A.D.	
226	Ardashir revives the Zoroastrian Empire by founding a new Dynasty. His romantic deeds are celebrated in the *Book of the Karnamak*.
240	Shahpur I. Founded Nishapur.
	Mani advocates a new religion.
309	Shahpur the Great.
	Defeated Emperors Julian and Jovian.
420	Behramgore, the Poet-Emperor. Defeated the White Huns.
459–484	Firoz III (Peroz III).
501	Kobad I (Kavadh I). A new religious movement and social reform by Mazdak. Dethroned and reinstated with the aid of the Turks.
531–579	Nosherwan the Just, regains full prestige for Iran. Peace with Rome. Famous for his just and wise rule. His wonderful architectural designs to be seen at Tagq-e-Kesra, the scene of General Townsend's struggles in Mesopotamia in the last War.
	Hormuzd IV, a weak king.
	Khusroe Parviz, conquered Mesopotamia and Palestine.
	Invaded Byzantine Empire.
	Took Damascus and Jerusalem and carried off the wooden cross on which Jesus had been crucified.
	His beautiful queen Shirin. His court splendid.
	The Arabs under Khalid devastated the Empire.
628–629	Kobad II (Kavadh II).
	State intrigues.
	Members of the Royal family assassinated.
	Minor rulers, including queens Puranmdukht and Azarmidokht.

A.D.

632–651 Yezdegerd, grandson of Khusroe Parviz.
Disunion in the Empire.
Spread of Islam.

636 Battle of Cadesia.

642 Battle of Nahavand.
End of ancient Iranian Sovereignty.

List of Kings.

(After Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 435.)

A.D.	
226–241	Ardashir I.
241–272	Shapur I.
272–273	Hormuzd I
273–276	Bahram I.
276–293	Bahram II.
293	Bahram III.
293–302	Narseh (Narses).
302–310	Hormuzd II.
310–379	Shapur II.
379–383	Ardashir II.
383–388	Shapur III.
388–399	Bahram IV.
399–420	Yazdegerd I.
420–438	Bahram V. Gor.
438–457	Yazdegerd II.
457–459	Hormuzd III.
459–484	Peroz.
484–488	Balash.
488–531	Kavadh I.
496–498	Djamasp.
531–579	Khosres (Khosrau) I Anushirvan
579–590	Hormizd IV.
590–628	Chosres II, Parvez.
590–628	Khosres II, Parvez.
628	Kavadh II, Sheroe.
628–630	Ardashir III.
(630	Shahrbaraz).
(630–632	Boran and others).
632–651	Yazdegerd III.

[TRANSITION PERIOD.]

A.D.

641–1405 Iran ceased to be a single unit and it passed under alien rulers.

641 Death of Yazdegerd.
Fall of Sassanian Dynasty.

VI. UMAYYAD DYNASTY.

ARAB KILAFAT.

KHULAFA-E-RASHEDEEN.

1. Abu Bakr, son of Al-Qahhafa.
2. Umar, son of Khattab.
3. Usman, son of Affan.
4. Ali, son of Abi Taleb.

BANI-UMAYYA.

BANI-HARB Branch:

5. Moaviya, son of Abu-Sufyan.
6. Yazid, son of Moaviya.
7. Moaviya, son of Yazid.

BANI HIKAM Branch:

8. Marvan, son of Hikam.
9. Abdul-Malek, son of Marvan.
10. Walid, son of Abdul Malek.
11. Sulaiman, son of Abdul Malek.
12. Umar, son of Abdul Aziz.
13. Yazid II, son of Abdul Malek.
14. Husham, son of Abdul Malek.
    (Moaviya—Abdul-Rahman, Khalifa in Spain).
15. Walid II, son of Yazid II.
16. Yazid III, son of Walid.
17. Ibrahim, son of Walid.
18. Marvan II, son of Mohammad.

BANI ABBAS:

19. Abdullah-as-Saffah, son of Mohammad.
20. Al-Mansur, son of Mohommad.
21. Al-Mahdi (Mohammad), son of Al-Mansur.
22. Al-Hadi (Musa), son of Al-Mahdi.
23. Ar-Rashid (Harun), son of Al-Mahdi.
24. Al-Amin (Mohommad), son of Ar-Rashid.
25. Al-Mamun (Abdullah), son of Ar-Rashid.
26. Al-Motasim Billah (Mohammad), son of Ar-Rashid.
27. Al-Waseq Billah (Harun), son of Al-Molasim-Billah.
28. Al-Mutawakkil Alal-lah (Jafar), son of Al-Motasim.
29. Al-Mustansir Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Mutawakkil.
30. Al-Mustaeen-Billah (Ahmed), son of Al-Motasim.
31. Al-Mutaz-Billah (Mohommad), son of Al-Mutavakkil.
32. Al-Muhtadi Billah (Mohommad), son of Al-Motasim.
33. Al-Mutamad Billah (Ahmad), son of Al-Mutavakkil.
34. Al-Mutazid-Billah (Ahmad), son of Talha.
35. Al-Muktafi Billah (Ali), son of Al-Mutazid.
36. Al-Muqtader Billah (Jafar), son of Al-Mutazid.
37. Al-Qahir-Billah (Mohammad), son of Al-Mutazid.
38. Al-Razi Billah (Mohommad), son of Al-Muqtader.
39. Al-Muttaqi-Billah (Ibrahim), son of Al-Muqtader.
40. Al-Mustakfi-Billah (Abdullah), son of Al-Muqtader.
41. Al-Muti-Billah (Fazl), son of Al-Muqtader.
42. Al-Tae' Billah (Abdul Karim), son of Al-Muti.
43. Al-Qader-Billah (Ahmad), son of Ishaq.
44. Al-Qaem-be-Amrillah (Abdullah), son of Al-Qader.
45. Al-Muqtadi (Abdullah), son of Mohommad.
46. Al-Mustazher (Ahmad), son of Al-Muqtadi.
47. Al-Mustarshed (Fazl), son of Al-Mustazher.
48. Al-Rāshed (Mansur), son of Al-Mustarshed.
49. Al-Muqtafi (Mohommad), son of Al-Mustazher.
50. Al-Mustanjed (Yusuf), son of Al-Muqtafi.
51. Al-Mustazī (Hasan), son of Al-Mustanjid.
52. An-Nāsir (Ahmed), son of Al-Mustazī.
53. Az-Zaher (Mohommad), son of An-Nāsir.

54. Al-Mustansir (Munsur), son of Az-Zāher.
55. Al-Mostasem (Abdullah), son of Al-Mustansir.

VII. The Abbasid Dynasty.

VIII. The Seljuk Dynasty.

Tughrul Beg, son of Mikaeel.
Alb Arsalān, son of Chaqer Beg.
Malek Shah, son of Alb Arsalān.
Barkayaruq, son of Malek Shah.
Mohommad, son of Malek Shah.
Sanjir, son of Malek Shah.
Mahmud, son of Mohommad.
Tughrul, son of Mohommad.
Masood, son of Mohommad.
Malek Shah, son of Mahmud.
Mohommad, son of Mahmud.
Sulaiman, son of Mohommad.
Arsalan, son of Tughrul.
Tughrul, son of Arsalan.

IX. The Mongol Dynasty.

X. The Timurid Dynasty.

XI. The Safavid Dynasty.

Shah Abbas.
Shah Safi.
Shah Sultan Hussain.
Afghans dominate over Iran.
1730 Nadirshah's invasion of Iran.
Afghans and Turks vacate Iran.
1730 Nadirshah occupies the throne.
Nadirshah assassinated.
Pretenders claim the throne.

XII. The Zaud Dynasty.

XIII. KAJAR DYNASTY.

Russian and British influence.

1875 Independence of Afghanistan recognised by Iran.
Muhammad Ali Shah retires.

1914 Sultan Ahmad Shah proclaimed Shah with a Regent to administer affairs.

XIV. THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY.

1926 Raza Pāhlavi proclaimed Shah-in-Shah.

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